

This thesis in its original form and  
has not been presented for a degree  
in any other university

CERTAIN ASPECTS OF THE AHMADIYYA  
MOVEMENT IN EAST AFRICA WITH PARTICULAR  
REFERENCE TO ITS RELIGIOUS PRACTICE AND  
THE DEVELOPMENT OF ITS HISTORY  
AND THEOLOGY IN THE EAST AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT

This thesis has been submitted for  
examination with our approval as  
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A Thesis submitted in fulfillment for the  
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the  
University of Nairobi.

1974

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"House ma" for "Houses"

"Sally Oaks College" for "Sally Oak College"

"T-Orcas" for "T-Orcas"

"inclosure" for "inclosure"

"mid-1930s" for "mid-1950s"

"Wanyanasi" for "Wanyanasi"

"became" for "became"

"Trirmingham" for "Trirmingham"

insert "which" after "items"

insert "the" after "of"

"Ishma'ili" for "Ishma'ili"

"teacher" for "teacher"

"Iman" for "Iman"

insert "le son's pleins de sels, prechant partout, publiant," after "Orientale"

"udugu" for "udugu"

"Saudi" for "Sudi"

"Jibilee" for "Jubilee"

"Maulva" for "Maavla"

insert "not" after "should"

"Mirza" for "Mirza"

"Ukadini" for "Ukadini"

"Trirmingham" for "Trirmingham"

"majeedid" for "majeedid"

"religion" for "religioc"

## ERRATA

Note: Where the correction of a typographical error is required the first form in full quotation marks indicates that which appears incorrectly in the text followed by the correct form (in single quotation marks) as it should appear; omissions and insertions will be self-explanatory. The left-hand column indicates references of errors by page and line numbers accordingly; errors within the footnotes at the end of chapters are indicated by including the footnote number and the line as numbered within the footnote.

- 2:9 omit "Of"  
3:2 insert in parenthesis "(Muslim calendar)"  
after "fourteenth-century"  
8:18 "this" for 'that'  
9:17 "Islmaic" for 'Islamic'  
12:19 "vertiable" for 'veritable'  
12:22 insert punctuation period (.) after 1934  
13:10 "living" for 'giving'  
15:5 "indicating" for 'indicative'  
15:14 "Houstma" for 'Houtsma'  
25:n3:2 "diety" for 'deity'  
27:n31:1 "Houstma" for 'Houtsma'  
28:n47:3 "Selly Oaks College" for 'Selly Oak Colleges'  
29:n49:2 "T'Orante" for 'l'Orante'  
29:n49:3 "inconnve" for 'inconnue'  
33:13 "mid-1930s" for 'mid-1950s'  
36:9 "Wanyamwezi" for 'Nyamwezi'  
37:9 "because" for 'became'  
54:n19:1 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
64:2 insert 'which' after "items"  
70:2 insert 'the' after "of"  
75:17 "Ishmaili" for 'Ismaili'  
89:26 "reacher" for 'teacher'  
103:18 "Iman" for 'Imam'  
109:n26:2 insert 'ils sont pleins de zele, prechent  
partout, publient,' after "Orientale"  
111:n49:4 "udugu" for 'undugu'  
113:n77:2 "Saudi" for 'Sandi'  
114:n89:1 "Jibilee" for 'Jubilee'  
115:19 "Maulva" for 'Mauvla'  
122:2 insert 'not' after "should"  
126:n5:1 "Mirza" for 'Mirzai'  
126:n8:1 "Ukadini" for 'Ukadiani'  
132:24 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
133:13 "majaddid" for 'mujaddid'  
133:14 "religion" for 'religions'

Errata continued

134:4 insert 'the' after "of"  
136:7 "receptient" for 'recipient'  
136:17 "Muhammads" for 'Muhammadis'  
140:25 "Jihad" for 'jihad'  
143:4 "ih" for 'in'  
150:26 "mainstrain" for 'mainstream'  
153:7 "mamual" for 'manual'  
156:29 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
160:14 "Hanbal" for 'Hanbali'  
160:14 "Hanifa" for 'Hanafi'  
163:n7:1 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
164:n20:1 "Na" for 'Ya'  
164:n21:1 "Waslamu" for 'Waislamu'  
168:n60:2 insert 'kwa' after "tano"  
168:n70:1 "Katibu" for 'Kitabu'  
169:77:1 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
193:25 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
199:23 "amd" for 'and'  
204:n22:1 "Yaliyufanywa" for 'Yaliyofanywa'  
205:n45:2 "katoka" for 'kutoka'  
207:n71:1 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
208:n90:1 "wangeoloewa" for 'wangeolewa'  
215:11 "Mirza" for 'Mirzai'  
219:6 "Sale" for 'Saleh'  
239:9 "neww" for 'news'  
240:17 "Iman" for 'Imam'  
241:6 "Haji" for 'Hajj'  
246:9 "Bykutaga" for 'Byakutaga'  
254:n74:2 "Mtoto" for 'Moto'  
266:16 "Karafa" for 'Kafara'  
269:24 "Kifara" for 'Kafara'  
272:11 "relfect" for 'reflect'  
285:14 "rejoinded" for 'rejoinder'  
290:19 "noteowrthy" for 'noteworthy'  
291:11 "dual" for 'duel'  
295:n16:1 "kiume" for 'kinyume'  
301:1 insert circumflex accent mark above the  
first e in "d'etre"  
301:21 "ajd" for 'and'  
306:22 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
322:11 " " " "  
325:n16:1 " " " "  
326:n19:1 " " " "  
326:21:1 " " " "  
327:n34:3 "catagorical" for 'categorical'  
328:n48:1 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
328:n48:1 "ch." for 'cf'  
329:n55:1 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
334:25 "Wanyamwezi" for 'Nyamwezi'  
349:36 "Qudiani" for 'Qadiani'  
354:24 "Trimmingham" for 'Trimingham'  
366:27 "Lesions" for 'Lessons'

## A SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

The extraordinary career of Ahmadiyyat in East Africa raises the pregnant question of its significance within the religious milieu as a whole. Behind the facade of a vigorous propagandism there is a movement that is geographically extensive and yet numerically inconsiderable. Because its influence seems to be out of proportion to its numerical strength the task of the researcher is to discern its authentic consequence within the general context of East African Islam. In order to perceive the dimensions of its impact every aspect of the Ahmadiyya presence in this part of Africa requires careful scrutiny.

This study commences predictably with a delineation of the origins of the movement on the Indian sub-continent. It proceeds to show how Ahmadiyyat in East Africa fits into the broader mosaic of its global outreach. Its beginnings are traced to some of the early Ahmadis who migrated from India to the British and German territories at the turn of this century. These were the harbingers of a missionary undertaking that was eventually established. The expansion of the missionary endeavor and the development of its propagation are then portrayed. A necessary excursion is made into the question of how Ahmadis are regarded juridically as pertains their religious status.

The discussion proceeds with a description of the Ahmadiyya contribution in the realm of apologetic and polemical literature. Herein is seen an important clue to its

influence. A steady stream of Swahili publications produced by the missions has enjoyed a wide-ranging readership. The translation and publication of Kurani Tukufu, a Swahili translation of the Quran, has been a singular achievement of considerable import. It is through this and other publications of varying description that Ahmadiyyat has manifest its distinctive form of Islam to Africans. The printed word is the significant medium for the advocating of Ahmadiyya doctrine and practice among literate Africans.

Active propagation through publications coupled with the extensive itineration of missionaries has brought Ahmadis into direct confrontation with both Christians and Muslims. The anti-Christian posture seems mainly to be aimed at enhancing the Ahmadiyya image with non-Ahmadiyya Muslims. Christians have by and large chosen to ignore the Ahmadiyya antagonisms. Some discernible reasons for such passivity are suggested. Muslims, on the other hand, representing both Sunnis and Shias have staunchly contended against the Ahmadiyya polemics. The end result of such active controversies has been unproductive as far as proselytism is concerned. Nevertheless, their relentless propagandism has made Ahmadiyyat an undeniable stimulus among Muslims. Its influence on the Islamic community is discerned as an encouragement to propagation and polemics from quarters that would otherwise not likely be so disposed.



## PREFACE

If the writer has failed at this point it is undesired.

In the research and writing of this thesis the writer has moved from an earlier and narrower study of Ahmadiyyat in Tanzania to a larger investigation of the movement throughout the whole of East Africa. The scope of the project is broader not only according to geographical area but also regarding the inclusion of certain additional considerations. The present thesis represents a new work in depth and comprehension which supercedes the earlier study.

This encouragement was maintained by his successor, Professor John Maiti. When the University of East Africa was disbanded the project was transferred to the University of Nairobi. At that point it was given added impetus through the encouraging counsel of Professor Stephen J. Neill as Head of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies. Since his departure from the University, researching support has also been rendered by the active department head, Dr. J.G. Dandora, White Pathar, during the past ten years as opportunities have occurred to do so. The university supervisors have allowed the inclusion of research materials gained from twenty-three such interviews in the earlier study. The second method has involved a careful perusal of the available literature on the subject from both Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi sources. As may be seen in the Bibliography at the end of the thesis, these sources have been quite sufficient.

The writer has striven to be impartial in his discussion of Islam and of Ahmadiyyat particularly. While it is true that total objectivity is an impossible ideal a disinterested stance has been attempted in the hope that the material presented would be fair and free of prejudice and distortion.

If the writer has failed at this point it is inadvertent.

The writer expresses his gratitude to the several university department heads who have rendered considerable assistance to him in his work. Originally the writer was registered in the University of East Africa at Makerere University College. Professor Noel Q. King, Head of the Department of Religious Studies, gave the writer the initial inspiration to embark on the project. This encouragement was maintained by his successor, Professor John Mbiti. When the University of East Africa was disbanded the project was transferred to the University of Nairobi. At this point it was given added impetus through the enheartening counsel of Professor Stephen C. Neill as Head of the Department of Philosophy and Religious Studies. Since his departure from the University, reassuring support has also been rendered by the acting department head, Dr. J.G. Donders, White Father.

The University supervisors who have given much invaluable assistance are: Mr. Said Hamdun, Professor J.A. Kieran, Professor T. Cuyler Young, Dr. Israel K. Katoke and Dr. Aziz Esmail.

In conclusion the writer senses a considerable debt of gratitude to the numerous interviewees who have given him extensive and candid data for his study. He is especially grateful to numerous Muslims both Ahmadis and non-Ahmadis who have shown him abundant cordiality.

Earl R. Martin  
Arusha: May, 1974

## CHAPTER I

### AHMADIYYA ANTECEDENTS AND CONTEMPORARIES

#### EXTERNAL TO EAST AFRICA

Any new religious phenomenon that surfaces within human awareness excites the inquisitive mind to ask: "Where did it come from?" or "What is it in its origins?" In East Africa the persistent and provocative presence of the Ahmadiyya Movement raises the same searching questions. It follows to enquire: "What is its original source?", "What of its missionary thrust?", "Where does Africa fit into the larger picture of its global missions?", "How do its missions in East Africa relate to and compare with Ahmadiyya missions in other parts of the continent?" The following discussion will seek to render some specific answers.

#### A. THE PROVENANCE OF THE MOVEMENT ON THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

The prosaic experience of listening to an Ahmadi immigrant trace the story of his family's conversion to Ahmadiyyat in India is abundantly illustrative of the necessary connection between root and branch. Dr. Ahmad Din Ahmed told such a story in glowing terms to the writer. His eldest brother of inquisitive and intrepid disposition pointed the way to the attractive message and person of Ghulam Ahmad. Before long the father and the rest of the household became convinced Ahmadis. The doctor, himself

the youngest of four sons, was sent to Qadian for his early schooling. During this impressionable age he was influenced strongly by the presence and bearing of the aging founder of the movement. He witnessed some of the remarkable signs performed by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. He brought with him to Africa one of Ghulam's venerable prayer mats. When the Ahmadiyya mosque was erected at Bwala Hill, Masaka, he placed a brick that had been removed from the founder's mosque at Qadian and brought over to Uganda.<sup>1</sup> Of such are the tangible objects that link Ahmadis of East Africa to their spiritual home on the Indian sub-continent.

The story of the founding of the Ahmadiyya Movement (the tenth avatar of Lord Krishna) and at the same time he has been told many times by numerous authors. It only needs reiteration here in capsule form. Born of Mogul ancestry in 1835 Ghulam Ahmad's life was quite commonplace until at age forty upon the death of his father he was able to pursue strong religious inclinations without parental disapproval. He was a visionary of the highest order. His spiritual pilgrimage led him through a series of unequivocal revelations. Ghulam recognised the situation in the Punjab when Islam was particularly decadent and vigorously challenged by the propagandism of both the Arya Samaj sect<sup>2</sup> and Protestant Christianity. He experienced a myriad of visions. What follows is a summary of only the more outstanding revelations having significant bearing on his career and on the movement that he founded. In 1865 he alleged having

had communion with the Prophet Muhammad; in 1882 he realised his commission to be the fourteenth-century reformer of Islam; in 1889 he was granted permission to accept the oath of allegiance from his disciples; the following year in 1890 the most important revelation occurred: that he was in one person both the promised Mahdi of Muslim tradition and the promised Messiah of Christian/Muslim eschatology; in 1898 he was shown that Jesus did not die on the cross but was rescued and fled to India where he lived to an old age; in 1901 he asserted the correct meaning of the finality of Muhammad's prophethood asserting the possibility of other prophets to follow; in 1904 it was disclosed that he was the tenth avatar of Lord Krishna;<sup>3</sup> and at the same time he avowed by revelation that he was indeed the re-manifestation of the Prophet Muhammad. He further embellished his image by affirming that he was the "greatworld teacher" prophesied in the scriptures of both the Zorastrians and the Buddhists. And finally, as if that were not enough, he recapitulated his startling announcements with the sweeping assertion that he embodied the fulfilment of all the expectations for a great world leader held by all of the world's religions.

In 1905 he received a revelation of his impending demise in consequence of which he formed the Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya as the principal executive body for carrying out the propagation of Ahmadiyyat.<sup>4</sup> His death in 1908 signified the end of a durable and controversial career.

During his lifetime he earned the bitter hostility of the Sunnis. The Ulama denounced him severely branding him as imposter, heretic and adversary of the Islmaic faith. He and his followers were excommunicated and were forbidden the use of Sunni mosques.

The movement which he established has been more enduring than his enemies could have wanted. Its momentum was given its thrust in the fierce belief that: "Ahmadiyyat is the true Islam which the Promised Messiah ... presented to the world under Divine guidance after [true Islam] had been forgotten and lost sight of in its original form."<sup>5</sup> The career of Ghulam Ahmad and the influence which he and his movement has sustained are evaluated variously. Western writers are generally favourable. "Essentially, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad", cites Abbot, "was an apologist with an offensive . . . interest in showing . . . that Islam is better than any other religion . . . ." <sup>6</sup> Another suggests: "India has produced also the only successful new sect in Islam. The Ahmadiyya movement started as a liberal and pacifist reform movement, offering the attraction of a fresh start to those who had lost faith in the old Islam."<sup>7</sup> Some Muslim writers have also been generous in their appraisals. One analyses the rise of the movement: "partly as an aggressive syncretism against the challenge of Arya Samaj and Christian missionary activities, and partly as a compromise between a messianic concept of Islam and modernistic

trends."<sup>8</sup> And finally the objective comments of Mujeeb summarise this impact:

What makes his influence intelligible to a disinterested observer is the keen interest he took in countering charges made against Islam and the Prophet by Arya Samajis and the Christians and the manner in which he associated the need for a religious revival with the events and the scientific and technical progress of the world.<sup>9</sup>

Prior to his death the founder declared the validity of caliphate. He was, therefore, succeeded by his first disciple and long-standing companion, Hakim Nur-ud-Din. The first Caliph refrained from exerting authority but vested control in the Ahmadiyya executive body. His caliphate was brief and colourless. When he deceased in 1914 dormant contentions surfaced upon the choice of the founder's son, Mahmud Ahmad, as the second Caliph. There occurred a deep and irrevocable division between partisans on two sides. The majority who adhered to the new Caliph and his interpretations of Ahmadiyyat remained in Qadian and are known as the Qadianis. The seceders led by a Maulana Muhammad Ali removed to Lahore and are referred to as the Lahoris. Both parties consider themselves Ahmadis and prefer that title. The Lahoris refute categorically certain of the Qadianis' essential tenets: i.e. the re-establishment of the caliphate, the continuance of prophethood, and the apostasy of non-Ahmadi Muslims. Regarding any claims of prophethood by Ghulam Ahmad the Lahoris venerate him only as the renewer mujaddid of Islam insisting that he

neither was nor claimed to be a prophet [nabi]. In other parts of Sahant. He relates certain information given to dogmatic matters there is agreement. Two non-doctrinal factors behind the split were: personal animosity towards Mahmud Ahmad by the Lahori party and disapproval by the Qadianis of the political involvements indulged in by some of the Lahori leaders.<sup>10</sup> The Qadianis have persisted in contra-distinction to the Sunnis. The reverse is true of the other party. Gradually the Lahoris have mitigated their differences with orthodox Muslims. For them early animosities have been forgotten or minimised in favour of a more irenic spirit.

Both parties have been active in propagation through literature and in direct missionary outreach to various countries. In East Africa it is only the Qadianis that are present and active. In this respect an inexcusable error occurs in Lyndon Harries' discussion of Ahmadiyya missions in East Africa. He states:

There was a split in the sect in India, and the seceders [obviously the Lahoris] aimed at minimising the differences between themselves and other Muslims. The Ahmadiyya in East Africa belong to this more moderate group, and they make no attempt to emphasise the claims of their leader, Ghulam Ahmad. For this reason to the tribal African the sect appears orthodox enough, and no doubt most of its African adherents would be greatly surprised to know the truth about its founder.<sup>11</sup>

The statement beyond the first sentence in the above quotation is entirely false and exceedingly misleading. The only mention of the presence of Lahori Ahmadis in East Africa which this writer has encountered in all of his research is

followers in the early years of the new Islamic state. In

that of Schacht. He relates certain information given to him by the Qadiani missionary in Kampala who indicated:

" . . . a missionary of the Lahore branch came out but having made no converts in 18 months, he left again."<sup>12</sup>

Otherwise the all-inclusive presence of Ahmadis throughout East Africa derives from the Qadiani branch.

The Caliphate of Mahmud Ahmad was long and prosperous for the Ahmadiyya cause. His accession to authority encountered a critical situation. There was a distressing lack of funds, a strong opposition party, an acrimonious atmosphere and a real danger of stagnation. In the ensuing years he led the movement not only to a recovery of its original momentum but also to substantial growth and a concomitant sense of solidarity. He fostered wide-ranging expansion in missionary endeavour. The Tahrik-i-Jadid scheme for an aggressive missionary outreach was instigated under his careful tutelage. In 1947 the movement faced a crisis with the imminent partition of India and the subsequent formation of the new state of Pakistan. The principal community with its headquarters was entrenched at Qadian on the Indian side of the new boundary. The Caliph led his people to successfully move their main base into Pakistan where the new community and its headquarters were established in a barren wasteland. The city of Rabwah is today a monument to their undaunted resourcefulness.

Yet another crisis was faced by the Caliph and his followers in the early years of the new Islamic state. In

1953 great hostility against the Ahmadis arose from the ultraorthodox ulama. An ultimatum was presented to the Prime Minister demanding that Ahmadis be declared a non-Muslim minority and that the Foreign Minister, Chaudri Zafrullah Khan, a leading Ahmadi, along with other Ahmadis holding important government positions be removed from office. The demands were summarily rejected resulting in widespread strife and mob violence against the Ahmadis. The leaders of the agitation were immediately imprisoned. As the disturbances subsided it was clear that the movement had weathered a crucial storm.

After more than a half century of effective leadership over the movement Mahmud Ahmad died in 1965. His own self-appraisal of his career had been expressed earlier: "God thus made me the instrument of the spread of the Ahmadiyya Movement in all parts of the earth."<sup>13</sup> With the sudden conclusion of the life of their illustrious leader it became imperative to his followers this his successor be chosen before his burial could take place. Two-hundred-and-five men qualified to serve on the electoral college gathered at the Mubarak mosque in Rabwah. The candidacy of two persons was given thorough deliberation. The concluding choice was unanimous. Mirza Nasir Ahmad was duly elected to become the third Caliph. He is the eldest son of the second Caliph and therefore, the grandson of Ghulam Ahmad. It is, however, emphatically stated that blood descendance is no factor in the selection of

any Caliph. Nasir Ahmad had distinguished himself within the movement as an eminent educationist. During the ten years prior to his accession to caliphate he had served as President of the Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya. At the time of his elevation to become head of the movement optimism concerning his career was expressed by the Ahmadiyya press everywhere. In the Swahili periodical such was expressed in confident tones: "There is great hope that he [Nasir Ahmad] will do all in his power to raise the status of Islam making it victorious over all other religions."<sup>14</sup> While such victory is still elusive it has been seen that the administration of the present Caliph has continued the policies and programmes of the previous one with energy and imagination.

The Ahmadiyya Movement emerged at a time when serious issues were being raised by certain modern reformers within the Islamic orb. The founder stood midway between the conservatism of the orthodox and the rationalism of certain contemporary apologists. Titus avers:

Along with the development of these intellectual and rationalising tendencies in the Muslim community, a wholly new sect has arisen, which centres around the person and teaching of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. The 'movement' represents a reaction to the naturalistic interpretations of Islam as set forth by the Aligarh reformers, while at the same time repudiating the authority of the orthodox mulla.<sup>15</sup>

Ahmadiyyat rejects the trends in social reform aimed at abolishing purdah and modifying the classical laws relating

to polygamy and divorce. Yet it represents an attempt to make Islamic tenets more palatable to the modern mind.

Farquhar identifies the Ahmadiyya position with his comment:

Apart from these personal claims /of Ghulam Ahmad/, teaching is an attempt to find, amidst the irresistible in rush of Western education and Christian thought, a middle path between impossible orthodox and the extreme rationalism of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. <sup>16</sup>

Again Titus indicates Ghulam Ahmad's aversion for the

rationalists with his statement: "he could not tolerate the

rationalising expositors of Islam, such as Syed Amir Ali

and Prof. S. Khuda Bakhsh, who were beginning to throw

doubt on the Quran, as a perfect work of divine revelation,

. . . " <sup>17</sup> In this same vein it is seen that Ahmadiyyat

retains certain tendencies arising from an earlier mysti-

cism. Aziz Ahmad suggests the point: "Even Ahmadi

modernism, which is generally close to other modernistic

trends in Indian Islam, is to some extent 'hidden behind

the mist of medieval mysticism and theology.'" <sup>18</sup> In the

perspective of Islamic modernism Ahmadiyyat poses some

alternative answers to the need for Islamic rejuvenation.

Certainly the movement has achieved sufficient

stature and size that is not easily ignored by authors

writing on the subject of Islam in modern times. Many

such works contain a discussion of the Ahmadiyya history,

development and teachings. Smith epitomises the spiritual

stamina and durability of the movement. He observes that

their robust organisation and extensive missionary activity

are attributable to: " . . . a spiritual quality, a faith

central fund. An anjuman /society/ was duly instigated to receive and administer this fund: ". . . properly on proclaiming to the world the message of Islam . . ." <sup>23</sup>

The essential rationale for the organisation of the movement is thus seen to inhere in its missionary character. As Brush epitomises: "The purpose for which the Movement exists is to purify Islam from within and to take this purified Islam to the world." <sup>24</sup>

Although the response to this call for a financial base of support was initially substantial it eventually subsided due to internal strife and flagging interest. With the accession of Mahmud Ahmad to the caliphate the original thrust was given fresh impetus. This was achieved after Mahmud first entrenched his position as head of the movement. He urged upon his followers the concept of an absolute authoritarian caliphate. The caliph stands in direct succession to the "Promised Messiah" as the divinely-appointed and unimpeachable vicegerent of God in the world. As such he holds vertiable sway over a monolithic following by means of a carefully contrived organisation.

Out of a consolidated caliphate Tahrik-i-Jadid, "the New Scheme", was actuated in 1934 Mahmud claimed divine instigation of the plan: "God, therefore, inspired me with the idea of the Tahrik-i-Jadid . . . towards the more intensive propagation of Ahmadiyyat." <sup>25</sup> It was primarily established to foster an upsurge of dedication to the

Libya (1956); British and Dutch Guiana (1956 - now  
cause of extending Ahmadiyyat in increasing global dimen-  
sions. Its explicit purpose was:

... to stimulate the members of the community  
to acts of supreme sacrifice; to establish  
through contributions a permanent fund for  
propagation of Islam and to expand the missionary  
work of the movement in all directions until it  
covered the whole world.<sup>26</sup>

The implications for the personal lives of Ahmadis were:

frugal living, liberal living and dedication to the service  
of Ahmadiyyat. They were challenged to commit one member  
of each family to the specific work of tabligh or propaganda.  
This is construed as a two-pronged endeavour: publications  
and missions. Every Ahmadi is urged to participate  
directly in the programme of active propagandism.

The "New Scheme" gave a boost to the existing  
missions planted in various parts of the world. Those  
established prior to the inauguration of Tahrik-i-Jadid were:<sup>27</sup>  
England (1913); Mauritius (1915); United States of America  
(1921); Gold Coast (1921 - now Ghana); Nigeria (1921);  
Syria (1924 - later branching into Lebanon, Muscat and  
Israel) and Indonesia (1925). In the very year of Tahrik-i-  
Jadid's inception the first missionary was sent to East  
Africa. Subsequent missions that have ensued are: Singapore  
(1935 - now Federation of Malaysia); Sierra Leone (1937);  
Aden (1946); Spain (1946); Holland (1947); Switzerland (1948);  
West Germany (1949); West Indies Federation (1950 - esp.  
Granada and Trinidad); Ceylon (1951); Burma (1952);  
Scandinavian Mission (1956 - Denmark, Norway, Sweden);

Liberia (1956); British and Dutch Guiana (1956 - now Republic of Guyana); Ivory Coast (1961); Gambia (1961); Togo (1962) and Zambia (1973). Countries in which there are no established missions but existing active communities are Cyprus, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Fiji Islands,<sup>28</sup> Japan, Philippines, Rwanda, South Africa and the United Arab Republic.

The other aspect of tabligh is the extensive publishing enterprise of the movement. The Ahmadis have been in the forefront in the translation and publication in numerous languages of the Quran. This has been their foremost publication effort. The English translation is provided in an edition of three volumes with a copious commentary altogether comprising some 3000 pages. A smaller edition without commentary is also available. Translations have also been published in German, French, Dutch, Indonesian and Luganda. Translation work has already been initiated in the Russian, Italian, Danish and Spanish languages. The prolific volumes of numerous Ahmadiyya authors have also been published. The founder of the movement produced more than eighty works in his lifetime. Some of the more important of these have been translated from Urdu to several of the world's major languages. Manuscripts by the second Caliph and other leading Ahmadis have similarly been published. Periodical journalism is also extensively utilised. The original journal which is still recognised as the official organ of the movement is the Review of

Religions originating in Rabwah. In addition there are sixteen periodicals published abroad. Nine of these are in the English medium. The remainder are in the following languages: German, French, Danish, Dutch, Indonesian, Swahili, and Luganda. Such journalism is indicating of the wide profusion of Ahmadiyya propagandism throughout the globe.<sup>29</sup>

Regarding an accurate assessment of the numerical strength of the Ahmadiyya following in the world factual data is altogether elusive. In 1918 Walter reckoned according to the available information that there were no more than 70,000 Ahmadis in the world.<sup>30</sup> Recent estimates most of which appeared in print in the mid-1950s to early 1960s are confusing, equivocal and nebulous. Houstma states: "In 1930 the number . . . was estimated at about half a million."<sup>31</sup> Smith also asserts: "According to their own figures, there are some half-million members."<sup>32</sup> Aziz Ahmad reiterates similarly: "They total about half a million."<sup>33</sup> Even these three which appear to concur are in disparity. The first refers to the year 1930, the second was published in 1960 and the third 1969. If they are all three correct it means the movement has had no net gain in thirty-nine years. Further, in a 1962 publication the second Caliph gives the figure at: "about a million."<sup>34</sup> Guillaume agrees: "Their claim that they now have a million adherents is probably not an exaggeration."<sup>35</sup> At about the same time an Ahmadi missionary set the total at: "nearly two

For many in these places Africa and Asia and in the West, they represent the only form of Islam to which there is access. In this sense they have inaugurated a new tradition in Islam that of specific, organised mission sustained by offerings of the community and carefully directed and planned with personnel, literature, and sometimes clinics, etc.<sup>40</sup>

Although their pattern of missions and their methodology parallels the Christian missionary enterprise in many respects it is in this sense that they are unique among Muslims.

### C. THE OTHER AHMADIYYA MISSIONS IN AFRICA

Ahmadiyya presence and endeavour have been longstanding for more than a half-century in Africa. Its significance was recognised by Gibb who wrote: ". . . on the whole, the Ahmadiyya are an unimportant element in Indian Islam and only slightly more important as carriers of the liberal interpretation of Islam into the more backward parts of Muslim Africa."<sup>41</sup> The mission administrators have shown a manifest pride in the African missions which have been heralded as instrumental in turning the tide against Christianity. Mirza Mubarak Ahmad cites the gains of Christianity and the concomitant losses to Islam in Africa before Ahmadiyyat appeared on the scene. Ahmadiyya missions have made the important difference as he asserts: ". . . ever since the day Ahmadiyyat took the field against Christianity in Africa, the religion of the Cross is being steadily rolled back over the ground it had won before this new force came into the arena."<sup>42</sup> A statement typically exaggerative and one that finds no acceptance outside Ahmadiyya circles among either

Christians or Muslims. In keeping with this spirit of pugilism some Christian writers see in Ahmadiyya missions a threat and a challenge to Christian presence and growth.

One author writing in the context of a discussion of Ahmadiyya propagation in Africa warns:

. . . Islam is out to capture Africa, not only the uncommitted 'pagans but the nominal Christians' as well. - Thus, whether we desire it or not, we are drawn by resurgent Islam into a spiritual contest for the heart and mind of Africa.<sup>43</sup>

This is likewise an overdrawn statement based more on surmise than facts. It also gives unfortunate credence to the concept, which many Christians and Muslims now refute, that of hostile confrontation between the two religions.

Ahmadiyya efforts began in West Africa early in their world-wide expansion. This development was an outgrowth of their missionary presence in England. The history, development and significance of this work has been comprehensively treated by Humphrey J. Fisher.<sup>44</sup>

Other authors have commented sparingly and variously on the movement's contributions in West Africa. One suggests that its consequence is found in that it: "has introduced a new element of religious controversy."<sup>45</sup> Parrinder offers a kinder and more positive assessment in focusing on the significance of their propagandising through journalism and education. He concludes, however: "But their numbers are not great . . . Despite their claim to extend Islam and

Christianity."<sup>46</sup> This concurs with Fisher's estimates. Evidence somewhat contrary to this is offered by Beetham who reports that in Ghana one-third of the Ahmadis listed with the Mission's office are enrolled as former "Animists."<sup>47</sup> Fisher's appraisal throws the spotlight in yet another direction. He cites the movement's main significance as its "pioneering contribution to Muslim-Western education in Africa."<sup>48</sup>

What seems appropriate now is to delineate a brief sketch of the various Ahmadiyya missions throughout the continent beginning with the earliest work on the West coast. In this manner the African context of Ahmadiyyat in East Africa can be set in perspective.

A small gathering of Muslims in Lagos seeking a more suitable form of Islam in the face of the modern world became impressed with Ahmadiyya literature. In 1916 twenty-one membership forms were forwarded to the movement's headquarters. Five years later an Indian missionary arrived to establish the mission. His initial preaching was met with phenomenal success. At least 2,500 converts were gained. It is suggested that most of these were quite superficial having renounced Ahmadiyyat in the ensuing years. In the 1930s another Indian missionary joined the work. Soon contentions arose over issues of which the principal one posed the validity of local versus overseas control of the movement. Numerous divisions

occurred. The mission has maintained a strong presence regardless of the independents. A weekly journal is published; regular broadcasting opportunities are utilised; and Ahmadiyya literature is given wide distribution. There are ten schools, two medical dispensaries and numerous mosques in various centres.

The largest Ahmadiyya Jamat of any of the countries of Africa where their missions are active is in Ghana. The primary work began and has been maintained among the Fante Muslims. Its initiation in what was formerly called the Gold Coast was in 1921 soon after the Nigerian Mission was established. The main concentration is at Saltpond although there is a small work at Accra with the continuing presence of a Pakistani missionary. Although the work has experienced strong and sometimes violent persecution there has been more solidarity among the Ahmadis themselves than has been true in Nigeria. The Quran has been translated into Fante. The educational work has been very extensive by which they have obtained the government's recognition as the only Muslim agency for education in the country. There are 161 mosques, fourteen schools, an English monthly and extensive literature ministry comprising the bulk of the work.

The characteristic of Ahmadiyya in Sierra Leone is seen in the manner of propagation which has been primarily through the direct and individual persuasion of persons. Six

persons joined through correspondence in 1916. The mission was formally started, however, in 1937. There are twenty-five mosques, seventeen schools, a medical dispensary and an English periodical published. The translation of the Quran in Mende has been undertaken and has been published in parts as ready. The movement did not gain a foothold in Freetown until more than ten years after its inception. The majority of the community is distributed in various inland centres. In 1962 Fisher assessed the community at approximately 1500 men.

A somewhat different pattern obtained in Liberia when the mission was initiated first in the capital at Monrovia in 1956. In this country radio broadcasting has been utilised as an instrument of propagation. The Ahmadiyya community is minimal.

Early in 1961 a missionary was posted in Gambia in the capital city of Bathurst. Prior to his coming the influence of a visiting Nigerian Ahmadi gave the prospects an encouraging boost. An Arabic school was set up in the capital. Earlier attempts to introduce a Pakistani missionary into the country met official opposition and were thwarted for some time. The principal anxiety behind such antipathy was founded in orthodox fears of contamination by the exotic doctrines of the Ahmadis plus official concern that the introduction of Ahmadiyyat would lead to disruption of harmony in

the religious community. Perhaps these factors have persisted since the founding of the work to mitigate Ahmadiyya influence. Their numbers remain quite insignificant.

Until 1961 all the Ahmadiyya effort in West Africa was extended in English-speaking countries only. Froelich commented at the time: "Today the Ahmadiyya is practically unknown in French-speaking countries."<sup>49</sup> Ahmadiyya reluctance to enter these was probably due to several factors. Strong ties to British colonial administrations and potential resistance by the French authorities are the most probable reasons. In 1961 a Pakistani was based at Abidjan, Ivory Coast. The Ahmadis present to greet him represented a spontaneous influx of members from neighbouring Ghana. The community is still inconsiderable in numbers.

A mission was formally opened in the following year in another former French colony, Togo. A missionary had stayed in the country in 1960 for a period of six months. It was not, however, until 1962 that the mission was ostensibly established. It is interesting to note that when the present Caliph made a tour of the Ahmadiyya missions in West Africa in 1970 the Togo work was omitted from his itinerary.

Two other countries are mentioned as having Ahmadiyya work. Farah includes Dahomey and Upper Volta linking them with the older work in Nigeria and Ghana erroneously as if Ahmadiyya

presence in the former two was as substantial as in the latter two.<sup>50</sup> Regarding Upper Volta there is no indication anywhere in Ahmadiyya literature. Dahomey has only scant mention. Fisher indicates that at a very early date the application for a Pakistani missionary to enter the country was turned down.<sup>51</sup>

Sweeping across the continent to the Eastern portion the survey continues with those countries in close proximity to East Africa. The mission on the island of Mauritius was in fact the earliest Ahmadiyya work in the African constellation. It was started in 1915 and the propagation continues to the present day. A periodical in French, Le Message is published and distributed from the island.

The latest mission on the continent was founded in 1973 in Zambia. The movement has gained entrance through the influence of Zambian Ahmadis won to Ahmadiyyat in Tanzania. The Pakistani missionary N.D. Ahmad Sheikh who is assigned to develop the work is a veteran propagandist of considerable previous experience in West Africa.

There is mention of attempt by the Foreign Missions Office in Rabwah to gain entrance for missionary endeavour in the Sudan. Two different sources indicate that the Ahmadis have been refused permission to establish their work.<sup>52</sup> It is not possible to know what other countries they may have tried to enter and have been refused. The Ahmadiyya literature customarily only reports successes and not failures.

In South Africa there has been mention of a mission beginning there in 1946 and having abated after a time was re-established in 1959. However, it is clear that at no point has an Indian or Pakistani missionary been assigned to South

Africa. It is admitted by an Ahmadiyya source that while there may have been the intention to do so the government's restrictions have precluded this possibility.

Active communities are reported in several additional countries. Persons are listed in the mission's file in Dar es Salaam as members having joined through correspondence from

countries contiguous to Tanzania. Rwanda, Zaire, Malawi, and Portuguese East Africa are all included. This illustrates the pervasive influence of the Ahmadiyya propagandism.<sup>53</sup> The spotlight now comes to rest on the East African orbit.

<sup>5</sup> Ashrud Ahmad, Ahmadiyya Movement (Rabwat: A.R.P.M.O., 1962 2nd ed.) p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Abbot op. cit.: p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> E.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 61.

<sup>8</sup> Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India, Islamic Surveys 7 (Leiden: University Press, 1969) p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> M. Wajeeb, The Indian Muslims (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), p. 543.

## NOTES

In the notes for all chapters the following abbreviation will apply throughout: A.M.F.M.O. for Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions Office; A.M.M. for Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission; M.Y.M. for Mapenzi Ya Mungu; and E.A.T. for East African Times.

<sup>1</sup> Interview with Dr. A.D. Ahmedi, Bwala Hill, 3 Mar., 1967.

<sup>2</sup> The Arya Samaj is a modern reform movement in Hinduism arising in the latter part of the 19th century in India. It asserts monotheism and a return to the ancient Vedic scriptures. It rejects idolatry, animal sacrifice and the avatars of later Hinduism.

<sup>3</sup> Krishna is the most renowned god of Hindu mythology. He is regarded as a diety re-appearing in various manifestations.

<sup>4</sup> There is some disagreement concerning the correct eponym to be ascribed to the title Ahmadiyya or Ahmadiyyat. W.C. Smith asserts that it is Mirza Ghulam Ahmad himself vide "Ahmadiyya" The Encyclopedia of Islam Vol.1, ed. by H.A.R. Gibb et.al., (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960, p.301). However, F. Abbot, Islam and Pakistan (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell U. Press, 1968), p.148, claims that it is named after the Prophet Muhammad who was also referred to as Ahmad in the Quran. See also T.P. Hughes, "Ahmad" in A Dictionary of Islam Lonfon: W.H. Allen & Co., 1935. This particular name, it is alleged, bears reference to the prophet's characteristic forbearance under persecution during the Meccan period. Given the Ahmadiyya ascription of identity between Ghulam Ahmad and the prophet Muhammad there would be sufficient warrant to suggest that both Smith and Abbot are correct.

<sup>5</sup> Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmadiyya Movement (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1962 2nd ed.) p.2.

<sup>6</sup> Abbot op. cit., p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> H.A.R. Gibb, Modern Trends in Islam (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), p. 61.

<sup>8</sup> Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History Of Islam in India, Islamic Surveys 7 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1969) p. 31.

<sup>9</sup> M. Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967), p. 543.

<sup>10</sup>S.E. Brush, "Ahmadiyyat In Pakistan", The Muslim World, Vol. 45, April, 1955, p. 146.

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Lyndon P. Harries, Islam in East Africa (London: U.M.C.A., 1954), p. 63.

<sup>12</sup>J. Schacht "Notes On Islam In East Africa", Studia Islamica, Vol. xxiii, p. 101.

<sup>13</sup>Mahmud Ahmad, Introduction To The Study of The Quran (London: The London Mosque, 1949), p. 43<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>14</sup>M.Y.M., December, 1965, p. 4 (translated by the writer).

<sup>15</sup>M.T. Titus Islam In India And Pakistan (Madras: The Christian Literature Society, 1959), p. 256.

<sup>16</sup>J.N. Farquhar, Modern Religious Movements In India (N.Y.: n.p., 1915), p. 146 quoted by H.A. Halter, "Qadiani", Encyclopedia Of Religion And Ethics, ed. J. Hastings, X (1956), p. 531.

<sup>17</sup>Titus, op. cit., p. 262.

<sup>18</sup>Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 32; the last part of the citation quotes Muhammad Iqbal, Islam and Ahmadism, (Lahore: n.p., 1936), p. 18.

<sup>19</sup>Smith, op. cit., p. 302.

<sup>20</sup>Sources in addition to those already shown for the historical facts contained in the entire section A supra. are gleaned passim from the following: Ghulam Ahmad, Our Teaching (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1962); Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmad, Ahmadiyya Movement, op. cit. Mahmud Ahmad, The Messenger Of The Latter Days, Part I, Trans. M. Abdul Hasham Khan (Qadian: The Book Depot, Talif-o-Ishaat, 1924); Mahmud Ahmad, "The Ahmadiyya Movement" pp. 106 - 132, Religions Of The Empire (W.L. Hare, ed., London: Duckworth, 1925); Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmadiyyat Or The True Islam (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1959); Mahmud Ahmad, Invitation to Ahmadiyyat, trans. Qazi Muhammad Aslam (Rabwash: A.M.F.M.O., 1961); n.a., Ahmad The Promised Messiah And Mahdi (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1954);

Sher Ali, The Holy Quran (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1960, 2nd ed.); Interview with Syed Jawad Ali, Washington, D.C., 1 February, 1966; n.a. The Munir Report On The Punjab Disturbances (Lahore: Supt. of Government Printing, 1954), Report of the Court of Inquiry Constituted Under Punjab Act II of 1954 to Enquire Into The Punjab Disturbances of 1953; Review Of Religions LIX No.12, December, 1965; H.A. Walter, The Ahmadiyya Movement (London: Oxford University Press, 1918).

<sup>21</sup> M.T. Titus, loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup> M. Mildenerger, "The Impact of Asian Religions on Germany", International Review of Mission LXII No. 245, p. 42.

<sup>23</sup> G. Ahmad, The Will (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., n.d.) p. 41.

<sup>24</sup> Brush, op. cit., pp. 166, 167.

<sup>25</sup> Mahmud Ahmad, The New World Order of Islam (trans. M.Z. Khan) (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1961, reprint 2nd ed.) p. 113.

<sup>26</sup> Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, "Tahrik-I-Jadid" pp. 15 - 17, Tahrik-I-Jadid (Nur-ud-Din Muneer, ed., Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., n.d.) p. 15.

<sup>27</sup> Beginning dates are put in parentheses respectively.

<sup>28</sup> Scant mention is made of a mission but other indications are contrariwise.

<sup>29</sup> The information in the paragraph supra is supported by data from the following sources all by the one author, Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, Secretary of A.M.F.M.O. and published by that organisation at Rabwah: Ahmadiyya In The Far East (1964), Our Foreign Missions (4th ed. 1965), The Preaching Of Islam (1964).

<sup>30</sup> Walter, op. cit., p. 112.

<sup>31</sup> M. Th. Houtma, "Ahmadiyya", Shorter Encyclopedia Of Islam (H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, eds. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 24.

<sup>32</sup> Smith, loc. cit.

<sup>33</sup> Aziz Ahmad, op. cit., p. 32.

- <sup>34</sup> Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmadiyya Movement, op. cit., p. 9.
- <sup>35</sup> A. Guillaume, Islam (Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1961 2nd ed.), p. 126.
- <sup>36</sup> N.H. Anwar, "A Brief History Of The Ahmadiyya Movement In Islam" (duplicated 1953, revised by handwriting 1963), p. 2.
- <sup>37</sup> J. Robson, "The Ahmadis", Ch. 19. Religion And The Middle East Vol. 2 (A.J. Arberry and C.F. Beckingham eds., Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1969), p. 360 quoting The Munir Report p. 10.
- <sup>38</sup> Brush, loc. cit., quoting The Pakistan Times (Lahore, January 16, 1954). Also note that this estimate not only contradicts the immediately preceding citation but also the two are disparate with the estimate of the Caliph given in 1962 as cited supra.
- <sup>39</sup> Aziz Ahmad, loc. cit.
- <sup>40</sup> K. Cragg, Counsels in Contemporary Islam Islamic Surveys 3 (Edinburgh, University Press, 1965), pp. 159. 160.
- <sup>41</sup> Gibb, op. cit. p. 62; it is relevant to point out that this statement was prior to both the partitioning of India and the Punjab disturbances in Pakistan (1953).
- <sup>42</sup> Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, Islam In Africa (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1971, 2nd ed.) p. 19.
- <sup>43</sup> J.T. Seamands "Islam's Bid For Africa" World Vision Magazine 8:4 (April, 1964), p.6.
- <sup>44</sup> vide H.J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).
- <sup>45</sup> I.M. Lewis, Islam In Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 19.
- <sup>46</sup> G. Parrinder "Islam In West Africa" CH. II Religion And The Middle East vol. 2 (A.J. Arberry and C.F. Beckingham eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 225.
- <sup>47</sup> T.A. Beetham Christianity And The New Africa (London: Pall Mall Press, 1967), p. 79 quoting mimeographed report by J.B. Taylor, Selly Oaks College, Birmingham, 1966.

<sup>48</sup>H. Fisher, "Africa and The Muslim West" Ch. 6 The Cambridge History Of Islam vol. 2 (P.M. Holt ed., Cambridge: University Press, 1970), p. 400.

<sup>49</sup>J.S. Froelich Les Musulmans d'Afrique Noire (Paris Editions de T'Orante, 1962), p.251. The phrase reads: "Aujourd'hui la Ahmadiya est partiquement inconnve danse les Etats de langue francais . . . ." Movement was able to reach out into

<sup>50</sup>C.E. Farah, Islam (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1968) pp. 272, 273.

<sup>51</sup>H.J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah op. cit., p. 129, citing P.J. Andre, L'Islam Noir (Paris, 1924), p. 84.

<sup>52</sup>N. Daniel, "The Sudan" Part III, Ch. 10, Islam In Africa (J. Kritzack and W.K.H. Lewis, eds., New York: Van Nostrand - Reinhold Co., 1969), p. 209, and R. Hill, "Islam In The Sudan", Part I, Ch. 9, Religion And The Middle East vol. 2 (A.J. Arberry and C.F. Beckingham, eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 190.

<sup>53</sup>The information given in the survey supra has been gathered from the following sources passim in addition to those already noted: Africa Speaks (n.a., Rabwah: Majlis Nusrat Jahan Tahrik-I-Jadid, n.d.); Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, Our Foreign Missions E.A.T. Jan., 1973; Fisher, "Ahmadiyya In Sierra Leone", West Africa 2329, Jan. 20, 1962; Fisher, "The Planting of Ahmadiyya in Nigeria", West Africa 2234 Mar. 26, 1960; Fisher, Ahmadiyyah op. cit.; M.Y.M. February and September issues, 1968.

#### A. THE PIONEERS: 1895 - 1934

Three spontaneous movements of Indian immigration to East Africa may be discerned. The first occurred in the mid-nineteenth century with an influx of the earliest almas to Zanibar and coastal settlements. The second wave came at the turn of the century with Indian troops and railway labourers. The third movement was manifest in the early decades of

## CHAPTER II

### THE EAST AFRICAN AHMADIYYA MISSION:

#### ITS PRECURSORS, INCEPTION AND

#### DEVELOPMENT TO 1961

The Ahmadiyya Movement was able to reach out into the world in its formative period during the founder's lifetime by means of the dispersion of Indians throughout the empire at the beginning of this century. Among those of this minor dispersion were numerous Ahmadis who immigrated to pioneer areas. The early momentum of this zealous faith imparted a missionary quality to the presence of the Ahmadis wherever they went. These were not professional missionaries but staunch believers who were ardent in the sharing of their new-found faith. The typical self-understanding of most Ahmadis is that it is their perennial function to persuade and convince others of the validity of their belief and conduct in Ahmadiyyat. Thus these early Ahmadis were precursors of the missionaries who were to follow in their train a generation or two later.

#### A. THE PIONEERS: 1895 - 1934

Three spontaneous movements of Indian immigration to East Africa may be discerned. The first occurred in the mid-nineteenth century with an influx of the merchant class to Zanzibar and coastal settlements. The second wave came at the turn of the century with Indian troops and railway labourers. The third movement was manifest in the early decades of

this century with the rapid economic expansion in the interior due to the immigration of free-enterprise merchants.<sup>1</sup>

The remarkable influx at the turn of this century was primarily stimulated by building of railways in the British and German territories. In addition to the main labour force there were also employed professionals. The complementary undertakings that were related either directly or indirectly to the railway schemes also attracted qualified personnel. There were traders, military officers, sub-contractors, medical practitioners and administrative staff involved in all of the various aspects of the railway department. Upon the completion of the railways in each territory a significant portion of those who had come to work chose to settle in the new land.<sup>2</sup> Among those who immigrated was a small contingent of Ahmadis who became the harbingers of Ahmadiyya endeavour in East Africa. As regards their occupational category they were mainly professional men: doctors, veterinary officers and clerical staff, rather than members of the mercantile class.

These early Ahmadis were laymen with no specific missionary training. Nevertheless, they were men and women of religious fervour. This may be partly explained by indicating that their immigration to East Africa paralleled in point of time the emergence of the movement on the Indian sub-continent. It is not surprising that several of the Ahmadi settlers were sahabees.<sup>3</sup> Their recently renewed faith filled

them with missionary zeal which was primarily directed at fellow immigrants.

Among the earliest of the Ahmadi immigrants to Mombasa was Dr. Muhammed Ismaiel Guryani who arrived in 1895. He is remembered within the movement as a "notable companion of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad" and one whose name is mentioned in the Urdu history of Ahmadiyyat. Another who came to Mombasa the same year to work as a railways store clerk was Babu Muhammad Afzal. He later returned to India and distinguished himself as editor of the Ahmadiyya Urdu newspaper Badr. Dr. Rahmat Ali was not an Ahmadi when he first arrived at Mombasa in 1895. Subsequently he returned to India and joined Ahmadiyyat there in 1897. On September 22nd of that year he departed from Bombay for Mombasa on the S.S. Gwalior. One of his passenger acquaintances was a Dr. Sayyid Ghulam Ghaus. The latter was impressed by Dr. Ali's account of his recent conversion to the Ahmadiyya faith. Consequently Dr. Ghaus was persuaded to adopt this new faith while on board the ship before reaching Mombasa. He himself later came to be regarded by Ahmadis generally as a "saint". Before long he became influential in the winning of numerous persons to Ahmadiyyat.<sup>4</sup>

Among those who were favourably influenced by Dr. Ghaus were two immigrants who were to become staunch members of the Ahmadiyya community in Kenya. Mohamed Allam Khan and Sayed Meraj-ud-Din arrived at the beginning of the century in

1900 and 1906 respectively. They both settled initially at the railway facility in Nairobi. The former, Mohamed Allam Khan, worked with the railway for forty-two years. He moved with his family to Mombasa in 1918. During his career there he was an acknowledged pillar of the Ahmadiyya community. He was distinguished in the civic life of the city; was for a time a nominated member of its municipal board and was awarded the M.B.E. Sayed Meraj-ud-Din also

had a long and respectable career with the railway authority.

A sahabe who came to East Africa for a short term of service was Khan Sahib Sayyid Ghulam Hussain. He arrived in Nairobi with the Municipal Council. He remained in that city for a longer period than his compatriot at Port Florence / later Kisumu / in 1900 serving as a veterinary officer. He also went to Entebbe for a brief period before moving to Mombasa in 1935. After his decease in 1936 his widow later in the mid-1930s gave the substantial contribution of Shs. 60,000/- which amounted to one half of the construction costs for the Ahmadiyya mosque in Mombasa.<sup>5</sup>

sahabe In the early years both in Mombasa and Nairobi the communities were modest in size. Among the early Ahmadis in Nairobi were the sahabe Dost Mohamed Qureshi and Sher Mohamed Qureshi. The son of Mohamed Allam Khan<sup>6</sup> recalls that as a youth in 1917 the members gathered at the Jivanjee Gardens for the Idd prayers. The next year when the family moved to Mombasa there were only four or five Ahmadi families resident in Nairobi. As the community gradually grew by 1931 they were able to construct a beautiful mosque on Fort Hall Road. This was the first of the oriental-style Ahmadiyya mosques in East Africa. During the period 1916 to 1921 several noteworthy suggested that the first Ahmadi to settle in Uganda was Dr. Paul

Din, a government veterinary officer.<sup>8</sup> Following him his youngest brother, Dr. Ahmad Din Ahmed, who has already been introduced in this paper,<sup>9</sup> came to Uganda in 1919 as a doctor in the Indian Army.

The latter's interview abounded in interesting reminiscences from the early times. He mentioned that he was under the command of a Captain Twining. He seemed to think it noteworthy to indicate that he did not drink gin with the officer - a point that must have appeared quite remarkable to a British Army captain!

One of his anecdotes is illustrative of both the missionary fervour and early opposition that Ahmadis sometimes faced in the new land. At one time he was posted at Soroti where he availed himself of the opportunity to preach to some Somali Muslims. Two of these were convinced by his persuasion and adopted the Ahmadiyya faith. Immediately the Sunni Sheikhs incited the Somali Community against the doctor. At the time Dr. Ahmed was invited to go on a hunting safari with the district commissioner. The incensed Somalis saw this as an opportunity to confront him. On one occasion the doctor and the district commissioner had gone out from camp in separate directions. When Dr. Ahmed returned to his camp he was faced by a group of armed and hostile Somali. The D.C. drove into camp at the propitious moment (it was tea time) preventing any overt harm to the disadventurous doctor.

The immigration of Indians to German East Africa followed a pattern parallel to the British territories. It was again railway construction and its auxiliary enterprises that formed the attraction. Although the Tanga/Moshi line was started first<sup>10</sup> it did not draw many Indians as did the central line some years later. There were not any Ahmadis indicated to have been employed on the northern railway. For the central line the Germans drew their main labour force from the Wanyamwezi tribe.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless numerous artisans and administrative staff from India were employed.

Several unidentified Ahmadis are alleged to have worked with the railway authority on the Dar es Salaam/Morogoro section in 1907.<sup>12</sup> It is not known if any of these remained in the country for long. The following year a person named Ahmad Din<sup>13</sup> is remembered as having come to work with the railway when the construction resumed at Morogoro proceeding westward. Some years later he resigned from the railway authority to become a trader settling in Tabora.

In the year 1916 Chaudri Muhammad Husein, a soldier in the Indian Army, was in Zanzibar with a contingent of troops. As a faithful Ahmadi he was keen to seek out fellow religionists wherever he travelled. On the island he met several sahabees. Abdul Ghani was an employee of the British Colonial Office who subsequently returned to India. Dr. Shah Muhammad, a veterinary officer, and Dr. Ahmad Din, a surgeon, were among those with whom Husein visited. In Dar es Salaam during a

brief stay he also contacted two Ahmadiis who were railway clerks: Mahbub Alam and Umar Baig. In the subsequent years Husein had two more opportunities to visit the mainland before he was discharged from military service. In 1920 he arrived in Dar es Salaam to take up employment with the railway and to plant his life in his newly adopted land. His work at first was at the coast. In the succeeding year he received a transfer to the railway centre at Tabora. He was the first Ahmadi to settle in that area which became an important base for the Ahmadiyya mission in the years to come.

Soon after his arrival at Tabora Husein was joined by other Ahmadiis. One Sheikh Mubarak Ali Sultan Bux was employed at the Kahama station. He was one of the first Ahmadiis to be buried at Tabora. Others who were sahabees were Muhammed Ayub who came in 1922 and was the Tabora Stationmaster for a time, and yet another railway employee, Muhammad Jamil, who came in the late 1920's. At the same time Babu Muhammed Yusuf moved there to take up his position as Postmaster having been transferred from the postal service in Dar es Salaam.<sup>14</sup> Steadily the growing Ahmadiyya community probably without realising it was setting the stage for the establishment of an organised Ahmadiyya mission in East Africa.

Friday prayer service.<sup>15</sup> The new missionary was accommodated in the home of Akbar Ali Khan. He did not remain long in Tabora but soon proceeded to Nairobi where further consultation with leading Ahmadiis was accomplished before proceeding

B. THE ESTABLISHING OF THE MISSION:  
THE EARLY BASE AT TABORA  
1934 - 1946

When Sheikh Mubarak arrived at Tabora, the locality selected Prior to 1934 the small and scattered Ahmadiyya communities in East Africa came into existence and grew almost entirely through the immigration of Indian Ahmadis from the Punjab. With only a very few exceptions<sup>15</sup> virtually nothing had been done to win Africans to the movement. The genesis of an aggressive missionary endeavour is traced to November of that year<sup>16</sup> when there arrived a remarkable missionary in the person of Sheikh Mubarak Ahmad. The instigation of the project resulted from the importunate appeal of the Nairobi Ahmadiyya community who guaranteed financial sponsorship. They had envisaged the situation as ripe for Ahmadiyya proselytisation among the indigenous population. Their request was supported in the form of a contribution of funds sufficient to secure the missionary's passage from India.

Sheikh Mubarak's disembarkation at Mombasa is marked in the memory of Mohamed Afzal Khan as having occurred on a principal antagonist, Sh. Al-Amin bin Ali, who questioned Friday. Immediately on his arrival the welcomed Sheikh led their true motive in staying their initial mission at Tabora, the gathered community of some six or seven families in the Another factor was the desire to counteract the activities of Friday salat service.<sup>17</sup> The new missionary was accommodated in the home of Akbar Ali Khan. He did not remain long in Mombasa but soon proceeded to Nairobi where further consultation with leading Ahmadis was accomplished before proceeding

to his destination.

When Sheikh Mubarak arrived at Tabora, the locality selected for the launching of the Mission, he found a substantial community of Ahmadis already settled in the area. An early nucleus had drawn other Ahmadis of various occupations. The comparative strength of the Ahmadiyya community in the centre was probably the principal factor in the choice of Tabora for beginning the mission.<sup>18</sup> The lay Ahmadis were an immediate asset to missionary work. As a secondary consideration it is also likely that the already Islamised populace of the region was regarded as a more favourable ground for the Ahmadiyya style of propagandism. The opportunity to win converts from among the "Islamopagans"<sup>19</sup> of that part of East Africa must have been attractive. Their mission among Africans has been and continues to be directed primarily toward Sunni Muslims. Their affinity to the Sunnis is a clear factor. Certainly the great majority of African Ahmadis throughout East Africa have converted from the ranks of orthodox Islam. This point was not lost on one of their principal antagonists, Sh. Al-Amin bin Aly, who questioned their true motive in staging their initial mission at Tabora.<sup>20</sup> Another factor was the desire to counteract the activities of Christian missionaries in the area.

All of the ingredients of the typical Ahmadiyya missionary methodology obtained in the early years of the mission

and have persisted to the present. Anwar suggests simply: "The activities of the East African Mission consist in the preaching of Islam among Africans by lectures and distribution of literature prepared and published in various African languages."<sup>21</sup> To this straightforward pattern of missions might be added the building of mosques and schools and the training of Africans as missionaries.

The initial response to Sh. Mubarak's labours must have been exceedingly gratifying. There were approximately ten Asian men and 300 Africans won to the movement.<sup>22</sup> The propagandising efforts were greatly enhanced by the beginning of a Swahili newspaper. The first issue was prompted by Sh. Mubarak's compulsive response in print to a tract by a Christian missionary on the subject of the forgiveness available to mankind through the blood of Jesus Christ. The Sheikh's reply was to assert that salvation is to be found solely in the love of God (mapenzi ya Mungu) and not in the blood of man. This tract and the succeeding regular issues were given the title Mapenzi Ya Mungu.<sup>23</sup>

The early success of the mission at Tabora encouraged the community in 1936 to plan for the construction of a large mosque. It was originally proposed for an assigned plot on Gogoni Street. Unfortunately the proximity of this site to a nearby Sunni mosque made trouble all the more imminent. Opposition in the form of strenuous representations to the

municipal officials occurred when the proposed ceremony for the laying of a foundation stone was announced. As a result the ceremony was conducted discreetly without public notice. The opposition subsided and another plot was made available on Usagara Street. Construction began there in 1942 and was completed two years later.<sup>24</sup> The labourers for the project were Italian prisoners of war made available by the government for nominal charges.<sup>25</sup> The architecture represents the oriental-style mosque with the typical archways and minarets. There is also a mission house and library-classroom included in the building complex.

Parallel to the building of the mosque at Tabora their efforts in education were also initially thwarted. A primary school was established in the town in 1937. The year following when it received a grant from the government it met with the same opposition that was manifest against the mosque. This resulted in the closing of the school in 1939. Later with the waning of overt opposition a rural primary school was founded at Pangale twenty miles from Tabora.

Sheikh Mubarak was also active in teaching religion (Islam) in the existing government schools. At the Tabora Secondary School he was favourably received by students. Among those who became keenly interested in his explanations of Islam was one promising student. The young man, Kaluta Amri Abedi, grew in his conviction that Ahmadiyyat was the correct

understanding of Islam. In 1939 while still a student he made his allegiance to the Ahmadiyya movement and became an avid disciple of the faith under the careful tutelage of Sheikh Mubarak.<sup>26</sup> He was to become the outstanding symbol of the promise of their work in Tanganyika for the next two-and-one-half decades.

A summing up of Ahmadiyya propagation in the early period of the mission shows that the pattern for missionary endeavour was set from the beginning. Their energetic use of literature, their bold preference for direct personal persuasion, their careful training of converts, their readiness to build mosques and schools all demonstrate the foundational methods upon which the mission was established.

All of this work was instigated through the variegated efforts and determination of one missionary, Sheikh Mubarak Ahmad. For over ten years Sh. Mubarak served as the only missionary from India. In 1945 he was joined by Sheikh Nur-ul-Haq Anwar. The mission was on the verge of a new stage in its development. An influx of missionary personnel was in the offing. The work was beginning to spread widely throughout East Africa.

### C. THE EVOLVING OF A WIDESPREAD MOVEMENT: 1946 - 1961

It was as though the proverbial gauntlet had been unwittingly cast down before the Ahmadiyya Mission by Sheikh

Al-Amin bin Aly. It is likely his stinging taunt<sup>27</sup> became their enduring challenge. His pointed questioning of their motives in basing at Tabora rather than in more solidly pagan, Christian, or Muslim regions is answered by Sheikh Amri Abedi in one simple word. "How can one missionary go to all these places?"<sup>28</sup>

Perhaps it cannot be fully ascertained whether the Ahmadiyya Foreign Mission Department in India was indeed responding to such a challenge. The expected official comment would be that from the beginning of the mission it was fully intended to see the expansion throughout East Africa. While, that may very well have been so, it is, nevertheless, interesting to note that during the period 1946 to 1954 work was begun in most of the places mentioned in Sheikh Al-Amin's reproof.

Such expansion could have only occurred through an increase in missionary personnel. In the two-year period beginning with 1946 following the end of World War II there was an influx of nine Indian missionaries.<sup>29</sup> As has already been shown Sheikh Nur-ul-Haq Anwar was the first arrival to reinforce the labours of Sh. Mubarak.<sup>30</sup> In 1947 he was sent to Uganda to inaugurate the mission there. Sheikh Mubarak had already made some preliminary probes resulting in the decision to initiate the work of that country. There were only a few and widely scattered Indian Ahmadis residing in Uganda.<sup>31</sup> Sh. Nur-ul-Haq's beginning was modest but fruitful.

He obtained frugal accommodation ten miles from Jinja in the Bajuta village. In due time his efforts produced a few African converts who formed the nucleus that was to provide a basis for continuing growth. In 1949 the sheikh was tapped to transfer to the Ahmadiyya mission in America. Twelve years later he returned to resume his service again in East Africa.

Illustrative of the itinerant methodology applied by the missionaries in the earlier years of the mission is the success in Southern Tanzania. In 1948 Sh. Mubarak toured the general region of Lindi and the villages west of the town on the road toward Masasi. At the settlement of Mtama he found a promising situation. Several Sunnis were won over to the Ahmadiyya persuasion including one Khalid Muhammad who was a Quranic teacher and one of the recognised Muslim leaders. The response was so considerable that around seventy believers comprised the new community and they built a typical village mosque the following year. The opposition of the orthodox inevitably arose but the company of converts was strong enough to withstand it. The Ahmadiyya message spread into the surrounding area. In due course two more communities of Ahmadis were founded in the villages that were outlying Mtama.<sup>32</sup>

At Mingoyo outside Lindi in 1949 another Ahmadiyya missionary came to propagate Ahmadiyyat. His efforts were ready been mentioned. The mosque, known as the Masjid

rewarded with the winning of a small group of Sunni Muslims. The Ahmadis remained zealous in the face of the opposition that was elicited by their initial success. During the years that followed gradually others joined the movement. In 1952 there were approximately eight male Ahmadis and their families who erected a mosque. The antagonism grew in the ensuing years with many cases instigated against Ahmadis in the liwali's court. Eventually most of the Ahmadis moved away to more favourable locations.<sup>33</sup>

In less than ten years after Sh. Al-Amin made his residence in the Kisumu area. Although there had been various censures against the Ahmadiyya mission taunting them to confront orthodox Islam in places like Mombasa where its bastions were strong the mission was launched in this major port. There has been a continuous presence of Ahmadis in the city since the earliest Ahmadis had arrived at the beginning of railway construction. The community in the first half of the century varied in strength from ten to twenty Asian families with no more than two or three Africans at any given time.<sup>34</sup> In 1955 missionary Sheikh Nur-ud-Din Muneer was posted in Mombasa. His immediate task was to stimulate a favourable response to Ahmadiyyat among Kenyans, to consolidate the community, and to erect a mosque and mission house as a locus for worship and propagation. The generous contribution of Mrs. Sayed Meraj-ud-Din in memory of her husband making possible half the cost of the construction programme has already been mentioned.<sup>35</sup> The mosque, known as the Masjid

Rahman was completed and opened early in 1958. This is given a brief description by the authors Berg and Walter, referring to it as a:

quasi non-communal mosque ... erected by the Ahmadiyya, a missionary sect .... Unlike the Sunni non-communal mosque, its presence is more symbolic of contemporary religious trends than of demographic or economic factors at work in the Muslim community.<sup>36</sup>

Yet another answer to Sh. Al-Amin's gibe was obtained when a missionary undertaking was founded in Kisumu.<sup>37</sup> There was already a strong community of about fifty Asian Ahmadis resident in the Kisumu area. Although there had been various itinerant missionaries from time to time the first missionary to be based in the area for some duration was Sh. Muhammad Munawwar. He took up his residence in Luanda near Maseno. The Kisumu mosque was completed in 1954. The building was made possible largely through the major donation of funds by a leading Ahmadi in the Kisumu community, Mr. A. Ghauri. Plans to establish a primary school in the town were thwarted by Sunni opposition. An incident that is remembered by many Ahmadis relates to the early antipathy towards Ahmadis expressed by an Arab Sunni in 1945 when Sh. Amri Abedi was there with Sh. Mubarak and others on a preaching mission. The Arab gave him a literal slap in the face as an act of overt hostility toward one who was undoubtedly regarded by him as a Kafir and a traitor to Islam.<sup>38</sup>

The antagonism of the Sunni was usually more predict-

able in Tanganyika than either of the other two countries. Even there it was sometimes erratic and often ambiguous. Sh. Abdul Karim Sharma was posted in Dar es Salaam in 1953 at a time when the enmity of Sunni leaders was strong against the Ahmadis. The sheikhs had taken encouragement from a liwali who had transferred from Tabora where he had been involved in the effective contention against Sh. Mubarak over the construction of the Ahmadiyya mosque. When the Ahmadis proposed to build one in Dar es Salaam having scarcely any funds they found a sympathetic Sunni contractor who agreed to build without payment until after the work was completed. At the time of the laying of the foundation stone rumours were rife with threats against the Ahmadis. A police van with several constables appeared at the site just prior to the ceremony. However, the expected trouble did not materialise. During the process of construction contributions were received from East African Ahmadis, sympathisers from among Sunni Muslims and from members of the Hindu and Sikh communities. These funds were duly paid to the contractor earlier than expected. Sh. Abdul gave oversight to the construction while at the same time functioning as itinerant missionary in certain districts outside of Dar es Salaam such as the Rufiji area. He notes that with the diminishing authority of the sheikhs particularly among the educated Muslims and the committent wide diffusion of literature in 1956 the manifest Sunni animosity subsided.<sup>39</sup> A noteworthy achievement of his service in Dar es Salaam was the initiation of a missionary

training class. Sh. Abdul departed for leave in late 1956 prior to the final completion and opening of the new mosque in the following year. The missionary assignment in Dar es Salaam was filled by the promising Tanganyikan missionary, Sh. K. Amri Abedi.

The year 1957 was notable for the occurrence of a number of important achievements. Not only was the mosque completed in Dar es Salaam in that year but also in March the new mosque in Kisumu was formally opened. In Uganda the mission was sufficiently entrenched to enable the starting of mosques in the strategic centres at Jinja and Kampala. The former was completed within two years but the latter required a considerably longer period of construction. The year is also significant for the inaugurating of two additional periodical newspapers. The East African Times was begun in May 1957 in Nairobi by Nur-ud-Din Muneer,<sup>40</sup> the first editor. In Uganda at the same time a Luganda monthly was initiated under the title Dobozi Iya Obuislamu (Voice of Islam).

The momentum for missionary extension continued unabated in 1957. Sh. Mubarak visited in the regions of Tanga, Usambara and Morogoro meeting with encouraging response and finding the prospect of establishing new work in those places optimistic. Missionaries who itinerated in these areas during the brief period 1957-59 were Sh. A.K. Sharma, Sh. M. Ibrahim Hakeem and Sh. Syed Waliullah Shah.

It was at the same period that work was begun in the northern part of Tanganyika through a remarkable conversion experience. The writer has elucidated this development in a previous paper. The following lengthy quotation should suffice:-

An interesting departure from the usual pattern of growth is the way in which Ahmadiyya was started in the Moshi area. An account of this development is given in an article by one of the principals involved, Mr. Shaaban Seif. The article itself occurs in the Ahmadiyya Swahili magazine. (Shaaban Seif, 'Kuingia Kwangu Ahmadiyya.' Mapenzi Ya Mungu, Vol. 21, No. 8, August 1964, pp. 3, 5, 6.) Shaaban relates the origin of Ahmadiyya in his home area using the autobiographical perspective.

Shaaban as a Muslim, had become concerned over the deplorable condition of Sunni Islam in his part of the country. The leaders were ineffective, the people were weak and unfaithful, and Christianity was strong in competition for new converts. In September 1956, he became ill and was admitted to the hospital.

On the occasion of a visit by his wife, he had a vision: a great light that illuminated a huge crowd before him. The vision was accompanied by delirious shouting which caused considerable commotion on the ward. Later one early dawn he had a dream in which a large group of Muslim girls were singing enthusiastically. He awoke finding himself shouting, "Christ, the Messiah, has arrived!" When his fellows on the ward asked him to explain where Christ was, he could not reply.

Again he experienced another dream in which he was informed that his wife was pregnant and that a son would be born who was chosen to serve the "Promised Messiah." When a week later he told his wife about this dream she denied that she was pregnant. His insistence that it was true was vindicated when a son was born on May 18, 1957.

After his dismissal from the hospital he returned home strong in his belief concerning the returned Messiah. He was intent on learning more about the

promise concerning Christ. He turned to a reading of Psalms in search of spiritual satisfaction. (Shaaban Seif, "Personal Interview," Machame, Tanzania, May 12, 1965.) During a visit to a Moshi bookshop two items excited his curiosity: the current issue of the Swahili monthly, Mapenzi Ya Mungu and an Ahmadiyya primer entitled Masomo Ya Kiislam (Islamic Lessons) (Mubarak Ahmad, Masomo Ya Kiislam, Dar es Salaam: Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1955.) These he purchased and took home to read. With eagerness he poured over the unique literature. In the primer he fixed his attention on the teaching concerning Ghulam Ahmad as the "Promised Messiah." This was the end of his searching; it was the answer to the many questions his dreams and visions had aroused within him.

The reaction his family and friends gave to his sharing of these new truths was discouraging. He felt the urgent need for the authoritative validation of his new-found faith which only the Ahmadiyya missionaries could give. He wrote to Sheikh Mubarak and another missionary, Sheikh Munawwar, paid a visit to Shaaban. They listened to his testimony and his reasoned Ahmadiyya teaching among his neighbours. The missionaries' visit succeeded in reinforcing Shaaban in his Ahmadiyya convictions.

However, the response in the community was slow. It was not until two years later (1959) that a congregation consisting of Ahmadiyya believers from three families (including Shaaban) was formally established. This is considered the beginning of the work in the Moshi-Kilimanjaro area.<sup>41</sup>

Sh. Mubarak departed for leave in Pakistan in mid-1958. His replacement as chief missionary was Sh. C. Inayatullah Ahmadi, who had served since 1946 as a missionary in various places throughout all three of the East African countries. The following year it was appropriate that Sh. Mubarak returned in time to share in the observance of the commemoration of the twenty-fifth year since his arrival in East Africa to found the mission. An article probably written

by him relates achievements of the mission in keeping with its original objectives during those years. They are enumerated as follows:-

1. The effective answering of attacks by Christian preachers against Islam.
2. The publishing of more than ten books in Swahili (including Kurani Tukufu) and some (2) in English.
3. (The growth in adherents.) In 1934 there were very few members. But now there are many and almost all educated Muslims recognise Ahmadiyyat as a movement that gives honour to Islam.
4. In education there have been only a few schools due to the lack of money. But the mission will develop some modern schools. It has already strongly urged the government to provide education for Muslims.
5. There are nine Africans studying in Rabwah (in the missionary training college).
6. A training class for African waalimu has been established in Dar es Salaam.
7. Mosques have already been constructed at the following places: Dar es Salaam, Nairobi, Kampala (not yet opened), Mombasa, Tabora and Jinja. All of these include accompanying mission houses. Many African style village mosques have also been built.
8. There are presently twenty-four Africans and twelve Asians<sup>42</sup> serving as preachers of Islam in East Africa.
9. The monthly publication of three newspapers: The East African Times, the one in Luganda (Dobozi Iya Obuislamu) and Mapenzi Ya Mungu. This latter goes outside of East Africa as well: being distributed in the Congo, Nyasaland, Portuguese East Africa and Rhodesia as are many Swahili booklets.
10. Sometimes free leaflets are distributed by the thousands.

11. All of these show the contribution of Ahmadiyya in East Africa.<sup>43</sup>

This is an apt summary of the planting and growth of the Ahmadiyya Mission into a movement that became well distributed

throughout the three East African territories.

By the end of 1960 the Ahmadiyya Movement in East

Africa was poised on the threshold of a new phase in its development. The maturation of the parallel independence

movements in all three of the East African territories called

for a thorough reconsideration of the mission and its role

in the future independent nations. This led to the momentous

decision to divide in 1961 the East African Mission into

three separate missions. A new situation was being ushered in.

<sup>4</sup> The information supra is from a letter by Sh. Mubarak Ahmad, 10 March, 1974. There occurs a discrepancy on this last point in two interviews. Dr. Ahmad Din Ahmad (interviewed at Bwala Hill, Masaka, on 3 March, 1967) indicated that he himself was the first Ahmadi settler in Uganda having arrived in the country in 1919. However, Sh. G.F. Ahmad (interviewed at Dar es Salaam on 25 October, 1973) who is quite knowledgeable of the history of early Ahmadiism in East Africa, states that Dr. Ahmad's older brother, Dr. Fadi Din had certainly arrived in Uganda earlier than 1919 and was in all probability the first Ahmadi settler. The author considers the latter information as being more accurate. This has been corroborated by Sh. Mubarak.

<sup>9</sup> Supra p. 1.

<sup>10</sup> Construction began 1893 according to M.F. Hill, The Permanent Way (Nairobi: E.A. Railways and Harbours, 1957), II p. 83.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 85.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with C.K. Husain, Tabora, 15 November, 1964.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid. It should be noted that Dr. Ahmad Din mentioned in the paragraph is a different person than the Ahmad Din referred to in the immediately preceding paragraph.

<sup>14</sup>Information in this paragraph supra from interview with Sh. C.I. Ahmadi, Dar es Salaam, 3 November, 1964.

<sup>15</sup>cf. supra. P. 35.

<sup>16</sup>N.Q. Anwar, "A Brief History of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam", April 12, 1953, (duplicated), p.3 and Muhammad Munawwar, Mapenzi Ya Mungu, Dec. 1959, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup>Mohamed Afzal Khan, loc. cit.

<sup>18</sup>According to Sh. R.A. Sarwar, interview, Tabora, 15 November, 1964, there were between fifteen and twenty Ahmadi families in Tabora at the time.

<sup>19</sup>A term put by J. Spencer Trimmingham, Islam in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 109. It is further noted that I have suggested in an earlier manuscript (Earl R. Martin, "The Ahmadiyya Movement in Tanzania" unpublished Master's thesis, 1966 pp. 54, 55) that the selection of Tabora was fortunate because the Muslims of that area may have been more ready to receive the Ahmadiyya propaganda than the coastal Muslims. Support for this was given by reference to Trimmingham's descriptive term of the Muslims of that area. It was indicated in keeping with this concept that coastal Islam rendered an impossible situation to Ahmadiyya efforts compared with the more favourable "neo-Muslims" of the interior. This, it was concluded, explains at least partially the success which the early Ahmadiyya mission enjoyed at Tabora.

This particular contention has been called into question by an eminent authority on Islam in Tanzania. Father Franz Schildknecht readily concurs that the Ahmadis, not unlike Christian missionaries, definitely preferred the easier region and the area that promised the better prospect of success. While he also agrees that the coastal situation may have been regarded by them as the more difficult, he insists that this is an erroneous assumption. If indeed it is an error, it is one generally held. He further considers that this reveals ignorance on the part of the early Ahmadis of the "real situation on the coast". The simple assertion being that "Islam in Tabora is about 60 years older than on most places on the coast. (The two foregoing quotations are from

a letter by Franz Schildknecht, W. F., of 23-6-67). In a later published discussion of Islam in Tanzania he does not develop this line of thought. (Franz Schildknecht, "Tanzania" Ch. 12, Islam in Africa J. Kritzcek and W. H. Lewis eds., N.Y.: Van Nostrand-Reinhold, 1969, pp. 229-242). Nor does he offer any explanation as to how the age of Islam in a given region infers that it is more resistant to propagandism

<sup>20</sup>The verbatim quotation: "... na lau kama haja yao kweli ni kusilimisha wasiokuwa na dini kwa nini wasende kwa Waha na Wamasai? Au ikiwa haja yao ni kutangamana na watu wakubwa wa Ki-islamu kwa ajili ya kuinua Dini na kuitia nguvu, ni lipi iliowapa wasikae Mombasa au Unguja au Lamu, waka-khitari kukaa Tabora." Al-Amin bin Aly Mirzai Na Jinsi Wawadanganavyo Islamu (Mombasa: Mfanyaji Kheri, 1961, 2 ed.).

<sup>21</sup>Anwar, loc. cit.

<sup>22</sup>Husein, loc. cit.

<sup>23</sup>M. Munawwar, M.Y.M., December, 1969, p.9; and Mubarak Ahmad, op. cit.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Sh. C. I. Ahmadi, Dar es Salaam, 25 October, 1973.

<sup>25</sup>Letter from Muhammad Munawwar, Chief Missionary, Tanganyika A. M. M., 2 January, 1967; and Trimmingham, op.cit., p. 109. Such p.o.w. labour was available to any organisation at the nominal rates.

<sup>26</sup>Mathias E. Mnyampala, "Maisha Ya Sheikh K. Amri Abedi Kwa Kifupi," Swahili, Dar es Salaam, Institute of Swahili Research, (March, 1965), p.15.

<sup>27</sup>Supra p. 39.

<sup>28</sup>Sh. K. A. Abedi, "Majibu Ya Upinzani Wa Sheikh Al-Amin" Sehemu Ya Kwanza, M.Y.M., June, 1946, p. 7.

<sup>29</sup>Sh. Nur-ul-Haq Anwar states in the interview of 20 February, 1964, that ten missionaries came in the year 1946, whereas he indicates in his paper (N. H. Anwar, "A Brief History of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam," 12 April, 1953, duplicated) that up to 1953 a dozen missionaries arrived for service in East Africa. The writer views these two statements as somewhat generous, unless the sheikh includes himself among the ten aforementioned.

It seems likely that the missionaries did not arrive together as a group in the year 1946. Sh. Nur-ul-Haq probably meant that beginning with the year 1946 ten missionaries came in a short span of years. Over the eight-year period there are clear indications of nine. A listing of these with the year of their first arrival in East Africa follows:

C.I. Ahmadi, 1946; M.I. Hakeem, 1947; I.K. Khalil, 1947; J.D. Qamar, 1947; F.I. Bashir, 1947; H.M. Ibrahim, 1947; S.W. Shah, 1947; A.K. Sharma, 1948; M. Munawwar, 1948.

<sup>30</sup>Supra. p. 42.

<sup>31</sup>Supra. pp. 34, 35.

<sup>32</sup>Interview with Sh. Khalid Muhammad, Mtama, 8 November, 1964.

<sup>33</sup>Interview with Sh. Mahadhi Mshaweji, Mingoyo, 8 November, 1964.

<sup>34</sup>M.A. Ghani, loc. cit.; and M.A. Khan, loc. cit.

<sup>35</sup>Supra. p. 33.

<sup>36</sup>F.J. Berg and B.J. Walter, "Mosques, Population and Urban Development in Mombasa," Hadith 1, Bethwell A. Ogot, ed. (Nairobi: E.A. Publishing House, 1968), p. 75.

<sup>37</sup>Sh. Al-Amin had actually referred to "Kavirondo" which is the name of the gulf on Lake Victoria on which the port of Kisumu is located.

<sup>38</sup>Interview with Sh. M.D. Ahmad, Kisumu, 4 March, 1967.

<sup>39</sup>Interview with Sh. A.K. Sharma, Jinja, 2 March, 1967.

<sup>40</sup>The same person who started the work in Mombasa, cf. supra. p. 45.

<sup>41</sup>Martin, op. cit. pp. 59 - 62.

<sup>42</sup>It is ascertained that three of the missionaries who arrived in the late forties has been transferred out of East Africa to mission service elsewhere: i.e. N.H. Ahmad, F.I.

Bashir and J.D. Qamar. To the seven remaining were added five who arrived between 1955 - 60, i.e. Hafidh Bashir-ud-Din Obeidullah, Nur-ud-Din Muneer, M.I. Munir, Hafidh Muhammad Suleiman and Munir-ud-Din-Ahmad.

<sup>43</sup>M.Y.M., Septemba, 1960, pp. 1,6.

At the end of 1960 the leadership of the mission became more of a collective situation arising. The early days of independence were beginning to break in the countries within the British Empire of Eastern Africa. Sh. Mubarak and his colleagues were called out in Dar es Salaam to determine the appropriate future role in the soon-to-be autonomous countries. It was decided that the appropriate way had arrived for dividing the work into three divisions. Full consultation with the administrative leadership in Sudan was sought. Finally it was announced in July, 1961, that with immediate effect the mission would function as three separate entities. The Tanganyika mission was placed under the administration of Sh. Muhammad Khamarwar with the Head office in Dar es Salaam. The chief missionary appointed for Uganda was Sh. Abdul Karim Saada with his base in Jinja. Sh. Mubarak was to remain in Nairobi on the dual function of chief missionary of the Kenya mission as well as the chief unit over the three East African missions plus oversight of Ahmadiyya mission in the Aden protectorate. The following year upon Sh. Mubarak's departure from East Africa Sh. Wazir-ud-Din Anwar was installed as the chief missionary for Kenya. The division of the work gave responsibility to each

### CHAPTER III

#### THE CONTEMPORARY POSTURE AND PROPAGANDISM

#### OF THE SEPARATE MISSIONS

FROM 1961 TO 1973

At the end of 1960 the leaders of the mission became aware of a new situation arising. The early dawn of independence was beginning to break in the countries within the British sphere of Eastern Africa. Sh. Mubarak and his missionary associates met in Dar es Salaam to determine the mission's future role in the soon-to-be autonomous countries.<sup>1</sup> It was decided that the appropriate time had arrived for dividing the work into three missions. Full consultation with the administrative leadership in Rabwah was sought. Finally it was announced in July, 1961, that with immediate effect the missions would function as three separate entities.<sup>2</sup> The Tanganyika mission was placed under the administration of Sh. Muhammad Munawwar with the head office in Dar es Salaam. The chief missionary appointed for Uganda was Sh. Abdul Karim Sharma with his base in Jinja.<sup>3</sup> Sh. Mubarak was to remain in Nairobi in the dual function of chief missionary of the Kenya mission as well as the chief amir over the three East African missions plus oversight of the Ahmadiyya mission in the Aden protectorate. The following year upon Sh. Mubarak's departure from East Africa Sh. Nur-ul-Haq Anwar was installed as the chief missionary for Kenya. The division of the work gave responsibility to each organisation with direct reference to the mission's head-

quarters in Rabwah. Matters pertaining to budgets, treasuries, annual meetings, the work of propagation and all plans and activities in each country were all placed under the administration of the chief missionary.

Not long after the work was successfully divided and the separate missions appeared to be functioning satisfactorily Sh. Mubarak made his final departure from East Africa. On 30th April, 1962, he left returning to Pakistan to take up his new responsibilities at the headquarter's office in Rabwah. The farewell tea given in his honour was made somewhat remarkable by the representatives of certain Muslim and other organisations that attended. Among those present were Sh. Yahya Husein of the World Muslim Congress; Mzee Bin Ambari, East African Muslim Political Union; Mr. Juma Moonda of The East African Muslim Union; Mr. Behramjee representing the Nairobi Social Service League and Mr. Channa of the Sikh community.<sup>4</sup> The recognition afforded to Sh. Mubarak and the Ahmadiyya community by the presence of the representatives of such organisations gave a measure of prestige to the mission which it had rarely enjoyed in Kenya in previous times.

The departure of Sh. Mubarak occurred ten months after the formation of the three separate missions. These two events linked together as one significant development mark the end of the first stage and the beginning of a new phase

in the history of Ahmadiyya missionary endeavour in East Africa.

Logically this discussion should now lead to a delineation of the development of each of the separate missions from the time of division until the present. However, before pursuing such a direction it seems appropriate at this juncture to interpose a different tack. The outstanding aspect of the Ahmadiyya movement, its prodigious propagandism through the printed word, spans both periods in the history of their missionary efforts in East Africa.

#### A. PROPAGATION THROUGH LITERATURE

A principal vehicle of Ahmadiyya propagandism throughout the world is its proliferating literature. It is this feature of the Ahmadiyya thrust which distinguishes it from other Muslim missionary organisations. Holway refers to the movement as: "an example to other Muslims by its adoption of modern missionary methods and its use of literature and polemic."<sup>5</sup> The clear inference here is that Ahmadiyya missions have adopted the vigorous methods of propagation which Christian missionaries have employed for over a century. This is a point which is often reiterated by authors commenting on the aggressive nature of its proselytism. One author refers to: "The Ahmadiyya Sect, who have copied the machinery and emulated the vigour of the West in the furtherance of their propaganda."<sup>6</sup> It seems unquestionable that the production

and proliferation of missionary journalism is an undertaking that consistently enjoys top priority everywhere from headquarters to mission. This is no less true in East Africa. In a summary of the work in this part of Africa published by the Foreign Missions Office in Rabwah it is suggested that the mission's activities may appropriately be divided into two aspects: "(i) Construction of mosques and mission houses; (ii) the work of propagation."<sup>7</sup> The latter, in the ensuing context, mainly pertains to the publication and circulation of Ahmadiyya literature.

The perennial medium of Ahmadiyya propaganda is the distribution of monthly periodicals which are published and circulated in East Africa. There are two: a Swahili issue, Mapenzi Ya Mungu and an English monthly, the East African Times. The former first appeared in 1936 in the form of a rejoinder to a Christian tract.<sup>8</sup> Soon it was published regularly as the recognised organ of the mission. The latter was initiated in 1957 and was published semi-monthly in its early years until mid-1964 when it began to be produced monthly. Since the late 1950s both of these periodicals have consistently been published in quantities of 3,000 each.<sup>9</sup> Exceptions have occurred when increased special editions are offered on occasions such as Id-el-Fitr holiday or when the East African nations obtained their independence.<sup>10</sup>

The Mapenzi Ya Mungu is produced through the joint

effort of the Tanzania and Kenya missions. The copy and layout are prepared by the Tanzania mission and sent to Nairobi where it is finally edited by the Kenya mission and published. Arrangements are being sought to remove this cumbersome procedure by having the publishing of the Swahili monthly done in Dar es Salaam from start to finish. The East African Times is fully produced in Nairobi. The distribution of these two monthlies is as follows: 1,000 copies of each periodical are sent to the Tanzania mission in Dar es Salaam for redistribution according to the mission's plan;<sup>11</sup> quantities of 500 of each monthly are sent to Uganda likewise for redistribution; and the remainder are distributed in Kenya along with the mailout to regular subscribers. Subscriptions do not exceed one hundred for either periodical. The East African Times is posted to overseas subscribers in such countries as Aden, Yemen, the U.S.A., et cetera.

There is an apparent contradiction that arises in the information available to this writer concerning the financing of Mapenzi Ya Mungu. A statement appearing in a published report of Ahmadiyya missions overseas refers to Mapenzi Ya Mungu indicating: "The journal is self-supporting as far as the expenses are concerned."<sup>12</sup> However, the more current indication concerning both monthlies establishes that only the subscriptions by post are paid for and the remainder of the copies are distributed free of cost.<sup>13</sup> Obviously if the latter is true it obviates the claim that one of the period-

content. The news classification relates to those items are primarily informational. The edificatory material pertains to that which is either promotional in nature or that which is primarily intended to strengthen the Ahmadiyya readers.

A close examination of the above twelve issues involves a classification of all items considered with a measuring of the material according to length in column inches and, finally, a totalling of the various classifications by measured content.

The following is the result of the analysis:

Classifications	Total column inches	Percentage of Total	Number of issues in which the material occurs
(1) Anti-communist polemic	496"	14.4%	7
(2) Anti-Christian polemic	1201"	34.6%	12
(3) Anti-orthodox polemic	311"	9.0%	8
(4) News	322"	9.3%	10
(5) Edificatory material	1134"	32.7%	12

A further observation from the above indicates that fifty-eight per cent of the material considered was primarily polemical content.<sup>14</sup>

The mission is forthright about the polemics of Mapenzi Ya Mungu. One editorial encourages readers to subscribe to the periodical so that they might receive it regularly as: "an important missionary in your home. It

will answer your questions and remove your perplexities."<sup>15</sup>

The East African Times has a format very similar to its Swahili counterpart. It was initiated by an accomplished Ahmadi journalist, Maulvi Bur-ud-Din Munir, who edited it in its infancy and set the standard for its publication in the ensuing years. Although the polemical content is not as thorough-going as is that of Mapenzi Ya Mungu, it, nevertheless, offers a consistent voice for Ahmadiyya propaganda. Fisher gives it a favourable rating in comparison with the Ahmadiyya periodical published in West Africa entitled, The Truth. He states that it is: "more substantial, including real news as well as religious propaganda .... nicely printed."<sup>16</sup>

In 1965 the Uganda mission published Kuran Estabruu, the first five Surahs of the Quran in Luganda. A steady flow of Swahili books and pamphlets has been maintained by the mission from its early years through to the present time. Some are original works while others are translations of fundamental Ahmadiyya apologetics. At least half of the publications have had additional printings. In the first twenty-seven years during Sh. Mubarak's tenure thirteen Swahili titles were published. Ten of these are credited to the chief missionary himself: five original pieces and five translations. The total number of units (copies) published of all thirteen books for the original and subsequent printings during the period up until the division of the mission in 1961 exceeds 101,000.<sup>17</sup> Also published by the mission is another form of propagation offered through the publication and distribution of leaflets. One report

the mission in 1954 within the same time-span are two

English booklets: Why Islam? and Ahmad.<sup>18</sup>

Of signal importance are the achievements of the mission in publishing translations of the Quran in Swahili and several of the vernaculars of East Africa. Certainly the publication of Kurani Tukufu in 1953 was an event of considerable consequence for the situation of Islam in East Africa during the past two decades.<sup>19</sup> Further translations of either portions or the complete text of the Quran have been accomplished in Kikuyu, Kamba, and Luo under the leadership of Sh. Mubarak in the early period. None of these have as yet come off the press although frequent statements appear in their literature asserting that these will "soon" be published.<sup>20</sup> In 1965 the Uganda mission published Kurani Entukuvu, the first five juzuus of the Quran in Luganda.

After 1961 the separate missions continued the flow of publication unabated. There have been eleven Swahili books produced in the past twelve years.<sup>17</sup> These editions combined have a total publication quantity of 54,000 units. In addition most of the books published in the early period had reprintings in the current period amounting to 122,000 units. The two quantities yield a grand total of 176,000 copies. These figures demonstrate the acceleration of this mode of propagation in recent years.

Yet another form of propagation is offered through the publication and distribution of leaflets. One report

indicates that in 1964: "30,000 handbills in Swahili covering various aspects of Islam were distributed ..."<sup>21</sup> This is merely indicative of a reoccurring method employed from time to time primarily as a vehicle of polemicism.<sup>22</sup>

The Uganda mission has been productive in the field of vernacular literature. At least six booklets have been produced in Luganda.<sup>23</sup> The life of the Prophet Muhammad has been published in Luo and Lango. Other pamphlets were produced in the preparation stage in the Luankola and Lutoro vernacular also.<sup>24</sup>

Apart from the publication of literature which originates in East Africa there is a large volume of literature in the English medium imported from Pakistan for widespread distribution. The extensive usage of English in East Africa assures a readily available readership. Around two dozen titles are distributed from the mission offices in all three countries. These consist of the standard Ahmadiyya books including an English translation of the Quran and translations from Urdu of certain original works by the movement's founder and his successors. The whole gamut of Ahmadiyya apologetics and polemics is offered. All published materials both locally produced and imported are distributed on a predetermined plan of subsidisation. Fifty per cent of the stock of any given title is set aside for sale on a prime cost basis. This is evident.

from an examination of the price lists for such materials. Apart from the Quran translations the prices range from cents twenty-five (East African currency) to shillings eight. The average price of Swahili materials is Shs.1/50, while that of the English book is a slightly higher Shs. 2/-.

The remaining stock is distributed free of charge. Twenty per cent is given to various public and institutional libraries and thirty per cent is made available for direct personal distribution.<sup>25</sup> It becomes clear that literature is given a high priority as a method of propagation. The production and distribution of Ahmadiyya propaganda is an area that reflects a strong sense of co-operation between the three East African missions. The act of separation has not affected adversely the dissemination of the Ahmadiyya message through the medium of the printed word. The Ahmadiyya organism has continued with vigorous proliferation throughout all of East Africa.

It is now appropriate to return to the discussion intimated earlier in the chapter concerning developments that have transpired in the twelve-year period since the formation of the three separate missions. The momentum of missionary activity carried over from the Mubarak period continued with unflagging energy. Monteil comments on the Ahmadiyya presence: "In East Africa, they are very zealous, preaching everywhere, publishing, seeking to convert."<sup>26</sup> This is an apt epitome of the movement generally in the entire region.

The ensuing description offers a close scrutiny of the movement in each of the three countries.

### B. KENYA

The three main missionary centres that had been planted in the formative period have been maintained until the present. These form a span across Kenya from the coast to Lake Victoria at Mombasa, Nairobi and Kisumu. A resident missionary is active in each location. At the extremities Mombasa and Kisumu are the springboards for extending and developing the mission into the surrounding rural areas. The Nairobi mission has no extension of its work in the environs of the city. Its primary raison d'etre is to provide a base of operation for the chief missionary. There is, however, a community of Ahmadis which gathers regularly for prayers and for the customary periodic celebrations. The mosque-office-residence complex is located on Fort Hall Road.

There has been a succession of seven chief missionaries in Kenya since the mission was formed. Of these only four have served for periods of two years or longer: Sh. N.H. Anwar, Sh. M.I. Soofi, Sh. A.K. Sharma, and Sh. J.R. Rafiq. The last served the longest for a term of three years and seven months. Also during this same period there have been three or four Pakistani missionaries serving continuously in the country.<sup>27</sup>

The large sign over the entrance to the outer court of Mombasa Ahmadiyya mosque reads: "Verily the true Religion in the Sight of Allah is Islam. All enquiries about Islam are welcome. Ask for books on comparative study of Islam and Christianity." In the face of such a cordial invitation one immediately wonders how many persons are in fact attracted to Ahmadiyyat in this the major East African port. Berg and Walter conclude: "Though the Ahmadiyya attempts to evangelise all ethnic groups .... its success in Mombasa has not been noteworthy."<sup>28</sup> In the light of the currently stated size of the Ahmadiyya community in the city it would not be easy to contradict such a conclusion. Fifty male adults are indicated.<sup>29</sup> In view of the comparatively long tenure of the Ahmadiyya presence in Mombasa from the beginning of the century, the fact that the mission has been established there for twenty years and that the mosque has been open since 1950 it would be difficult to construe the work as having appreciable progress. The missionaries point with a certain measure of satisfaction at the conversion several years ago of two young Arabs to Ahmadiyyat. Certainly this development has not escaped the notice of certain of the leading Muslims of Kenya. While these conversions are of undeniable significance, in the larger perspective they do not offset the comparative lack of success on the Kenya coast. As the saying goes: "One sparrow does not make the spring." It might be added - not even two sparrows are sufficient.

It was in Mombasa that a relatively innocent request and its reply emerged to reflect on the interrelationship between the Ahmadiyya movement and other Muslim groups. A comment by Fr. Schildknecht prompted an interest in the question of whether or not the Ahmadis had sought financial assistance from the previously operative but now defunct East African Muslim Welfare Society. He suggested that any help from such an organisation would be interesting for it would render: "a kind of official recognition by a pan-Islamic body."<sup>30</sup> An indication of this point is perceived in a statement by the former treasurer of the E.A.M.W.S. in Mombasa to the effect that at some prior time: "the Ahmadis came to me wanting financial assistance but my reply was negative saying why should I help them when they are trying to divide Muslims?"<sup>31</sup>

One of the primary activities of the missionary serving in Mombasa is the voluntary teaching of the Religious Knowledge syllabus in government schools in the surrounding area. This is not to say that Mombasa is unique in using this methodological approach, not by any means. It is indeed utilised by many of the Ahmadiyya missionaries through East Africa. Nevertheless, it is a prime function in the coastal work. The missionary ranges outside of the city regularly to four schools in the Kwale district and occasionally to Shimo la Tewa. He sometimes visits three Ahmadi families located at Kaloleni near Kilifi. Much of his itinerant teaching complements the similar efforts of

the Kenyan Ahmadiyya Sheikh who resides at Kwale. There is, however, a recent indication that this teaching service has been discontinued by the authorities in the Kwale District Education office.<sup>33</sup> The curtailment of such a major endeavour most certainly constitutes a set-back to Ahmadiyya propagation in the Kwale district.

The town of Kwale is located twenty miles south of Mombasa. The work was initiated there through the initiative of Sh. Noor Ali in April, 1966. He is the offspring of a Digo father and Kikuyu mother whose childhood was spent in Nyeri. His early education was in Christian schools but he refused baptism and was eventually ousted in 1960. He continued in a government school until funds ran out; following which he secured employment as a karani in the Labour Office, Nanyuki. All the while he continued his Islamic studies. Later he met Sh. Mubarak and received some Ahmadiyya literature. His immediate reaction was scorn. However, in 1962 while still in Nanyuki he determined to join Ahmadiyya. Although still nominally a Sunni he proceeded to preach the Ahmadiyya message. In 1965 his application to serve in the Ahmadiyya movement was clarified and accepted by the chief missionary, Sh. Soofi. He was subsequently assigned to the coastal work under the direction of the Mombasa missionary.

He began by seeking opportunities to teach Religious Knowledge in the schools. The education officer has accepted him as a recognised choir master in the district. At first

the Sunni leaders in Kwale charged that he was secretly a Christian or that he was paid from Pakistan to disrupt Islam. His response to this was to confront the Sunni leaders directly one by one explaining his Ahmadiyya convictions but asserting the validity of his Islamic practice until their doubts and suspicions were resolved.

There was a development at Kwale which constitutes somewhat of a new departure in the Ahmadiyya methodology. Sh. Noor's acceptance by the Sunni leadership issued in an invitation for him to perform the function of imam at the Id-el-Haj observance on 22nd March, 1967, at the recently built Sunni mosque in Golini village (3 Km out of Kwale town). The construction of this mosque had been assisted by a contribution of Shs.500/- from the Kenya Ahmadiyya Mission.<sup>34</sup>

These two developments, taken either separately or together, are in themselves noteworthy instances of Sunni/Ahmadiyya co-operation. One wonders what could have transpired to dissolve such a sense of compromise and cause the aforementioned set-back of recent months.<sup>35</sup>

For more than five years various Ahmadiyya missionaries have mentioned plans for building a secondary school at Kwale. Apart from the teaching of Religious Knowledge in government schools and the training of Kenyan Quranic teachers and imams there is virtually no Ahmadiyya involvement in education in Kenya. A plot has been set aside by an influential

Ahmadi inhabitant for the proposed school.<sup>36</sup> The present chief missionary holds that this property is inadequate. A high school and a medical centre for Kenya are being considered together as one project. A feasibility study has been made of such a proposal with numerous places in Kenya being considered of which Kwale is only one. The decision has not yet been settled. It is worthy of note that should a medical work be instigated it will be the first such project for all of East Africa. While it is true that there have been Ahmadiyya doctors living and working at various times in all of the East African countries, this would be the first medical service ostensibly related to a mission.

The extension of the work in Kwale District includes one family located at Tengeti (near Tiwi) which enjoys the occasional visit from one of the Sheikhs. A sizeable community of Ahmadis is situated at Milalani which is some twenty miles from Kwale.

Apart from developments in these communities that are within the spheres of responsibility of the missionaries at Mombasa and Kisumu the only new work established since the Kenya mission's formation is at Taveta. Sh. Muhammad Isa, the first missionary posted there, began the work in July, 1966, in the environs of this border town on the Kenya/Tanzania boundary. There are only a very few Ahmadis in the town itself. The work has taken a firm hold in three scattered rural centres nine or ten miles out from Taveta. Small

verted from Sunni Islam to become Ahmadis. It was disclosed that the principal reason for this change en masse was the failure of the Sunni association to assist with the construction of the mosque. When the Ahmadiyya mission offered to provide the metal roof the Muslim community responded by its concerted willingness to accept Ahmadiyyat. Customarily the mission assists in the financing of the construction of indigenous mosques to the extent of one-half of the total cost (which usually provides the metal roofing materials). The Matawa mosque had only recently been completed and ceremonial opened.

The mosque at Shianda was built when the community was predominantly Sunni. Later the disaffected, a majority of the Muslims, assumed the Ahmadiyya affiliation. There remain, however, several Sunnis living in the vicinity. It was mentioned that as their mosque was too small a plot has been set aside for the construction of a more durable and adequate structure. It was observed that before and after the sala most of the men stood outside the mosque devoting themselves to the smoking of cigarettes. It was a clear sign that they were quite uninitiated in the ethical tenets of Ahmadiyyat which among other things enjoin a strict observance of the prohibition against smoking.

The fissiparous propensity that characterises the religious situation among the peoples of Western Kenya provides a fertile ground for Ahmadiyya propagandism.<sup>42</sup> The

tenuous hold which orthodox Islam has on the Muslim villagers and their readiness to change allegiance to another brand of Islam has already been discerned in the communities mentioned immediately above. A more prominent example of how the schismatic tendency breaks to the surface among Muslims is seen at Mbale Market. Numerous Sunni worshippers at the local mosque came under the influence of Ahmadiyya literature. In the past the missionary at Kisumu has been responsible for relating to Ahmadi in Eldoret and Nakuru. A considerable group including the imam, Yusuf Omar, became convinced of Ahmadiyyat but they continued to observe their sala in the mosque mingling with those who persisted in the orthodox persuasion. The provocation was complete in May, 1970, when the Kenya chief missionary came to the Mbale Market mosque upon the invitation of the local imam (already an Ahmadi) to conduct the Friday prayers. Sh. J.R. Rafiq delivered the sermon. Two immediate results were apparent. Several more Sunnis were won over to the Ahmadiyya movement and subsequently the Sunni sheikhs of the National Union of Kenya Muslims in Kakamega raised strong objections. There ensued a skirmish of duplicated circular letters distributed freely among members of the public. The controversy itself is described in a later chapter.<sup>43</sup> A further consequence was that the majority of the Ahmadi broke away from the Mbale Market mosque and moved two miles out to the community of Ellongo where they met at a member's homestead until a mosque was built. This was opened in April, 1971. There remain a few Ahmadi who attend the sala at Mbale Market (where yet

another imam has adopted the Ahmadiyya faith). The future of the Kisumu rural work is viewed with optimism. The current missionary expressed the hope that plans will materialise for the establishing of medical dispensaries at four of the villages where there are already communities founded.<sup>44</sup>

In the past the missionary at Kisumu has been responsible for relating to Ahmadis in Eldoret and Nakuru. In 1967 there were seven Asian Ahmadi families in Nakuru. At present there remains no Ahmadi in that city. At Eldoret there have been in past years similarly a few Asian families. Now there are only one or two apart from the community out of the town at Matuma which has already been mentioned.

The mission engages in a propagandising venture that is a characteristic of the Kenya work more than in either of the other two East African countries. A display and literature stand is conducted at the several annual agricultural shows that occur in a few of the cities throughout the country. The first time this was done was at Kisumu in 1966. It was conducted by Sh. Munir-ud-Din Ahmad who initiated the innovative method for the mission. In subsequent years similar stands were operated at the shows in Eldoret, Nakuru, Mombasa, and finally in Nairobi in 1968. The show in Nairobi is considered to be the national agricultural exposition and is

the largest in size, features and attendance. The space for the stand which is hired at a cost of Shs.500/- provides an area nine feet wide and twelve or thirteen feet deep. There is a sales counter toward the back. On this and the shelves behind it are Quran translations and Ahmadiyya books and pamphlets in various languages offered for sale. Of the two tables set inside the stand one contains sample copies of the Quran translations in English, Danish, Dutch, German, Swahili, Luganda, Kikuyu and Kikamba (the last two are in unpublished manuscript form) for the public to browse through. The other table holds stacks of free leaflets which are distributed among those who come to the stand. On the two side walls are large poster boards displaying photographs that are largely of promotional intent showing the numerous aspects of Ahmadiyya missions around the world. One display board was polemically charged and a provocative feature to those who viewed it. The bold title across the top read "Jesus Christ did not die on the Cross but Died a Natural Death in Kashmir." There followed an outline of the major points of the doctrine and accompanying photographs of Jesus allegedly as an old man and of his tomb at Srinagar in Kashmir. The missionary-in-charge acknowledged that this poster was offensive to some 170 persons throughout the week who upon reading it turned away refusing offers of free literature.

At the Nairobi Show in 1968 an estimated 17,000

persons visited the Ahmadiyya stand.<sup>45</sup> On that occasion the writer stood unobtrusively opposite the stand to observe those who attended the displays. The adjacent stand was sponsored by Maridadi Fabrics. During the period from 11:00 to 11:25 a.m. on 5 October, 1968, there were 111 persons who entered the exhibit and accepted free literature. Of these sixty-eight were Africans, forty Asians, and three Europeans. By comparison during the same period of time there were twice as many or 215 persons who attended the Maridadi Fabrics display: 110 Africans, 102 Asians and three Europeans.

In 1973 at the Nairobi Show again the Ahmadiyya stand attracted an estimated 27,000 persons during the five-day duration. Approximately 32,000 to 35,000 pieces of free literature were taken. The book sales totalled Shs.900/- although not as many copies of the Quran translated into either English or Swahili were sold in comparison with the sales at their stand at Mombasa earlier in the year.<sup>46</sup>

A concluding consideration of the Ahmadiyya Movement in Kenya regards its numerical strength. Until only recently no statistics have been gathered on the number of adherents throughout the country. In 1973 the new chief missionary called for a census of all of their communities. The census form called for such information as the name, geographical location, tribe, age, former religious affiliation of every male adult (head of family) Ahmadi. On this form the number

and names of Ahmadi dependants is also asked. The information was to be gathered and turned in to the head office before June, 1973, so that the complete tabulation would be finished by that time. However, several communities have failed to respond and the census is still incomplete. The writer has had to estimate the total number of Ahmadis in Kenya by gathering specific figures from leaders in the major places of concentration of Ahmadiyya communities. This information has been obtained in numerous places by on-the-spot interviews both in urban and rural situations. The result of such estimations is given in detail in Appendix C. The figure of Kenya is 367 male adults or with dependants a combined total of approximately 1,468 Ahmadiyya adherents. Two other estimates have surfaced which are interesting for comparison. Holway offers a figure which is necessarily tentative as he explains: "Their following, figures for which they do not divulge, probably does not exceed 2,000."<sup>47</sup> The other indication is related by a Sunni detractor who in 1962, posing as a journalist from India, asked the chief missionary in Nairobi to state how many Ahmadis there were in Kenya. The reply was 1,000.<sup>48</sup> This latter figure compares favourably with the writer's estimate supra allowing for eleven-years' growth.

### C. UGANDA

The Ahmadiyya missionary undertaking in Uganda enjoys

a better distribution of its communities throughout the country than does the Kenya work. The three major urban centres where their work is based are Jinja, Kampala and Masaka. Nine communities have village-type mosques located as follows: Three in the Busoga region at Kasambira on the main road and at three and six-mile distances successively off the main road; four in Mengo region at Mbiko, Buvunya and Seta all on the main road between Jinja and Kampala and also at Nikisanja twelve miles south of Kampala; and finally two in the Masaka region at Kyajubira and Kyotera twelve and twenty-eight miles respectively out of Masaka. In addition there are three communities in the rural areas out of Mbale where the Ahmadis mingle with the Sunnis at the Sunni mosques for Friday prayers praying behind an imam in each instance who has converted to Ahmadiyya. These localities are named: Ndega Buwachi, Bumboi Hill and Bubirabi. The places where there are scattered Ahmadis residing but having no mosques are indicated in Appendix B.

The heading over an article on the front page of Mapenzi Ya Mungu read: "The Ahmadiyya Movement has Taken a Great Stride For Progress in Uganda." In the third paragraph under the picture of a recently opened mosque it elucidates the significance of mosques for Ahmadis:

Mosques are the mark of the strength of Islam. We don't mean the building of grand mosques costing hundreds of thousands of shillings. What is needed is the determination to strengthen ourselves in the unity of the brotherhood of Islam. To pray and meet together regularly at the mosque is the very mark of an Ahmadiyya Muslim.<sup>49</sup>

This is clearly indicative of the importance of building mosques as an aspect of missions. For Ahmadis the mosque is significant as a locus of prayer and a symbol of permanence and purpose. In Uganda at the time the mission was formed separately in 1961 there was one major mosque already constructed at Jinja. During the current period since the mission has been separate two additional structures have been erected. The foundation stone was laid for the mosque in Kampala at the Wandegya roundabout in 1957. This was completed and opened in 1963 with an auspicious ceremony favoured by the presence of Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, an illustrious justice of the International Court of Justice and a former President of Assembly of the U.N.O. He is an active devotee of the Ahmadiyya Movement. The second mosque was completed in 1966 at Masaka having been five years in the construction process. This structure is actually located on the crest of Bwala Hill a half mile there south of the town itself.

It is thought by some Ahmadis that in the realm of educational missions the Ahmadiyya Movement has been too slow in establishing such work in East Africa. An individual Ahmadi offered the opinion that the Ahmadiyya Mission in Uganda has been under definite disadvantage compared to Christians because of their early failure to establish primary and secondary schools as was done more readily in

The rationale offered for the urgency of establish-

West Africa.<sup>50</sup> Two lower primary schools and a small nursery school have been started in three scattered villages. These are not regarded as anything more than "bush schools", however. The first serious effort was made through the determined energies of M.A. Ayaz, a Pakistani Ahmadi who had been residing in East Africa for some years. In Kampala in 1965 he established Bashir Boys High School in temporary quarters as a day secondary school. Later he handed the school over to the mission. In 1967 a building was completed at a cost of Shs.100,000 on the same plot as the new mosque. This was financed in its entirety by funds from Rabwah.<sup>51</sup> Soon another school was started by Ayaz. Hafiz Girls High School was meeting classes in 1967 in temporary quarters until such time as it could be taken over officially by the mission. In the boys high school there was an enrollment in 1967 of 305 of whom 100 were said to be Muslims and sixty students from Tanzania. At the time there were no Ahmadi teachers other than Ayaz himself. In 1969 a double-stream enrollment of 350 was indicated. Inasmuch as Religious Knowledge (Islamic) classes are not compulsory only twenty-five were enrolled at the time. Five students only one of whom was a professing Ahmadi usually attended the Friday prayers at the mosque. There were eight on the teaching staff - two Ugandans and six Asians three of whom were Ahmadis.<sup>52</sup>

The rationale offered for the urgency of establish-

ing Ahmadiyya schools was: "pagans need schooling in order to win them."<sup>53</sup> Clearly Ahmadiyya sponsorship of education has two advantages: (1) it enhances their general public image and (2) it gives them a favourable opportunity for proselytising among students. In the late sixties the mission was highly optimistic of making great strides in education for the immediate future. To implement these prospects Sh. M.I. Soofi who was the Kenya chief missionary was transferred to take the similar position in Uganda.<sup>54</sup> The stated reasons for this being that the Sheikh had had previous experience in West Africa with the task of establishing schools therefore qualifying him for the development of educational work in Uganda. Ayaz made the (sweeping statement) that the current Caliph was an avid educationalist and as such had indicated that he: "wants to see twenty-five high schools established in East Africa."<sup>55</sup>

Schools at Masaka and Fort Portal were definitely proposed for Uganda. The latter one had already been discussed with the king of Toro and had his agreement. Nothing has been accomplished beyond the planning stage regarding the establishment of additional schools.

One of the prime functions of the chief missionary is the maintaining of a training class for Uganda missionaries. Sh. A.K. Sharma started a class at Mbiko in 1963 and moved it to Jinja the following year. He was assisted by a Ugandan teacher, Sh. Al-Haj Ibrahim Semfuma. There were seven trainees in the first class and ten in the subsequent classes. The places where Ahmadiyya communities are located has been

sequent class including students in Comparative Religion, the Quran in Arabic, English and Luganda, the Hadith and the Bible. Practical activities are sponsored in such matters as performing midnight prayers, leading prayers in rural communities, preaching and literature distribution. In the evenings the teachers and trainees gather together to discuss the day's activities. The trainees are provided free accommodation and food during their course of study. In 1967 Sh. Sharma expressed the hope that a proper seminary for training missionaries would be established at Masaka along with the proposed secondary school. This was reiterated by the missionary in Masaka in 1969. However, this is another of the mission's unfulfilled dreams for extending educational work in the country.

After a visit to Uganda in 1964 Schacht reports on the Ahmadiyya movement in Uganda. Following discussions in Kampala he wrote: "Their numbers are difficult to estimate; their missionary in Kampala was vague about it." This is identical to the experience of the writer as a result of extensive interviews throughout East Africa. None of the missionary personnel have been able to produce accurate statistics of the numerical strength of the Ahmadiyya communities in the three East African countries. The gathering of specific statistics and estimates based on interviews and personal observations by the writer in the majority of the places where Ahmadiyya communities are located has been

the primary means for approximating the total number of Ahmadis in a given country. Accordingly the estimates for the Ahmadiyya population of Uganda as indicated in the chart in Appendix C is 265 male adults. Using the factor of four as previously established<sup>56</sup> the total reaches 1060 Ahmadiyya adherents including male adults and dependants. This is just over one-half of the estimate quoted to me spontaneously by their chief missionary in 1969. His figure was "not more than 2,000."<sup>57</sup> Certainly 1060 is not more than 2000!

There have been an average of three to four Pakistani missionaries serving in Uganda since 1961. The position of chief missionary has been filled by five different persons, exception of those who were teaching in the high school at Kampala. The presidential decree of General Amin that all British Asians should leave Uganda by October, 1972, was a turning point in the developing of Ahmadiyya missions in the country. An editorial occurring in the East African Times entitled "We Support Amin" gives full support to the decree asserting the Ahmadiyya teaching of loyalty to the established government and urgently asking that Pakistani missionaries be exempted. The text of the 900-word editorial reflects an English-style and wording unworthy of the usual editorial standard of expression. Because of the nature of its concluding request the surmise that the editorial was intentionally written by someone other than a missionary is a distinct likelihood. Some of the more pertinent statements contained

therein are quoted in condensed form verbatim:

.... It is a fact that Asians in Uganda are not loyal to the country .... Indians in Uganda are really saboteurs of the economy of the country, so they must quit as quickly as possible .... This being a religious paper, we have thought over the problem religiously as well. The religion, at least of Islam, has clear injunction that one should be necessarily loyal to the established government under which one is living. .... The General's decree is all right. But he has made no exceptions also. Some teachers and doctors have been excluded from the decree .... There is a spiritual side also; we request General Amin should try to safeguard that. There are, in Uganda, some religious missionaries who are Asian but not of Indian origin. They should also be exempted from the decree.<sup>58</sup>

It is interesting that the belated petition was non-effective for the Pakistani missionaries all had to evacuate with the exception of those who were teaching in the high school at Kampala. Mahmood Ahmad, principal of the school, and one of his staff, Munir Ahmad Munib, have remained. The former is also regarded as the missionary-in-charge of the Ahmadiyya work in the country. There is also mention of another school teacher by the name of Shah at Gulu. Recent efforts have been made to get an entry permit for a Pakistani missionary from one of the neighbouring missions to assist in the final proof-reading of the Luganda translation of the Quran. These requests have been refused. Sheikh Mubarak has written from Rabwah to say: "The situation in Uganda is being watched and missionary activities shall be resumed at [the] appropriate time."<sup>59</sup>

At the Shianda community in Western Kenya several

months after the now-famous Asian exodus from Uganda the writer met a Uganda resident who had just come out of the country for a visit. His appraisal of the several Ahmadi communities with which he was familiar mentioned: "much fear and uncertainty among Ugandan Ahmadis .... The mosque at Jinja is empty .... each community is continuing on its own .... The membership of some of the communities has diminished somewhat."<sup>60</sup> An attempt to get a clarified picture of the Uganda work has been unavailing.<sup>61</sup>

The remaining hope for the Ahmadiyya work rests within the capacity of the Ugandan missionaries that had propitiously been trained and given experience prior to the Pakistani missionaries' departure. There are more than a dozen of these probably deployed among the various communities that have already been enumerated. Among them two are noteworthy. Sheikh Al-Haj Ibrahim Semfuma was previously a Sunni sheikh until 1948 when he converted to Ahmadiyyat. He had served for numerous years as a teacher for the training classes at Jinja. Zekaria Kazito is currently the secretary for the mission residing in Kampala. He is a former member of the Lukiko of Buganda, is knowledgeable in Arabic and has had experience as a translator. The portion of the Quran that has been published in Luganda is largely the work of Kazito. It is primarily in the capable hands of leaders such as these that the prospects for the Ahmadiyya Movement are sustained.

## D. TANZANIA

The map of Ahmadiyya communities in Tanzania looks like some strange constellation.<sup>62</sup> The positions are strategically dispersed throughout the length and breadth of the land. Axes can be drawn to illustrate the territory that is representative places. The survey will move from Dar es Salaam to Lake Tanganyika from which it swings to the Lake Victoria Tanga to Mbeya is 775 km; and the longest is the Mtwara to Bukoba stretch of 1400 km. Although the Ahmadiyya presence in numerous places is often only a scant foothold of a few adherents, even so an incurable optimism invariably crops up in the certain assurance that what is potential must become reality. Such self assurance is reflected in expressions like that of Sh. Muhammad Munawwar who in referring to sympathisers who have not formally joined the movement wrote: "They are like a conquered land which is not yet productive. But a time must come when they shall openly join the ranks of believers."<sup>63</sup> A locality having only one Ahmadi is confidently viewed as a place where seed has been planted that will surely come to full fruition. Every Ahmadi that joins him multiplies the certainty.

Another impression gained by an overview of the movement throughout the land is the obvious preponderance of rural communities. Among the fifty Ahmadiyya localities diffused throughout the territory at least thirty-six are rural villages. This represents fully two-thirds of the total number of Ahmadis estimated.

It is readily seen, therefore, that since its formation in 1961 the Tanganyika Mission has both consolidated and accelerated its task of propagation. The number of communities has increased by 150 per cent. What follows is a sweeping indication of the new work touching certain representative places. The survey will move from Dar es Salaam to Lake Tanganyika; from which it swings to the Lake Victoria orb and scans through the northern part to Tanga on the Coast; it then arcs to the southern coast and finally curves inland to the Southern Highlands. The continuous line of the survey traces the form of the Greek letter phi  $\phi$ .

In the mid-sixties several Ahmadis moved to Kibaha village situated on a track seven miles north of the Dar es Salaam-to-Morogoro road turning at a point twenty-seven miles from the capital city. Five Ahmadi families established their homesteads in a proximity which they named Madina. They have erected a small mosque where they share communal prayers.

The mission has already manifest a strong and persistent interest in Morogoro during the early period. Dr. T.A. Dar, a physician who is a devout Ahmadi moved to Morogoro and had begun his practice there in 1953. In the mid-sixties an adequate plot had been obtained at an exceptionally choice location for the erection of a mosque and mission house. Before a missionary was posted at Morogoro the local branch of TANU tried to supplant the mission's prerogative to the

property. Upon learning of this an African Ahmadi quickly drew an improvised set of plans to satisfy the town planning council. The plans follow the simplistic design of a typical village mosque. The building is rectangular with mihrab positioned at one end in appropriate orientation. Two entrances are mid-way on the side walls. The Pakistani missionaries are not enthusiastic about the plan but in the light of the urgent circumstances they have praised the man who by his quick action saved the plot. The foundation stone was laid in mid 1967. Dr. Dar pledged a contribution of Shs. 100,000/- for the project. The mission house/office/library complex was completed by the end of 1969. The mosque was finalised and opened in September, 1970. Further inland in the central portion of Tanzania the long-standing presence of Ahmadiyya work has been enhanced. At Dodoma there has been a small nucleus of Asian Ahmadi for many years. In 1973 a Rabwah-trained Tanzanian missionary was assigned to develop the mission in the Dodoma region. The oldest mission at Tabora had not stagnated. New communities with mosques have been founded in recent years. One such establishment is located at Ndekeli village forty miles northeast of the coast in 1965 into the previously unreached region surrounding Lake Victoria. There were already three Asian Ahmadi families. Ujiji is famous among Christians as the place where Stanley met Livingstone in the last century. However, it is noteworthy for Tanzanians in general and for Ahmadi in

particular as the birthplace of Sh. K. Amri Abedi. It is one of the largest, if not the largest, towns in all of Tanzania possessing a population that consists almost exclusively of Africans. The Ahmadiyya mission has clearly wanted to establish a branch in this thoroughly Muslim town. The late Sh. Amri had engaged in active propagation but to no avail. The Sunni opposition had been unrelenting. One of those who contended against him was a cousin, Maarufu Saidi Kazema. The two engaged in public debates over the issues that separate Sunni and Ahmadi. In 1966 there was optimistic indication of some converts at Ujiji.<sup>64</sup> One of those who had converted much earlier had been a lonely mainstay of the Ahmadiyya prospects in the town for many years. Together now they seek to exert their influence and stimulate a favourable response to Ahmadiyyat in the nearly impenetrable bastion of Sunni Islam. Various chief missionaries have frequently named Ujiji as a post for locating a missionary but to this date none has taken up residence.

Bukoba and Mwanza became the objects of an Ahmadiyya thrust in 1966 into the previously unreached regions surrounding Lake Victoria. There were already three Asian Ahmadi families residing in the town of Bukoba. Sh. Hafiz Muhammad Suleiman was assigned there to develop the task of propagation. Ten days after his arrival he found himself embroiled

in a controversy that harassed his work during his two-year tenure in the region. The contention was instigated by a Shia Ithnasheri officer of the regional branch of the East African Muslim Welfare Society. The ensuing battle of duplicating machines will be discussed in a different context later in the paper.<sup>65</sup> The Ahmadiyya work in Bukoba has yet to flourish.

The Mwanza work was initiated in 1965 by Mwalimu Abdallah Ali Ngambage who had been transferred from Tanga after a comparatively successful term of service in that region. Three years later Sh. H.M. Suleiman was transferred to Mwanza from Bukoba. Attempts to bring progress to the Ahmadiyya cause in the Mwanza and Musoma areas have only met with nominal success. Two Tanzanians are now serving as missionaries in these areas. One had received training in Pakistan for thirteen years while the other was trained in the special course in Dar es Salaam. In the Maswa area of Shinyanga region there is an isolated community at Luguru village where a rural mosque is situated.

The Ahmadiyya cause has not seen much progress in the Arusha and Kilimanjaro regions. The community at Machame at the foot of Mt. Kilimanjaro has extended its influence so that a group of believers are numbered in the settlement named Mabogini four miles to the south. The community at Usangi in the North Pare mountains has continued

mission did not materialise and the missionary was a significant change. Sheikh Muhammad Abdi, another trained Tanzanian has recently been assigned to foster the prospects for progress in the long of territory of Northern Tanzania. A segment of the villagers are transplanted. The outreach in the Tanga Region has experienced progress. In the town an ambitious looking mosque was completed in 1966 at a cost of Shs.95,000/-. We also have been founded at Newala, Mahambani (16 km east of town) and at Likonde (outside Songea). The mission residence and mosque forms a basis for the extension of propaganda at the 1971 annual meeting of the Tanzania Association that a mosque-mission house-office was founded at Pangani, Kabuku, Magoroto and at Sitakishare. A project to be instigated in the town of Songea has been fulfilled.

There has been talk of starting Ahmadiyya work at Lindi. The survey now takes a six-hundred-and-fifty kilometre long Ahmadi youth was residing there in 1966, from the northern-most to the southernmost coast. In 1973 Khalid Muhammad Abdi, a Tanzanian was the established communities in Southern Tanzania from a successful missionary work at Iringa to Lindi on the axis road from Lindi to Masasi. However, Ahmadiyya propaganda in the southern Highlands. Mr. A.A. Ngambage was transferred to Mtwara to instigate the Iringa community after a tentative beginning missionary activities. Soon communities were set at Mtwara and Libobi. In the following year the chief missionary on the outskirts will be replaced by a more experienced missionary to be evicted on suitable property in town. Permission was granted from leave to reside at Mtwara. Permission was granted from the office of the Second Vice-President for the of such an expatriate in the restricted region.

bar. Mission has already been made regarding the

This permission did not materialise and the missionary was assigned to Tabora instead.<sup>66</sup>

A recent development near Wtasa has transpired since the establishment of an Ujamaa village six miles from the centre. A segment of the villagers are transplanted Ahmadis. Sh. Khalid Muhammad visits the community regularly from his base at Wtasa to conduct Friday prayers. New localities have also been founded at Nwala, Mahauhau (16 km east of Tunduru on the main road) and at Likonde outside Songea. The resolution at the 1971 annual meeting of the Tanzania Ahmadiyya Association that a mosque-mission house-office-library project be instigated in the town of Songea has yet to be fulfilled.

There has been talk of starting Ahmadiyya work at Mbeya since a lone Ahmadi youth was residing there in 1966. At last in 1973 Mwalimu Daudi Ali Shoo, a Tanzanian was transferred from a successful missionary work at Iringa to actuate Ahmadiyya propaganda in the southern highlands area. The Iringa community after a tentative beginning subsequently saw substantial growth and development. A mosque on the outskirts will be replaced by a more appropriate edifice to be erected on suitable property in town.

The survey having completed a diameter and full circle now doubles back to consider the question of Ahmadis on Zanzibar. Mention has already been made regarding the

early presence of members of the movement on the island. Anderson substantiates the inclusion of Ahmadis among Zanzibar's Indian immigrants.<sup>67</sup> In 1967 the chief missionary asserted: "We have many sympathisers on the Island. More and more people are ordering the Swahili translation of the Holy Quran from Pemba and Zanzibar."<sup>68</sup> The following year his replacement as chief missionary remarked that there was only one Ahmadi in Zanzibar, a Pakistani.<sup>69</sup> In 1971 a Tanzanian Ahmadi was mentioned as serving on Zanzibar as an official of the national bank. In 1973 the chief missionary verified that these same two Ahmadis were still residing on the Island.<sup>70</sup> It is certain that neither in the present nor in the recent past has there been an active community in Zanzibar.

An intimation by the former chief Kadhi of Zanzibar Sh. Abdulla S. Farsy, that the Ahmadiyya Movement had been banned on the Island was passed on to the writer in 1968.<sup>71</sup> A year later this was verified by Sh. Abdulla who had left Zanzibar in 1967 to become the Kenya chief kadhi. He asserted that members of the movement had been prohibited from holding communal meetings such as Friday prayers and they were forbidden to actively propagate Ahmadiyya teachings.<sup>72</sup> Whether this proscription has continued in force has not been conclusively determined by the writer. The knowledgeable Sunni leaders in Kenya and Tanzania respectively had no knowledge of such a ban.<sup>73</sup> Sh. C.I. Ahmadi has

emphatically denied any past or present. Nevertheless, he could mention only two Ahmadis on the Island and further admitted that these two were not currently holding Friday prayers. Whether this is simply because two are considered insufficient to constitute a jamat or because there is in fact a ban still in effect cannot be decided in the light of the available inconclusive information.

An overview of the network of Ahmadiyya communities in Tanzania raises the question of how such a widespread work is effectively administered. Since the organisational structure of the missions in East Africa follow the same pattern a discussion of the working arrangement in Tanzania is sufficiently representative of the other missions as well. The scheme resembles the episcopal form of government in Christian ecclesiology. The difference being that the chief missionary's authority rests in the fact of his appointment for a specific function rather than in the efficacy of any historical succession inherent in the office as is the case of bishops in some Christian churches. The authority is vested in the function rather than in a special person. In this sense the office of chief missionary would resemble that of Methodist Superintendent.

The control exercised by the chief missionary, or amir as he is sometimes called, is absolute. He is responsible directly to the Foreign Missions' Office in Rabwah. His administrative prerogative pertains to missionary and

financial policies, new projects, public relations and any disputes that might arise. The only course of appeal above him is directly to the Foreign Missions Secretary at Rabwah.

The chief amir has an executive committee appointed by himself and located within sufficient proximity to his office to enable regular meetings. There are Tanzanians who serve on this as well as Asians. The financial committee which may be regarded as a sub-committee of the executive consists of the chief missionary, another missionary and a non-missionary member who is called Treasurer. For all practical purposes, however, the chief missionary actually functions as treasurer. All contributions received are deposited into a central fund in the name of the mission. Out of this account the salaries of missionaries, both Pakistani and Tanzanian, are paid along with other operating expenditures. The travel of personnel within Tanzania necessary for the fulfilling of their missionary responsibilities is supported by the mission. Since no motor cars are provided for missionaries public means of transportation are utilised. The fare for the overseas travel of missionaries to and from Pakistan is provided by the Rabwah office. The operation of the primary schools at Tabora is also subsidised from Pakistan.<sup>74</sup> Any special fund-raising projects undertaken require prior authority from the Foreign Missions office.<sup>75</sup>

Occasionally there is a national gathering lasting

several days of representatives from jamats of the various regions. This is sometimes called an annual meeting although such do not invariably occur every year. Reports are heard and matters are discussed relating to problems or projects of general interest. Resolutions may be passed on to Rabwah regarding new projects desired. However, most of the time is spent in hearing inspirational and edificatory messages by the missionaries.

The local Ahmadiyya associations are organised simply with three officers: President, Secretary and Treasurer. These officers though elected locally must have the approval of the chief amir and the Foreign Missions office as well. There is also a local executive committee. Funds that are received by the local association must be forwarded to the mission for disbursement and may not be administered locally. The main purpose of the local organisation is the determining of local mission policies, the resolution of problems, mutual edification and the propagation of the Ahmadiyya message.

Schildknecht queries the potential problems which the "centralistic concept of organisation" poses in the face of the inevitable demand for the Africanisation of the leadership of the mission organisation.<sup>76</sup> Such tensions seem not to have yet materialised in East Africa as it had in West Africa. The strong allegiance to the caliph expected of all members, the readiness on the part of the Pakistanis to

encourage the training and appointment of African missionaries and the bond of comradeship existing among the missionaries with Pakistanis and Africans freely intermingling are factors favourable toward a mitigation of the Africanisation issue. In the face of an often-hostile majority Islam the movement's minority status probably precludes or at least minimises any agitation on the part of Tanzanians over the racial composition of its leadership. The question so far has been effectively postponed if not entirely ignored.

During the current period since the mission's formation there have been an average of four Pakistani missionaries serving in Tanzania. Presently there are five. There have been different chief missionaries. Serving along with the expatriates are seven Tanzanians also on the salary roll.<sup>77</sup> In addition there are more than thirty honorary missionaries throughout the country.<sup>78</sup> Three Tanzanians have received training at the missionary training college in West Pakistan. They return with what is termed competence in Arabic and in some cases also Urdu. Their education has furnished them with a thorough indoctrination in Ahmadiyya tenets. Apart from the overseas training scholarships a limited number of young men who are committed to missionary work are given several years of intensive training in the course established in Dar es Salaam. Usually one of the Pakistani missionaries is engaged as a full-time instructor in association with the chief missionary.

The involvement of the Ahmadiyya mission in general education has been and continues to be minimal. The original primary school established by Sh. Muburak in the early period of Pangale out of Tabora is still maintained. This has been upgraded from a lower primary school to include the middle standards as well. It is grant-in-aid assisted by the government through the Area Council. Another lower primary school has been founded in Kipungu near Usoke in the Tabora Region. Apart from these two schools there is no other involvement in education. In the early period and in the first half of the decade of the sixties the official stance was one of non-interest in mission-sponsored education and a concomitant policy of demanding more government schools for Muslim children. This attitude changed in the mid-sixties after the succession of the third Caliph to the head of the Ahmadiyya movement. A quotation from the chief missionary in 1967 illustrates the change:

A fresh development in our attitude towards schools will be of interest. The present Iman [Caliph] himself a great educationist, has expressed his intention to open ten secondary schools in East Africa.<sup>79</sup> Foundation of a secondary school was laid in Kampala towards the end of last year. One is contemplated to be built in Kenya this year [at Kwale?]. And another is intended to start in Dar es Salaam as soon as circumstances allow. Our primary school at Pangale, Tabora district, will be raised to secondary status after three years.<sup>80</sup>

Soon after such a declaration of intent the Tabora missionary added to it the prospect of a missionary college also to be based at Pangale. The construction was to begin either at the end of 1967 or 1968.

For certain unexplained reasons none of these prospects have materialised. Not only so but the unequivocal position now is that none of the projects are any longer regarded as viable options. The recent chief missionary has stated plainly that there are no plans for either a missionary college or a secondary school anywhere in Tanzania.<sup>81</sup>

A concluding question concerning the Ahmadiyya presence in Tanzania regards their numerical strength. As is also true of the other East African countries persistent efforts to get solid information have been unavailing. The only options open to the researcher are either to accept uncritically the estimates given by the various missionaries or to form carefully considered estimates based on whatever specific information he has been able to gather. The latter alternative has been preferred.

The reasons for regarding the various estimates offered by Ahmadiyya personnel as dubious are several. Firstly, there is the expressed indifference with reference to statistics and estimates of Ahmadiyya strength in all three of the East African countries. This has been stated repeatedly through local interviews. "Numbers do not matter much to us" is a characteristic statement.<sup>82</sup> This seems to hold true, however, only until estimates that contradict theirs appear upon which strong exceptions are raised. Yet it is readily admitted that there are no statistics on hand at their head office and that any estimates based on guesswork should be valueless.<sup>83</sup> Secondly, there is a strong propensity on the part of a few of the missionaries to hyperbolise their rough estimates. This is

the distinct impression the writer has gained from numerous estimates that have been quoted to him. Thirdly, there have occurred instances where estimates on the same area by two Ahmadi missionaries have been significantly disparate. Fourthly, many who may be counted as new converts are accepted uncritically. Schacht refers to this point concerning his interview with an Ahmadiyya missionary in Kampala; "he was prepared to issue a declaration of adhesion to anyone who asked for it, even if he had not been instructed in the Ahmadiyya doctrine, and considered him an Ahmadi if he signed it."<sup>84</sup> Sh. M. Munawwar further substantiated the point by referring to certain persons who have not openly professed nor joined Ahmadiyyat but are known to: "give us their full support and help us in so many ways. According to the formula, those who are not against us, are with us we consider them to be ours."<sup>85</sup>

Because of all the above factors it has been essential to the writer to attempt to establish a careful and reasonable estimate of Ahmadiyya strength in all three of the East African countries. This has been obtained primarily through local estimates from on-the-scene interviews. Tallies have already been given accordingly for Kenya and Uganda. It now remains to indicate from the analytical estimate in Appendix C the enumeration for the total estimated is 677 male adults. Using the previously established factor of four the Ahmadiyya population for Tanzania is set approximately at 2,708.

This figure is a little more than half of the 5,000

which is estimated by a recent chief missionary.<sup>86</sup> It should be explained that he has indicated his basis for estimation as follows: "The average size of community having a mosque varies from 50 - 200 .... The average size of a branch without a mosque, ranges between 10 and 50."<sup>87</sup> However, his total figure reflects the high averages for both types of communities (i.e. 200 and 50 respectively) taking such to be the correct working averages. If, on the other hand, the medians<sup>88</sup> of the two ranges mentioned above (i.e. 125 and 30 respectively) were to apply the total would be 3,285. This latter seems not unrealistic though it is somewhat higher than the writer's approximation.

In concluding a recapitulation of the estimate of the Ahmadiyya population for all of East Africa is appropriate. The totals previously given are: Kenya - 1,468; Uganda - 1,060 and Tanzania - 2,708. The sum total of all three is 5,236. By comparison it is a curious point that in 1964 it was reported that: "the community has 6,700 members in East Africa."<sup>89</sup> Schildknecht reflects that such a figure includes their communities in "Congo and Rwanda-Burundi, and Zambia."<sup>90</sup> This assumption appears to have some parallel in a statement by a former chief missionary of Tanzania regarding the claim that there are Ahmadis in all the regions except Mara. Commenting on the exception he suggests, "that is compensated by new converts from beyond the borders of Tanzania, i.e. Portuguese East Africa, Congo, Zambia and Malawi."<sup>91</sup> In the light of such inclusiveness on the one hand and the indefiniteness due to a lack of statistical records on the other hand

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>The meeting was held 25 - 27 December, 1960, cf. M.Y.M., Januari, 1961. Ahmadiyyah: A Study in Contemporary Islam in the West African Coast, London: Oxford University Press, 1960.
- <sup>2</sup>M.Y.M. Julai, 1961, p.2.
- <sup>3</sup>Ibid., the reference erroneously indicates Mombasa.
- <sup>4</sup>M.Y.M., Mei, 1962, pp. 1, 6.
- <sup>5</sup>J.D. Holway "The Extent of Interconversion Between Islam and Christianity in East Africa" (unpublished dissertation, University of East Africa), p.481.
- <sup>6</sup>M. Ali, What the Ahmadiyya Movement Stands For (Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman, n.d.), p.5, quoting Whither Islam?, p. 214.
- <sup>7</sup>M.M. Ahmad, Our Foreign Missions (3rd ed. rev., Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1961), p. 15.
- <sup>8</sup>Supra. p. 40.
- <sup>9</sup>Interviews with J.R. Rafiq, Dar es Salaam, 1 April, 1968; and L.R. Mirza, Nairobi, 18 October, 1973.
- <sup>10</sup>Mirza, loc. cit., suggests 5,000 as the usual quantity for special editions; M. Munawwar (M.Y.M., Dec., 1959, p. 9) indicated one particular edition having 10,000 copies.
- <sup>11</sup>The information in this entire paragraph from Mirza, loc. cit. It is noteworthy that the current quantity of M.Y.M. for Tanzania represents one half of the number sent five years previous, cf. Rafiq, loc. cit.
- <sup>12</sup>M.M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 16
- <sup>13</sup>Mirza, loc. cit.
- <sup>14</sup>E.R. Martin, "The Ahmadiyya Movement in Tanzania" (unpublished Master's Thesis, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1966), pp. 91 - 93.

<sup>15</sup>Editorial of M.Y.M., Agosti, 1965, p. 3. The verbatim passage is: "Gazeti hili mlifanya nyumbani kwenu kama Sheikh mkuu na kuondoa matatizo yenu."

<sup>16</sup>H.J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah: A Study in Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast, London: Oxford University Press, 1963, p. 192.

<sup>17</sup>For a descriptive listing of all Swahili titles cf. Appendix A.

<sup>18</sup>These are thirty and twenty pages in length respectively. No authors or publication quantities are indicated, but the writer surmises a total of 5,000 for each.

<sup>19</sup>cf. infra. Chap. VII for a full description and discussion of this translation.

<sup>20</sup>"Wanaelekeza zaidi Uislamu", M.Y.M., Januari, 1961, p.1.

<sup>21</sup>M.M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>22</sup>cf. the discussion of polemical leaflets infra Chap. IX, Section B. pp.

<sup>23</sup>A listing of Luganda titles are: Enjigiriza Yaffe (translation of Noah's Ark cf. Appendix A), Enjigiriza Y'Ekiyisiramu (The Teaching of Islam), Ekitabo Ky'esaala Y'Ekiyisiramu (Muslim Prayer Book), Okusiiba Omweezi Gwa Ramazani (Fasting of the month of Ramadhan), "Ahmad, The Promised Messiah", and "The Quran Proves the Death of Jesus) (for these last two the Luganda titles were not given).

<sup>24</sup>Interview with Sh. A.K. Sharma, Jinja, 2 March, 1967.

<sup>25</sup>Information in this paragraph is from Mirza, loc. cit.

<sup>26</sup>V. Monteil, L'Islam Noir (Paris: Editions Du Seville 1964), p. 308, trans., from the French: "En Afrique Orientale, cherchent a convertir."

<sup>27</sup>The minimum number during the period is two, the maximum is six and the average is three-and-one-half; these figures include the chief missionary; cf. Appendix D.

<sup>28</sup>Interview with M.D. Ahmad, Kisumu, 2 March, 1967.

28 F.J. Berg and B.J. Walter, "Mosques, Population and Urban Development in Mombasa", Hadith 1, B.A. Ogot, ed. (Nairobi: E.A. Publishing House, 1968), p. 75.

29 Interview with M.D. Ahmad, Mombasa, 14.10.72. Unless otherwise stated figures given throughout this paper regarding the numerical strength of a given community or area indicate male adults as heads of family units. To derive the total number of adherents which would include women and children the total of male adults is multiplied by a factor of four. This factor is taken from an analysis of the Kenya 1969 population census where male adults represent virtually one-fourth of the total African population (2,670,208 out of 10,942,705). Kenya Population Census 1969 Vol. I, Nairobi, Statistical Division, Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Republic of Kenya, 1970, p. 1. It is herein assumed that this factor would also appropriately apply to Uganda and Tanzania since the variations would most likely be inconsequential to the estimates given in this study. Sh. Munawwar in his letter of 2 Jan., 1967, in effect agrees with this factor.

30 Letter from Franz Schildknecht, W.F., 23 June, 1967.

31 Interview with Hassanally Musa Jetha, Mombasa, 3 April, 1973.

32 Interview with Aziz Khaki, Territorial Secretary, E.A.M.W.S., Dar es Salaam, 23 May, 1963. He stated: "Ahmadis are not considered to be true Muslims by the majority of Muslims; therefore, they could not be allowed to participate in the Society, E.A.M.W.S."

33 Letters to the "Mailbox", Daily Nation occurred as follows: On 3 Oct., 1974, by Mohammed Ahmed, and on 12 Oct., 1973, by H.S. Hafidh. Both letters registered stringent complaints that "lately the mission Ahmadiyya has been debarred from holding such classes." Both correspondents are Mombasa Ahmadis.

34 Information in this and the two preceding paragraphs is by interview with Noor Ali, Kwale, 26 March, 1967.

35 Supra p. 72.

36 Interview with R.D. Ahmad, Mombasa, 25 March, 1967.

37 Interview with Sadiki Abdalla, Mombasa, 13 October, 1972.

38 Interview with M.D. Ahmad, Kisumu, 4 March, 1967.

<sup>54</sup>Sh. Sharma was transferred to become chief missionary in Kenya thus completing a simple exchange.

<sup>55</sup>Ayaz, loc. cit., of. infra. p.103 and accompanying note 79.

<sup>56</sup>Supra. p. 110, Note 29. Sicard, Dar es Salaam, 19 March,

<sup>57</sup>Interview with Sh. M.I. Soofi, Jinja, 17 March, 1969.

Interview with Sh. A.S. Parsy, Kisumu, 17 January,

<sup>58</sup>M.Y.M., November, 1972, p. 2.

<sup>59</sup>Letter from Mubarak Ahmad, 10 Mar., 1974; other information supra is from an interview with A.K. Sharma, Dar es Salaam, 22 Feb., 1974; and Mirza loc. cit.

<sup>60</sup>Interview with Ramadhani Idi, Shianda, Western Province of Kenya, 27 April, 1973.

<sup>61</sup>The writer has tried to correspond with Mahmood Ahmad but with no response. The postal service is uncertain and anxiety over censorship are plausible reasons why. No follow-up was pursued because it was felt that further correspondence could erroneously be misconstrued and cause some embarrassment to the Ahmadis in Uganda.

<sup>62</sup>Cf. Appendix B.

<sup>63</sup>Munawwar, op. cit.

<sup>64</sup>M.Y.M., April, 1966, p. 1.

<sup>65</sup>Infra, pp. 245, 246.

<sup>66</sup>Interview with Sh. M. Munawwar, Dar es Salaam, 5 April, 1971. It is a curious point that his successor as chief missionary categorically denied the need for such permission and that there was any problem regarding the sending of Pakistanis into Mtwara region - cf. interview with Sh. C.I. Ahmadi, Dar es Salaam, 25 Oct., 1973. It is pertinent to point out that no Pakistani has in fact entered the region either to reside or merely visit since the request was refused.

<sup>67</sup>J.N.D. Anderson, Islamic Law in Africa (London: F. Cass, 1970), p. 68.

- 68 Letter Munawwar, loc. cit. in "East Africa", Studia  
Geographica, vol. XIII, p. 101.
- 69 Rafiq, loc. cit.  
Letter Munawwar, loc. cit.
- 70 Ahmadi, loc. cit.  
Letter Ahmadi, loc. cit.
- 71 Interview with S. von Sicard, Dar es Salaam, 19 March,  
1969. Ibid.
- 72 Interview with Sh. A.S. Farsy, Kisumu, 17 January,  
1969. Estimated averages which are 50 and 20 respectively.
- 73 Interviews with A. Nassir, Nairobi, 18 Oct., 1973, 20  
and Sh. Mohammad Ali, Dar es Salaam, 26 Oct., 1973.
- 74 Such subsidisation also applies to the secondary  
school in Uganda.  
Letter Munawwar, loc. cit.
- 75 The information in this paragraph regarding finances  
is from the interview with Sh. J.R. Rafiq, Dar es Salaam,  
12 Nov., 1968.
- 76 Schildknecht, loc. cit.
- 77 Their names with their current assignment in paren-  
thesis are as follows: Sh. Abutaalib Saudi (Dodoma), Sh. Yusuf  
Athuman Kambaulaya (Mwanza), Sh. Muhammad Abdi (Arusha), Mwalimu  
Mahmood Abdallah (Mwanza), Mw. Daudi Ali Shoo (Mbeya), Mw. Omari  
Abdallah (Tabora), and Mw. Abdallah Ali Ngambage (Mtwara).
- 78 Letter from Sh. C.I. Ahmadi, 12 July, 1873.
- 79 According to Ayaz supra p. 86; the alleged number is  
twenty-five.
- 80 Letter Munawwar, loc. cit.
- 81 Interview Ahmadi, loc. cit.
- 82 Letter Munawwar, loc. cit.
- 83 Letter Ahmadi, loc. cit.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE RELIGIOUS STATUS OF AHMADIS AS REFLECTED

#### IN CERTAIN JURISTIC DECISIONS

The fundamental question has pursued Ahmadis perennially from the establishment of Ghulam Ahmad's new jamat until the present time. The unrelenting and to this point, still unresolved issue concerns the Islamicity of Ahmadiyyat. Are Ahmadis rightly regarded as true Muslims or not? This same problem is raised later in a more theological context.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter a review of certain judicial decisions bearing on this moot point will be set in historical perspective. After some cursory references to non-judicial pronouncements against the movement a summary of juridical precedents from the Indian sub-continent will be given. Finally, corresponding decisions that have obtained in East Africa will be compared and evaluated.

The excommunication of Ghulam Ahmad and his followers has already been alluded to.<sup>2</sup> Walter credits this action to one of his most tenacious adversaries who had been a close colleague, Maulva Muhammad Husain. He succeeded in obtaining a fatwa against Ghulam and his devotees: "bearing confirmatory seals of many important mullas throughout India, excommunicating Ahmad and his followers .... and declaring that their destruction was thenceforth sanctioned in accordance with orthodox law."<sup>3</sup> The effect of this was to alienate the Ahmadis from the Sunnis preventing inter-marriage and participation in communal prayers by Ahmadis at Sunni mosques. A sampling from one source which

The inference is clearly applicable to all Ahmadis. These catalogues the condemnatory censures hurled at him is illustrative of the odium with which he was regarded by the orthodox Muslims. He is called the Anti-Christ, or "the personification of all vices" and his followers "the children of Anti-Christ"; another labels him: "a confirmed liar and fabricator"; again: "a faithless infidel and a double dealing heretic"; or: "or the most wicked of God's creatures"; and: "the worst of the apostates"; again: "accursed of God"; et cetera.<sup>4</sup>

The verdict of orthodox Islam is virtually universal in declaring Ahmadis to be non-Muslims. In East Africa the Sunni protagonist of every decade since the beginning of the Ahmadiyya Mission has concurred with this judgment. First it was Sheikh Al-Amin bin Aly who asserted: "Oh! their apostasy is without a doubt a point well known by all Islamic nations."<sup>5</sup> Next in the mid-fifties it was Sheikh Ali bin Hemedi who condemned them because of what he regarded as their exceedingly inimical translation of the Quran into Swahili. Anyone who believes their corrupt interpretation should be judged as "not a Muslim .... that is to say he is an apostate" and if he persuades someone else to believe in this heresy he is: "twice an apostate."<sup>6</sup> In the succeeding decade Sheikh Abdalla Saleh Al Farsy, chief Kadhi of Kenya gave the opinion that it would be better if the Qadianis would not call themselves Muslims.<sup>7</sup> And finally, the Sunni leader who is currently poised as the chief detractor of Ahmadiyyat, Sheikh Abdillahi Nassir, has said of Ghulam Ahmad: "..... [this] person is by no means a Muslim. He is precisely an apostate!"<sup>8</sup>

inference is clearly applicable to all Ahmadis. These  
 expressions faithfully reflect the generally consistent opinion  
 of all Muslims throughout East Africa with regard to Ahmadis.

However, this does not resolve the question of their  
 religious and what is more pertinent their legal status. They  
 are to the Islamic kalima; they strictly observe the five  
 pillars of religious practice; and as will be seen in the next  
 chapter their doctrinal foundation rests on the broad base of  
 Islamic orthodoxy. Their own strong insistence that they are  
 true Muslims is a point that still has to be reckoned

with. It now brings us to a consideration that goes beyond the  
 official pronouncements of orthodox leaders or groups to view  
 certain juristic decisions that relate to the fundamental prob-

#### A. JUDICIAL PRECEDENTS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

In two of his imposing works Fyzee fortunately raises  
 an axiomatic question that is the corollary to our immediate  
 problem. In seeking to determine whether anyone - Ahmadi or  
 otherwise - is to be regarded as a true Muslim the prior question  
 must be answered: How do you define a Muslim? or as the expert  
 concerned with the practicalities of the problem posits: "Who  
 for the purposes of the administration of justice, is to be con-  
 sidered a Muslim?"<sup>9</sup> He further asserts that in India the defin-  
 ition that is accepted by the courts is simply that reflected in  
 the opinion of Ameer Ali who stated: "Any person who professes the

petition for a revision of the previous judgment:

.... only because we are satisfied that a question of public importance relating to the personal status of a substantial part of the Muslim community is raised. The question is whether the petitioner's adherence to Ahmadiyya tenets made him a murtad or apostate from Muhammadanism.<sup>14</sup>

The judge commented that the lower court accepted uncritically the premise that general Islamic accord dictates the limits of apostasy. It is deemed necessary to examine the authenticity of general opinion to see if a true consensus obtains. With regard to Ahmadis this has not been ascertained. Therefore, the judge considered that: "it has not been established that the Muslim community either generally or in India has reached any decision which we can regard as conclusive."<sup>15</sup> He then examined the various evidences of the case in the lower court with regard to the degree to which Ahmadiyyat is divergent from orthodox Islam. He opined that these are insufficient and that it was not shown that the Ahmadiyya faith abandons the essential belief of Islam.

At this juncture Oldfield cites another case approximate to the issue contended: Hakim Khalil Ahmad v. Malik Israfi and Malik Israfi v. Hakim Khalil Ahmad - 1927 2 Patna L.J., 108. He mentions that similarly in this previous case it was concluded that there was no evidence to support the charge of apostasy against an Ahmadi. He, therefore, concludes with regard to the case before him that the first husband is not an apostate and his marriage with the woman was still valid after his adherence to Ahmadiyya.<sup>16</sup> The second judge's opinion corrobor-

ated that of his colleague entirely point for point.

the Muslims that Qadianis are non-Muslims." <sup>20</sup> This runs counter to the precedents in India.

Fyzee regards the case as highly significant for: "it is the clearest authority for the proposition that belief in monotheism and the prophetic mission of the Prophet Muhammad are the essentials of Islam."<sup>17</sup>

Another case involving a marriage between Ahmadi and non-Ahmadi Muslim appeared in Pakistan more than three decades later than the two precedents already described. The civil appeal cases numbers 32 and 33 of 1955, Rawalpindi, as follows:— Naziruddin Malik v. Amatul Karim and Amatul Karim v. Naziruddin Malik.<sup>18</sup>

The case may be summarised as follows: After two years of marriage the husband, Naziruddin Malik, divorced his wife for other than religious reasons. Amatul Karim filed suit for recovery of both dower and dowry. She had been an Ahmadi at the time of marriage and continued as such. The defence of the husband contended that her Ahmadiyya adherence made the marriage void in the first instance and obviated any responsibility on his part with regard to dower. As to the return of dowry he averred that the alleged value was incorrect and that he was in fact not in possession of such. The real issue to be determined was whether or not Ahmadiyya affiliation constitutes her status as a non-Muslim thereby nullifying the marriage. The decision of the trial court was to the effect that the wife was accordingly a non-Muslim and her claim for the dower disallowed.<sup>19</sup> The appeal judge upheld the finding of the trial court. In doing so one point is particularly significant. One of the findings of the appeal

The husband's petition to the District Commissioner's Appeal Court, Kilwa, was successful in reversing the lower court's decision with regard to dowry but granting a khula divorce on grounds of incompatibility. The original instalment of the dowry (i.e. Shs.200/-) was ordered to be returned to Hassan. Mwanaisha petitioned the Provincial Commissioner, Mtwara, who forwarded the case to the Central Court of Appeals, Dar es Salaam. The decision of this court set aside the judgment of the District Commissioner's Appeal Court and allowing the appeal of Mwanaisha upheld the judgment of the Matandu Local Court.

Certain points that were brought to light in the proceedings of this case are worthy of attention. Hassan denied in the cross examination in the District Court that he had been asked regarding his Ahmadiyya adherence before the marriage. His father, as his witness, contradicted this testimony. It became readily apparent that the primary question related to whether or not an Ahmadi may be regarded as a true Muslim. The negative of this question necessitates the ruling that the marriage is irregular (fasid) therefore separating the parties with the wife retaining the dowry. The affirmative calls for a khula divorce returning the dowry to the husband. The District Commissioner received statements from a Sunni sheikh and a Sunni elder both concurring that Ahmadis may not be regarded as Muslims because: "a) they claim that there was another prophet after Mohamed and b) they have altered the reading of the Koran to suit themselves."<sup>26</sup> In addition the Sunni sheikh cited a

letter from a Zanzibar Mufti, Diyari Sayid Omar bin Sayid Ahmad bin Sumeet to the Matandu Local Court offering an opinion with regard to the marriage of a Sunni to an Ahmadi. His unequivocal word was that ".... everyone who believes in their [Ahmadis] doctrine he is infidel." and ".... it is not allowed to Muslims to marry them..."<sup>27</sup> Weighty consideration was also given to the above-mentioned Indian cases as precedents upholding the Islamicity of Ahmadis.<sup>28</sup> The District Commissioner's judgment was influenced more by these precedents than the evidence produced on the Sunni side. His decision was to the effect that an Ahmadi is duly regarded as a Muslim.

The Central Court of Appeals was largely influenced in its decision by a reference to Anderson's work - Islamic Law in Africa. The relevant passage referred to is:

I heard of occasional cases in which a Shafii African wife had petitioned the local Liwali for the dissolution of her marriage on the grounds that her husband had adopted Ahmadi tenets as a result of the missionary activities of Indian Ahmadis, that this was equivalent to apostasy from Islam, and that her marriage was thereby automatically dissolved unless the erring husband immediately returned to the faith: and most Liwalis concerned were disposed to grant such petitions. British and Indian courts, it is true, have refused dissolution of marriage in such circumstances on the ground that Ahmadis recite the Muhammadan creed and must therefore be regarded as Muslims: but there seems to be considerable justification for the Liwalis' view that membership of the Qadiani sect of Ahmadi involves a denial that Muhammad is the last of the prophets and therefore amounts to apostasy from orthodox Islam. This, however, seems to be the only juristic problem to which the Ahmadis of East Africa give rise.<sup>29</sup>

In his summary to the High Court the Local Courts Adviser also

referred to the letter from the Zanzibar Mufti indicating that consultation with the Kadhi of Dar es Salaam corroborated this position.

Another consideration was injected into the High Court's decision. It was acknowledged that the respondent, Hassan, had obviously: "deceived Mwanaisha and married her under false pretences. It is therefore only right that apart from any other considerations, he should be mulcted and Mwanaisha indemnified."<sup>30</sup> The final judgment also offered that: "The Commissioner was not justified in interfering with the judgment of the Matandu Court."<sup>30</sup>

It has been indicated that at least one other case of similar significance has occurred at Utete in the Rufiji area.<sup>31</sup> Other similar cases in either Kenya or Uganda have not come to the writer's attention during the course of his field of research.

Certainly the case of Mwanaisha Mselemu v. Hassan Hemedi represents a clearer resolution of the fundamental question at least as far as Tanzania is concerned. The Ahmadiyya position loses force and must yield to this clear precedent in matters of judicial questions. Ahmadis are not regarded juristically as true Muslims in Tanzania. This does not, however, lessen their vociferous insistence that they are the true Muslims. An examination of their doctrinal stance is now appropriate.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>ibid. infra., Chap. V, pp. 131, 132.

<sup>2</sup>ibid. supra., Chap. I, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup>V.A. Walter, The Ahmadiyya Movement (London: Oxford University Press, 1916), p. 16.

<sup>4</sup>L. Lewis, "Tolerance and Conflict in Ahmadiyya History: The Ulema, The Nineteen, and the British (1898)" The Muslim World, Vol. LXVI, No. 4, October, 1972, quoting in footnote 9 from S.A. Qazi, Life of Ahmad, I (Lahore: Sultan Bros., 1949), pp. 144 - 145, passim.

<sup>5</sup>A.S. Ali, Hirsa na Jinsi Kawadangananyavyo Islamu, (Mombasa: Maweya's Khari, n.d.), p. 36: "Amna Ukafiri wao ni jamba la khalifa wa wataifa yote ya Kiislamu."

<sup>6</sup>A. Hamid, Taarifa Jua Ya Tafairi Ya Wakadini (Mombasa: S.P., 1973), p. 4: ".....si Muislamu ..... yaani ni murtadi ....." and "..... atawa murtadi wa marambili ....."

<sup>7</sup>Interview with A.S. Faruq, Mombasa, 3 April, 1974.

<sup>8</sup>A. Hamid, Hukia Ya Ukadini (Mombasa: National Union of Kenya Muslims and Ansar Muslim Mission, 1973), p. 5: ".... ato kupa al Muislamu hawa, ni kafiri hana!"

<sup>9</sup>A.S.A. Fyass, Outline of Muhammadan Law (London: Oxford University Press, 1964, 3rd ed.), p. 58.

<sup>10</sup>ibid., quoting Isma' Ali, vol. 11, p. 22.

<sup>11</sup>ibid., of, the discussion infra in Chap. V, p. 132.

<sup>12</sup>ibid.

<sup>13</sup>A.S.A. Fyass, Cases in the Muhammadan Law of India and Pakistan (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), the discussion is based on ibid. passim - this will be assumed unless otherwise specified.

<sup>14</sup>ibid., p. 58.

<sup>15</sup>ibid., p. 60.

<sup>16</sup>The practical problem of the woman's second marriage was answered by stating that a retrial had not been requested and that since the woman's second marriage was an honest mistake with regard to the law no further proceedings would be necessary. Since bigamy was not judicially established in the lower court the woman's second marriage would be regarded as legally valid.

<sup>17</sup>Fyzee, Outlines ....., p. 60

<sup>18</sup>n.a., Mirzais are Non-Muslims (Athlone, Cape, S.A.: Islamic Publication Bureau, n.d.), p. 1.

<sup>19</sup>At the same time the judge ordered the return of the dowry amount which was found in possession of the husband to the wife.

<sup>20</sup>Mirzais are Non-Muslims, op. cit., p. 24.

<sup>21</sup>Aziz Ahmad, Islamic Modernism in India and Pakistan 1857 - 1964 (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 241.

<sup>22</sup>The report placed the principal blame for the disorders on the orthodox Muslim and political activist organisations while holding that the Ahmadis had in fact also not refrained from being provocative.

<sup>23</sup>K. Cragg, Counsels in Contemporary Islam, Islamic Surveys 3 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1965), other sources used in this discussion are: Aziz Ahmad, op. cit. pp. 240; 241; and n.a. The Munir Report on the Punjab Disturbances (Lahore: Government Printers, 1954), passim.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with R.S.P. Lamburn, Dar es Salaam, 11 Nov. 1964.

<sup>25</sup>Information on this case is from File LGB 510, Appeal No. 11/61, High Court Appeals Register, Dar es Salaam; Appelant: Mwanaisha d/o Mselemu; Respondent: Hassan s/o Hemed; date of appeal: 27.1.61; date of judgment: 4.5.61; the writer saw the partial file in the District Office, Kilwa and the complete file at the High Court, Dar es Salaam, through the good offices of his Honour, T.A. Herman, Supervisory Magistrate. The file contains: the Local Court case file, a summary of the case, the Judgment of the Central Court of Appeals /vide Appendix E/, and various communications between the Central Court and the Provincial and District Offices.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., Local Court Appeal Case File 1A p. 4 of File LGB 510.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., Exhibit "B", p. 13.

<sup>28</sup>vide, Narantakath v. Parakkal and Hakim Khalil Ahmad v. Malik Israfi and vice versa supra pp. 118 and 119 respectively.

<sup>29</sup>J.N.D. Anderson, Islamic Law in Africa (London: F. Cass, 1970), pp. 133, 134.

<sup>30</sup>File LGB 510, op. cit., item 8, Judgment of the Central Court of Appeals, Appeal Case 11/61, p. 2, vide Appendix E.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with Husein Juma, Dar es Salaam, 23 February, 1974. Details of this case are not in hand but have been promised.

## CHAPTER V

### A COMPENDIUM OF DOCTRINAL EXPRESSION AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE ADVOCATED AMONG AHMADIS IN EAST AFRICA

In religion belief and actualisation are inseparable. Doctrine and practice cohere in that the latter is the effectual manifestation of the former in the every-day life of the believer. While the two may be conceptually discernible as separate aspects they actually subsist in the individual's awareness as an integral part of his religious experience. This is certainly applicable to Islam generally and is no less true of Ahmadiyyat.

The focus of the following discussion centres on those Ahmadiyya beliefs and practices enjoined of Africans: both candidates for conversion and neophytes. The body of Ahmadiyya belief and practice provides a base for certain emphases apparent in the vehicle of their publications. The writer proposes to glean from a perusal of the available literature in various forms those distinctive teachings advocated for East African readers. Substantial dependence will be given to Ahmadiyya sources in both the English and Swahili media produced primarily for distribution in East Africa. Necessary reference to other sources external to this area will be made as appropriate context requires.

Firstly, consideration will be given to the doctrinal

aspect of their teachings. Secondly, the discussion will shift to matters of practical religion. In both aspects the point of departure is to establish the normative Islamic principles as the backdrop for Ahmadiyyat. Subsequent distinctive Ahmadiyya faith and practice within the East African context will be delineated.

#### A. THE THEOLOGICAL STANCE

The primary orientation of Ahmadiyya theology is within the orthodox frame of reference. The second caliph asserts: "Ahmadiyyat is not a new religion. It is only another name for Islam. Its kalima is the kalima of Islam ..... taught by the Holy Prophet Muhammad ....."<sup>1</sup> Another Ahmadi wrote: "We are Muslims and our religion is Islam and we consider the slightest deviation from it as heresy .... we adhere strictly to the tenets of Islam ....."<sup>2</sup> An examination of the principal Ahmadiyya sources reveals that there is categorical accord with the six fundamental articles of Islam. Their Swahili literature also substantiates this basic alignment. A series of two articles in the Swahili monthly corroborate the point. The title of the series reads: "Ahmadis Are True Muslims!" The first article sets forth twelve facets of their faith which are comparable to majority Islam. A summary of the main beliefs asserted therein may be paraphrased as follows: There is one Almighty God, The Creator, Holy and Perfect, who endures no association

/shirk/: Angels are the obedient creatures of God; God's

prophets are endowed with divine inspiration and are the appointed leaders of humanity; the greatest of these is Muhammad; Almighty God hears the prayers of his people and saves them from trouble and difficulties; He provides unique laws in the universe whereby he enables His apostles to triumph [an allusion to the miraculous]; the Day of Resurrection guarantees the certainty of after-life for humanity; those who believe will live righteously and in the end will enter paradise.<sup>3</sup> Although the points enumerated do not set forth the six articles of faith specifically as such, the essential beliefs of virtually all Muslims are reiterated. In other literature, however, there is explicit mention of the six traditional tenets. For example a popular booklet produced by the Tanzania mission offers these and numerous other items in a catechetical format.<sup>4</sup>

It is seen therefore, that Ahmadiyyat rests squarely on the foundation of Sunni orthodoxy. However, in Islam it is possible to be regarded as a heretic regardless of adherence to the first principles. Throughout Islamic history orthodoxy has been a fluid concept. Its relativity is realised when remembering that both Shiism and Sufism were called heresies. It is sometimes what is added to the basics that may call a Muslim's status into question. Jeffery cites the work of a Muslim scholar who sets forth the criteria for determining "Who Is and Who Is Not a True Muslim":

In our opinion the true view is that the Islamic community comprises those who profess their belief in the createdness of the world, in the

oneness of its Maker, in His existence from all eternity, in His attributes, His justice, His wisdom, in denying that He can be likened to anything, in the prophetic office of Muhammad — upon whom be Allah's blessing and peace — and in his mission to all mankind, in the abiding validity of his religious law (sharia), that everything he brought is true, that the Quran is the source of the prescriptions of the religious law, that the Kaba (at Mecca) is the qibla to which all must turn in prayer. Everyone who professes belief in all this, and does not assimilate it to any heretical ideas (bida) which would lead to unbelief, is a Sunni monotheist.<sup>5</sup>

The key thought expressed in the final sentence is the crux of the matter. A Muslim's orthodoxy may be drastically modified or nullified by the introduction of any innovation regarded by Muslims generally as heretical. In East Africa the preponderance of Islamic opinion regards the Ahmaddiya Movement as representing serious innovation and as such is heretical. Hollingsworth notes their orthodox stance but remarks that they are nevertheless classified by both Sunni and Shia as heterodox because of certain "peculiar" teachings.<sup>6</sup> Trimingham explains: "The stress placed on the Prophet in East Africa made Ahmadi pretensions anathema to the orthodox."<sup>7</sup>

It is inevitable of sectarianism that every group considers itself to be orthodox while regarding others as heterodox. In an English apologetic published in East Africa an Ahmadi writer insists: "He Ghulam Ahmad preached against several heresies which had crept into orthodox Islam at the hands of some mediaeval theologians and jurists."<sup>8</sup> It is somewhat paradoxical that the Ahmadis strenuously defend their distinctive teachings by reasoning that they are correcting errors that

have arisen in the middle centuries of Islamic history. They assert strict adherence to the Quran, the Sunna and the Hadith and in doing so claim to revert to original and authentic Islam. They further contend rigidly for the culpability of any and all innovations.

The distinctive dogmatics revolve around several of the outstanding claims of their founder Mirza Ghulam Ahmad which have already been mentioned in this paper.<sup>9</sup> The cardinal tenets may be summarised by showing the relationship of such claims with certain corollaries that in themselves have stimulated persistent and in some cases violent reactions from the mainstream of Islam. The lesser claims that Ghulam Ahmad was the fulfilment of the fourteenth century majaddid and the great world teacher or leader prophesied in every and all of the world's religion are relatively insignificant. They do not issue in accessory dogma. Nor are they contrary to orthodoxy and, therefore, are non-controversial. However, three of the claims are singularly conspicuous and productive of auxiliary dictums. Ghulam Ahmad as the mahdi of Islamic expectation gives rise to the dogma of pacific jihad and the concomitant principle of loyalty to established governments as a religious duty. Ghulam Ahmad as the Promised Messiah of Muslim/Christian eschatology necessitates the rather bizzare doctrine of Jesus' survival from death on the cross, his non-ascension to heaven and his subsequent escape to India where his life terminated in natural death at an

old age. Ghulam Ahmad as a prophet determines the teachings of continuing revelation and its corollary, a continuing prophethood. This in turn brought about the reintroduction of the institution of caliphate.

All of the above doctrines have been articulated variously in Ahmadiyya journalism in East Africa. Three additional tenets which have also been given East African exposure are: (1) that no verse of the Quran is abrogated; (2) hell is purgatorial and temporary; and (3) that spirituality in religion is more important than legalism - therefore refusing to be identified with any Islamic school of law.<sup>10</sup>

There are yet four more distinctive principles adhered to by Ahmadis which are listed by Guillaume. These have not surfaced in the writer's reading of the gamut of Ahmadiyya literature produced in or for East Africa. As stated verbatim they are:

Apostasy is not punishable by death. Any innovation in religious practice is culpable  
 .... Ijma .... is generally limited to the prophet's companions. The medieval ulama need not be followed in the interpretation of Quran and hadith.<sup>11</sup>

All of these points bear significance in Indo-Pakistani Islam but apparently none are sufficiently important in East Africa to warrant inclusion in their apologetic literature.<sup>12</sup>

It becomes desirable to set out in brief the salient features of Ahmadiyyat's notorious differences with majority Islam. The crucial points centring on Ghulam Ahmad's major

but also Ahmad's career surpasses that of Jesus. As he declares:

I swear by Him who is the Master of my life, I am honoured with the certain and unmistakable Word of the Holy God ..... I do not consider that Jesus Christ in any way surpasses me in this respect, ..... as miracles are ascribed to him, so I find myself with certitude the receipt of those miracles - and even greater miracles .....<sup>17</sup>

The catechism continues with the controversial assertion:

"..... and he the Promised Messiah will destroy the cross through signs ...."<sup>18</sup> This alludes to the Ahmadiyya contention that Jesus' death was not by the cross but by natural causes at an old age in India. It is an essential corollary to his claim to messiahship. As one writer affirms:

..... Ahmad was informed by revelation that Jesus of Nazareth, in whose personal advent both the Muhammads and the Christians believed was really dead and could not return to the earth and that what was meant by his second advent was that a person should appear in the spirit and power of Jesus and the said person was none else than himself.<sup>19</sup>

The obvious contradiction of traditional Muslim eschatology is rationalised as a correction of long-standing error. Ghulam enquires rhetorically: "What is the value of erroneously thinking the prophet Isa is alive contrary to teachings of the Holy Quran?"<sup>20</sup> A writer in their Swahili periodical postulates that the ministry of the Promised Messiah in bringing Christians into the fold of Islam supplants this alleged role of the prophet Isa as held by orthodox Muslims. To believe otherwise is nonsense, childish and clearly false.<sup>21</sup> In counterpoise the Munir Report cites that the orthodox consider the Ahmadiyya interpretation of Quranic evidences with regard to this teaching as" .... Tehrif

[corruption] Kufr and irtidad [apostasy] ....."<sup>22</sup>

Nevertheless, the firm Ahmadiyya position as seen abundantly in their literature published for East Africa is that Jesus was in fact crucified and after three hours was removed thought to be dead but in fact only in a swoon. He was treated by sympathisers and upon regaining full health departed from Palestine travelling to Kashmir in search of the ten lost tribes of Israel. There he preached for many years until he died at the age of 120 years. His tomb was discovered by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and can be seen in Roza Bal, Khanyar Street in Srinagar, Kashmir.<sup>23</sup>

This doctrine is of equal alarm both to Muslims and Christians. Abbot elucidates Ghulam's diametrical opposition to Muslim belief that Jesus was alive and waiting to make a second reappearance: "it seemed to him to mean that in the last resort Jesus and not Muhammad would be the real saviour of Islam."<sup>24</sup> To Ghulam Ahmad this was intolerable. Regarding the significance of Jesus' non-death on the cross, non-ascension and natural death at an old age for Christians Cragg comments: "This fore-closes all apocalyptic significance for Jesus and by-passes the whole Christian meaning of a redeeming Cross and Resurrection."<sup>25</sup> On the other hand, the Second Caliph emphasises the problem for Ahmadis in a living Jesus explicitly:

If it is true, Jesus is alive in heaven, we cannot feel more dead. We cannot put up with the thought that our master Muhammad is dead and buried, while

Jesus is alive and in heaven. We feel humiliated before Christians. But thank God, this is not so.<sup>26</sup>

The statement gives credence to the suggestion that the claim to Messiahship necessitated the elimination of an ascended Jesus (whether prophet or saviour) waiting to return again.

The Ahmadiyya concept of Mahdi is different in the avowal that the Promised Messiah and Mahdi are joined together in one person, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. In the claim to be Mahdi Ghulam draws upon two aspects of Muslim traditional eschatology. The popular expectation of a 'restorer' of Islam in the last days and the prophesied descent of the prophet Isa to participate in the eschatological event are merged in one person. These two aspects are compatible with his prior claim to be the fourteenth century mujaddid of Islam.

Although there is no clear Quranic reference to the coming of Mahdi and the traditions are vague and confusing, the masses of Islam throughout history have persisted with varying intensity in the hope of a great restorer. Although some Sunni theologians give credence to this expectation it is not included as essential to the body of doctrine. Shia Ithnasheri Muslims on the other hand, give it more significance by identifying the Mahdi as the "Hidden Imam". It becomes, therefore, a necessary dogma.

Ghulam's claim is explicit:

Therefore, if you do not accept me, then you

reject the traditions which consider that, the promised Mahdi will resemble the Prophet both physically and spiritually, and his name will be similar to the Prophet ...<sup>27</sup> and he will be a member of his household ....

... to this definition as far as it goes. The chief proceeds to establish that in all aspects: resemblance, of course has written: "Islam forbids Muslims to fight and lineage, he himself is the precise fulfilment of the ... If one ...

The Mahdiyya identification of Jesus and Mahdi is also rather unique or new. Scant intimations of this occur in the writings of certain commentators. What is distinctive is the conception of the non-military character of Mahdi's

... Contrary to the prevailing anticipation that he would lead the Muslim hordes to bring about the final triumph of Islam ... Mahdi is strictly a man of peace. The adjunct of pacifist jihad follows as a necessary corollary.

... To believe in me as the Promised Messiah and ... to disbelieve in the popular doctrine of jihad."<sup>28</sup>

The majority belief is in a military jihad emphasising ... that believers are called to maintain a continuous ... against non-believers. The "holy war" has thus become obligatory institution in Islam even though it is not strictly ... as an article of faith. The Second Caliph of the ... Movement has qualified it as follows:

A war of the status of Jihad is one which is ... undertaken in the defence of religion against ... on every who is out to destroy religion by force ... or who seeks to change a people's beliefs at the point of the sword. Whenever conditions amounting to this appear in any part of the world, it becomes the duty of every Muslim to join Jihad, which has one important condition. It is that the declaration

of Jihad must be made by the head of the believers.<sup>29</sup>

It is unlikely that many Muslims, Sunni or Shia would take exception to this definition as far as it goes. The chief Kadhi of Kenya has written: "Islam forbids Muslims to fight for worldly advantage or to enlarge boundaries .... If one considers the wars of Muhammad it is clear that unbelievers threatened to destroy Muslims who fought in self-defence."<sup>30</sup> The Shia have published similar views in both the Swahili and English media in East Africa. Jihad is included as the sixth religious duty. Again the emphasis is on the element of defence after provocation:

This is our law regarding Jihad. It is allowed to fight only in self-defence at any time. But it is forbidden to initiate war without the specific authority of the Prophet or his Imam. Jihad, cannot be engaged for political reasons or for worldly gain.<sup>31</sup>

The distinguishing characteristic of the Ahmadiyya jihad, however, is its emphasis on tabligh as the primary meaning. It is the mandatory struggle of the community to answer the polemical attacks of non-believers and to spread the verities of true Islam throughout the world. While most Muslim theologians would agree to this as a secondary interpretation scarcely any would accede to it as the primary significance of Jihad. In the hearings that arose after the "Punjab Disturbances" in Pakistan the Ahmadiyya concept of Jihad was cited by the orthodox as being inimical to their view.<sup>32</sup>

The related concepts of Mahdi and jihad as held by

Ahmadis are comparatively innocuous to East African Islam. These have been insignificant and are rarely raised as points for contention. Schildknecht comments: "Jihad is something quite foreign to Tanzania."<sup>33</sup> This is equally true of the rest of East Africa, generally recognized to be a continuing phenomenon.

A derivative of the tandem doctrines of peaceful jihad and Mahdi is the principle of loyalty to the established government. It is limited only to prophets. The Qur'anic requirement. This is consistently advocated of Ahmadis in whatever political regime they may reside. Ghulam Ahmad was widely criticised for this in India for his non-involvement in political agitation and his loyalty to British rule. Ahmadi missionaries are strong in their insistence on this point. In Africa it has become conducive to a ready encouragement of the development of newly independent nations. Frequent editorials appear urging upon Ahmadis faithful citizenship.<sup>34</sup>

Sequential to the affirmation of his dual Messiah-Mahdi role Ghulam came to understand his receipt of divine revelations in a new and radical perspective. He gave a subservient place to reason insisting upon the necessity and reality of continuing revelation. In Islamic thought there are two concepts of revelation: ilham and wahy. These are distinguished as follows:

"Allah reveals himself in two ways: to men individually by knowledge cast into their minds, and to men generally by messages sent through the prophets. The first, individual revelation is ilham; the second, and general, is wahy."<sup>35</sup>

In another work he also discloses the absolute nature of revelation as taught by Ghulam:

Ilham is regarded as a form of definite but subjective inspiration the content of which has primary significance for the individual recipient. It is a form of revelation not exclusive for prophets but also for saints and mystics. It seems, therefore, generally recognised to be a continuing phenomenon. Wahy, on the other hand is a special objective revelation in which the recipient absorbed in passivity receives a message for all men. It is limited only to prophets. The Quranic revelation has a Wahy quality. There is some disparity of opinion by writers commenting on Ghulam's revelatory experiences. Titus offers that he was:

..... the recipient of divine revelation, which is clearly understood by him as ilham, .... for he seems to have made no claim to .... wahy .... Nevertheless, he regarded the revelations he received through ilham as having real and objective validity.<sup>30</sup>

Smith by contrast asserts: "He /Ghulam Ahmad/ claimed to receive revelations (both ilham and wahy are used)."<sup>37</sup>

It was unthinkable to Ghulam that the eternal God would remain silent when he was universally accepted as the revealing one.

To say that though God spoke to generations of men in the past and made Himself known to them by His own clear voice, yet he does not speak now would be to assert something wholly untenable .... the chosen ones of God even now drink deep at the fountain of His revelation.<sup>38</sup>

The Ahmadis' second aliph informs that: "... more than half the Ahmadis have been the recipients of revelation in some form or other."<sup>39</sup> In another work he also discloses the absolute nature of revelation as taught by Ghulam:

The Promised Messiah explained that revelation is conveyed in words possessing extraordinary glory and majesty [sic], and that a dialogue is possible between God and man in the same manner as between two men, so that a recipient of revelation attains to that degree of certainty which dispenses with the need for any further proof or argument.<sup>40</sup>

This definition of revelation would favour Smith's view that Ghulam received wahy.

The parallel teaching of continuing prophethood would also reinforce the opinion that the revelation that continues is in effect wahy revelation. It would explain why there has arisen such strenuous objections and even overt hostility to Ahmadis over the twin dogmas of continuing revelation/prophethood.

The commentator in the Ahmadiyya Swahili translation of the Quran devotes two full pages and portions of others to a footnoted discussion of the meanings of Khatmn-i-Nubuwwat (the finality of prophethood) with reference to the Prophet Muhammad. The Quranic reference is XXXIII : 41. He expounds the familiar Ahmadiyya

interpretation elaborating on Muhammad as the last prophet with a law and asserting the possibility of other non-law-bearing prophets of subordinate office.<sup>41</sup> It is important to see that

Ahmadiyya authors beginning with the founder himself are always careful to give full honour and veneration to Muhammad. The commentary offers a quotation from a writing of Ghulam who said:

"..... who received the blessing of conversing with Almighty God certainly received it as a gift of Muhammad and as a follower of Muhammad; thus he is called a prophet-follower of the Prophet and he is not called a prophet with a separate status of prophethood."<sup>42</sup>

But all of the careful rationalizations and studied nuances offered by Ahmadiyya apologists have failed to forestall the antagonistic sympathies of non-Ahmadi Muslims. Prophethood remains the outstanding scandal. The teaching was sufficiently lateral to provide the content of the illustrious philosopher-  
 post the Muhammed label. He states the orthodox contention

Any religious society historically arising from the Name of Islam, which claims a new prophethood for its basis, and declares all Muslims who do not subscribe the truth of its alleged revelation as infire, must, therefore, be regarded by every Muslim as a serious danger to the solidarity of Muslim society if secured by the idea of the finality of Prophethood alone. This idea of finality is perhaps the most original idea in the cultural history of mankind ....<sup>43</sup>

This aptly epitomizes the basis of antipathy on the part of East African Muslims towards the Ahmadiyya Movement.

The lingering question persists: did Ghulam Ahmad claim to have received prophetic revelation and thereby attain to the status of prophet? As Brush indicates it is an exceedingly delicate question.<sup>44</sup> The Qadianis say that he did so claim. In the Qadiani text for Islamic belief Ghulam is confessed as the Messenger of God (Rasul) in following the prophethood of Muhammad. His claim to prophethood is emphatically asserted in numerous references throughout the Ahmadiyya literature produced for East Africa.<sup>45</sup> However, having said this it should also be noted that there seems at times to be a discernable reluctance to allude to Ghulam as a prophet. Perhaps this is because the Ahmadis

realise full well that it has become a stumbling block to the Sunnis.

Not only do the Qadianis aver to this claim but also the non-Ahmadi Muslims likewise insist that Ghulam assumed prophethood for himself. This was the persistent contention of the orthodox party in the Munir Report.<sup>46</sup> It is likewise the stubborn imputation of virtually all the Muslim Swahili literature offered in polemical rejoinder to Ahmadiyya apologetics. It is also a reoccurring objection to the Swahili Quran of the Ahmadis because of the discussion of this doctrine in the accompanying commentary.<sup>47</sup> The antagonism culminates in a recent writing which has charged duplicity of meaning in their recitation of the kalima. Citing various references from Ahmadiyya sources it renders their use of it as rank apostasy. When they verbalise "Muhammad" in their recitation of the kalima it alleges that they actually intend "Mirza Ghulam Ahmad." Therefore, their utterance of shahadah is nullified and they are proven to be kafirs! The contention has been strenuously denied by one of the Pakistani missionaries.<sup>48</sup> However, ascertaining the validity or invalidity of this charge is merely academic to the immediate discussion. The object of raising it is simply to show how thoroughly convinced Muslims are that Ghulam Ahmad claimed prophethood and how offensive that claim is in their eyes.

An apologetic writing of Ghulam offering a defence of the doctrine has been translated into Swahili. Certain statements that appear unequivocal are found in the booklet. Citing

specific passages from his earlier work Baraheen-i-Ahmadiyya he avows: "Herein, I have been clearly designated a prophet [Arabic - rasul: Swahili - mtume]." Again: "I have been given the names of both Muhammad and Prophet [mtume]."<sup>49</sup> In these citations in the Swahili text the word for revelation is rendered with the Arabic wahy! The significance of these avowals is further enhanced by the translator's choice of mtume which connotes the English equivalent apostle. Other Swahili literature prefers the use of the mjumbe rendering which is less definitive than mtume.

The Lahori branch of Ahmadiyyat vigorously refutes the contention that Ghulam ever made such claim. Citing several of his own utterances they insist that he used the word nabi only in a metaphorical sense. They quote a letter from him to a Lahore newspaper in which he refutes the literal sense of nabi with reference to himself. He offered nabi: "in the root meaning of merely someone who informs or gives news." If this [nabi] were going to prove a stumbling block, he would prefer that a "sharp knife be taken and the word cut from every page where it occurred and that the word muslih, reformer, be substituted."<sup>50</sup> This amounts to a recantation of earlier claims contrariwise.

Thus, the question of Ghulam's self-claim to prophethood is unresolved and still a moot contention. One wonders why he went to such pains to stress continuing prophethood if

the Qadianis is the rejuvenation of the idea of caliphate, he did not mean to claim it for himself. The implication seems clear. From the third century of the Muslim era the caliph's temporal authority and position began to decline. The caliph's office of prophetic status seems quite incongruous. If prophets under Muhammad's aegis are still possible why not Ghulam Ahmad of all the potential candidates?

remains a latent concept, however, in the Shia doctrine of the

hidden A different inference is offered by Fisher: "A further importance of Ghulam Ahmad's prophethood is that only prophets leave behind Khalifahs, or successors, who carry on their work."<sup>51</sup>

However, the deduction is inconsistent with the historical development of caliphate. Secular rulers and Mahdis frequently were succeeded by caliphs and were so called. Ghulam's claim to be Mahdi confuses the inference of prophethood from Caliphate.

The conclusion of Mahdi status from a succeeding caliphate would be an equally feasible alternative.

A very adept summary of the significance of the question of Ghulam's prophethood is given by Cragg:

But perhaps in the last analysis the Ahmadiyya goes further than its specific apology or policy know. Behind its controversial form is the final question of the nature of Muhammad's finality. What is the relation of the sealed scripture to the open future? Can the last prophet rightly be a long time ago and the nature of revelation "some everlasting echo?" Can a retrospective assurance serve a prospective mystery? Was it with these unspoken perplexities that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's shaping of Islam into his own version of renewal unwittingly belongs? Or was his reaction to Muslim lethargy and the modern scene no more than a personal pretension that gathered momentum among the currents of Islam? In either case, it is at once an enigma and a clue.<sup>52</sup>

suggested that the caliph becomes the mediator between believers. Another distinctive development in Ahmadiyyat as regards

the Qadianis is the rejuvenation of the idea of caliphate. From the third century of the Muslim era the caliph's temporal authority and position began to decline. The caliphal office and identity dissipated until the present century it has become a lost ideal and is virtually abandoned in Sunni Islam. It remains a latent concept, however, in the Shia doctrine of the hidden Imam. For Ahmadiyyat the idea of caliphate was incipient in Ghulam Ahmad's original acceptance of baiat from his followers. Such allegiance requiring absolute obedience ascribed a caliphal authority to the founder of the movement. It was only logical that prior to his death he reinstated caliphate. After his death several leading Ahmadis objected to its establishment. With the first Caliph, Nur-ud-Din, it was not too unpalatable for them. However, with Mahmud Ahmad, the interpersonal differences were sufficiently strong to make caliphate a live issue and an irreparably divisive one. It was a major factor in the secession of the Lahoris. It is also regarded as yet another of the many Ahmadiyya tenets unacceptable to non-Ahmadi Muslims.

For Ahmadis caliphate, while elective in mode, is considered to be a divinely appointed office. They insist that it is not a hereditary succession although the second caliph was the son of the founder and currently the third caliph is the son of the second and grandson of Ghulam. The rendition of caliphal allegiance amounts to absolute obedience. It is suggested that the caliph becomes the mediator between believers

and God. Fisher's uncited quotation: "it is only through khilafat that we have communion with God", has been strongly refuted by an Ahmadiyya missionary as a misunderstanding of caliphate.<sup>53</sup>

An adjunct concept to caliphate is the formation of a new jamat. Because of the concerted rejection of Ghulam Ahmad and his followers by orthodox Muslims the establishment of a new Islamic society developed as a necessary consequence.<sup>54</sup> Alienation had already occurred. The subsequent consolidation of the movement only enhanced the estrangement. It has resulted in socio-religious exclusiveness which has congealed the mutual malevolence.

The question of how the Qadian Ahmadis consider other Muslims is now appropriate. There is little doubt about the intense antipathy with which non-Ahmadi Muslims regard the Qadianis. The issue of Kufr is the crucial point. Fisher's succinct treatment of the question is entirely appropriate.<sup>55</sup> Firstly, a reference to Ghulam's position is instructive:

There are many totally anti-Islam traits to be found among these people that have displeased Allah .... They are like a rotten and useless garden. Their hearts are unholy and God proposed to bring up a new people who should become the examples of true Islam through truth and righteousness.<sup>56</sup>

The logical inference from their system of doctrine would dictate that any one rejecting the Promised Messiah is in grievous error tantamount to classical unbelief. The charge by Ahmadis against non-Ahmadis of Kafir is often avoided. This is true

of Ahmadis in East Africa. "They accepted as a Muslim anyone who said he was a Muslim. Theirs was the true Islam, other Muslims held erroneous opinions," reports Schacht.<sup>57</sup> The former chief missionary of the Tanzania Ahmadiyya Mission has written somewhat ambiguously: "We do call them Muslims, but due to rejecting a messenger of Allah [Ghulam Ahmad] they have disqualified themselves as true Muslims."<sup>58</sup> Robson quotes the second Caliph as having said: "Our calling other people kafirs only means that we consider ourselves alone the true Muslims."<sup>59</sup> Remembering Ahmadi teaching regarding apostasy and its punishment it is modified with reference to non-Ahmadi Muslims to be nothing more than heresy leaving them within the pale of Islam and certainly not liable to everlasting perdition. This softens the Ahmadi stance today and reveals that it is far more generous in its attitude toward non-Ahmadis than is conversely true.

The range of the discussion of Ahmadiyya theology has gone full circle. A treatment of the practical aspects of their controversial position with regard to Islam generally is now appropriate.

## B. THE RELIGIOUS DUTIES

The externals of any religion corroborate what the theologians postulate. Ahmadiyyat affirms that it is true Islam. Its most convincing argument is seen in the consistency of its Islamic practice as it compares favourably with the plurality of Islam. The salient aspects of the practical duties are homogeneous with mainstream Islam. In the discussion that follows those

aspects of religious practice which are normative with Islam generally will be indicated. Next certain divergent patterns pertaining to Islamic prayer will be explicated. Finally, the Ahmadiyya stance with regard to Islamic jurisprudence will be delineated.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad admonished his followers to be faithful votaries of the four Islamic duties. One of his important works which has been translated into Swahili enjoins his devotees:

Establish your five daily prayers in humility and meekness of heart as one who perceives Almighty God. And similarly perfect your fasting for Almighty God. And everyone under obligation to give legal alms should do so. And he who is under the necessity of performing pilgrimage, providing there is nothing preventing, should do so visiting the shrine of Kaba.<sup>60</sup>

The available evidence shows that three of the four outward observances are adhered to with little or no divergence from the norm. Zakat, Saum and Hajj are maintained in uniformity with the rest of Islam. There are some interesting items relating to the situation in East Africa with regard to these three which warrant mention.

Zakat or mandatory alms are strongly emphasised among the Ahmadiyya communities. A comparison of the Swahili manuals on Zakat of both Sunni and Ahmadi authors show essential concurrence in the system of required amounts and terms of almsgiving.<sup>61</sup> There are in addition several voluntary offerings which are urged of Ahmadis. Those who are capable

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of doing so are encouraged to render Chandah Wasiyyat which is one-tenth of a person's income. Doing so would supercede the compulsory amount. Sadaqa or charitable alms for the poor are enjoined. Chandah tarik-i-Jadid, offering for foreign missions, is given annually on a voluntary basis. There is also a Darvesh Fund in support of those Ahmadis who maintain the holy shrines of Qadian. Chandah Mastoorat is a fund for contributions from Ahmadi women. A mosque fund is maintained for the construction and maintenance of mosques. Finally there is a Nusrat-Jahan Reserve Fund (the leap-forward scheme) which was established by the venerable wife of the founder and is utilised for special projects in foreign missions.<sup>62</sup>

Ahmadis throughout the world are urged in keeping with the expressed desires of Ghulam Ahmad to will one-tenth of their property holdings, movable and immovable, to the Sadr Anjuman Ahmadiyya, the original society of the movement, in Rabwah. Among those who have done so are a few African Ahmadis from the East African countries.<sup>63</sup>

Saum or obligatory fasting during the month of Ramadan is rather strictly observed by Ahmadis. The Swahili Manual published by the Ahmadiyya mission sets forth all the required elements in keeping with the standard regulations accepted by all Muslims. There occurs in its discussion of the meals taken at night time an interesting point pertinent to customary

procedure in East Africa. Regarding daku or the pre-dawn meal during the month of fasting the writer disparages the practice of East African Muslims of taking this meal earlier around midnight to 2:00 a.m. This he complains is not an Islamic custom but a Jewish one. Muslims have been taught in the Quran and by the Prophet to eat daku just prior to dawn.<sup>64</sup> The Sunni manual of fasting makes a similar point. Daku is recommended to be taken around 4:00 a.m. It dismisses the rationalising of those persons unknowing in matters religious who suggest that eating it earlier makes the day time fasting more virtuous by increasing the hunger sensation. Such persons are foolishly ignorant, it avers.<sup>65</sup>

Ahmadis sense the same urgency with regard to performance of Hajj as do faithful Sunnis and Shias. The first Ahmadi to achieve the coveted journey from East Africa was Dr. Ahmad Din Ahmedi. He travelled overland by car in 1942 to Juba, by boat down the Nile to Kosti, and onward by train to Cairo and Mecca.<sup>66</sup> Since that time a significant number of Ahmadis have performed the pilgrimage from all of the East African countries. The expenses are prohibitive for most Africans but there are a few who have accomplished it.

The writer enquired of a Sunni Sheikh how it is that Ahmadis, if they are non-Muslims (as it is alleged), are allowed to enter Mecca. His reply was that the screening procedure at Jeddah was quite superficial. The authorities simply examine the pilgrim's passport to verify that he has

a Muslim name, failing which a red mark is impressed on the passport and the intended pilgrim is refused permission to proceed to Mecca.<sup>67</sup>

A Sunni activist recounted the experience of one Ahmadi, Dr. Lal Din of Kampala who made the pilgrimage around 1967. While in Mecca he preached Ahmadiyyat and gave out pamphlets. He was forthwith arrested and detained until the Hajj was over after which he was repatriated to Uganda.<sup>68</sup>

A charge against the Ahmadiyya Movement regarding Hajj is levelled by an Ithna-Asheri writer in a polemical booklet. Citing certain works of Ghulam Ahmad he contends that Ahmadis are: "To believe in Qadian to be more sacred than Mecca ....." He continues the allegation with the quotation from Ghulam: "People go to the unobligatory Pilgrimage of Mecca whereas they should know that there is a greater reward in visiting this land (Qadian)."<sup>69</sup> It is difficult to see how preference for a visit to Qadian over the umra proves that Ahmadis should regard Qadian as more holy than Mecca since so many do in fact go to Mecca. There is no indication in any of the writings of Ahmadis since Ghulam Ahmad enjoining pilgrimage to Qadian rather than Mecca. In fact there is mention in the Swahili manual of Hajj advocating the umra.<sup>70</sup> The transfer of the headquarters of the movement from Qadian a generation ago has doubtless lessened Qadian's significance.

Salat is: "The duty which along with Zakat identifies a Muslim."<sup>71</sup> If this be a true generalisation then Ahmadis may be justified in calling themselves Muslims for they observe salat in full compliance with the pattern, form and substance of the prescribed ritual. A knowledgeable Sunni has affirmed that there is no difference in salat as observed by Sunni and Ahmadi adherents.<sup>72</sup> Bharati suggests of the various Muslim groups in East Africa that:

With the exception of the Ishmailis, the official worship and ritual is identical among the other Islamic groups. They are supposed to say their formalistic prayers four or five times a day, and it seems the Ahmadiyyas and Ithna-Asheris are modally the most regular.<sup>73</sup>

There is also a strong inference in the fact that the Ahmadiyya manual on salat was first published in 1937 and has gone through nine printings for a total of 60,000 copies. The probability is clear that a considerable majority of those who have bought this book are Sunni (Shafii) Muslims. The deduction that its contents are largely acceptable to the Muslim constituency of East Africa is quite admissible.

The writer has written to an Arab Ahmadi, H.S. Hafidh, whose previous adherence was Sunni of the Shafii school of Shariah. He was asked to draw a comparison of religious practice under the Shafii rite as related to Ahmadiyya practice. The only differences that he distinguished pertain to salat. There are two dissimilarities which he develops. The first he states:

Imam Shafii has omitted sunna and thinks it is not very essential for one to say them along with the obligatory prayers. According to the teaching of Sayyidna Ahmad (peace be on him), the sunnas are also ..... obligatory.....<sup>74</sup>

The second disparity is:

..... an Ahmadi expresses his prayers [dua] in his own language after having said the prescribed prayers in Arabic within /underlining is the writer's/ the obligatory prayer. In case of Shafii the expression of prayer in his language could not be included in the five obligatory and sunna prayers. Usually he expresses this when he has finished /salat/ praying.<sup>74</sup>

An Ahmadiyya prayer manual has elucidated their practice in this regard thusly:

All prayers must be said in Arabic in the prescribed form but you may supplicate in your mother tongue (a) when standing after reciting the "Soorat-ul-Fatiha" and Quranic extracts, (b) in Ruku, (c) after rising up from Ruku, (d) in both the Sijdas, (e) in the sittings between Sijdas and (f) in A "Attahiyat" after prescribed prayers.<sup>75</sup>

These variations seem not to be sufficiently important to be taken as serious deviations from the generally accepted format for salat.<sup>76</sup>

The Ahmadiyya emphasis on the attendance of women at the Friday salat is a clear point of comparison.

Trimmingham alludes to this:

Ahamdis .... clearly distinguished from other Muslims .... by deviations from Islamic law or simply from African Islamic practice, such as their allowing women to enter mosques.<sup>77</sup>

That is not to say that women have never been allowed to participate in congregational prayers elsewhere in Islam.

Rather, the Ahmadis have not only allowed it but actively

encourage their attendance as an obligatory duty. In virtually all of the Ahmadiyya mosques the women pray out of sight behind a partition. Their obligation is nullified during the unclean periods of menstruation and after childbirth. This emphasis has put them in a favourable light in many communities in East Africa. An Ahmadiyya missionary alleges that this has been a positive influence to Sunni Muslims in Kenya.<sup>78</sup>

Ahmadis have been much maligned by non-Ahmadi Muslims for their separatism in refusing to pray behind a non-Ahmadi. The Ahmadis are quick to point out in rejoinder that this position was occasioned by the fatwa of the umma in India that excommunicated Ghulam Ahmad and his followers forbidding their entrance to the Sunni mosque. The further rationalisation is that since the faith of Sunnis is defective in rejecting the Promised Messiah Ahmadis cannot consistently pray behind such a person. The Sunni rejection of Ghulam Ahmad disqualifies their people from being valid prayer imams.

Nevertheless, the writer has encountered instances of irregularity in this stance. An Ahmadi in the Bukoba Region of Tanzania admitted that as the sole Ahmadi in his village he prays at the local Sunni mosque. He explains that whoever arrives first for the Friday salat is automatically considered the imam. Sometimes he is the imam but at other times a Sunni leads the prayers. In these instances he does

not hesitate to participate in salat behind a Sunni imam. The writer enquired of the Ahmadiyya missionary whether this irregularity was known among other Ahmadis particularly the chief missionary of Tanzania. The reply was affirmative explaining that the man considered that this procedure would enable him to maintain his influence in the community and gradually assert his leadership over the people and hopefully eventually lead them to join Ahmadiyyat. This justification was acceptable to the missionaries and had their consent. But it was admitted to be an exceptional case.<sup>79</sup> Another instance of occasional participation in salat behind a Sunni imam was observed at Ujiji.<sup>80</sup>

A final distinguishing characteristic of Ahmadiyya practice with regard to the broader institution of Islamic prayer does not pertain to the liturgical salat. It is the somewhat exceptional concept of prayer as an implement of religious duelling. In some instances as Fisher points out it takes on the aspect of "retribution."<sup>81</sup> Addison elucidates the introduction of this element in the experiences of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad:

He wrote / to Christian missionaries / saying ..... a proper way of contrasting the truth of their respective religions would be to show whose prayers were accepted by God. The method suggested was that a number of men who suffered from ..... fatal diseases should be selected and divided equally between the Promised Messiah and the Christians by casting lots, and that each party should pray for the recovery of the patients allotted to it and the result of the prayer of each would show whose prayer had been heard.<sup>82</sup>

There are cases when he would initiate such prayers directly

against an opponent suggesting the demise of the antagonist prior to his own as a sure sign of personal victory. When it was successful he was certain of the miraculous element attesting the validity of his stand.

Among his followers today the indefatigable belief persists in the efficacy of such challenges. An Ahmadiyya missionary in Tanzania affirmed: "The real criteria in the truth of a religion is seen in who wins a prayer challenge."<sup>83</sup>

In 1960 at the time of the Billy Graham evangelistic meetings in East Africa a similar prayer contest was proposed by Sheikh Mubarak Ahmad, the chief Ahmadiyya missionary for East Africa. He suggested that thirty incurables be divided equally between the evangelist and himself. Both parties would pray for the curing of their group and the results, attested by medical practitioners, would determine whose faith was superior. When Graham predictably refused the Sheikh declared that it proved that the evangelist had thus acknowledged the pre-eminence of Islam over Christianity. When Sh. Mubarak departed from East Africa two years later after twenty-seven years of service as a missionary in East Africa the Swahili monthly recalled this particular event: "The people of East Africa can't forget him - especially will he be remembered because of his victory over the famous preacher of the Gospel Dr. Billy Graham ...."<sup>84</sup> Another similar challenge was issued by Sheikh A.K. Sharma against reports that in the face of a prevalent *Malikito* rite in the faith-healing evangelist, Oral Roberts, in 1968. Again

the offer was declined.

From the foregoing dissimilarities it is seen that there are variants that obtain in the Ahmadiyya concept and practice of Islamic prayer. These are instructive and they have evidently resulted from certain circumstances in the inaugural period of the movement and from the distinctive teachings of its founder.

It is now appropriate in conclusion to set forth the Ahmadiyya position with regard to Islamic shariah. In the Swahili catechism among the topics discussed are sunna and hadith. The assertions offered regarding these appear to be quite orthodox. Hafidh has indicated:

According to Ahmadiyyat the four schools of thought /Hanbal, Malaki, Shafii and Hanifa/ were absolutely correct at their time and in accordance with their requirements and /but/ it is not correct at this juncture to follow their teachings blindly without making reference to the Holy Quran.<sup>85</sup>

Chulam Ahmad has affirmed that his madhhab is found in three sources: the Holy Quran, the Sunna and the Hadith.<sup>86</sup> In this respect Ahmadiyyat is not aligned theoretically with any of the schools of Islamic jurisprudence. Anderson declares:

In matters of law Ahmadis do not, in theory, belong to any of the orthodox schools but are committed to following the teachings of their "Promised Messiah" and his successors. He himself, however, is reputed to have said: 'Follow my teachings and, in default thereof, those of Hanafis.'<sup>87</sup>

In West Africa the position is somewhat ambiguous. Fisher reports that in the face of a prevalent Maliki rite in

Nigeria the first Ahmadiyya missionary in Lagos by refusing to be identified as a Hanafi avoided the jeopardising of his opportunity for beginning work.<sup>88</sup> Nevertheless, he emphasises the glaring difference which Ahmadiyya prayer ritual holds to the prevailing Malikite rite. The disparity is explained as being due to the Ahmadiyya adherence to Hanifite practice.<sup>89</sup> Again with regard to Ahmadiyyat in West Africa Parrinder states positively: "... the Indian Ahmadiyya are Hanafiyya."<sup>90</sup>

The status of the Ahmadiyya in East Africa with reference to Muslim jurisprudence is not any better defined. Ritchie indicates that Ahmadis in East Africa claim to be Shafiis.<sup>91</sup> Schildknecht apparently contradicts with his assertion that they are in fact Hanafis.<sup>92</sup> Anderson, however, elucidates the ambiguity:

This sect has officially broken with all the orthodox schools and follows in some legal matters, a largely eclectic doctrine of its own while adhering to Hanafi law in all else: but its African converts tend to follow their original schools for East Africa - Shafii and customs, in matters of law as distinct from theology.<sup>93</sup>

This vagueness is further illustrated in the comments of an Ahmadiyya missionary in Tanzania citing the Hanafi rule followed by Ahmadis affirming that three believers are the minimum required for establishing Friday prayers.<sup>94</sup> On the other hand the prayer congregation in Western Kenya followed the Shafii rite of repeating the Sura Fatiha after the Imam and ejaculating loud amens.

It is apparent from the discussion of this section that in the main Ahmadiyyat manifests its Islamic character best in terms of practical religion. With the exception of the dissimilarities that have been outlined Ahmadis are Muslims in practice if not in theology. The movement's aloofness from the main schools of law in itself is not a disqualifying factor.

The discussion turns next to a consideration of how Ahmadiyyat manifests itself in certain areas of contention and polemic. A discussion of their Swahili translation of the Quran provides a fitting study in provocative propaganda.

<sup>1</sup> Mubarak Ahmad, What is Ahmadiyyat? (Rahwah: A.A.F.N.O., 1962).

<sup>2</sup> Mubarak Ahmad, Mas'um Ya Khilifa (Dar es Salaam: A.A.F.N.O., 1962).

<sup>3</sup> J. Jeffrey, ed., Islam Muhammad and his Religion (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> M. S. M. al-Baqir, Kitab al-Faqr wa al-Faqir (Cairo: Dar al-Faqr, 1958), pp. 2, 3.

<sup>5</sup> This point will be discussed infra, pp. 160, 161.

<sup>6</sup> A. Guillaume, Islam (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1961; 2nd ed.), pp. 126, 127. This particular point regarding ima is not actually an Ahmadiyya distinctive since the Wahhabis also hold to such a limitation. Cf. D. R. Macdonald, "Idam," Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, eds. P. A. R. Gibb and J. H. Kramers (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), p. 157.

<sup>7</sup> Sources referred to specifically for the discussion supra on Ahmadiyya distinctives beyond those already cited are: n.a., Ahmad The Promised Messiah and Maadi (Nairobi: East African Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1954); Mubarak Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India - Islamic Surveys 7 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1969); Mubarak Ahmad Exposes In Ahmadiyya trans. of What is Ahmadiyya (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1957); Mubarak Ahmad, op. cit.; A. Guillaume, op. cit.; P. K. Sharma, "What Distinguishes Ahmadiyya Muslims From Others?" E.A.F., October 15, 1961, p. 3.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Mahmud Ahmad, What Is Ahmadiyyat? (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1962) p. 10.

<sup>2</sup>N.D. Muneer (ed.), Tahrik-i-Jadid (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., n.d.), p. 3.

<sup>3</sup>"Waahmadiyya Ni Waislamu Halisi!", M.Y.M., Mei, 1970.

<sup>4</sup>Mubarak Ahmad, Masomo Ya Kiislam (Dar es Salaam: A.M.M. 1962).

<sup>5</sup>A. Jeffrey, ed., Islam Muhammad and his Religion (New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1958), p. 79, quoting Abd-al-Qahir-al-Baghdadi, Kitab al-Farq bain al-Firaz (Cairo: 1945), pp. 13, 14.

<sup>6</sup>L.W. Hollingsworth, The Asians of East Africa (London: MacMillan & Co., 1960), pp. 148, 149.

<sup>7</sup>J.S. Trimmingham, Islam in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 109.

<sup>8</sup>n.a., Why Islam? (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1954), p.10.

<sup>9</sup>Supra., pp. 2, 3.

<sup>10</sup>This point will be discussed infra, pp. 160, 161.

<sup>11</sup>A. Guillaume, Islam (Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1961; 2nd ed.). pp. 126, 127. This particular point regarding ijma is not actually an Ahmadiyya distinctive since the Wahhabis also hold to such a limitation. Cf. D.B. Macdonald, "Idjma" Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam, eds. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961, p. 157.

<sup>12</sup>Sources referred to specifically for the discussion supra on Ahmadiyya distinctives beyond those already cited are: n.a., Ahmad The Promised Messiah and Mahdi (Nairobi: East African Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1954); Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in India - Islamic Surveys 7 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1969); Mahmud Ahmad Hakika Ya Ahmadiyya trans. of What is Ahmadiyya (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1957); Mubarka Ahmad, op. cit.; A.Guillaume, op. cit.; R.K.Sharma, "What Distinguishes Ahmadiyya Muslims from Others?", E.A.T., October 15, 1961, p.3.

- <sup>13</sup>G. Ahmad, Our Teaching (trans. Bashir Ahmad, Rabwah: A.F.M.O., 1962), p. 22.
- <sup>14</sup>R.B. Kazema, Mambo (Dar es Salaam: A.M.M., 1963), pp. 26 - 30.
- <sup>15</sup>Mubarak Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 21, 22, "Mwenyezi Mungu ametuma mjumbe wake siku hizi kama ilivyo desturi yake kuondoa ufisadi na uovu ..... Jina la mjumbe huye ni Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad ....."
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 23, "Ataonekana Masihi aliyeahidiwa, yaani si Masihi mtoto wa Maria bila atakuja mtu mwingine kama yeye katika Umati wa Mtume Muhammad ....."
- <sup>17</sup>G. Ahmad, Fountain of Christianity (trans. Q.A. Hamid, Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1961), p. 20.
- <sup>18</sup>Mubarak Ahmad, op. cit. p. 23, "..... na atavunja msalaba kwa dalili ....."
- <sup>19</sup>Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmad, The Messenger of the Latter Days (trans. M.A.H. Khan, Quedian: The Book Depot, 1924), pp. 30, 31.
- <sup>20</sup>G. Ahmad, Safina Na Nuhu (trans. Mubarak Ahmad, Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1957), p. 12, "Basi ni faida gani kudhania nabii Isa kuwa yu hai hilafu ya mafundisho ya Kurani Takatifu?"
- <sup>21</sup>"Waahmadiyya ni Waslamu Halisi", M.Y.M., Mei, 1970, p. 5.
- <sup>22</sup>n.a., The Munir Report on the Punjab Disturbances (Lahore: Government Printers, 1954), p. 191.
- <sup>23</sup>Ghulam Ahmad is said to have been influenced in his locating of the alleged Tomb of Jesus by the work of a Russian author, Notovich in his book The Unknown Life of Christ (1894), on this point cf. V. Monteil, L'Islam Noir (Paris: Editions Du Seville, 1964); also note that Anderson alludes to the Ahmadiyya "Swoon theory" of Jesus' crucifixion as having its origin in Venturini - vide J.N.D. Anderson, Islamic Law in Africa (London: F. Cass, 1970), p. 358.
- <sup>24</sup>F. Abbot, Islam and Pakistan (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell U. Press, 1968), p. 155.

<sup>25</sup>K. Cragg, Counsels, In Contemporary Islam Islamic Surveys 3 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1965), p. 161.

<sup>26</sup>Mahmud Ahmad, Invitation to Ahmadiyyat (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1961), p. 14.

<sup>27</sup>G. Ahmad, A Misunderstanding Removed (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1959), p. 13 and the Swahili translation by J.R. Rafiq, Kuondoa Kosa Moja (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1966), pp. 17, 18.

<sup>28</sup>J. Robson, "The Ahmadis" ch. 16 Religion and the Middle East vol. 2 (eds. A.J. Arberry and C.F. Beckingham, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 351 - a quotation of Ghulam Ahmad's words from his writings.

<sup>29</sup>Mahmud Ahmad, What is Ahmadiyyat? op. cit., pp. 31, 32 and the Swahili translation by Mubarak Ahmad, Hakika ya Ahmadiyya, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>30</sup>A.S. Farsy, Mafunzo ya Dini (Mombasa: n.p., 1971), p. 21. "Uislamu uliwakataza Waislamu Kupindukia mpaka katika vita .... Mtu akivitazama vita vingi alivyopigana Mtume ataviona ya kuwa Waislamu hutoka na kujilinda kwa kupigana."

<sup>31</sup>S.S.A. Rizvi, Islam (Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission, 1970, trans. by I.Q. Nathu), p. 44: "Hii ndiyo sheria yetu kuhusu Jihad. Huruhusiwa kupigana kwa ajili ya kujilinda tu wakati wowote. Lakini hukatazwa kuanza vita bila amri maalum ya Mtume au Imami. Jihad haiwezi kuanzishwa ikihusa siasa au faida ya kidunia." Also vide Rizvi, Elements of Islamic Studies (Dar es Salaam: Bilal Muslim Mission, 1971, 2nd ed.).

<sup>32</sup>Munir Report ..... op. cit. p. 192.

<sup>33</sup>F. Schildknecht, "Tanzania", Ch. 12, Islam in Africa (J. Kritzcek and W.H. Lewis, eds., New York: Van Nostrand - Reinhold Co., 1969), p. 239.

<sup>34</sup>There are also two Swahili leaflets promoting this principle, both by M. Munawwar: "Mawaidha Kwa Waislamu Wote Wa Dunia" (Dar es Salaam: A.M.M., 14.6.65); and "Tangazo Maalum Kwa Waislamu" (Dar es Salaam: A.M.M., 5.7.67).

<sup>35</sup>Macdonald, "Ilham", op. cit., p. 163.

<sup>46</sup>Munir Report, op. cit., pp. 187 - 189.

47 Sources containing specific opposition to the Ahmadiyya interpretation of prophethood are: Al-Amin bin Aly, Mirzai Na Jinsi Wawadanganayavo Islamu (Mombasa: Coronation Printers, 1961); A.S. Farsy, Upotofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Makadiani (Zanzibar: Mulla Karimjee Mulla Mohamedbhai & Sons, 1954); A.S. Farsy, Marejezo Ya Upotofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Makadiani Ya Khataman Nabiyyan (Mombasa: H.O. Adam & Sons, 1971); A. Hemedi, Taarifu Juu Ya Tafsiri Ya Wakadiani (Mombasa: n.p., 1955); and A. Nassir, Hakika Ya Ukadiani (Mombasa: National Union of Kenya Muslims, 1973).

48 Interview with C.I. Ahmadi, Dar es Salaam, 19 May, 1973.

49 Ghulam Ahmad, Kuondoa Kosa Moja (trans. by J.R. Rafiq, Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1966), p. 8. This is a translation for the Urdu of the original Ek Ghalati Ka Izalah. Also vide the English version A Misunderstanding Removed *op. cit.*

50 S.E. Brush, *op. cit.*, pp. 161, 162: citing the newspaper Akhbar-i-Amm, Lahore, May 8, 1908. /immediately prior to Ghulam's decease/.

51 H.J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 49.

52 Cragg, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 166.

53 Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 157 and interview with L.R. Mirza, Nairobi, 18 October, 1973.

54 A full elucidation of the new jamat can be found in Mahmud Ahmad's 1948 annual address which has been translated from Urdu into English and Swahili as follows /pertinent passages indicated/: Hakika Ya Ahmadiyya, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 - 21, What is Ahmadiyyat?, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 - 51.

55 Fisher, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

56 A.G. Soofi, "They Controverted the Incontrovertible", Review of Religions LXIII No. IV April, 1968, p. 130, quoting Ghulam Ahmad's discussion entitled "Difference Between Ahmadi and Non-Ahmadi," Sept. 27, 1906.

57 Schacht, Notes on Islam in East Africa", Studia Islamica Vol. XXIII, p. 101.

58 Letter from M. Munawwar, Dar es Salaam, 2 January, 1967.

<sup>59</sup>Robson, op. cit., p. 355.

<sup>60</sup>G. Ahmad, Safina Ya Nuhu, op. cit., p. 10, "Simamisheni sala zenu tano unyenvekevu na upole wa moyo kama ni wenye kumwona Mwenyezi Mungu. Na Kamilisheni sawasawa saumu zenu kwa ajili ya mwenyezi Mungu. Na Kila anaye wajibikiwa kutoa zaka zaatoe. Na mwenye faradhi juu yake kuhiji, wala hapana kinachomkataza, basi na atoe ahiji kwenye Kaaba."

<sup>61</sup>The Ahmadiyya manual: M. Munawwar, Kitabu Cha Zaka, (Nairobi: A.M.M., 1967, 2nd ed.); the Sunni Manual: S.A.Omar, Zaka Elimu na Umoja (Mombasa: Alawiyyah Traders, n.d.).

<sup>62</sup>Information supra on voluntary funds is from the interview with M. Isa, Kisumu, 27.4.73.

<sup>63</sup>The wills of persons doing so are printed in the publication Tahrik-i-Jadid from time to time. A full page is given to each person's will using a standard form and showing the appropriate witnesses. Tahrik-i-Jadid Vol. 2, No. 12, December, 1966, includes the wills of four Tanzanian Ahmadis.

<sup>64</sup>n.a., Saumu Ya Ramadhan (Tabora: E.A.A.M.M., 1958, 3rd ed.), p.4.

<sup>65</sup>A.S. Farsy, Saumu Na Maamrisha Yake (Zanzibar: Mulla Karimjee Mulla Mohamedbhai & Sons, 1964), p. 37.

<sup>66</sup>Interview with A.D. Ahmedi, Masaka, 3 March, 1967.

<sup>67</sup>Interview with S. Hassan, Nairobi, 2 May, 1971.

<sup>68</sup>Interview with A.R. Bazmi, Nairobi: 2 May, 1971.

<sup>69</sup>S.A.H. Naqavi: The Real Fact (Mombasa: The Khoja Shia Ithna-Asheri Supreme Council, 1968), p. 27.

<sup>70</sup>Mubarak Ahmad, Katibu Cha Haii. (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1966, 2nd ed.), p. 8.

<sup>71</sup>K. Cragg, The Dome and the Rock (London: S. P.C.K., 1964), p. 11.

<sup>72</sup>Interview with A. Nassir, Nairobi, 18 October, 1973.

73 A. Bharati, "A Social Survey" 2nd ed. D.P. Ghai Portrait of A Minority (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1965 p. 27.

74 Letter from H.S. Hafidh, Mombasa, 21 October, 1973.

75 n.a., The Muslim Prayer (Secunderabad: Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Islam, 1965, 17th ed.), p. 38.

76 The writer submitted a copy of Hafidhi's letter to Abdillah Nassir, Swahili editor of Oxford University Press and a recognised Sunni leader. His reply was that the pressure of work would not at that time allow him an adequate comment on the letter. He simply said of Hafidh's letter: "His letter shows that his knowledge of religion is very slight." (Barua yake inaonyesha kuwa ujuzi wake wa dini mdogo sana.) Nassir promised a fuller comment but to this date none has appeared; cf. letter from A. Nassir, 27 Nov., 1973.

77 J.S. Trimmingham, The Influence of Islam upon Africa (London: Longmans, 1968), pp. 80, 81.

78 Isa, loc. cit.

79 Interviews with A. Bashozi and Kambaulaya, Bukoba, 18 Mar., 1969.

80 Interview with R. Kazema, Ujiji, 21 July, 1967.

81 Fisher, op. cit., p. 42.

82 J.T. Addison, "The Ahmadiyya Movement and Its Western Propaganda", Harvard Theological Review Vol. XXII No. 1, Jan. 1929, pp. 11, 12.

83 Interview with C.I. Ahmadi, Morogoro, 10th November, 1968.

84 "Kwa Heri, Maulana!", M.Y.M., Mei, 1962.

85 Hafidh, op. cit.

86 G. Ahmad, Safina Ya Nuhu, op. cit., pp. 17, 18.

- <sup>87</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 284
- <sup>88</sup>H.J. Fisher, op. cit., p. 20.
- <sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 133.
- <sup>90</sup>G. Parrinder, "Islam in West Africa" Ch. 11, Religion in the Middle East Vol. 2 (ed. A.J. Arberry and C.F. Beckingham, Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 233. has been a source of provocation and contention among Muslims.
- <sup>91</sup>Letter from J. Ritchie, 23 Nov., 1966.
- <sup>92</sup>Letter from F. Schildknecht, W.F., 23 June, 1967.
- <sup>93</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 7.
- <sup>94</sup>Interview with C.I. Ahmadi, Dar es Salaam, 25 Oct. 1973.

#### 1. AHMADIYAH TEACHING REGARDING THE QURAN

The dictums of Ahmadiyya writers with reference to the Quran are neither unique nor distinctive. While they see it as the immutable and eternal Word of God as do virtually all Muslims they do not agree with the orthodox opinion that as eternal the Quran is uncreated.<sup>1</sup> Asst. Asst. states: "Like the Kharijites and the Mutazilites, the Ahmadiyya believe in the Quran as created."<sup>2</sup> It is held nevertheless to be the very word of God every part thereof equally revealed in respect to every other part and therefore equally binding.

## CHAPTER VI

### KURANI TUKUFU: AN ENDURING STIMULUS FOR NON-AHMADI MUSLIM REACTION

The distinguishing achievement of the Ahmadiyya movement in East Africa is its widely celebrated Swahili translation of the Quran. Since its publication in 1953 it has been a source of provocation and contention among Muslims. Firstly, before treating this translation itself it is appropriate to establish the Ahmadiyya teaching with regard to the Quran as God's sacred book to man. Following the doctrinal background is a description of various aspects relating to the publication itself. Next there appears a discussion of its career as a provocation generally within East African Islam. Finally, a hypothesis regarding the influence which it has held in the production of a Sunni Swahili translation will be examined.

#### A. AHMADIYYA TEACHING REGARDING THE QURAN

The dictums of Ahmadiyya writers with reference to the Quran are neither unique nor distinctive. While they see it as the immutable and eternal Book from God as do virtually all Muslims they do not agree with the orthodox opinion that as eternal the Quran is uncreated.<sup>1</sup> Aziz Ahmad states: "Like the Kharijites and the Mutazila, the Ahmadis believe in the Quran as created."<sup>2</sup> It is held nevertheless to be the very word of God: every part there of equally revealed in respect to every other part and therefore equally binding.

The resulting conclusion is that the Ahmadis repudiate the theory of naskh and mansukh /that which abrogates and that which is abrogated/ which is held by the vast majority of Muslims. In virtually all of the notable commentaries of the Quran the doctrine of abrogation is assumed. The idea was made necessary by alleged discrepancies and contradictions in the Quranic text. It holds that certain verses in the Quran have become outmoded and are in fact overridden and supplanted by other verses that are subsequent in point of time. There is no agreement, however, on what specific verses are appropriately applicable to this theory. Some assert that the doctrine only applies to Quranic commands and not to "narratives or promises or threats."<sup>3</sup> Some consider it to mean certain Quranic ordinances being abrogated by the Sunna when such abrogation finds confirmation within the Quran itself. Still others posit that it means an abrogation of the Sharia of the prophets prior to Muhammad. In this way it is shown that the Quran supersedes the Jewish and Christian scriptures.

In more recent times more liberal thinkers have been bold in opposition to the theory. Jones suggests that it is a tenet "extremely distasteful" to the modern Muslim because it reflects on the character of the Quran itself.<sup>4</sup> The argument is that admission of contradictions is tantamount to subverting the divine origin of the sacred text. Baljon indicates "In general the modernists again are not much

aligned with this doctrine of their ancestors .....

Indignantly Ahmad Khan declares "that in this way the Koran is made 'a note book of a poet'."

In this vein Ghulam Ahmad found the ancient assumption of abrogation untenable. His interpretation is that 11:107 which is the foundation for the theory of naskh has been wrongly held to refer to Quranic verses. He admits to no self-contradiction in the Quran and therefore the need for abrogation is obviated. His position is aligned with those who insist that abrogation applies to the previous scriptures of prophets preceding Islam. In the commentary on the above verse in the Ahmadiyya Swahili version it is asserted:

Accordingly those verses abrogated refer to the law of Moses and other ancient scriptures, and in their places Almighty God brought the Quran which is the best by comparison with the ancient scriptures .... and those who say that certain verses annul other verses are completely mistaken .... The words of the Quran are not in the least contradictory .... verses do not abrogate nor are verses abrogated because there is no contradiction.

It is a curious point that Sheikh Al-Amin bin Aly<sup>7</sup> in his Swahili translation and commentary of the above verse takes the liberal interpretation which virtually corresponds with the Ahmadiyya position. His work which was published thirteen years antecedent to the Ahmadiyya translation renders the term aya as dalili which means a sign or evidence.<sup>8</sup> His comments elucidate that the term aya which is transliterated in the translations of both Mubarak and Abdalla has the

intended meaning of:

The previous miracles and laws of prophets which are the attesting signs of their prophethood, and it is not aya meaning a portion of words in the Quran which bring certain legal pronouncements ..... it isn't necessary that every prophet comes with the same signs or laws of his predecessor but rather he, according to his ability, abrogates those needing to be forgotten and replaces them with his own other signs and new law which are better than the previous ones .... And in his power Almighty God will bring his people the law of Islam which is more suitable to them in this world and the next rather than the law of Moses which is now outmoded.

Sheikh Al-Amin does not treat this doctrine explicitly in the few Swahili writings of his that were available to this writer. The only intimation of it is in one of his doctrinal booklets where he expounds on the Islamic dogma of the Quran. He affirms that the Quran is the last book of God brought by his last prophet and that it is a book which: "verifies that which is righteous in the scriptures of old, and it removes that which is unsuitable and was annulled among the judgments of old."<sup>9</sup> However, in this context no specific reference is made to Quranic abrogation.

It is interesting to see that Sheikh Al-Amin's disciple and the current Chief Khadi of Kenya, Sheikh Abdalla Saleh Al-Farsy controverts this liberal interpretation. This is in spite of the fact that he cites his Quranic mentor as his immediate predecessor in the list of sheikhs who are the recognised receivers of the approved Quranic commentary Jalaleyn.<sup>10</sup> Sh. Abdalla comments on the verse in question

by citing the Ahmadis indirectly not referring to them by name as those who number this as Verse 107.<sup>11</sup> He

comments:

They have absolutely refuted abrogation, and say that the verses of the Quran do not contradict themselves. Undoubtedly they do not contradict themselves. However, its commands - and precisely their inversions - were not commanded and inverted suddenly. However, a thing was commanded progressively bit by bit and inverted in steps .... And these explanations .... are sufficient to show the falsity of their refutation of abrogation.<sup>12</sup>

Thus Sh. Abdalla dispenses summarily with the divergent interpretation of both the Ahmadis and his illustrious predecessor.

It is seen, therefore, that while the Ahmadiyya tenets of non-abrogation and non-contradiction are at variance with traditional orthodoxy, they are not so novel in the East African scene. They have not constituted a major point of contention.

#### B. VARIOUS ASPECTS REGARDING THE PUBLICATION OF KURANI TUKUFU

The publication in 1953 of the Swahili translation of the Quran entitled Kurani Tukufu is indubitably a monumental achievement. The translation was offered because: "Therefore, the vitality of Muslims and the advancement of Africans, not only so, but the vitality of all nations is in holding fast to the teachings of the Quran."<sup>13</sup> Having the sacred book of Muslims translated in the language of the

people was regarded as an essential goal of the Ahmadiyya mission from the time of its early beginnings. The publication of Canon Dale's translation in 1923 was undoubtedly a goad to Sh. Mubarak from the inception of his missionary labours. He himself began the initial translation in 1936, only three years after his arrival in East Africa.<sup>14</sup> Ritchie comments generally that the Ahmadiyya work of translating **the Quran stems from a "reaction to Christianity"**.<sup>15</sup>

In his introduction Sheikh Mubarak cites three reasons for offering the accompanying commentary:

- 1) That opposition brought by .... Christians .... must be answered.
- 2) That Muslims teachings be verified.
- 3) The errors which have crept in among the Muslims because of ignorance of the words of the Quran be made clear and that righteousness be brought to light.<sup>16</sup>

The finished product is meritorious on several counts. The original publication appeared in a substantial hard cover binding with fine quality paper and very legible print. The first printing was done by the East African Standard in Nairobi in 1953 and the subsequent edition was printed in Lahore, Pakistan, in 1971. The second edition does not measure up to the quality of the first edition on any count. Both editions contain 1063 pages and follow the same format. The three essential parts are: Arabic Text, Swahili translation and commentary. A typical page shows the format as follows: the Arabic text on the right-hand side, the corresponding Swahili translation parallel on the left-hand side, and the matching commentary relevant to the

Mubarak would follow and Abdalla would not. The references to these translations in this paper will render Mubarak's numbering first followed by Abdalla's.<sup>19</sup>

The first edition of Kurani Tukufu was issued with a publication quantity of 10,000. The second printing appeared in 1971 with a quantity of 5,000. This was obviously done before the first edition was completely out of stock for two years after the second printing the mission's periodicals were advertising copies of the first edition still available at a reduced rate.<sup>20</sup> The cost of both printings was mainly subsidised by the mission's headquarters in Rabwah. Some of the cost was absorbed by contributions from East African Ahmadis. It seems safe to surmise, however, that the greater portion of the cost was borne by Rabwah. Neither the total cost nor Rabwah's share of the cost has been clearly given. Two indications that have appeared regarding the first printing are at considerable variance. One says the cost of publishing the translation was 100,000<sup>21</sup> shillings and the other states 200,000.<sup>22</sup> Neither amount seems realistic in light of the purchase price. The first edition sold at twenty shillings and was raised twice to twenty-five and thirty. Copies of the second printing are offered at thirty shillings. If as the mission claims the copies are offered at a subsidised price neither of the above quotations could be correct. At a publication quantity of 10,000 the first figure quoted /100,000/ would mean that it only cost ten

ings and the second quotation would mean twenty shillings per copy. With a purchase price of twenty or thirty shillings it signifies the sale of the book was either not subsidised or was sold at a profit. Considering the size and quality of the book it is difficult to accept that either of the costs quoted represent the realistic figure. The question remains inconclusive. There has been no mention of the cost of subsidising the second edition. Another matter which is not entirely clear relates to the work of translation. The title page explicitly names Sheikh Mubarak Ahmad as the translator. However, there are numerous indications that the late Sheikh K. Amri Abedi played a major role in the translation endeavour. Nassir asserts that it was mainly the work of Sheikh Amri.<sup>23</sup> J.W.T. Allen says that he probably did two-thirds of it."<sup>24</sup> Akilimali Snow-White

The late Sheikh Abedi was the solitary African who gave the good Swahili to this Holy Quran. Without his language proficiency the translation work of Kurani Tukufu into superior Swahili would not have been accomplished.<sup>25</sup>

the mission's own periodical this point is sometimes mentioned to vaguely and in one instance somewhat clearly. In an obituary article following his decease mentions: "He devoted to various translations and corrections of some of the books published by our movement; such as Kurani Tukufu ....."<sup>26</sup> H. Mbyana in a summary of Sh. Amri's life states that upon leaving his work with the Tanganyika

postal service in 1943 he was enlisted to serve the mission. In this capacity he was charged with the task of translating into Swahili various works including the Quran. In this work he contributed the major portion of the translation work.<sup>27</sup> In the succeeding month's issue of Mapenzi Ya Mungu there occurs the statement: "It is customarily understood by some that the late Sheikh Amri Abedi is the very one who translated the Quran."<sup>28</sup> The immediate context implies that this is the correct assessment. In his introduction Sh. Mubarak mentions K. Amri Abedi as one among several who scrutinised the translation, corrected it and did the proof-reading. The implication here is that the principal translation work was by Mubarak himself.<sup>29</sup> Mnyampala suggests that both Sheikh Amri and Sheikh Mubarak worked together in producing the translation.<sup>30</sup> Sheikh Mohammad Ali gives the opinion that Sh. Amri assisted Sh. Mubarak in the Swahili expressions of the translation.<sup>31</sup> It appears to be a reasonable assumption that Sheikhs Mubarak and Amri collaborated in the translation work with Mubarak's better knowledge of Arabic and Amri's excellent facility in Swahili combining to produce the finished product. It is appropriate to inject also the name of Muhammad Munawwar who is credited along with Sh. Amri in the introduction with assistance in the proof-reading and in composing some of the commentary. Two others who assisted to a lesser degree in proof-reading and the commentary are mentioned: Inayat Ullah

Khalil and Jalal-ud-Din Qamar. *Tukufu is very good.*<sup>31</sup>

There is almost unanimous agreement that the quality of the Swahili employed in the translation is excellent. This undoubtedly reflects on Amri's hand in the work. Harries praises it as "..... a remarkable new translation of the Quran.... [that] has set a new standard of Swahili writing for Muslim writers." He continues:

The whole work was first submitted to the Inter-territorial Language Committee, an unprecedented action by Muslim writers of religious text, and the Swahili employed is not only excellent in itself, but also easily acceptable to the modern reader.

He also asserts that the book was not granted the "imprimatur" of the committee. One can surmise that this may have been because the committee was unwilling to be identified with the controversial nature of the commentary.<sup>32</sup>

A minute from a meeting of the Kenya Languages Board insinuates a similar aversion:

It was agreed that the Swahili translation of the Koran which had recently been produced by the Ahmadiyya Mission and published by the East African Standard was a book for experts and was too complicated to be included in the list of approved textbooks. Recommended for study by those preparing for the Higher or Standard Swahili examinations.<sup>33</sup>

This is an obvious reference to the commentary and not the translated text of the Quran. It was a palpable dodge. Nevertheless, most persons knowledgeable of Swahili, Muslim or non-Muslim, seem to concur that as Allen has expressed it:

"The Swahili quality of Kurani Tukufu is very good."<sup>34</sup>

It is one thing to say that the Swahili of the translation is excellent; however, the validity of the translation is not necessarily reflected in the quality of the secondary language and is yet another matter. On this latter point there is not the concurrence of opinion as obtains for the former. Rizvi claims that as a translation from Arabic to Swahili it is superior to any other existing translation.<sup>35</sup> Sheikh Mohammed Ali in more measured words assures that it: "..... is not a bad translation apart from the commentary although some parts of it [the translated text] are biased to Ahmadiyya doctrine."<sup>36</sup> A Sunni sheikh who is regarded as a responsible Arabist claims to the contrary that it is not a good translation because it is too literal and not an interpretation as is Abdalla's translation.<sup>37</sup> This point is in keeping with the traditional orthodox view of the untranslatability of the sacred Arabic. The same critic also suggests that unlike most Muslim interpreters the Ahmadiyya follow no specific rule of translation and are erratic often referring to dreams as their basis.<sup>38</sup> Ali bin Hemedi of Tanga denies any validity to the translation pointing out numerous errors. He suggests that this is inherent in a situation where: "An Indian translator, the Arabic Quran, and a Swahili translation, are combined."<sup>39</sup> The foregoing Sunni opinions may be set in contrast by the opinions of other recognised Sunni Muslims. Regarding the translation of the text Nassir agrees that Mubarak's work

is preferable to Abdalla's. Sheikh A.A. Badawiy of Mambrui similarly concurs. It is further remarkable that Sh. Abdalla himself admits that Mubarak's translation is a good one with the exception of a very few verses. He mentioned that circa 1950 he indicated his approval of the translation of the text [not the commentary] to the East African Inter-territorial Swahili Committee. On balance it seems that most of the knowledgeable Sunnis that have commented on the publication of Kurani Tukufu regard it in the main as a good translation. It is the commentary that has become so obnoxious.

#### C. ITS ROLE AS A CATALYST AMONG EAST AFRICAN MUSLIMS

Muslim writers who maintain as Brelvi does that most Muslims reject the Ahmadiyya translation would be more accurate were they to distinguish between the translated text of the Quran and the accompanying commentary.<sup>40</sup> It is the latter that has evoked so much antipathy rather than the former as has already been elucidated. Rizvi in a similar way has failed to make this distinction. In his duplicated treatise purporting to criticise the translation he devotes the entire manuscript to a copious refutation of the Ahmadiyya doctrine of prophethood as reflected in the commentary.<sup>41</sup> Part of this confusion is likely due to the somewhat ambiguous meaning of the Swahili term tafsiri which is derived from Arabic. It can mean explanation, interpretation or translation depending on its context. Therefore when referring in Swahili to tafsiri of the Quran it more appropriately means

an explanation rather than a translation keeping in mind the untranslatable character of the Quran as held in the minds of most Muslims. The same ambiguity applies to the lack of distinction appearing in numerous negative comments against Mubarak's translation.

There is a glaring inconsistency in the way in which Sunni leaders strenuously discourage Muslims from obtaining the Ahmadiyya Quran while they themselves own and use it in preparing for their madrasas and hotubas. An example of how they dissuade average Muslims from securing copies of Kurani Tukufu was related to the writer. At the Saba Saba display in Dar es Salaam in 1973 there were stands maintained by both Bakwata and the Ahmadiyya mission. The Ahmadis were selling their Swahili Quran to numerous eager Muslims. When the Sunnis realised what was happening they announced that this book was quite unacceptable. After this some tried to return the copies but were refused at the Ahmadiyya stand. It is also thought that the Sunni announcement affected the subsequent sales adversely.<sup>42</sup> This the Ahmadis deny. On the other hand the Sunni leadership does not hesitate to secure a copy and utilise those portions of the commentary that are not contrary to Sunni tenets. It is even conceivable that some waalimu would unwittingly pass on teachings that are distinctly Ahmadiyya. Schildknecht **wavers:** 12-year-old schoolboy M. Asri Abasi expressed the question that has arisen in the minds of many Muslims:

..... the famous Ahmadiyya Koran has spread all over East and Central Africa and is in the hands of nearly every Mwalimu (Koranic teacher), since it so conveniently gives them great possibilities in expanding and commenting on any issue.<sup>43</sup>

The answer received was the traditional one to be expected: It is no doubt little known that the Ahmadiyya Quran is in "The Quran cannot be translated because to do so would destroy the possession of Sunni leaders. Every the perfect character." He was not satisfied and when

he alone Such knowledge would certainly be an offence if not an embarrassment. J.W.T. Allen relates an anecdote about his manner of putting a paper cover on the Ahmadiyya Quran and writing on it the words "Sheikh Mubarak". Once when the venerable Sheikh Ali bin Hemedi of Tanga, whom Allen counted as "one of his dearest friends", was visiting Allen he saw the book with its cover and became curious. When asked why he had done so, Allen replied, "I cover it like this to avoid offence to my Muslim friends." Sheikh Ali replied, "I must do that too, so I won't have to hide my copy."<sup>44</sup>

It is, in fact, generally true that, notwithstanding to such translation efforts are made, the result is a provocation among Muslims generally. It has elicited the full range of human response from appreciative acceptance to manifest hostility. But more than that in East Africa it has activated Islam's inertness as a catalyst. It has changed the previous conservatism with regard to Quranic education to a wholesome dissatisfaction with mere recitation and a readiness for understanding the message of the book. As a nine-year-old schoolboy K. Amri Abedi expressed the question that has arisen in the minds of many Muslims:

Why are we studying like parrots not understanding what is in the verses of the Holy Quran? Why is the Quran not translated?<sup>45</sup>

The answer received was the traditional one to be expected: "The Quran cannot be translated because to do so would destroy its perfect character." He was not satisfied and when he along with Sh. Mubarak produced the first publication of the entire Quran translated into Swahili by Muslims it was a breakthrough for East African Islam. The editorial in the Swahili monthly after the second edition was published has correctly appraised the change. It alludes to the condemnation heaped upon the Ahmadis when their first edition was released then it points out:

But, after the passing of years we find that the very ones who condemned us have done a complete mental somersault, and they are accepting the value of translating the Quran into Swahili. In short we do not now see even one Muslim who believes that translating the Quran opposes the desires of God.<sup>46</sup>

It is, in fact, generally true that verbalised opposition to such translation efforts are nowadays virtually non-existent. More than that they are widely encouraged. This is readily seen in that less than a year after the release of Sh. Abdalla Saleh Al-Farsy's translation in a publication quantity of 7,000 it was out of print. Further, the pre-publication orders on the second edition approach one half of the proposed quantity of 20,000 it may have been raised to 25,000.<sup>47</sup> These facts are seen in a better perspective when it is realised that it required at least twenty years before the 10,000

copies of the first edition of the Ahmadiyya Quran were all sold.

The influence of Mubarak's translation as a catalyst is not only seen in its successful counteraction of resistance to translations. There are several obscure statements by two knowledgeable authors on the appearance of subsequent translations. Schacht mentions that: "The Ahmadiyya translation had inspired the two orthodox translations into Swahili."<sup>48</sup> These are not identified unless his earlier reference applies [vide note 53]. Fisher reports: "... an Ahmadiyya Swahili translation appeared in 1953, followed in 1962 by an orthodox version as riposte."<sup>49</sup> Again the reader is left to surmise. If Fisher means Abdalla's translation it started appearing piecemeal in 1956 and was not offered in bound form until 1969. Neither of these references could pertain to the translation work of Sh. Al-Amin. Allen cites that Sh. Al-Amin had already begun his translating by 1933 when the two had met and discussed Islamic matters together.<sup>50</sup> His publication of the first juzuu is antecedent to Mubarak's as has already been indicated.<sup>51</sup> Apart from these vague references there are evidences of other translations that have been either proposed or accomplished if not the entirety of the Quran at least in portions. A meeting of the East African Muslim Welfare Society in Dar es Salaam in August, 1966, resolved that a Swahili translation of the Quran be done in consultation with sheikhs from

the three East African territories collaborating. The meeting made reference to a similar resolution in 1963 but nothing had been done.<sup>52</sup> In fact nothing was done about the

renewed resolution either. Before long the society itself became defunct. Nassir mentions another Swahili version by Faray to the publication of the Ahmadiyya translation of the Qur'an was to publish a booklet in refutation. The identifies one translation by Sheikh Hasan bin Amir al-Shirazi: "... who is considered the foremost Shafii scholar in Dar es Salaam."<sup>53</sup> The manuscript was completed in 1963

and was to be printed but as far as the writer has been able to ascertain it has not yet been published. Sh. Yahya Ali Omar showed the writer the manuscript of the last juzuu "Amma" by one Muhammad bin Ayub of the madresa Shamsiya, Tanga. And Sh. Mohammad Ali has referred to the work of Sheikh Ali Sneda Gunda of Tanga who has completed approximately two-thirds of the text but it is actually a compilation from several sources and not an original work. Finally, Maulana S.S.A. Rizvi stated that several years ago the Shia considered the possibility of producing a Swahili translation but in view of the other works already accomplished or proposed decided against such a project.

The object of cataloguing these various translation proposals or projects is to establish how thoroughly the Ahmadiyya translation has acted as a stimulus toward a work of producing a Swahili translation of the Qur'an. He and otherwise indifferent Islam. Its success is seen not only already published three select portions of his translation in its limited acceptance but also in the additional trans-

lations it has inspired.

D. ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE TRANSLATION  
WORK OF SHEIKH A.S. FARSY

The immediate response of Sheikh Abdalla Saleh al-Farsy to the publication of the Ahmadiyya translation of the Quran was to publish a booklet in refutation. The publication is entitled Upotofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Makadiani and it appeared in less than a year following Kurani Tukufu's release.<sup>54</sup> It contains twenty-eight points asserting the variety and enormity of the offensive apologetics of the Ahmadiyya commentary. The principal complaint pertains to the inimical Ahmadiyya teaching of prophethood. Within three months a rebuttal was offered by Sheikh K. Amri Abedi published by the Ahmadiyya mission. Its title Uongofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Kurani Tukufu was intentionally parallel to Abdalla's to identify what it was counteracting.<sup>55</sup> The first word replacing the initial term of Abdalla's title means uprightness or righteousness in contrast to Abdalla's "per- verseness". In his rejoinder Sh. Amri answers Sh. Abdalla's objections point by point and reaffirms the validity of the doctrines contained in Kurani Tukufu.

Another way in which Sh. Abdalla responded to Mubarak's translation was to undertake determinedly the long and tedious work of producing a Sunni translation of the Quran. He had already published three select portions of his translation

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work prior to the publication of Mubarak's edition.<sup>56</sup>

Immediately he set out to publish his translation piecemeal one juzuu at a time. The first issue was released in May, 1965. From that date until October, 1963, he presented the first fifteen juzuus and the last one (30th).<sup>57</sup> The quality of these booklets was very inferior regarding paper and printing with cheap brown-paper covers. Eventually it was his objective to finish the entire Quran and have it published in one volume. This was finally accomplished in 1969. The translation was published by the Islamic foundation in Nairobi. Its format with the same three elements: Arabic text, Swahili translation and commentary is virtually identical with Kurani Tukufu. Its title varies from Mubarak's volume, it reads Qurani Takatifu. It contains 805 pages in all. The publication received two major subsidies from sympathetic benefactors in Arabia. This enabled the 7,000 copies of the initial edition to be distributed at the nominal charge of ten shillings which covered handling and postage. The stock was depleted in a matter of months.

The response from the readers was phenomenal. Some 2,000 letters were received by either Sheikh Abdalla or the Foundation. The majority reflected appreciation and many cited needed corrections. Because of the outstanding reception of the first edition the Islamic Foundation immediately set out to do a reprinting. The second edition representing extensive corrections of numerous typographical errors and

excessive use of bracketed phrases in the text is to be released around mid-1974. The publisher has asserted emphatically that the substantial text of the translation and its commentary will be unchanged in the revision. This was to say that Sh. Abdalla had no intention of using the opportunity of the second edition to change certain passages that have drawn heavy criticism from Sunni sheikhs as well as Ahmadis.<sup>58</sup>

The Swahili monthly, Mapenzi Ya Mungu carried a volley of disparaging strictures against Abdalla's translation in the form of a series of articles strung out over thirteen months.<sup>59</sup> A sampling of some of the disapprobative articles will illustrate the intensity of their criticism. Two issues carried an article entitled "Sheikh Farsy contradicts the Approved Arabic Commentary!"<sup>60</sup> It refers to Abdalla's admitted dependence on the standard commentary that dates back to the tenth century of the Muslim era. The article labourously shows how his commentary diverges from the venerable manuscript in at least twenty instances. Another series chides the beleaguered commentator for disturbing the peace among Muslims by virtue of his bitter attacks against Ahmadiyyat. It cites his inconsistent statements regarding certain traditions of the prophet; his apparent concurrence with the concept of compulsion in religion; his advocacy of capital punishment for murderers, adulterers and those

who fail to perform the obligatory prayers. In such matters it avers that Sh. Abdalla has made Islam despicable in the eyes of unbelievers.<sup>61</sup> Another series derides him for distorting the correct interpretation of the miracles of God's prophets. In this the Ahmadi writer refutes the charges which Sh. Abdalla levels against the Ahmadis regarding Mubarak's comments on miracles.<sup>62</sup> Again another article charges him with numerous self-contradictions citing specific passages in his commentary. It also asserts that his later translation differs in several passages with his earlier work.<sup>63</sup> Finally there is a lengthy series charging him plainly with plagiarism. Referring to numerous passages in the text of the translation and in the commentary the article accuses him of obvious copying from Mubarak's volume.<sup>64</sup> This is a question which will be examined later.

Criticism of Sh. Abdalla's book also came from a different source. An active controversialist of the Sharifites that predominate the coastal strip of Kenya from Malindi to Lamu has produced a profuse complaint in the form of a duplicated booklet fifty-nine pages foolscap. The title of the tract is Fimbo Ya Musa. The author is Sheikh Ahmad Ahmad Badawiy (Mwenye Baba) of Mambrui. Most of his criticisms are regarded seriously by Sunni Muslims.<sup>65</sup> Sheikh Badawiy regards Abdalla's translation as entirely unacceptable as it is riddled with errors of consequence.<sup>66</sup> His paper specifies glaring mistakes in both the translation and commentary with

a catalogue of references cited. His writing was picked up by the Ahmadiyya press and was considerably embellished.<sup>67</sup> Abdilahi Nassir furnished some background for Sh. Badawiy's attack. He suggests that since the mid-sixties there has been an active contention between the Sharifites with Sh. Badawiy as their spokesman and Sheikh Abdalla along with his camp of sympathisers. The publication of Abdalla's translation provided an attractive target for continuing the joust.<sup>68</sup>

The important questions which are raised by this discussion of the relationship of Mubarak's work to that of Abdalla deserve closer attention. The first is: to what extent was the Ahmadiyya translation an inducement to Sheikh Abdalla's work? The second carries the matter a step further: to what extent, if any, did Abdalla utilise Mubarak's work as an aid to translation? These two issues will now be treated in their respective order.

There is reason to hold that Kurani Tukufu was in fact an inducement to Abdalla's translation, notwithstanding his disclaimer. The Ahmadis persistently taunted him on this point. "After seeing our translation he doubled-up with sudden and great desire to translate."<sup>69</sup> After the publication of his translation was released the Ahmadiyya periodical editorialised: "our translation .... has given birth to another."<sup>70</sup> Trimmingham is convinced of the role

which the Ahmadiyya publication has had in instigating Abdalla's work for he makes repeated assertions of this point.<sup>71</sup> Nassir also concurs that this is true and Allen similarly agrees. The prefaces by both the publisher and the translator [Sh. Abdalla] of the Sunni volume betray an obsession with regard to the Ahmadiyya translation. They contain numerous oblique references to it which seem to pre-occupy their preliminary comments explaining the raison d'etre of the publication.<sup>72</sup>

Sheikh Abdalla disavows any prompting by Mubarak's work pertaining to his own translation labours. His contention is that his efforts are antecedent to the Ahmadiyya translation going back to the mid-forties.<sup>73</sup> However, Mubarak in his introduction indicates that his initial translation was presented to the Swahili Inter-territorial Committee as early as 1942.<sup>74</sup> This precedes Sheikh Abdalla's earliest translation activities. It is also likely that Abdalla would have been aware of Mubarak's manuscript because of his close contacts with the Inter-territorial Committee.<sup>75</sup>

It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that while Sheikh Abdalla may well have been strongly inclined to the work of translation, the parallel endeavour of the Ahmadiyya in certain English translations of the Quran was undoubtedly a constant goad to his labours. When the Ahmadiyya Quran was finally published it made his own work all the more urgent.<sup>76</sup>

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synonymatic than English and therefore the likelihood of word coincidence is greater. At least three reputable Sunnis have admitted to this writer that the probability of considerable duplication is strong. One of these offered the comment: "I find it difficult to believe that he /Sh. Abdalla/ did not /copy/." He further indicates that the translator most certainly had Kurani Tukufu in front of him. It is suggested that there was great pressure of time on him to produce the translation and that, therefore, he frequently resorted to copying. <sup>78</sup>

One Sunni who has openly criticised Abdalla's translation is Sheikh Ahmad Ahmad Badawiy (Mwenye Baba) of Mambrui. In his lengthy refutation of the translation he has taken careful pains to cite numerous specific errors. Among these are references to certain Quranic passages which he alleges show clearly that Sh. Abdalla has copied the Ahmadiyya version. He also insists that because of this the translation is contrary to the approved Arabic text of the Quran.<sup>79</sup> It is remarkable, suggests the critic, that on the one hand Sheikh Abdalla, who severely opposes the Ahmadis and yet he copies their translation extensively. It is the translator's responsibility to make certain that his work does not in the least resemble that of the Ahmadis. This, according to Sh. Badawiy, has not been the case. He urges Sh. Abdalla to correct this error in his revision of the translation for the second edition.

Sheikh Abdalla has emphatically denied the alleged

copying. It is explained that any similarities in the two translations may be due to the fact that both he and Sh. K.A. Abedi, whom he considers to be the principal translator of the Ahmadiyya Quran, studied the Arabic text under the same sheikhs.<sup>81</sup> In his introduction he unequivocally asserts that the Ahmadis are the counterfeiters and not himself.<sup>82</sup>

The charges of copying and the strong counter-denial require an objective consideration of the pertinent internal evidences.

It is suggested that an examination of certain Quranic ayas and passages that are of theological consequence to Muslims would be instructive. One such reference has been made to the celebrated "throne verse" - 2.256/255 - which is greatly esteemed and often recited by Muslims. Hamdun considers that the similarity of translation of the phrase which may be rendered in English: "His throne comprises the heavens and earth,"<sup>83</sup> is an evidence of duplication by Abdalla. This crucial Arabic term is Kursivyuhu which means literally "his chair" or "seat" or "throne".<sup>84</sup> This is translated by both Mubarak and Abdalla as: "Enzi yake...." which translated into English would read "his power" or "his dominion". These represent the metaphorical method of translating whereas Dale renders it: "Kiti chake cha enzi .....", "his throne", which is the literal method.<sup>85</sup> Two

translation.<sup>89</sup>

There occurs, according to Badawiy, another clear demonstration of plagiarism in Abdalla's commentary on 33:54/53. His notes contain a sentence which is lifted verbatim from Mubarak's commentary.<sup>90</sup>

It is Munawwar's contention that Sheikh Abdalla was sufficiently influenced by Mubarak's superior translation so that he modified his translation of numerous passages which had been published previous to Kurani Tukufu's publication. His subsequent translation differs accordingly with his earlier work. An examination of several passages lends support to this view. Monteil states that a careful comparison of Sura Al-Fatiha, the first chapter, in both translations shows much similarity and only minute differences.<sup>91</sup> By joining to this comparison Abdalla's translation of 1950 the resulting differences are quite instructive. In ayas 2, 4 and 7 significant terms are changed in Abdalla's later translation over his earlier one so that they correspond with Mubarak.<sup>92</sup> Similar modifications occur in the much venerated Sura Al-Ikhlās, 112, in ayas 2/1 and 5/4 where Abdalla's later version is different from his earlier one and identical with Mubarak. Other instances of similar alterations showing correspondence between Abdalla's later translation and Mubarak are cited in Munawwar's series. Some of the more striking are: 18:9/9, 56:2/1, 67:28/27, and 31/30.<sup>93</sup> It seems to this writer that, all indications considered, the probability of

copying points more toward Abdalla than Mubarak. The similarities between Mubarak's work with Abdalla's earlier sura are too scant to make a case for plagiarism against Mubarak. On the other hand the incidences of identification increases with regard to a comparison of Abdalla's later work with Mubarak.

Munawwar's concluding complaint scores Abdalla's inconsistency. Why does the Sunni Sheikh take such pains to attack the Ahmadis in his commentary while in the text of his translation he seems quite willing to copy their work?

There remains an apparent contradiction in concomitant views expressed regarding the comparison of the two translations. Those who say that Abdalla has copied Mubarak also hold that Mubarak's work is superior to Abdalla's. How can one work be inferior if it has copied the other. The obvious and necessary explanation is that the identification between the two translations concerns only certain ayas and passages and not its entirety. The identical parts altogether represent only a minor segment of the entire text. There is much that is dissimilar. If Abdalla's work is regarded as inferior it is seen in the abundant non-identical passages.

In conclusion it is emphasised that Mubarak's Kurani Tukufu has played a major role in the tensions that

exist within East African Islam. This describes not only its function as an abrasive in the expected antipathies between Sunnis and Ahmadis but also as an irritant in the uneasy relationships between certain segments of the Sunni community. Its career as a stimulus is not ended.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>S.E. Brush, "Ahmadiyyat in Pakistan", The Muslim d Vol. 45, No. 2, April, 1955, p. 164 and J. Robson, "Ahmadis" Ch. 19, Religion and the Middle East v. 2 . Arberry and C.F. Beckingham, eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 352.

<sup>2</sup>Aziz Ahmad, An Intellectual History of Islam in a, Islamic Surveys 7, (Edinburgh: University Press, ), p. 32.

<sup>3</sup>R. Bell, Introduction to the Quran (Edinburgh: University Press, 1963), p. 98.

<sup>4</sup>L. B. Jones, Christianity Explained to Muslims (Cuttack Baptist Mission Press, 1964), p. 25.

<sup>5</sup>J.M.S. Baljon, Modern Muslim Koran Interpretation 30 - 1960), (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 49, King Ahmad Khan Tafsir al-Quran (1880), p. 162.

<sup>6</sup>Mubarak Ahmad, Kurani Tukufu (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1963), p. 32: "Mradi wa Aya zilizofutwa, ni Sheria ya Musa Vitabu vingine vya zamani, na badala yake Mwenyezi alikuwa akaleta Kurani ambayo ni bora kuliko vitabu vya zamani . . . Ama wale wanaokiri kuwa kuna Aya zingine Kurani zinazotangua zingine wanakosea kabisa . . . Kuna Aya zingine zinazotangua hata kidogo . . . Aya za zamani hazitangui wala hazitanguliwi kwani hayapinzani."

<sup>7</sup>His full name is Sheikh Al-Amin bin Ali Abdallah Nafi Al-Mazrui, Chief Kadhi of Kenya from 1937 to 1969, vide A.I. Salim The Swahili-speaking Peoples of East Africa's Coast 1895 - 1965 (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), pp. 159, 168.

<sup>8</sup>A. Aly, The Holy Quran, Part First (Lahore: Swahili Ul-Isa-At, 1940), pp. 54, 55: "miujiza na sharia ya Musa iliyo tanguliwa ambazo ni dalili ya ule utume wao. Kuna si-aya maana ya kipande cha maneno katika Kurani kilikuwa kusanya baadhi ya hukumu . . . si sharti kula [kila] Aya me kuwa aje na dalili au sheria kama ya mtume aliye tanguliwa, bali yeye mwenyewe kwa uweza wake huiyondowa Aya ili ayatakayo au akaijaaliya ni yenyi kusahauliwa Aya leteta badala yake dalili nyingine na sharia mpya ambayo Aya o ni bora kuliko iliyoondolewa . . . Na kwa uweza wake Aya sheria ya Islamu ambayo ni ya kuwasilihi zaidi ulimwenzi Aya i na akhera badala ya sharia ya Musa ambayo haisilihi

katika siku hizi."

<sup>9</sup>A. Aly, Masomo Ya Dini, Sehemu ya I (Mombasa: E.A. Muslim Welfare Society, 1957), p. 6: "Kikathubutisha yaliyo haki katika vitabu vya zamani, kikaondowa ambayo hayasilihi na yaliyo batili miongoni mwa hukumu zilizo-kuwa zamani."

<sup>10</sup>A.S. Al-Farsy, Qurani Takatifu (Nairobi: The Islamic Foundation, 1969), p. vi.

<sup>11</sup>For the difference in numeration of verses between the translations of Farsy and Mubarak vide infra p. 177.

<sup>12</sup>Farsy, op. cit., p. 24: ". . . wamekanusha habari ya kuwa Aya za Quran hazipingani. Lakini amri zake - na khasa makatazo yake - hazikuwa zikiamrisha jambo na kulikataza kwa ghafla. Lakini mara nyingi huliamrisha kidogo kidogo na kulikataza kwa daraja - kidogo kidogo . . . Na Mifano . . . inatosha kuonyesha uwongo wa kukataa kwao Nasikh."

<sup>13</sup>M. Ahmad, op. cit., p. xix: "Basi uzima wa Waislamu na kuinuka kwa Waafrika, la, bali uzima wa mataifa yote umo katika kushika mafundisho ya Kurani Tukufu."

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. xvi.

<sup>15</sup>Letter from J. Ritchie, 23 Nov., 1966.

<sup>16</sup>M. Ahmad, op.cit., p. xvii: "Kwanza upinzania unaoletwa na . . . Wakristo . . . lazima ujibwe. Pili mafundisho ys Kiislamu uhakikishwe. Tatu, makosa yaliyoingia katika Waislamu kwa sababu ya kutojua maneno ya Kurani, yabainishwe, na haki idhihirike."

<sup>17</sup>V. Monteil, "Islam Et Syncretisme", L'Islam Noir, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1964), p. 308: "un veritable commentaire."

<sup>18</sup>"Yaliyomo Ndani Ya Tafsiri", M.Y.M., I: October, 1965, p.4; II: December, 1965, pp.24; III: January, 1966, p. 4.

<sup>19</sup>e.g. for the immediate reference supra: II: 107/106.

<sup>20</sup>E. A. T., June-July, 1973, p.4.

<sup>21</sup>M.M. Ahmad, Our Foreign Missions (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1965), p. 31.

<sup>22</sup>M.Y.M., September, 1960, "Yaliyufanywa na Chama cha Ahmadiyya katika Uislamu kwa miaka 25 katika Afrika ya Mashariki", p. 1.

<sup>23</sup>Interview with A. Nassir, Nairobi, 12 April, 1973.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with J.W.T. Allen, Tengeru, 17 November, 1973.

<sup>25</sup>Akili-mali Snowwhite "Wasfu Wa Marehem Sheikh Kaluta Amri Abdi na Karii Wa Kiswahili", Swahili vol. 35, No.1, March 1965, p. 5: "nae marehem Sheikh Abedi alikuwa mwafrika wa pekee alie toa Kiswahili latifu katika Kuraani hiyo tukufu. Pasipo ubingwa wa lugha ya marehem kazi ya kutafsiri Kuraani Tukufu kwa Kiswahili bora isinge kamilika."

<sup>26</sup>M.Y.M., "Sheikh Amri Abedi Amerfariki", Nov. 1964, p. 1: "Yeye alishiriki katika kazi mbali mbali za kutafsiri na kusahi-hisha Kiswahili vitabu kadhaa vilivyoenezwa na Jumuiya yetu; kama vile Kurani Tukufu ....."

<sup>27</sup>H. Mbyana, "Maisha Ya Sheikh Amri Abedi", M.Y.M., Sept., 1965, p. 2.

<sup>28</sup>M.Y.M., Oct., 1965, p. 4.

<sup>29</sup>M. Ahmad, op. cit., pp. xvi, xix.

<sup>30</sup>M.E. Mnyampala, "Maisha Ya Mheshimiwa Sheikh M. Amri Abedi", Swahili vol. 35, No. 1, March, 1965, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with M. Ali, General Secretary, BAKWATA, Dar es Salaam, 26 Oct., 1973.

<sup>32</sup>The three citations immediately preceding are from: L. Harries, "Two Important Translations", The Bible Translator Vol. 5, No.2, April, 1954, p. 79, Harries compares the union version of the Swahili Bible and Mubarak's translation.

<sup>33</sup>H.E. Lambert Papers, Minute No. 8/53, of a meeting of the Languages Board (Ministry of Education, Labour and Lands, Colony and Protectorate of Kenya) in Nairobi on 24 Aug., 1953, p. 3 of the minute dated 2.9.53.

- <sup>44</sup> J. Fisher, Almadiyyah (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).
- <sup>34</sup> Allen, op. cit.
- <sup>35</sup> Interview with S.S.A. Rizvi, Dar es Salaam, 18 March, 1973.
- <sup>36</sup> Ali, loc. cit.
- <sup>37</sup> Interview with Yahya Ali Omar, Nairobi, 14 January, 1974.
- <sup>38</sup> Interview with Y.A. Omar, Nairobi, 26 January, 1974.
- <sup>39</sup> A. Hemedi, Tafsiri Juu Ya Tafsiri Ya Wakadiani (Mombasa: n.p. 1955, 2nd ed.), p. 1.
- <sup>40</sup> M. Brelvi, Islam In Africa (Lahore: Institute of Islamic Culture, 1964), p. 59.
- <sup>41</sup> S.S.A. Rizvi, "Tafsiri Mbaya Ya Quran", (Dar es Salaam: Bilal Mission, n.d.) duplicated 24 pp.
- <sup>42</sup> Interview with A. Nasibu, Dep. Gen. Sec., BAKWATA, DSM, 26 Oct., 1973.
- <sup>43</sup> F. Schildknecht, "Tanzania", Chap. 12, Islam in Africa (J. Kritzack and H.W. Lewis, eds., New York: Van Nostrand - Reinhold Co., 1969), p. 236.
- <sup>44</sup> Allen, loc. cit.
- <sup>45</sup> Mnyampala, op. cit., p. 15: "Kwa nini tuna soma kama kasuku hatuelewi yaliyomo katoka Aya za Kurani Tukufu? Kwa nini Kurani haifasiriwi?"
- <sup>46</sup> M.Y.M., (Editorial), October, 1972, p. 2: "Lakini, baada ya miaka kupita tunawakuta hao hao waliotulaumu kwa ajili ya kutoa tafsiri ya Kurani kwamba wameisha pinduka mawazo kabisa, nao wanakubali uzuri wa kufasiri Kurani kwa Kiswahili. Kwa jumla hatuoni soso hata Mwaislamu mmoja anayeamini kufasiri Kurani ni Kinyume cha matakwa ya Mungu."
- <sup>47</sup> Interview with A.H. Butt, Chairman, The Islamic Foundation, Nairobi, 24 Feb., 1973.
- <sup>48</sup> J. Schacht, "Notes on Islam In East Africa" Studia Islamica, Vol. XXXIII p. 108.

49 H.J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 402.

50 Allen, loc. cit.

51 vide, supra., p.173.

52 "Kurani Kwa Kiswahili", M.Y.M., Oct., 1966, p. 6.

53 Schacht, op. cit., p. 101.

54 A.S. Farsy, Uootofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Makadiani (Zanzibar: Mulla Karimjee Mulla Mohamedbhai & Sons, 1954). The title means "The Perverseness of the Translation of the Qadianis /Ahmadis/".

55 K.A. Abedi, Uongofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Kurani Tukufu (Nairobi: Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1967, 2nd ed.): The correctness of the Translation of the Holy Quran".

56 The three publications by Farsy with their respective first date of publication are Sura Za Sala Na Tafsiri Zake - 1950; Tafsiri Ya Baadhi Ya Sura Za Quran; Yasin, Waqia, Mulk - 1950; and Tafsiri Ya Suratil Kahf - 1952.

57 All of these were printed by Mwongozi Printing Press, Zanzibar. The publication dates of the juzuu sequentially are: Juzuu 1 - May, 1956; 2 - July, 1956; 3 - October, 1956; 4 - Jan. 1957; 5 - June, 1957; 6 - Aug., 1957; 7 - Dec., 1957; 8 - Nov. 1958; 9 - Dec., 1959; 10 - July, 1960; 11 - Dec., 1960; 12 - Apr., 1961; 13 - Oct., 1961; 14 - Mar., 1962; 15 - no date; 30 - Oct., 1963.

58 Butt, loc. cit.

59 Feb., 1970, through Feb., 1971.

60 "Sheikh Farsy anapingana Tafsiri Ya Jalaleni!", M.Y.M., Mar., 1970, pp. 1, 5 and 6 and April, 1970, p. 4.

61 "Sheikh Abdallah Saleh Anavuruga Amani", M.Y.M., Aug., 1970, pp. 2, 5; Sept., 1970, pp. 2, 5, Oct., 1970, pp. 2, 4.

62 "Sheikh Abdallah Saleh Haelewi Miujiza", M.Y.M., Aug., 1970, pp. 2, 5; Sept., 1970, pp. 2, 5; Oct., 1970, pp. 2, 4.

- 63 "Abdallah Saleh Anajipinga Mwenyewe", M.Y.M., Jan. 1971, p. 1.
- 64 "Abdallah Saleh Amenukuu Tafsiri Yetu", M.Y.M., Nov. 1970, pp. 2, 4; Dec., 1970, pp. 2, 4; Jan. 1971, pp. 2, 6; Feb. 1970, p. 2.
- 65 The writer is not free to cite his authority for this opinion but he is inclined to accept it as valid as the source is regarded as reputable and knowledgeable.
- 66 Interview with A.A. Badawiy, Mombasa, 6 Apr., 1973.
- 67 "Sharif Badawiy Anamwongoa Sheikh Farsy", M.Y.M., July, 1971, pp. 3, 4; Aug., 1971, pp. 3, 4.
- 68 Nassir, loc. cit.
- 69 "Baada ya kuona .... tafsiri/Ours/ .... naye akapania kwa hamu kubwa na vishindo kutaka kuitafsiri /Quran/," M.Y.M., Feb. 1970, p. 3.
- 70 "Tafsiri yetu .... imezaa tafsiri nyingine ....", M.Y.M., Feb. 1970, p.3.
- 71 J.S. Trimmingham, The Influence of Islam Upon Africa (London: Longmans, 1968), p. 140; and Islam in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 88, 110.
- 72 Farsy, Qurani Takatifu, op. cit., pp. i, ii, v.
- 73 Farsy interview, loc. cit. and Tafsiri Ya Baadhi Ya Sura Za Quran Yasin, Waqia, Mulk (Cairo: n.p. 163, 2nd ed.) p. 5.
- 74 M. Ahmad, Kurani Tukufu, op. cit., p. xvi.
- 75 Abdu Amrani Abdallah, M.Y.M., March, 1970, p. 1: "Abdallah Saleh amejaribu sana kijificha ili isibainike kwa watu kuwa yeye ameitengea tafsiri ya Jumuyia ya Ahmadiyya wakati alikuwa anatagsiti. Lakini uficho wake huo haukufaa...."
- 76 M. Munawwar, a series of four articles, M.Y.M., as follows: "Abdallah Saleh Amenukuu tafsiri yetu" /Abdallah

Saleh has copied our translation<sup>7</sup> - Nov. 1970, pp. 2, 4; Dec., 1970, pp. 2, 4; Jan., 1971, pp. 2, 6; Feb., 1971, p. 2.

<sup>77</sup>Interview with A. Beck, Nairobi, 23 Feb., 1973.

<sup>78</sup>For obvious reasons the writer is not free to divulge his source with regard to this particular point.

<sup>79</sup>A.A. Badawiy, Fimbo Ya Musa (Mambrui: duplicated. n.d.), p. 41.

<sup>80</sup>This Sh. Abdalla has refused to do according to his own admission, cf. Farsy interview, loc. cit. - and the indication of the publisher - Butt interview, loc. cit.

<sup>81</sup>Nassir, loc. cit.

<sup>82</sup>Farsy, Qurani Takatifu, loc. cit.

<sup>83</sup>A.J. Arberry, The Koran Interpreted (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1963, vol. 1), p. 65. This concurs with most English translations.

<sup>84</sup>Interview with S. Hamdun, Nairobi, 20 Nov., 1972.

<sup>85</sup>Dale, Tafsiri Ya Kurani ya Kiarabu (London: S.P.C.K., 1923), p. 39.

<sup>86</sup>Nassir, loc. cit. and interview with Omar, Nairobi, 26 Jan., 1974

<sup>87</sup>Interview with Farsy, loc. cit.

<sup>88</sup>This evidence is raised by Munawwar in "Abdallah Saleh Amenukuu Tafsiri Yetu" M.Y.M., Nov. 1970, p. 4. This point has been acceded to by Nassir and Omar in their interviews, loc. cit.

<sup>89</sup>Badawiy, Fimbo Ya Musa, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 42, vide "Kama wakeze wangeoloewa na watu wengine isingekuwa rahisi kwa watu kwenda pata kwao habari za mambo ya dini waliyojifunza kwa Mtume"; cf. Abdalla p. 534 with Mubarak p. 741.

<sup>91</sup>Monteil, "Un Coran Ahmadi ....", op. cit., p. 484.

<sup>92</sup>Aya 2: Abdalla 1950 - "Mola wa viumbe vyote," Mubarak 1953 - "Mola wa walimwengu", Abdalla 1956 - "Mola wa waliwengu", aya 4; Abdalla 1956 - "Siku ya Malipo"; aya 7; Abdalla 1950 - "si wale walioghadh**h**ibikiwa ....". Mubarak 1953 - "siyo ya (wale) waliokasirikiwa ....", Abdalla - 1956 - "siyo (ya wale) waliokasirikiwa ...." Abdalla's 1950 translation occurs in Sura Za Sala Na Tafsiri Yake (Zanzibar: Mulla Karimjee Mulla Mohamedbhai & Son, 1962, 3rd ed.), p. 29.

<sup>93</sup>Munawwar, op. cit., passim. Numerous additional references not given here are also cited.

The movement's struggle for a place in the Islamic galaxy has brought Ahmadi's into constant confrontation with Muslims of both Sunni and Shia persuasions. This is in total contrast to East Africa. From its earliest beginnings the Ahmadi encountered opposition and controversy only on the part of Muslims like any other religious group. The resistance in disaffection with leaders of the movement in the East has been chronic. The place the Ahmadi occupy in the East is characterized by a number of unique features. They take a positive view of opposition, as a friend of the Ahmadiyya missionary told the writer that encouragement to opposition had a welcomed value. He suggested that opposition was like a fertilizer boosting the growth of a community. The movement has certainly provided some serious controversies for the East African scene.

In this chapter a discussion of notable controversies

## CHAPTER VII

### EXTENSIVE CONTROVERSIES WITH MUSLIMS

It is of the quintessence of Ahmadiyyat to be always promulgating its faith. In the process of doing so it seems inevitable that its doctrines lead it into perennial controversy. From its earliest inception in the career of Ghulam Ahmad polemics has been an ever-present ingredient of its history. It inheres in the peculiar doctrine of jihad and its emphasis on aggressive tabilgh.

The movement's struggle for a place in the Islamic galaxy has brought Ahmadis into constant contention with Muslims of both Sunni and Shia adherence. This is no less true of East Africa. From its earliest beginnings the mission encountered opposition and controversy more on the part of Muslims than any other religious group. Its involvement in disputation with leaders of the major Muslim communities has been chronic. One gains the impression that most Ahmadis have a characteristic relish of argumentation. They take a positive view of opposition. An African Ahmadiyya missionary told the writer that encountering antagonism had a welcomed value. He suggested that opposition was like a fertiliser boosting the growth of a community.<sup>1</sup> The movement has certainly provided several zealous controversialists for the East African scene.

In this chapter a discussion of notable controversies

of recent years will be given. In this respect 1967 was a banner year. During a brief span Ahmadis were embroiled in a crescendo of intensive and wide-ranging controversies with leaders of both the Sunni and Shia communities. These will be set forth respectively and in detail. In concluding the present uneasy, detente will be interpreted to intimate the prospects of controversy for the immediate future.

#### ALTERCATIONS WITH SUNNIS

The earliest encounter between Ahmadiyya and Sunni protagonists occurred in 1934 on Sheikh Mubarak's first arrival to East Africa. He recounts his version of the episode as follows:

On 24 November, 1934 I reached Nairobi and the following day I delivered a lecture on the life of the Holy Prophet Muhammad in a public gathering arranged by the local community. A few days later the Sunni maulvi, Lal Hussein Akhtar, also came to Nairobi and a public debate was started between him and myself. The venue was the open ground now occupied by Sir Ali Muslim Club near Kariakor. A huge gathering including non-Muslims of Asian origin was assembled every day to hear the debate. Mounted police consisting of European officers stood by. The debate was tough and emotional. Feelings were very tense. It lasted three days divided into five or six sessions limited by mutually agreed time-table. Ahmadiyya point of view was vigorously expounded and amply promulgated. Two prominent non-Ahmadi families joined the Ahmadiyya community as soon as the debate was finally over. Maulvi Lal Hussein Akhtar did not stay long. He returned to India after a sufficient amount of hate and spite had been fomented in the minds of his admirers....<sup>2</sup>

This affair was a clear omen of the controversies that persisted in the succeeding decades.

The first indigenous adversary which the Ahmadiyya movement encountered may well be regarded as the most formidable one of all. The illustrious Islamic scholar, Sheikh Al-Amin was the foremost Sunni protagonist who encountered Ahmadiyya influence in its early stages.<sup>3</sup> He contended

against Sheikh Mubarak in print and in person as though it pointed against the Ahmadis in East Africa. Sheikh Abdullah were truly a kind of jihād. His two early books are: [titles translated] "The Sect of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad weighed in the balance of the Quran and Hadith", and "The Sect of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his Words of Unbelief". These were writings have been produced with the express purpose of countered by Sheikh Mubarak with a book called: "Sheikh Al-Amin and His Words of Unbelief".<sup>4</sup> The intrepid sheikh

carried the battle to the enemy's camp when in August, 1944, he travelled to Tabora to confront Sheikh Mubarak attempting to counteract the Ahmadiyya influence in Tanganyika. Later he wrote a book on: "The Mirzai and how they deceive Muslims."<sup>5</sup> This was answered by Sheikh K.A. Abedi in Mapenzi

Ya Mungu in a series of articles.<sup>6</sup> And from time to time there appear additional rebuttals in either Mapenzi Ya Mungu or printed leaflets by other Ahmadi writers. These continuing retorts bear tribute to the enduring provocation of his polemics.

Another antagonist appeared in the fray immediately following the publication of Mubarak's translation. Sheikh Ali bin Hemedi of Tanga wrote a book which makes scathing attacks against the Ahmadiyya movement.<sup>7</sup> It not only scores

the Swahili translation of the Quran but also gives vigorous objections to Ahmadiyya teachings point by point. This publication is still being distributed free of charge by BAKWATA in Tanzania.

The third major disputant to appear is still counter-posed against the Ahmadis in East Africa. Sheikh Abdalla al-Farsy has maintained a persistent running contention with them. The commentary of his Quran translation is replete with refutations of their dogma. Several of his writings have been produced with the express purpose of counteracting Ahmadiyyat. His frequent preoccupation with anti-Ahmadiyya polemics is almost obsessive. The rejoinders of Ahmadi writers have likewise been plethora. In an interview by his own admission that aspect of their counter-attacks which rankles the most is: " .... their malicious way of falsely quoting him." It was a repeated complaint of his during the conversation.<sup>8</sup> This antagonism between Sheikh Abdalla as the Chief Kadhi of Kenya and the Ahmadis persists in importance.

Yet another Sunni opponent to Ahmadiyyat appeared in the mid-1960s. Mwalimu S.M. Lwano of Ujiji who was the Regional Educational Secretary of E.A. Muslim Welfare Society wrote a series of circular letters most of which were addressed to Muslims generally although some were directed to the chief missionary of the Ahmadiyya mission. These nine or ten were written from July, 1965, to November,

1966. They were duplicated in large quantities and given wide distribution. There appeared several somewhat improvised responses to Lwano's provocations in Manenzi Ya Mungu in August, September and October. However, beginning with the March, 1966, issue and running through January, 1967, with the exception of July, 1966 Sheikh Munawwar produced an avalanche of rejoinders in ten copious instalments. Gathering the polemics of both sides into perspective one sees in this particular controversy the usual pattern of charge and counter-charge with the customary invectives and remonstrances hurled by the rival factions.

Similarly, there erupted a literary skirmish in Western Kenya in 1970. In this instance the scenario was different. Sheikh Jamil-ur-Rahman Rafiq who at the time was the chief Ahmadiyya missionary for Kenya visited some Ahmadis at Mbale Market in the Maragoli hills out of Kisumu. The imam of the Sunni mosque and several others had converted to Ahmadiyyat. Sh. Jamil was invited to give the sermon at the Friday prayers. The immediate consequence was several additional converts to the Ahmadiyya movement. This further issued in a contest of polemical leaflets duplicated and distributed freely. The first was authored by Sheikh Mohammad Ibrahim of the Kakmega branch of the National Union of Kenya Muslims. It was entitled: "The enlightenment of Islam" with the sub-title "Why Ahmadis are not Muslims". Its object was to warn Muslims against the

Ahmadiyya deceivers who come as wolves in sheep's clothing.<sup>9</sup> The rejoinder was by Sheikh Jamil entitled "A Present of 1000/- for M. Ibrahim". The offer was made to Sh. Mohammad if he could substantiate his charge that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had claimed to be the last of the prophets. Additional reprehensions were hurled at the Sunnis of the National Union of Kenya Muslims.<sup>10</sup> The second Sunni leaflet was by one A. Hussein of Kisumu. It is reasonably certain that this was produced at the instigation of Sheikh Shariff Ahmed Omar, Kadhi for Nyanza/Western/Rift Valley provinces.<sup>11</sup> The leaflet was entitled "The Answers of the Mirza". The writer sets out to refute Sh. Jamil's retort and to substantiate the charge concerning which the Ahmadi missionary offered a 1,000/- reward if acceptable proofs were given.<sup>12</sup> The final missile in the skirmish was Sheikh Jamil's second counter-statement called "The foolish ignorance of A. Hussein of Kisumu". He thereby rebuffs Hussein's reply and charges him with avarice in claiming the 1,000/- offer. The alleged proofs that Hussein provided are dismissed summarily as invalid.<sup>13</sup>

The tensions resulting from this disputation have lingered. Sheikh Shariff has been persistent in keeping up the pressure against the Ahmadis. His report dated 16 April, 1973, complains of one Abdurahman Ademba who as a recognised Muslim butcher was disqualified by virtue of his defection to Ahmadiyyat. It was resolved that his authorisation to

do this work be withdrawn accordingly.<sup>14</sup> Sh. Shariff was also the instigator of certain complaints against the Ahmadis to the district offices of Mumias Division, Western Kenya.<sup>15</sup> The Ahmadiyya missionary, Sheikh Muhammad Isa, answered the D.O.'s call to his office to explain Ahmadiyya presence in Kenya. Several leading Ahmadis from the Mumias Division accompanied the Sheikh at the conference. When the fact that the movement is duly registered in Kenya was established the official was satisfied with their explanation.<sup>16</sup>

Throughout their history and development in East Africa the movement has experienced the constant ebb and flow of opposition. In the early 1960s Schacht described a condition of relative quiescence in Tanzania compared to the other East African countries. His statement is somewhat misleading:

The resentment which the orthodox Muslims feel against the Ahmadiyya is very strong in Uganda and in Kenya. In Dar es Salaam, on the other hand, a young Muslim government official who had both a traditional Islamic and a modern scientific education ..... expressed the opinion that the differences which divided the Ahmadiyya from the Sunnis were only differences of interpretation,.....<sup>17</sup>

This was a misconception of the true situation. In 1967 the high-water-mark of controversy was reached in Tanzania and in all of East Africa for that matter.

In the second quarter of that year there occurred an open dispute between devotees of the Ahmadiyya movement

and certain leaders from the orthodox Muslim community.<sup>11</sup> The medium for this controversy was the "Reader's Forum" of The Standard, Tanzania. Between the third of April and the twentieth of June there appeared a spate of letters remarkable for their arousal of public interest. The Editor of the newspaper commented that it was, "the second most exciting controversy in recent years - the more recent mini-skirt issue being the only one to exceed it in interest."<sup>18</sup> A total of forty-three letters were published (more than ninety-five per cent of those received) in twenty-five issues during the period indicated. This correspondence constitutes approximately thirty-six thousand words.

The participants in this public altercation numbered twenty-nine. The proponent of the Sunni viewpoint was Sheikh Abdur Rahman Bazmi. His total wordage was approximately three thousand. The bell-wether of the Ahmadis was Sheikh Muhammad Munawwar who scored a notable five thousand words. Two of the correspondents cannot be appropriately listed with either side. Their expressed sentiments were decidedly neutral.

One who used the anonymous initials A.H.V.<sup>19</sup> wrote from Tanga. The other identified himself as Mr. Shaib Hassan of Arusha.<sup>20</sup> All but one of the correspondents were from Tanzania and nineteen of these listed an address in Dar es Salaam. Sheikh Bazmi<sup>21</sup> was the exception listing Mombasa as his address.

It is further notable that among the Ahmadis six were Tanzanian Africans whereas, as far as it is discernable, few

if any of the Sunni participants appear to be so. In all there were fifteen Ahmadis and twelve Sunnis who entered the correspondence. Sheikh Abdalla Saleh Al-Farsy did not enter the fray himself but was content to have other Sunnis represent the orthodox position.

It is noteworthy that a parallel attempt to evoke a similar controversy in the East African Standard, Nairobi, failed to materialise. After an initial news item appearing at about the same time as the one in Tanzania there appeared a letter to the editor by Sheikh Muhammad Ishaque Soofi, Chief Ahmadiyya Missionary for Kenya. There followed a couple of replies by Sunni correspondents after which no further letters were published. The April, 1967, edition of the Ahmadiyya monthly East African Times<sup>22</sup> carries an editorial by Sheikh Soofi referring to this issue. There also appear two letters on the subject which had been sent to the East African Standard but were unpublished there. At this point the matter is dropped.

The Editor of The Standard, Tanzania, explains that he closed the correspondence after giving ample opportunity for free expression of both views. He insists that there were no pressures put on him to conclude it. His reasons for closing were several: he sensed that the public had grown weary of it, the correspondents were merely

reiterating previously expressed views, the issue was getting stale, and there was a backlog of other correspondence which deserved attention.<sup>23</sup>

The primary focus of the correspondence centres on the respective authoritativeness of the two translations, i.e. that of Sheikh Abdalla Sale Al-Farsy versus that previously published by the Ahmadiyya Muslim mission. This is the immediate and provocative issue. The Ahmadiyya challenge controverts the alleged authorisation of the new translation. On the other hand, the insistence of the Sunnis is that the Ahmadiyya Kurani Tukufu has no valid authorisation because it is not recognised by orthodox Muslims. This is the vortex of the controversy around which the arguments swirl. Other issues emerge which will be discussed at a later point but this one persists throughout.

Two key articles substantial to this controversy warrant reproduction here.

The first is the original news items which occurred on 10 March, 1967. A reference within the article indicates Sheikh Abdur Rahman Bazmi as the source for this news topic. It reads:

Island Kadhi Translates Holy Quran

Preparations are being finalised in Mombasa for printing the first ever authorised Swahili translation of the Quran, holy book of the Muslim faith.

The new translation has taken 15 years to prepare by the Kadhi of Zanzibar, Sheikh Abdulla Saleh

Farsy, who has had the difficult task of retaining the exact meaning of the original Arabic.

Work is expected to start later this month on setting the type for the Swahili text at the Mombasa works of Printing and Packaging Corporation Ltd.

Five thousand copies, each of two volumes, are to be produced by the company which expects to deliver the completed works within four to six months. The original Arabic will appear alongside the Swahili text in the new edition.

Some idea of the size of the project can be gained from the fact that proofs of all 1,054 pages have to be checked by the Chief Khadi of Kenya, Sheikh Mohammed Kassim, and, if necessary, sent to Zanzibar for further scrutiny by the translator himself.

Mr. A.R. Bazmi, who represents the Islamic Circle in Mombasa, said Sheikh Farsy completed the manuscript of his translation last year working entirely alone. In addition to the translation, he had to carry out detailed research and formulate explanatory notes for the new publication.

Certain parts of the translation have been published in a Zanzibar newspaper, but the Mombasa printed Quran will be the first full publication of the work. It is expected to be widely welcomed by Muslims throughout East Africa who have been asking for a Swahili version of the Quran for many years.

'We thought it would be difficult to publish here because the most important factor governing publication of the Quran is the original text, which is difficult to translate into any language and still retain its meaning,' Mr. Bazmi said.

#### Not Recognised

'Muslims believe the original consists of the words of God, and the new translation is only assistance towards understanding that text,' he added.

Some years ago a Swahili translation of the Quran was published in Nairobi on a very limited scale, but this has never been recognised by members of the Muslim faith.

Printing and Packaging Corporation believe this is the first time an authorised version in any language of the Quran has been printed in East Africa. The entire process from photographing the original Arabic texts to binding the volumes

entirely alone' on this translation and that the proofs will be checked by Sheikh Muhammad Kassim of Mombasa. What is there to show that the translation has been authenticated by Sunni Sheikhs? Without getting their written approval the translation would be called the work of an individual Sheikh only.

Moreover, I do not know of any standing body of Muslim sheikhs in East Africa that could give its Verdict on such important matter as the translation of the Holy Quran. Rather, there are certain Sunni Sheikhs, like the late Ali bin Hemedi of Tanga who totally reject the idea of translating the Holy Quran in any other language.

They believe that the Holy Quran loses its light and blessing when translated into any other language from Arabic. The Swahili language, in particular is not considered by them to be vast enough to accommodate the spirit and meaning of the Holy Quran. How could these Sheikhs be approached to approve Sheikh Abdalla Saleh's translation?

It may be added at the end here that this month we increased the prices of our translation by 5/- a copy and Sunni Muslims still buy it with pleasure. Even if the price were to be doubled they would continue buying it without a grumble. This alone, sir, washes away any mud your report indirectly intends to fling on our work.

SHEIKH MUHAMMAD MUNAWWAR H.A., Missionary in Charge  
Tanganyika Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission  
Box 376, Jozia, Dar es Salaam<sup>25</sup>

The two leading protagonists, thus, become apparent. The point is also made that it is only the Ahmadiyya Sheikh Bazmi threw down the gauntlet with his news release and Sheikh Munawwar took it up in his sensitive opening letter. With that the lines were drawn and the supporters on both sides form for the joust. The contest was joined with enthusiasm.

A summary of the arguments advanced by the two positions would be instructive.

The Sunni stand is indicated in the opening provocative assertion that the new translation is the "first ever authorised translation."<sup>26</sup> There is no indication of the source or basis for authorisation. This is a point which the Ahmadiyya detractors are quick to note. In the latter part of the correspondence Bazmi is impelled to state: "All the outstanding Muslim Sheikhs in East Africa and the Chief Khadhi of Kenya, Sheikh Muhammad Kassim Mazrui, are patronising this sacred project."<sup>27</sup> This seems to signify a general endorsement by the orthodox Muslim leaders without a specific formal approval.

Authoritativeness for the translation rests implicitly in the recognition of the translator according to the Sunni correspondence. One correspondent vigorously claims: "no equivalent renowned and authoritative Islam scholar has emerged in any part of East Africa as Sheikh Abdallah Farsy."<sup>28</sup> The logic implied is that the translator is authoritative therefore the translation itself is authorised. The point is also made that it is only the Ahmadiyya opposition that has arisen to contest the Sunni translation.<sup>29</sup> This fact alone, it is asserted, is sufficient and clear evidence of unanimous approval by Muslims. This seems to be a rather tenuous point and one deemed quite unsatisfactory by the Ahmadis.

Equally inconclusive is the Sunni claim that their

translation has universal acceptance by East African Muslim. It is pointed out that such a version has been the object of numerous requests for many years.<sup>30</sup> Later in the correspondence it is said that thousands of enquiries concerning the date of publications have been received since the initial press release. The massive response it is said has caused publishers to increase the quantity of the first edition. Such a widespread public demand for the new Swahili Quran is interpreted by the Sunni correspondents to mean tantamount authorisation.<sup>31</sup> Such a notion with regard to Abdalla's work is viewed as absurd by the Ahmadis although another Ahmadiyya correspondent intimates that they have frequently used the same argument in support of piecemeal publication of Sheikh Abdalla's translation compared to Mubarak's translation.

Countering these assertions of authorisation by Sunni correspondents Sheikh Munawwar and company raise pointed questions. They demand to know who specifically has authorised the new translation? Is there any written authentication by a body of Sunni sheikhs? Mamoro makes a gibe concerning the Sunni statement that Sheikh Abdalla had been working on the translation for fifteen years and that he completed the work working entirely alone.<sup>32</sup> He queries how this can show approval by other sheikhs. Another wonders how this new translation can be said to have it for the "limited goals" of its publication. It isn't universal approval when it is not yet published.

Munawwar poses another doubt concerning the consent of Sunni sheikhs for such a project in view of their trad-

itional position that the Quran is untranslatable. He cites the widely known statement of Sheikh Aly bin Hemedi<sup>33</sup>

which specifically asserts that the writing of the Quran in

any language other than the sacred Arabic script is prohibited. It is further indicated that the Swahili language

is particularly inadequate to accommodate the spirit and meaning of the Quran. How then, argues Munawwar, can this

Sunni translation done by only one sheikh be considered authorised by a body of leaders who have in the past insisted

that the Quran should not be so translated?

Another Ahmadiyya correspondent intimates that the piecemeal publication of Sheikh Abdalla's translation con-

tains numerous mistakes in the Arabic text alone. He cites thirty such typographical errors in the edition of Juzuu

number fifteen. Such mistakes are inexcusable, he insists, because the ordinary reader dare not attempt to make

corrections in the Arabic text with his own pen. This, it is charged, casts a doubt on the alleged literary excellence

of the translator and likewise on the authentication of his translation.<sup>34</sup>

To take another tack the Sunni correspondence disparages the prior Ahmadiyya translation. The Sunnis slight

alleged textual error in the Ahmadiyya translation. He it for the "limited scale" of its publication. It isn't

made entirely clear whether this refers to the quantity of the Ahmadiyya publication or to the fact that in thirteen years it has not had a reprinting.<sup>35</sup> At any rate the Ahmadi

dismiss the slight readily by mere arithmetic. They insist

that their publication of ten thousand copies is certainly less limited than the announced quantity for the new translation of five thousand copies.

A more telling charge is levelled at Mubarak's work by the assertion that it has no recognition among orthodox Muslims. Baig challenges them to prove: "that their version of the Swahili Quran has been recognised by any of the world organisations ...."<sup>36</sup> Another correspondent merely asserts that: "not a single Muslim accepts the translation of the Holy Quran by the so-called Ahmadias."<sup>37</sup>

Munawwar counters this charge of non-recognition with some shaky logic. He indicates that thousands of copies of their Quran have been purchased by Sunnis. He then proposes that this is obvious evidence of Sunni recognition of the Ahmadiyya Quran. There arises from this and some of the previous argumentation a problem of semantics. It becomes apparent that the various correspondents mean different things when they use words like "recognise" and "authorise". The frequent misunderstandings that occur throughout the correspondence have their root in misconstrued usages and distorted meanings.

A further challenge issued by Baig refers to an alleged textual error in the Ahmadiyya translation. He charges that they have committed a grievous and unforgivable error by substituting the name "Ahmad" for "Muhammad" in the traditional creed of Islam. He insists that this error is

carried throughout their translation. This, he suggests, renders acceptance of their Quran: "by the majority of Muslims as null and void."<sup>38</sup>

To this serious charge Munawwar and his supporters offer a categorical denial. Their insistence that no alteration whatsoever has been made in the fundamental creed is unequivocal. An examination of their translation, Kurani Tukufu, will bear this out.

An anonymous Sunni correspondent defines the issue sharply by his suggestion that "the integrity of the translator".... is the basis of dispute.<sup>39</sup> This integrity is impugned by a community that does not itself hold beliefs that represent ideological integrity. The inference is that Kurani Tukufu is irrevocably tainted with heresy as is evident in the commentary in which heresies are prolific throughout. A fellow Sunni correspondent suggests that these notes "were appended with the sole purpose of misrepresenting the Quran." It is these heretical doctrines which have caused the Ahmadiyya movement and its Quran translations to be: "vehemently rejected by all Muslims in the true sense of the word."<sup>40</sup>

This challenge is answered by an Ahmadi who suggests that contrary to what is claimed above there are many Muslims who have openly admitted to the helpfulness of the maligned explanatory notes. Furthermore, the alleged

rejection by "all Muslims" has no validity since Islam generally is in a condition of "moral and spiritual degeneration"<sup>41</sup> and is, therefore, incompetent to discern.

The Ahmadiyya refutation of the Sunni contention that Kurani Tukufu is unauthorised issues with a volley of assertions. One declares that the authority for the Ahmadiyya Quran resides in the endorsement for the translation by the late Caliph of the Movement. This endorsement appears translated into Swahili at the beginning of Kurani Tukufu.<sup>42</sup> Sheikh Munawwar also states that their version was approved by several linguistic scholars and was scrutinised by the Inter-territorial Language Committee for East Africa. It is also claimed that the Sunni Sheikh of Mombasa, the late Muhammad el-Ghazali, gave his public approval of the Ahmadiyya Quran. This remarkable assertion is enhanced by the unanimous silence of the Sunni Correspondents on the matter. The chief missionary for Tanzania likewise notes that their Ahmadiyya Quran is the translation that is used extensively in the courts throughout East Africa.<sup>43</sup> Yet another Ahmadi urges his Sunni readers to acknowledge that the Ahmadiyya translation was most certainly accomplished as the work of God. He then warns that to oppose this translation is to fight against God!<sup>44</sup> It is in this manner the issue of authority is defended by the Ahmadiyya stalwarts.

letter would be instructive:

At the conclusion of the correspondence it is clear that the principal issue remains unresolved. The process of assertion and counter-assertion which is employed on both sides of the issue proves unfruitful. The argumentation is dogmatic and at times vociferous but largely ineffectual. This is eloquently attested by the readiness with which the contestants divert to side issues. The irrevocability of the main issue seems to frustrate the correspondents on both sides. They eagerly turn to other issues more suitable to their disputatious appetites. The opportunity to evade the main point of the controversy is a welcomed diversion which they pursue with alacrity and verve.

The first letter of Sheikh A.R. Bazmi is the pivotal one in the correspondence. In it he diverts the controversy to several tangential matters that bear only an indirect concern with the primary dispute. His letter becomes a signal for many of the correspondents of both parties to expand the controversy. To indicate the measure of these side issues in the total correspondence there are approximately twenty-two thousand words occupied with secondary questions. Sixty percent of the argumentation is thus diverted.

A quotation of a major portion of this significant letter would be instructive:

..... we Muslims basically reject the Ahmadiyya doctrine because it is radically opposed to the true spirit of Islam. During the entire course of the last 13½ centuries, Muslims have always believed and so they do today, as enunciated in the Holy Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad (be peace upon him) is the last Messenger of God and that there can be no prophet after him.

It was Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani, who, towards the end of the last century, defied the fundamental teachings of the Holy Qur'an and horrified the World of Islam with claims which, IN HIS OWN LANGUAGE may be thus summarised:-

- (1) "I saw in a vision that I had become God Almighty and I believed that I was so in fact. While in this transcendental stage, I created heaven and earth. I then created Adam out of dust and moulded him in the best of forms. Thus I became the Creator of the world."
- (2) "I heard the voice of God saying: 'O Mirza! I am from thee and thou are from Me; Thou art unto Me like a son!'"
- (3) "God Almighty addressed me in the ENGLISH LANGUAGE and declared from on high: I shall help you. I can what I will. Though all men should be angry but God is with you. He shall help you; words of God cannot EXCHANGE'."
- (4) "Our God is made of ivory."
- (5) "Those who refuse to attest the truth of my mission are bastards."
- (6) "I am on a higher moral and spiritual plane than Adam, Noah, Husain, Abu Bakr and all the saints put together."
- (7) "My people should have no part and lot with those who deal themselves Muslims. They must not join any congregational prayers led by an Imam who does not believe in me; they must not wed their daughters to the so-called Muslims who are not my disciples."

These are some of the teachings of the founder of the Ahmadiyya religion. The language, in the above quotations is hardly in keeping with the standards of common decency.

The Mirza slanders not only "disbelievers" but also the prophet Jesus Christ. The Holy Qur'an does not repudiate Jesus Christ. In fact it has made belief in Jesus Christ, as a true prophet, an article of Islamic Faith.

It is therefore, appropriate that Muslims all over the world have unanimously pronounced the excommunication of Ahmadis from the fold of Islam. Hence we Muslims reject all that Ahmadism stands for!<sup>45</sup>

A full statement of all the subordinate issues would not be feasible. A discussion of certain questions raised mainly by Bazmi's initial letter and the subsequent reply by Munawwar would be sufficiently indicative of the secondary issues as a whole.

Bazmi's opening thrust is somewhat inferential and yet it is quickly recognised by his antagonist. The Sunni sheikh makes reference to the historic orthodox tenets which posits the finality of Muhammad's prophethood. This is understood by Munawwar as an obvious gibe at the Ahmadiyya belief that the founder of their movement was a true prophet in the tradition of Muhammad. This brings into the dispute one of the persistent contentions that has divided Sunni and Ahmadi from the beginning. Sheikh Munawwar refers to this orthodox tenet as "bogus" and insists that: "Not a single verse of the Holy Quran describes the Holy Prophet to be 'the last Messenger of God'."<sup>46</sup>

Bazmi then launches into an accusation of blasphemy by quoting certain hyperbolic claims of the founder of the Ahmadiyya movement, Ghulam Ahmad. These claims are said to have come to him in an exalted visionary experience. Ahmad claims to have become the supreme creator of the universe.

To this Munawwar agrees that it is a true vision but that Bazmi misunderstands it completely. He explains that Ahmad in his raptured state realised the fullness of the Almighty's presence and thus it is seen that he became in fact the promised Mahdi of Muslim eschatology.<sup>47</sup> means merely "unrighteous".<sup>50</sup>

Next the Sunni Sheikh cites a quotation which denotes Ahmad as an equal with God and also regarded as God's son. Munawwar retorts that Bazmi shows his ignorance of Arabic. The meaning is metaphorical and this particular reference demonstrates that Ghulam Ahmad is the fulfilment of the returning Messiah for this age!

In his third objection Bazmi implies that it is incredible that God would speak to Ghulam Ahmad in the English language [cf. use of capitals]. Munawwar answers by asserting that God knows English as well as any other language.

The fact remains, he insists, that the promise contained in that quotation that God would help Ahmad was faithfully fulfilled throughout his lifetime.<sup>48</sup>

Bazmi's fourth quotation is the briefest. It indicates Ahmad as having said: "Our God is made of ivory."

Munawwar calls this translation an: "abuse of the Arabic idiom."<sup>49</sup> Instead it should be interpreted to mean that God is raising His voice in warning against coming judgment.

This is an interpretation which is radically different from the one offered by Bazmi.

In his fourth quotation Bazmi is indubitably casting an aspersion at Ahmad's indecent use of the word "bastards" with reference to non-Ahmadis. Munawwar counts with the similar inference that the word is mistranslated. In Arabic he claims that the word means merely "unrighteous

The next citation demonstrates Ahmad's self-elevation to a position of moral and spiritual superiority over all of the revered saints of Islam. Munawwar here does not contradict. He merely asserts that it is entirely true and it is only the undiscerning who find this obnoxious.

The last quotation of Bazmi pertains to the Ahmadi injunction to separate themselves from orthodox Islam in all matters of worship and with reference to the marrying of their daughters. Again Munawwar gives his consent that this injunction is true and necessary.

Following his list of quotations Bazmi continues by charging that Ahmad further maligned the Prophet, Jesus. Munawwar flatly denies this and dismisses it as unworthy of comment.

Finally, Bazmi raises a sensitive issue when he claims that universal Islam has declared the irrevocable excommunication of Ahmadis. Munawwar challenges this with evident scorn. Again he demands by what authority any group of Muslims can excommunicate others. His verdict is that

there is no such authority and therefore Bazmi's claim is meaningless.<sup>51</sup>

A concluding consideration of the secondary issues shows that the interest in the controversy was successfully diverted to digressive questions. While it is true that these matters do not pertain directly to the primary question of authority they do have a bearing on certain fundamental issues of Ahmadiyya doctrine. This digression is therefore probably not as irrelevant as it first appears. The matter of the continuing prophethood and the remarkable claims for the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement are crucial to its very existence. They are part of its raison d'être.

Even from a cursory reading of the correspondence one is impressed with the frequency of personal invective and harsh general disparagement. It is sufficient to warrant an illustrative description in our discussion at this point.

Several of the correspondents are aware of this corrosive ingredient in the controversy. One anonymous writer complains: "Your columns these days have become a battlefield of Ahmadis and Mohamedis. It serves no purpose but hurts the feelings of the people."<sup>52</sup> Another begins his rather lengthy and hypocritical polemic with: "It is indeed regrettable that these columns should have been used for sowing the seeds of disaffection among the Muslims of .... Tanzania .... public mud-slinging cannot, and must not, be

in progress. It was published in a quantity of five thousand and at a total cost of Shs.6,656/-.<sup>55</sup> The booklet contains eighty-three pages and had an inexpensive soft cover.

The intriguing fact concerning this publication is that after the publishing was complete and the order of five thousand copies was delivered to the Ahmadiyya mission the booklet was not released for sale or distribution. After more than seven years since the publication date it is still not available. Investigation show that a copy is lodged both in the University College Library, and in the library of the National Library Service, Dar es Salaam. This is in accordance with a legislative ordinance requiring all books published to be deposited in those two libraries.

A copy came into the hands of Sheikh Rizvi by accident. An Ahmadi missionary trainee gave a copy to a young Ithnasheri devotee with the intention of persuading a new convert. However, the young Ithnasheri brought the booklet to his missionary, Sheikh Rizvi, who was delighted to obtain a copy of the frozen publication.

When confronted about the existence of the booklet Sheikh Jamil R. Rafiq admitted that it was in hand.<sup>56</sup> However, he was adamant in refusing to release a copy to this writer. He seemed somewhat perturbed over its lodgement in the two government depositories. He indicated that he

expected permission from the headquarters of the Ahmadiyya movement in Rabwah, Pakistan, to release its distribution. He acknowledged that the project was initiated and carried out without the prior approval of headquarters. The cost of the publishing according to Munawwar was met through contributions from local Ahmadis and even some Sunnis shared in it.<sup>57</sup>

Several years after the controversy had subsided Sh. Munawwar admitted to the writer that Rabwah had disallowed distribution of the booklet in East Africa. However, 1,000 copies were permitted to be sent to South Africa for distribution there. The sheikh acknowledged that he had erred in taking the initiative for its publication without Rabwah's prior approval.<sup>58</sup> Perhaps the Foreign Missions office was anxious that distribution of the booklet would reactivate the controversy. The Quran controversy as an issue is closed but its afterburden remains to inhibit and frustrate.

A thoughtful overview of this interesting controversy discloses a delineation of the issues under contention, the methods of argumentation and the ensuing ramifications for both sides.

The crux of the issue was the question of authority for Quranic translation. This is not a parochial issue but one of universal concern to all Islam. Lamentably this core question remains unresolved. In this sense the controversy can be deemed a failure.

ation to publish the booklet and reactivate the controversy. In his introduction he betrays his fervent desire to continue "The Ahmadiyya side was as fresh and enthusiastic as ever and after the correspondence was discontinued, regretted the loss of opportunity to propagate the truth."<sup>60</sup>

It is an irony of the controversy that the immediate stimulus for the correspondence, the publishing of a Sunni translation of the Quran, did not actually come off the press until a full two years following the initial new item.

#### B. DISPUTATIONS WITH SHIAS

While Sheikh Munawwar was occupied with his Sunni opponents in Dar es Salaam his confrere in Nairobi, Sheikh Mohammad Ishaque Soofi, incited a major controversy with Shia Muslims. As chief missionary of the Kenya Ahmadiyya Muslim mission he produced a series of six articles entitled "The Shiah Sect in Islam" attacking the Shia faith in the East African Times.<sup>61</sup> A gist of the entire series reveals its offensive nature. He characterises the Shia movement as historically a breach in the unity of Islam. The imamate was a "self-invented concept" as distinct from Caliphate. To accept the Shia premises is to acknowledge that the Prophet Muhammad "came only to found a dynasty in which he failed miserably because .... Ali could not be elected .... Such a belief is not only a slur to Hazrat Ali but also to the Holy Prophet himself."<sup>62</sup> The Ahmadi writer further contends that Ali after finally being accepted as Caliph was incom-

petent as a leader being unable to control his people. He refutes the Shia claim that Muhammad had nominated Ali to Caliphate. He also asserts that Ali's immediate succession is contradicted by his giving of allegiance to the first three Caliphs offering certain alleged proofs from several Shia writings. In the final instalments his series includes a contribution by Sheikh Munawwar entitled "Shiah Beliefs - Ten Points". The items which are asserted therein are as follows: (1) Shias regard Sunnis as non-Muslims; (2) they consider the first three caliphs as kafir; (3) they abuse Aisha; (4) they add a phrase including Ali in the adhan; (5) Ali had the "'real Quran'" in his possession; (6) Shia perform their ritual ablutions doing the feet first; (7) prostration is done with the forehead resting on piece of clay from Karbala; (8) they follow the principle of taqiya - hiding their faith in time of danger (9) they practice mut'a or temporary marriage; and (10) their last imam is hidden out of fear and he will reappear to establish the Shia faith.<sup>63</sup> Another brief item by Sheikh Munawwar also, included is the averment that Ali praised and supported the Caliph Abu Bakr. There follows at the end of the series citations from the writings of Ghulam Ahmad giving his judgment on the Shia-Sunni issue alligning his own stance in favour of the Sunni position.

Included in the final instalment is a brief critical treatment of Ismaili faith and practice. They are described

as: "an off-shoot of the Shia sect ....."<sup>64</sup> Sheikh Soofi casts a serious doubt on the validity of Ismaili Islam because of: "Their behaviour and attitude towards the basic tenets of Islam ....."<sup>64</sup> Ten points are enumerated the gist of which is as follows: (1) Regarding the five pillars of Islam they do not perform the five daily prayers, Haji, or Ramadhan. Further they "believe Aga Khan to be God incarnate."<sup>64</sup> (2) Their Jamatkhana's are seldom oriented toward the Ka'ba at Mecca, they are not open to all Muslims, and they display a picture of the Aga Khan, a forbidden practice. (3) The adhan is never heard from their jamatkhana's. (4) They sell wine and pork and operate gambling establishments. (5) They fail to pray as Muslims neglecting Quranic ablutions and Friday prayers. (6) They neglect teaching the Quran to their children. (7) The institutions they build are primarily intended to serve their own community. (8) They do very little towards converting unbelievers and produce nothing in literature in East Africa. (9) They ignore the Quranic prohibition regarding interest for money-lending; and (10) They do not observe purdah and the sexes intermingle socially at the jamatkhana. This is the sum total of his uncomplimentary discussion of the Ismaili branch of Islam.

In concluding the diatribe against all Shias Sheikh Soofi superciliously tries to strike a conciliatory pose:

It must be noted that we, the Ahmadi Muslims, bear no enmity towards the Shiah Sect nor do we harbour any grudge against Seyidna Ali, Seyidatana Fatimah, Seyidna Hasan or Seyidna Husain, may God be pleased with all of them. We love and hold in high esteem all the members of Ahl-ul-beit. The soul /sic/ purpose of this booklet is to disclose to the public the true nature of caliphate in Islam and to stress the honesty of the early companions of the Holy Prophet Mohammad (o.w.b.p.). In our opinion, no greater injustice can be imagined than to think - like the Shiahs - that the pious companions of the Holy Prophet were - may Allah forbid - dishonest in electing Seyidna Abu Bakr as the first caliph in Islam. We have proved that the caliphate was a divine promise to the Muslims and as such the first four caliphs must be accepted in their historical sequence.<sup>65</sup>

The response of the Shia led by their distinguished leader, Mawlana Seyyid Saeed Akhtar Rizvi gave an immediate counter-thrust. He dealt with Sheikh Soofi's work summarily saying: "Shias do not think that Qadianis are competent to talk with us on the subject of Imamah or Khilafat."<sup>66</sup> He refutes the numerous citations which Soofi used by stating that he erroneously calls them Shia writers when in fact they are Mutazilite. He refuses to deal with the offensive material more than the pungent comment: "..... the chief missionary of the Qadianis has written many insulting remarks about Hazrat Ali. I do not want to reply to that rubbish."<sup>67</sup> He charges Soofi with suffering from "compound ignorance."<sup>67</sup> i.e. ignorant of his own ignorance. And finally he dismisses the series stating: "of course, the whole purpose of the serial is to create /sic/ hatred between Sunnis and Shias."<sup>67</sup>

A lengthier and more detailed Shia rebuttal was

published somewhat later. Authored by one S.A.H. Naqavi it contains thirty pages of repartee and counter-statement.<sup>6</sup> It opens with the charge that Sheikh Soofi has abused the constitutional right of freedom of worship by trying to instigate deeper divisions among Muslims. He characterises instances of cooperation between Ahmadi and Shia. The Ahmadiyya Movement as outside the pale of Islam actively seeks to destroy it. He casts aspersions against the purported scholarliness of Sheikh Soofi for his misuse of citations. He finds the allegations against Ali to be "not merely false and baseless but also mischievous ..."<sup>69</sup> He dispenses with the accusations against the Shia faith with straightforward denial or qualification. He disparages the character of Ahmadis calling them selfish, full of self-praise and hypocritical. He dismisses their attacks on Ali as a sign of their jealousy of the Shias. He concludes that they are exploiting the commendable unity of Shia and Sunni Muslims in East Africa by trying to divide them.

A remarkable aspect of their controversy came to light in an interview the writer had with Sheikh Soofi some time after the heat of it had subsided. Soofi stated that his series of articles were in fact published in 1967 at his own instigation and financed by Ahmadis in East Africa. However, the Foreign Missions office in Rabwah would not approve of its distribution saying that it would stir up more controversy. It ordered that the 5,000 copies alleged Shia literature, all in all the suchawren were

be destroyed. Soofi was rather perplexed at the directive but acquiesced and carried it out feeling that it was a considerable retreat.<sup>70</sup>

This was only one and the more significant of several instances of argumentation between Ahmadi and Shia. Two years before there occurred a brief contention. The periodical of the department of Religious Studies at the University College Makerere carried in its full issue the abridgement of a lecture given by Maulana S.S.A. Rizvi entitled "Islam in The Light of Shia'ism".<sup>71</sup> The article set forth the basic tenets of Shia Islam delineating its faith as the roots of religion and its observance as its branches.

Inasmuch as the editor had invited correspondence reflecting different opinions Sheikh Munawwar predictably made a brief rejoinder in the succeeding issue of the periodical. In it he questions Rizvi's belief in the finality of prophethood, the validity of a sinless imamat and its slight against the wives of the Prophet, and finally Ali's giving of allegiance to Abu Bakr.<sup>72</sup> Immediately following Munawwar's letter in the same issue appears Rizvi's rebuttal of the rejoinder. He chides the Ahmadi for exploiting the differences that exist between Sunnis and Shias and insists that they have much in common. He clarifies the Shia position with regard to Munawwar's queries which were usually supported by erroneous references to alleged Shia literature. All in all the exchanges were

The Area Commissioner and the Regional Police Commander mild in contrast with later controversies.

were invited. There was a flurry of telegrams between

Munawwar. Again in the signal year 1967 when Munawwar did battle with the Sunnis in Dar and Soofi engaged the Shias from his vantage in Nairobi a belligerency erupted in Bukoba. Strong opposition to Ahmadiyyat was activated upon the arrival of a Pakistani missionary Sheikh H. Suleiman, the year previous. He was given cordial assistance by the Regional Executive Secretary of TANU who befriended him. For example: when school children were incited to throw stones at his house the official instructed them to desist.<sup>73</sup> The sheikh knew no Swahili but through the use of an African interpreter he produced duplicated leaflets which countered the Shias' adverse propaganda against him. There ensued a veritable battle of the duplicating machines. In the span of a few weeks a considerable volume of printed matter was ejected including thousands of tracts distributed.<sup>74</sup> The Ahmadiyya missionaries produced approximately 22,000 words while their Shia antagonists contributed more than twice that amount of 50,000 words. The issues raised and the arguments projected were mere repetition of the previous controversies. The altercation moved on a collision course. Sheikh Munawwar challenged the Shias to a public debate offering a Shs.5,000/- reward if they could substantiate their allegations against Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. The Shia protagonist, Sheikh Idrisa Taayib Byakutaga accepted. It was to be staged at the Uhuru Sports Ground, Bukoba, on the 10th of November, 1967.<sup>75</sup>

The Area Commissioner and the Regional Police Commander were invited. There was a flurry of telegrams between Munawwar and Byakutaga immediately prior to the anticipated debate. Three days before the agreed date Munawwar left unexpectedly for Pakistan sending his final telegram which appointed Sh. C.I. Ahmadi as his substitute. It was an aborted skirmish. Both sides claim that their opponent did not appear for the debate, although both Byakutaga and Ahmadi were present in Bukoba. Bykutaga insisted that he would not accept a substitute for Munawwar. Both sides declared triumph for their respective causes. The government officials directed that the controversy not be continued. The overt hostilities were quelled although dormant animosities remained.

The sudden departure of Munawwar posed a mystery to all interested parties. Several sources indicated that he was "expelled" or "had been asked" to leave by government officials.<sup>76</sup> One report indicated that he had in fact been deported.<sup>77</sup> A private inquiry in the Immigration Department revealed that there was no record of any deportation orders with reference to Sheikh Munawwar.<sup>78</sup> The point may readily be dismissed by the fact that Munawwar returned to Tanzania in less than two years for another term of service. The likelihood is that his involvements in controversy prior to the Bukoba affair were sufficiently serious to warrant the unofficial insistence by certain officials that he leave

Tanzania for the time being.<sup>78</sup>

C. A POSTSCRIPT TO VIGOROUS CONTROVERSY:  
PACIFICATION

Since cresting the peak of controversy in 1967 there has been a marked diminuendo of disputatious literature and public confrontation. One could suspect that this has been the will of Rabwah. The evidences supporting this surmise are impressive. It is recalled that the Foreign Missions office refused distribution of two inflammatory booklets: Munawwar's recapitulation of the Holy Quran controversy in A Lively Discussion and Soofi's Shiah Sect in Islam. It is also seen that the polemical material in the Ahmadiyya monthlies of recent years has changed its orientation referring less to Sunni or Shia doctrines and concentrating more on anti-Christian propaganda.

Even Sheikh Munawwar returned to Tanzania more muted with regard to other Muslims than he had been before by contrast. Rizvi commented that upon his return Munawwar did not pursue the Bukoba controversy. The Shia leader also referred to the success which the Shia mission has enjoyed in Songea, Tanzania, where the Ahmadis were also present. There occurred some contention and public debating between the local leaders of both missions. Rizvi wondered if Munawwar would pick up the issue and make a major controversy out of it as was his usual manner before. However, the Ahmadi sought out the Shia leader in October, 1971,

and was very conciliatory saying that he no longer wanted to contend with the Shias.<sup>79</sup>

Apart from the Mbale Market contention in Western Kenya<sup>80</sup> there has been a significant decrease in the incidence of controversy on the part of Ahmadis with other Muslims. There is, however, good reason to believe that the current irenic mood will soon succumb to a reactivation of the old antagonism. The provocation has already appeared in the form of a pamphlet published in late 1973 by the National Union of Kenya Muslims.<sup>81</sup> The author, Abdillahi Nassir, indicates that it is only the first of four or five such polemical pamphlets against the Ahmadis. These would be given primary distribution among the Muslims of Western Kenya to counteract the Ahmadiyya influence. Written in the favourite catechetical format the pamphlet constitutes a scathing attack on the movement at its very foundation. It charges that Ghulam Ahmad is not a muslim but a kafir.<sup>82</sup> Nassir stated that he fully expects a rejoinder.<sup>83</sup> Sheikh Muhammad Ali dismissed the possibility of an Ahmadiyya rebuttal. He said that just as they did not reply to the writing of his father [the illustrious Sheikh Ali bin Hemedi of Tanga] because of the force of the truth in it so also they will not dare answer Nassir's publication.<sup>84</sup> However, while the Sunnis are still wondering there is definite word that the rejoinder entitled "Qadianism Is Not Ahmadiyyat"

has been written by Sheikh Munawwar in Pakistan and that it is already off the press and on its way to East Africa for distribution.<sup>85</sup>

It seems certain that with this fresh material appearing on the horizon along with the second edition of

Sheikh A.S. Farsy's translation soon to be released East

Africa will experience yet another spate of disputations.

The tide has been ebbing for a suspended interval; now it

is beginning to flow and return to previous levels of manifest antipathies.

85. A. A. Abadi, "Maqalatun Ya Sheikh al-Amin", M.Y.K., June, 1966; Feb., March and April, 1967.

86. A. B. Hamed, "Tahrifu Jab Ya Faruq Ya Waka'atun", (Nombasa: n.p., 1955, 2nd ed.).

87. Interview with A.S. Farsy, Nombasa, 1 April, 1971.

88. Ibrahim "Mwagwanu Ya Dajana" - Nombasa, 17 May, 1970, duplicated 2 pp.

89. J.R. Farah, "Zawadi Ya Sh. I. (K) Ya Sh. S. Farah", Nombasa, 21 May, 1970, duplicated 2 pp.

90. Interview with S.A. Omar, Kisumu, 16 August, 1971.

## NOTES

- 1 Interview with A.T. Sandi, Tanga, 13 Nov., 1968.
- 2 Letter from Mubarak Ahmad, 10 March, 1974.
- 3 For a discussion of Sh. Al-Amin and his contribution to East African Islam vide A.T. Salim, Swahili Speaking Peoples of Kenya's Coast 1895-1965 (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), pp. 159-168, passim.
- 4 The two early books are entitled: Mizani Ya Madh-hab Ya Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and Madh-habi Ya Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Na Maneno Yake Ya Ukafiri. The Ahmadiyya rejoinder is: Sheikh Al-Amin Na Maneno Yake Ya Ukafiri.
- 5 A. Aly, Mirza Na Jinsi Wawadanganyavyo Islamu (Mombasa: Coronation Printers, 1961); this is a subsequent edition - the first edition was published circa 1945.
- 6 K.A. Abedi, "Majibu Ya Upinzani Wa Sheikh Al-Amin", M.Y.M., June, 1946; Feb., March and April, 1947.
- 7 A.B. Hemedi, Taarifu Juu Ya Tafsiri Ya Wakadiani, (Mombasa: n.p., 1955, 2nd ed.).
- 8 Interview with A.S. Farsy, Mombasa, 3 April, 1973.
- 9 M. Ibrahim "Mwangaza Wa Uislamu" - Kakamega, 17 May, 1970, duplicated 2 pp.
- 10 J.R. Rafiq, "Zawadi Ya Sh. 1,000/- Kwa M. Ibrahim", Nairobi, 21 May, 1970, duplicated 2 pp.
- 11 Interview with S.A. Omar, Kisumu, 16 April, 1973.
- 12 A. Hussein, "Majibu Ya Mirzai", Kisumu, n.d., duplicated 3 pp.
- 13 J.R. Rafiq, "Ujinga Wa A.Hussein Wa Kisumu", Nairobi, 28 June, 1970, duplicated, 2 pp.
- 14 Omar, loc. cit.
- 15 Letter by J.O. Mwavali, D.O., Mumias Division, Box 160, Mumias, Kenya, 18 April, 1973.

- 16 Interview with L.R. Mirza, Chief Ahmadiyya Missionary, Nairobi: 18 Oct., 1973. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 27 May, 1967, p. 4.
- 17 J. Schacht, "Notes on Islam in East Africa" Studia Islamica, Vol. XXIII, p. 101. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 27 April, 1967, p. 7.
- 18 Interview with B. Grimshaw, Dar es Salaam; 8 Nov., 1968. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 26 May, 1967, p. 7.
- 19 A.H.V., "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, June 7, 1967, p. 7. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 12 June, 1967, p. 2.
- 20 S. Hassan, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, May 22, 1967, p. 2. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 1 May, 1967, p. 2.
- 21 A.R. Bazmi, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 1 May, 1967, p. 2. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 1 May, 1967, p. 2.
- 22 M.I. Soofi, The East African Times, Nairobi: April 1967, p. 2. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 20 May, 1967, p. 4.
- 23 Grimshaw, loc. cit. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 5 June, 1967, p. 2.
- 24 The Standard, Tanzania, 10 March, 1967, p. 7. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 10 March, 1967, p. 7.
- 25 The Standard, Tanzania, 3 April, 1967, p. 5. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 3 April, 1967, p. 5.
- 26 The Standard, Tanzania, 10 March, 1967, p. 7. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 10 March, 1967, p. 7.
- 27 A.R. Bazmi, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 8 June, 1967, p. 7. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 8 June, 1967, p. 7.
- 28 H.I. Garana, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 31 May, 1967, p. 4. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 31 May, 1967, p. 4.
- 29 Bazmi, op. cit., June 8, 1967, p. 7. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 15 May, 1967, p. 2.
- 30 Ibid.
- 31 Ibid.
- 32 S.M. Mamoro, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 1 May, 1967, p. 2. Forum, The Standard, Tanzania, 1 May, 1967, p. 2.
- 33 Hemedi, op. cit., p. 47

<sup>34</sup>S.M. Ung'ando, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 27 May, 1967, p. 4.

<sup>35</sup>A.S. Armour, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 17 April, 1967, p. 7.

<sup>36</sup>I. Baig, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 26 May, 1967, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup>H.I. Murjage, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 12 June, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>38</sup>Baig, op. cit.

<sup>39</sup>"Humble Muslim", "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 5 June, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>40</sup>A.S. Armour, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 20 May, 1967, p. 4.

<sup>41</sup>M.S. Kibundu, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 5 June, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>42</sup>Mubarak Ahmad, Kurani Tukufu, (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1953), pp. v-vii.

<sup>43</sup>M. Munawwar, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 3 April, 1967, p. 5.

<sup>44</sup>M.M.M. Khamsin, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, May 16, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup>Bazmi, op. cit., 1 May, 1967.

<sup>46</sup>Munawwar, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 15 May, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

- 51 Ibid.
- 52 A.H.V., op. cit. The Real Fact (Nombasa; The Khaya Shia Itihaf-Forum Source Council, 1968):
- 53 M.M. Shirazi, "Readers' Forum", The Standard, Tanzania, 14 June, 1967.
- 54 M. Munawwar, A Lively Discussion, (Dar es Salaam: Tanganyika Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, 1967), p. iv.
- 55 Interview with J.W. Gamrack, Dar es Salaam, 11 Nov., 1968.
- 56 Interview with J.R.; Rafiq, Dar es Salaam, 12 Nov., 1968.
- 57 Interview with M.A. Karim, Regional Executive Secretary, Munawwar, A Lively Discussion, loc. cit.
- 58 Interview with M. Munawwar, Dar es Salaam, 5 April, 1971. Followed: Munawwar: "Dawa Ya Khatu Ni Kati", 28.5.66; Munawwar: "Khatu Qawwa Mawajidate", 16.6.67; Sulaiman: "Hadithi ya M.A. Karim", 10.10.67; Munawwar: "Mawajidate Mawajidate Wa Mawajidate", 12.10.67; Munawwar: "Gwongo Mawajidate Mawajidate", 18.10.67; n.d., "Mawajidate Mawajidate Mawajidate", op. cit., p. iii. Also in his letter to the writer dated 4 July, 1967, he admitted "Had they /the Sunnis/ not been anxious to stop the correspondence we would have gone on for a fairly long period."
- 59 Interview with A.S. Al-Farsy, Kisumu, 17 January, 1969.
- 60 Munawwar, A Lively Discussion, op. cit., p. iii. Also in his letter to the writer dated 4 July, 1967, he admitted "Had they /the Sunnis/ not been anxious to stop the correspondence we would have gone on for a fairly long period."
- 61 M.I. Soofi, "The Shiah Sect in Islam", M.Y.M., March, April, May, June, July and August, 1967, /six issues/.
- 62 Soofi, op. cit., March, 1967, p. 2.
- 63 Soofi including Munawwar's epitome, op. cit., August, 1967, p. 2.
- 64 Ibid.
- 65 Ibid., p. 4.
- 66 S.S.A. Rizvi, "Shia Sect of Islam". The Light, Vol. 1, March-June, 1967, Nos. 7 - 10, p. 4.

- 67 Ibid., p. 8.
- 68 S.A.H. Naqavi, The Real Fact (Mombasa: The Khoja Shia Ithna-Asheri Supreme Council, 1968).
- 69 Ibid., p. 14.
- 70 Interview with M.I. Soofi, Jinja, 20 February, 1969.
- 71 S.S.A. Rizvi, "Islam in the Light of Shia'ism", Dina Na Mila Vol. I, No. 1, Jan., 1965, pp. 23 - 29.
- 72 M. Munawwar, letter to the Editor, Dini Na Mila Vol. I No. 2, Sept., 1965, pp. 31, 32.
- 73 Interview with M.A. Karim, Regional Executive Secretary, TANU, Bukoba, 18 Mar., 1969.
- 74 The Ahmadis produced eight duplicated tracts all in Swahili as follows: Munawwar: "Dawa Ya Mtoto Ni Maji", 28.6.66; Munawwar: "Mwito Kwenye Mashindano", 16.6.67; Suleiman, "Ibada Na Ndoa Ya Mashia Ni Ya Pekee", 30.9.67; Munawwar: "Zawadi Ya Sh. 5,000/-", 6.10.67; Munawwar: "Fedheha Imewaandama Mashia Wa Kiithnaasheriyyah", 12.10.67; Munawwar: "Uwongo wa Mashia umekomeshwa", 18.10.67; n.a., "Uwongo Wa Idrisa Byakutaga Umedhiririka Wazi Wazi", 2.11.67; and Suleiman: "Washia Wakiithnaashariyyah Wameumbuka Vibaya", 5.2.58. In addition there occurred items in M.Y.M. as follows: "Muslim Welfea Wa Bukoba Hoi", Aug., 1966, p. 1.; "Mashia Walikuwa Wapi?", Oct., 1967, p. 4; "Mashia Wamejiumbua", Nov., 1967, p. 3.; and "Ni Mapunda Waliomkimbia Simba", Feb., 1968, p. 3. On the side of the Shias there were produced sixteen tracts in all. Eleven were in Swahili as follows: n.a. "Kuwajulisha Upotevu Wa Miropoko Ya Mirza Ghulam Ahmad", Byakutaga; "Kifo Cha Makadiyani"; Byakutaga, "Umwisho Wa Utume"; n.a. "Umwisho Wa Unabii"; n.a. "Suali Na Jawabu Juu Ya Kadiyani"; n.a. "Upotevu Wa Kadiyani"; Byakutaga, "Tuuchuguze Uahmadiya Hasa"; A Saaid, "Waahmadiya Wanatafuta Njia Ya Kutukana Washia"; n.a., "Uzushi wa Unabii Upya"; D.S. Makora, "Mungu Ni Mmoja Na Muhammad Ni Mtume Wake Wa Mwisho"; D. Athumani, "Nimetoka Mnamo Uahmadiya"; and five in English: n.a. "The Wickedness of Ahmadians on the Whole"; n.a. "Form the Picture of the Founder of the Ahmadiyyah Jamat, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, for Yourself"; Byakutaga, "The Right Path"; A. Akida "Khatme Nubuwal"; and I.A. Majaliwa, "The Mirror".
- 75 Interview with I.T. Byakutaga, Bukoba, 18 Mar., 1969.

## CHAPTER VIII

- 76 Interviews with A.S. Farsy, Kisumu, 17.1.69.  
S.S.A. Rizvi, Dar es Salaam, 12 Nov., 1968, F. Schildknecht,  
Dar es Salaam, 8 Nov., 1968. CHRISTIAN RESPONSE
- 77 L. Swantz, "Islam in the Contemporary Scene in  
Tanzania", (Dar es Salaam; Christian Council of Tanzania,  
May, 1968, mimeographed), p. 12.
- 78 Rizvi, interview, op. cit.
- 79 Interview with Rizvi, Dar es Salaam, 18 Mar.,  
1973.
- 80 Supra., pp. 214 - 216.
- 81 A. Nassir, Hakika Ya Ukadini, (Mombasa: National  
Union of Kenya Muslims and Ansaar Muslim Mission, 1973).
- 82 Ibid., p. 5.
- 83 Interview with A. Nassir, Nairobi, 18 Dec., 1973.
- 84 Interview with M. Ali, Dar es Salaam, 23 Feb.,  
1974.
- 85 Interview with A.K. Sharma, Dar es Salaam, 22 Feb.,  
1974; and advertisement "Ukadiani Sio Uahmadiyya" in M.Y.M.,  
March, 1974, p. 2.
- In the following discussion certain aspects of the  
Ahmadiyya threats contra Christianity that are manifest  
particularly in the Swahili medium will be presented. The anti-  
Christian content of the commentary to the Swahili Quran  
will be treated first. Next a careful consideration of  
Ahmadiyya leaflets is given. This will be followed by a

description of specific challenges in the Ahmadiyya press and how these have been met by Christians. A reasoned explanation of the notable deficiency of the Christian response is then offered. Finally some suggestions regarding the true motivation for the anti-Christian polemics will be hypothesised.

#### A. THE INVIDIOUS CHARACTER OF THE COMMENTARY TO KURANI TUKUFU.

One of the immediate provocations for the publication of the Ahmadiyya Swahili Quran was to counteract the translation of Canon Dale. This is obvious from the numerous specific references to Dale's work in the Ahmadiyya commentary. He is taken to task on virtually every premise where he has offered the preferability or even superiority of the Christian belief in contradistinction to Muslim dogma.

In Sura At-Tauba 9:30 there is reference to the allegation of Christians that the Messiah is the Son of God. The Quran suggests that they are thereby aligned with ancient blasphemers. Dale comments this is indeed the assertion of Christians. It is the God-given title which the Angel Gabriel relayed to the Virgin Mary and which Christ himself taught. Is it a wonder to Muslims that Christians so believe in obedience to God? To believe otherwise is to rebel against God.<sup>3</sup>

Mubarak in his commentary on the selfsame verse capitalised on the opportunity by launching into a lengthy polemic against Christianity asserting that it is thoroughly rooted in paganism pure and simple. Approximately 2,500 words on four-and-a-half full pages are required to develop the thesis. The beginning assertion is that the phrase: "Son of God" was a common one used merely to denote a good man. Christians should interpret it metaphorically just as they do certain other New Testament claims as "the Vine", "the Door", "Lamb of God", etc. Instead they have followed the lead of Paul to Christians - the Apostle Paul who deviated from the original commands of Christ by pursuing his mission to the Gentiles. At this point Mubarak introduces the Quranic phrase contained in the same aya which identifies the Christian belief in Christ's divinity with the aboriginal beliefs of polytheistic sun-worshippers. Paul in proclaiming Christ's divinity mislead Christians into hopeless accommodation with the ancient pagan religions of the Mediterranean region. Mubarak avers that Roman Catholicism has adopted: "these customs of the ancient barbarians."<sup>4</sup> Protestant Christians also share in this apostasy since they have received from Catholicism the same pagan heritage. The observances of Sunday as the day of worship and Christmas as the birthdate of the Messiah are examples cited as originating in the traditional tenets of sun-worship. Therefore, it is alleged the Christian philosophy

of religion is rooted in primitive naturism. Quoting numerous references to European works the commentary seeks to substantiate the theme at great length and with a considerable show of erudition. Finally, it concludes that the Christianity that is reflected by these authorities is nothing more than paganism.<sup>5</sup> The experts are just coming around to see in Christianity what the Quran had stated centuries before. Surely this is proof of the divine origin of the Muslim's Holy Book.

The superiority of the Quran over the scriptures of the Jews and Christians is a favourite theme of Mubarak's commentary. In his comments on Sura Al-Maadia 5:14 he seeks to establish the corruption of the Christian scriptures by reference to the works of certain exponents of European higher criticism.<sup>6</sup> Again in Sura Qaaf 50:39 the Quran refers to God's work of creation by which he was untouched by weariness. Mubarak's commentary gloats that this gives great honour to God whereas the Bible by contrast disparages the character of God by saying that he rested on the seventh day implying weariness.<sup>7</sup>

The favoured target of the Ahmadiyya assault on Christianity is the atonement which Christians believe was accomplished by Jesus Christ in his crucifixion. This is the keystone of the Christian faith. The commentary utilises certain Quranic passages in developing the attack. Two of these may be considered as illustrative of the Ahmadiyya thrust

against the cherished doctrine. In Sura Aaali-Imraan 3:56 the text reveals Allah addressing the prophet Isa with regard to his departure from the world and his future role in the eschatological event. Likewise in Sura An-Nisaa 4:158 the fate of Jesus is presented as being not death but a miraculous raising up to God. Mubarak's commentary on both passages reflects the customary Ahmadiyya polemic. Jesus did not die on the cross nor did he ascend to heaven is the categorical assertion. This double-barrelled volley is not only offensive to Christians but to Muslims as well. The repudiation of Jesus' death on the cross is an affront to Christians and the denial of his ascension is repugnant to both Christians and Muslims. The commentator draws his case on certain allegedly irrefutable evidences. These are: Jesus prayed that he be spared an ignominious death; Pilate's wife had a dream; Pilate wanted to save Jesus; Jesus was on the cross too short a time; prophecy foretold that Jesus would be cured; Jesus' blood was still circulating; Joseph of Arimathea was given his body as part of a secret plan to save Jesus; the Jews were doubtful of his death; Jesus was disguised so that he could escape; Jesus did not receive a new body; the sign of Jonah proves that he was merely rescued from danger.<sup>8</sup> In such a summary fashion the cardinal tenet of the Christian faith is discarded.

A final indication of the Ahmadiyya antipathy toward Christianity as expressed in the commentary renders a

sampling of its scornful regard for Christian practice. In the comments on Sura Al-Bacara 2:220 a copious moral discourse is given on the evils and dangers of drunkenness and gambling. One paragraph treats the Christian Eucharist with pungent disdain. Under the topic: "The Gospel does not forbid intoxicants" the offending sentence appears: "Christians are using native beer in the church saying indeed that it is the blood of God the Son."<sup>9</sup> A statement such as this is sheer calumny and quite reprehensible. It lucidly exposes the provocative nature of Kurani Tukufu in its counter-Christian posture.

Father Schildknecht has made a careful scrutiny of the Ahmadiyya commentary noting the numerous references to Christianity. He prepared a lengthy compilation of the anti-Christian passages quoting them verbatim and in their entirety. They are classified and arranged topically under thirty-six separate items.<sup>10</sup> There are a total of 130 Quranic references to which the commentary passages are related. The entire paper consumes 118 foolscap pages, single-spaced typing and has been duplicated for distribution among priests and catechists of the Tanganyika Episcopal Conference. Its purpose was to prepare Catholic leaders for possible confrontation with Muslim and particularly Ahmadiyya opponents at the parish level. It too is indicative of the thoroughgoing extent of Ahmadiyya polemics contra the Christian faith as manifest in Kurani Tukufu.

## B. AHMADIYYA POLEMICAL LEAFLETS

The use of leaflets produced for wide distribution is a favourite tool of Ahmadiyya polemics. Leaflet refers to a specialised form of literature. For the immediate purpose the definition followed is: "... a single unstitched leaf of printed matter: a tract."<sup>11</sup> Such a leaflet may be either flat or folded. They are normally produced for free distribution.

An examination of nineteen leaflets made available through Kufis made available both from the headquarters of the Ahmadiyya missions of Tanzania and Kenya indicate a cursory analysis as follows: twelve have a definite polemical thrust and the remainder are of miscellaneous content. Of these remaining seven leaflets five are mainly apologetic, one is a circular promoting the sale of the Swahili Quran and one is a form of allegiance for those wanting to join the Ahmadiyya movement. These are all the leaflets in Swahili currently available from Ahmadiyya sources.<sup>12</sup>

The Ahmadiyya leaflets are printed on cheap paper made from pulp and similar to newsprint in quality. They are invariably printed with black ink and usually have no pictures or illustrations. Some leaflets are single sheets unfolded and printed on both sides. These usually measure 5 5/8" x 8 1/2". Others are of the same size after a single fold yielding four pages. Occasionally the back page is used to advertise the Swahili Quran. The customary quantity

for a single printing is 20,000 copies though this may vary.<sup>13</sup> Some of the more popular tracts may go through a second and even third printing. The leaflets are usually authored by Pakistani Ahmadiyya missionaries. Sometimes the original tract is written in Urdu or English and is then translated into Swahili. However, inasmuch as most of the missionaries have a proficiency in Swahili some of the leaflets have been composed originally in that language. The cost of publishing Ahmadiyya tracts is borne by the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission through funds made available both from the headquarters at Rabwah, Pakistan, and from contributions locally received from among the scattered Ahmadiyya communities.<sup>14</sup>

It is significant to note that of the twelve polemical tracts all are direct attacks on Christian doctrine. The limitations of this study do not permit a careful examination of all twelve leaflets. Instead of doing this it is sufficiently indicative to scrutinise a sampling by considering four of the tracts. The four selected titles are: "Yesu Kristo Alitumwa Kwa Watu Wote?", "Mashauri Kwa Wakiristo", "Kwa Nini Tunakataa Kafara Ya Yesu?", "Mwito Kwenye Uhuru Kamili".<sup>15</sup> All four have been published since 1960. These will now be considered successively.

The first tract is: "Yesu Kristo Alitumwa Kwa Wote?" This may be translated, "Was Jesus Sent for All People?" It is a reprint of a previous leaflet entitled, "Yesu Kristo

Hakutumwa Kwa Watu Wote!" which is the assertive negative to the question posed in the current title. The content of the two leaflets is identical. The length of the tract is approximately nine-hundred words. It was published in 1960.

This leaflet challenges the universality of the Christian faith and the validity of Christian missionary endeavour. The author offers twelve carefully chosen quotations from the New Testament as proof-texts demonstrating that Jesus Christ's only purpose was to bring the Jewish nation to the Christian faith. It is argued that this must occur before the Gentiles can be evangelised. It is asserted then that the winning of the Jews will not be accomplished until Christ's second advent. Therefore, it is contrary to Christ's explicit purpose for Christians to try to evangelise non-Jews. To do so is: "completely opposite to the teachings and commands of Jesus Christ. Thus Christians and their priests are rebelling utterly against the command of Jesus Christ."<sup>16</sup>

The tract continues by declaring that inasmuch as Christ was not sent for all the world it is certain that the prophet Muhammad is God's Messenger for all people. What Christ was not Muhammad is. In support of which only one quotation from the Swahili Quran is all that is deemed necessary. (Kurani, 7:159).<sup>17</sup>

The second leaflet, "Mashauri Kwa Wakristo" means

sel for Christians". It was written by the chief secretary of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission in Tanzania, Sh. Nawwar.<sup>18</sup> It contains approximately sixteen-hundred words. In the beginning of the leaflet it is obvious that it was produced after Tanganyika was granted independence prior to the union with Zanzibar. This is the situation stated in the introduction to the leaflet.

The tract is addressed directly towards "our Christian brothers who live in Tanganyika."<sup>19</sup> It begins with the thought that in previous times Christians and Muslims lived together peaceably but under a foreign government. It charges that this government tried to divide by favouring Christians and discriminating against Muslims. Evidences of favouritism are indicated in education and business. During the leaflet commends recent ecumenical discussions indicative of growing unity among Christians. Here it appeals to Christians to consider uniting with Muslims in common religion. Any reluctance on the part of Christians towards such a union could be interpreted adversely. It could lead Muslims that the purpose of Christian unity is to be so that Christianity can subdue Islam. This then is a bold challenge to Christians to resist the colonial policy of favouritism and to extend the ideal of ecumenical unity to include Islam.

Following this challenge certain definite suggestions

are offered manifesting the Ahmadiyya polemic. Six propositions are stated: (a) To believe in the Unity of Almighty God; (b) to observe circumcision; (c) to accept polygamy; (d) to eradicate drunkenness; (e) to eliminate discrimination against Muslim children in schools; and (f) to cease compelling Muslim patients to attend Christian prayers in hospitals.<sup>20</sup> In the development of these propositions much use is made of Bible references. This is especially true in the first three propositions where thirty-eight such references are cited. The tract takes a different tact from the usual anti-Christian thrusts. It poses a more irenic spirit.

In the third tract, "Kwa Nini Tunakataa Kafara Ya Yesu", (Why are we Rejecting the Sacrifice of Jesus) the polemic is aimed at the Christian doctrine of the atonement. This leaflet is taken verbatim from a section contained in the booklet Karafa Ya Yesu by Dr. Mufti Mohammad Sadiq, first Ahmadiyya missionary to America.<sup>21</sup> The work of translation was done by a Kenya Ahmadi, Athmani Gakuria. It contains approximately six-hundred words.

Twelve arguments are developed as certain refutation of the validity of Christ's atonement. In summary form these are:

- (1) Atonement faith is contrary to our intelligence.
- (2) To accept atonement faith in Jesus is to reject the old Testament which shows many ways of forgiveness.

- (3) If we accept the sacrifice of Jesus we necessarily agree that Jesus was cursed which is unthinkable concerning a prophet of God.
- (4) Atonement faith makes God unjust for punishing one who has done no wrong.
- (5) To accept atonement faith is to reject Almighty God as one having mercy - else why should he require sacrifice and not be satisfied with mere repentance on the part of sinners?
- (6) If atonement faith is true then all the prophets who preceded Jesus were wrong because they taught other ways of salvation.
- (7) If atonement faith is true then all the other founders of religion are wrong because they do not teach this faith.
- (8) If atonement is true then the laws of Christian nations are guilty of great evil in not distinguishing between Christians and non-Christians in criminal offences. If Christians are forgiven of their sins why should they be punished?
- (9) Atonement has made all Christians the same regardless of their earthly deeds. How can this be right?
- (10) If atonement is sufficient then that eliminates the need to pray - which is incredible.
- (11) Atonement faith means that God is blood-thirsty and is only satisfied when human blood is shed

whether of a sinner or a sinless one.

(12) Atonement faith has no historical attestation.

These arguments demonstrate lucidly the labyrinthal character and theological pendency of Ahmadiyya logic.

The final tract entitled, "Mwito Kwenye Uhuru Kamili" or "A Call to True Freedom" is by Sheikh M.I. Soofi, Chief of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission in Kenya. It is approximately sixteen-hundred and fifty words in length. Published in 1966 the first printing yielded a quantity of twenty-thousand.<sup>22</sup>

This leaflet launches a strong attack on the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. It opens by referring to the newly-achieved freedom of Africans, suggesting that this freedom should lead to complete freedom of conscience. Such spiritual freedom is impaired by slavish acceptance of the doctrine of the Trinity, which has been imposed on Africans by the Christian missionaries.

Five New Testament references are quoted as indisputable proof of the fallacy of the Trinity. These are John 17:3; I Corinthians 8:4; Mark 19:17; Mark 12:29; and John 10:33-36. It is further attested that the word Trinity is nowhere found in the Bible. The doctrine was not formulated until the appearance of the Nicene Creed. Further evidence is given to indicate Christ's own rejection of this concept

in John 14:28. Then two passages which are alleged to be used by Christians in support of the Trinity are summarily dismissed. These are: Genesis 4:22 and John 1:1.

The concluding argument states that this doctrine has long been rejected by "many Christians"<sup>23</sup> in the western world and in fact many have joined Islam. The appeal is therefore sounded saying in effect: "If the Europeans have discarded this doctrine and have become free, are you going to continue to cling to it thinking that you are free?"<sup>23</sup> The leaflet concludes with an exhortation. Now is the time to accept the straight-forward faith in the true unity of God as it is taught in Islam and be free indeed.

The leaflets which have been scrutinised herein present a fair sampling of the polemical temper of the Ahmadiyya missions. Ahmadiyya polemics seem to have an obsessive preoccupation with Christian theology. It has been indicated that all twelve of the Ahmadiyya polemical tracts follow the anti-Christian theme. The four leaflets which have been examined in this paper are transparent in opposing Christian doctrine. "Yesu Kristo Alitumwa Kwa Wote?" challenge the doctrine of Christian missions. "Mashauri Kwa Wakristo" proposes unity between Christians and Muslims with implied suggestions that Christians convert to Islamic faith and practice. "Kwa Nini Tunakataa Kifara Ya Yesu" attacks the Christian atonement explicitly. The last leaflet considered "Mwito Mwenye Uhuru Kamili" assaults the Christian doctrine

of the Trinity.

### C. SPECIFIC CHALLENGES BY AHMADIS AND THE APPARENT RETICENCE OF CHRISTIANS

Personal encounters between Ahmadiyya propagandists and Christian propagators occur not infrequently in East Africa. A Christian missionary has described his experience in 1953 while conducting religious services in the Tanga prison. He and his companions were the object of harassment at the hands of: "an Indian Mohammedan missionary.... He distributed tracts against the Christian faith."<sup>24</sup> The likelihood is strong that this was another instance of Ahmadiyya counteraction. It was the case of a confrontation in person with the Ahmadi using the familiar polemical mode: the printed word. The irony is that this too has been a favourite tool of propagation by Christians. They are now perennially encountering opposition from Ahmadiyya rivals who utilise extensively the Christians' own stock-in-trade.

In the preceding discussion the use of tracts or leaflets has been examined. Attention is now given to Ahmadiyya's unflagging use of periodical journalism. The Swahili monthly Marenzi Ya Mungu is the principal medium for anti-Christian polemics although The East African Times is also used to a lesser degree.

References to the Ahmadiyya movement and its teachings in Christian literature produced in East Africa are

rather scarce. In the all-important Swahili medium there are brief discussions of the Ahmadis in three published books. Anglars offers one-and-a-half pages on the subject; Griffin gives one short paragraph; and Pittway devotes three pages to the Ahmadiyya phenomenon.<sup>25</sup> The first two sources have been refuted at great length in Mapenzi Ya Mungu.

Griffin's discussion of the Ahmadiyya movement is in the briefest possible summary containing some eighty-five words. The paragraph is included in a chapter in which he discusses the religion of Islam generally. The English title of this book is Where is the Truth? The Ahmadiyya's refutation of it is entitled "Ukweli Uko Hapa!" which translated means "The Truth is Here!". It is authored by an Ahmadi, B.K. Heri. It was offered in a series of fourteen articles appearing in Mapenzi Ya Mungu from March, 1967, to April, 1968. Taken together there is a total of approximately 23,000 words. It demonstrates how Ahmadis often use the slightest provocation to launch into a copious polemic labouring their disparity with Christians point by point. The lengthy rejoinder constitutes a thorough-going attack on Christians in general and Roman Catholics in particular.

Another Catholic author, Anglars, has produced an original work in Swahili regarding the interrelationships between Christians and Muslims. His page-and-a-half summary

treats the Ahmadiyya movement succinctly. In discussing the relationship between Ahmadis and others he suggests that because of their zealous use of erudition to overwhelm the uninitiated not only Christians but also Sunnis fear them. Any Christian who reads their literature is offended because of their supercilious use of learning without regard for inner meanings. When they bring references from alleged Christians in support of their views they refer to authors who are in fact staunch critics of Christianity. They lift words out of context and in doing so look at only the tree ignoring the forest. His comments reflect the very same complaints that have been mentioned frequently to this writer by Muslims against the Ahmadis.<sup>26</sup>

The Ahmadiyya reply to Anglars was predictably verbose. Sheikh Munawwar provided the point-by-point answer with a series of front-page articles in eight successive issues of Marezi Ya Mungu from April through December, 1971. His rejoinder is concerned with the broader context of Anglars' discussion of Islam generally and not merely the brief treatment of the Ahmadis. Every instalment is the lead article for its particular edition. The corresponding headlines furnish an apt indication of the scope and direction of Munawwar's diatribe. The English translations of these headlines are given consecutively as follows: "Catholic Priest is Attacking Islam", "Priest Slanders the Prophet",

"Priest Discredits Muslims Before the Government", "Priest  
 Answered Concerning Polygamy", "Wisdom of Padre Anglars is  
 Folly!", "Gospels Foretell the Coming of the Prophet", "The  
 Prophet Muhammad is for all Nations", "Perplexity of Priest  
 Removed!".<sup>27</sup>

Another Christian book which is contradicted in  
 the Swahili monthly although it contains no direct reference  
 to Ahmadis is the Swahili translation of Crossley's book  
Explaining the Gospel to Muslims.<sup>28</sup> The Ahmadiyya retort  
 is a single headline by Sheikh Rafiq entitled: "As Priests  
 Do".<sup>29</sup> The concluding sentence gives the gist of this de-  
 traction: ".... it is seen that Mr. John Crossley did not  
 explain the Gospel or Christianity to Muslims rather he  
 merely explained his own opinions AS OTHER PRIESTS DO!"<sup>30</sup>

Among the Protestant Christians of East Africa a lead-  
 ing protagonist of Christianity's cause with reference to  
 Islam was Reverend J.M. Ritchie. He served for three years  
 from 1964 to 1967 resident in Mombasa as a special advisor on  
 Islam with the National Christian Council of Kenya. His  
 function was to assist in establishing better lines of under-  
 standing and communication between Christians and Muslims in  
 Kenya. Among the varied aspects of his work he produced three  
 series of articles under the pseudonym At-Talib at-Tafahum  
 in the periodicals Target and its counterpart in Swahili  
Lengo.<sup>31</sup>

His second article was entitled: "Je, Muhammad alikuwa

mtu mbaya?" which translated says "Tell me, was Muhammad a bad person?" The unfortunate title was a potential provocation although it was probably not intended to be so. It begins with the admission that many Christians answer the question in the affirmative. He explains that this is because of the negative attitude which Christians from

Europe have held towards Muslims of the Middle East for several centuries. However, the historical misunderstanding does not apply to Africa and we should leave such matters behind us. At this point a tradition from Aisha which is quoted in praise of Muhammad's character is accepted as valid. Further, citing Muhammad's career as a leader of people and a political ruler the writer shows that they succeeded in bringing peace and justice to his country. Even when he used force against the Jews he did so circumspectly and only when there seemed to be no other recourse doing what he considered to be God's will. This is forgivable when we consider Christian rulers who have also done likewise and have been forgiven. After all he was only a man and he did not claim more than humanity nor of such exorcism. Instead it is the Christians that should be reproached for their Crusades against Islam. He also shows his errors even when his words offend the Christian Gospel.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>34</sup> It seems to this writer that although the article may have intended to be conciliatory its effect was to the

contrary. The awkwardness of the Swahili gives one the writer for denying emphatically the sanctity utakatifu of

Muhammad. To reiterate the phrase that was used in Lengo it stated that Muhammad did not claim more than humanity or to be a saint.<sup>35</sup> The Ahmadi refutes this point asserting that Muhammad claimed the same righteousness as given to the prophet Moses. The glory of Muhammad was well known from time of his childhood and throughout his life.

At this point the Ahmadi turns fiercely on the character of Jesus saying that he was: "an evil person .... he prepared intoxicants, .... he dwelled with Satan,.... he cursed the Pharisees, .... he allowed a notoriously sinful woman to massage him and continually kiss him without saying a word ...."<sup>36</sup> The sheikh then asks if this is the holiness of the Lord Jesus? The Ahmadiyya writer's words cannot be viewed by Christians other than outright defamation of the character of Jesus. He has fallen into the snare of making such outrageous charges against Jesus that resembles those which certain Christian writers have in history made against the Prophet Muhammad. Such vilification on both sides is unworthy and unwarranted.

Finally, Sheikh Wamwera cites Ritchie's concluding sentence which refers to the prophet's errors in offending the Christian Gospel. The sheikh avers that Muhammad's message affirmed the unity of God - a truth that the Bible accedes to in abundant passages. Yet Jesus declared that he was the Son of God. "Now who is in error?" the sheikh enquires.<sup>37</sup> In concluding he counsels his antagonist to

read his rejoinder objectively and calmly. He expresses the hope that God will open righteousness to him and his fellow Christians.

The foregoing description of the unwitting provocation of Ritchie and the warm retort of Sheikh Wamwera is illustrative of at least two points. Firstly, it shows the precarious nature of overtures towards understanding between the two religious communities. Secondly, it exposes the vociferous reaction of Ahmadis to a Christian approach to Islam even when it is well-intended though clumsy.

It is interesting to note that in the succeeding repartee between Ritchie and Sheikh Wamwera there is no further reference to the disparaging comments of the sheikh regarding the character of Jesus. Ritchie for reasons of his own does not see fit to challenge the sheikh's invectives. In fact the Ahmadi scores Ritchie's silence in a later article entitled: "Lengo has missed its target".<sup>38</sup> It is an intended play on the Swahili word lengo which means target. The article is another pungent thrust aimed at Ritchie's series on mutual understanding. It concerns the comparative understanding of the term Gospel. "How can he understand Islam," taunts Wamwera, "when he doesn't even understand Christians?"

In the subsequent issue of the Ahmadiyya monthly the challenge is drawn further concerning the contradictory doctrines of both sides regarding the identity of the Holy Spirit.<sup>39</sup>

In pursuing the answer to this question he discusses three essential points: the Islamic doctrines of tahrif and of Lengo regarding the last two of Wamwera's rejoinders. In a somewhat condescending and subdued tone he thanks the sheikh for agreeing with him on the question of the meaning of Gospel. However, on the point of the disparity of belief regarding the Holy Spirit Ritchie is content to merely ask two questions: "Tell me, does God not help us, comfort us or defend us? For isn't God the Helper, the Comforter, and the Defender?" It leaves one wondering whether Ritchie's reluctance to press the issues that were raised earlier amounts to acquiescence or a genuine interest in conciliation. A year later he responds to an editorial in The East African Times which hurls anti-Christian gibes with reference to the involvement of Christian nations in unholy wars.<sup>41</sup> Ritchie's answer is carefully conciliatory in tone and content. He quotes from the Ahmadiyya editorial commending it for its expressed agreement with Christ's ideals of peace. He further explains that involvement in war by so-called Christian nations has to be considered with discernment. Such nations should rightfully not be considered Christian. Yet Christ remains as the criterion for peace in the world. He concludes by rejoicing that the editor of the Ahmadiyya monthly was likewise concerned for world peace.<sup>42</sup>

The following month Ritchie produced an article in the religious journal of the University College, Makerere, entitled: "Are the Old and New Testaments the Same as the Tawrat and Injil referred to in the Quran?"<sup>43</sup>

In pursuing the answer to this question he discusses three essential points: The Islamic doctrines of tahrif and ijma and the question of modern critical scholarship as regards the scriptures of Jews and Christians. The problem of tahrif he discusses at length and concludes that the doctrine does not correctly apply to the text of the Biblical scriptures but to oral misinterpretations of it by Jews and Christians in Muhammad's time. His treatment of ijma asserts that it should be as well applied to the times prior to Muhammad's receiving of the Quranic revelation. If it is, then a positive consensus can be understood with regard to Tawrat and Injil. With regard to critical scholarship of the Biblical texts he cites the Ahmadis as the principal Muslim proponents of this method of substantiating tahrif. Ritchie asserts that the modern critics have not been able to establish their hypothesis as accepted facts and therefore cannot be relied upon to support tahrif unequivocally. His end conclusion is to answer the original question in a tentative affirmative. A paraphrase of his answer may be expressed succinctly as follows: Yes, there is a probability that the Old and New Testaments are the same as the Tawrat and Injil referred to in the Quran.

Ritchie in his final paragraph issues a call to dialogue which is pivotal for this study. He suggests:

...which was published in The East African Times

Here is ground enough to justify and appeal that Muslims and Christians should freely, honestly, and in all faith bring their books together and seek to interpret them in the light of each other. It may be that it will result in a blessing which neither ever dreamed was possible, but even if not it will be a notable reversal of the shyness and desire of concealment which led to such evil consequences at the beginning.<sup>44</sup>

Responses to the article were immediate and varied.

Said Hamdun, at the time lecturer in Islamics at Makerere, commented briefly from a Sunni's point of view suggesting certain additional matters needing consideration and inviting readers' response.<sup>45</sup> A rejoinder from Sayed Saeed Aktar Rizvi, a leader of the Shia Ithna-Asheri community, was printed in the subsequent issue of the Makerere journal.<sup>46</sup>

His opening comments commend Ritchie for his article "devoid of acrimony and ill-will .... which deserves study and reflection."<sup>47</sup> He then sets out a careful refutation of Ritchie's conclusion. He concludes by agreeing that the question should be pursued by both sides without: "emotions .... fear or favour...."<sup>48</sup> The same edition of the journal includes a reply by Ritchie to Rizvi's rejoinder immediately following.<sup>49</sup> This is succeeded by some comments on the

subject of tahrif raised by Ritchie's original article put by P.T. Pocock, a correspondent from Mombasa who supports Ritchie's conclusion.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the journal's editor indicated that he received a reply from Sheikh Munawwar Ahmadyya monthly in August indicated that the well-kept meeting of the Ahmadiyya mission. He referred readers to the sheikh's correspondence which was published in The East African Times

since Dini Na Mila could not publish it soon enough.<sup>51</sup>

Munawwar's rejoinder was entirely predictable. In his opening remarks he welcomes Ritchie's plea for a meeting of Muslims and Christians. The sheikh states: "On behalf of Tanganyika Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission I accept ...."<sup>52</sup> He suggested that the meeting be held in Mombasa and that it be open to the public. He then indulges in a lengthy refutation of Ritchie's thesis. He states categorically that the Quran correctly says that the Biblical texts have been altered. He produces citations from Christian sources to substantiate his contention that in fact the text of the Bible continues to be changed by additions and omissions. He concludes his argument with: "It is time the Church dignitaries attended the divine call and accepted with both hands the Pure Word of God - the Holy Quran."

The two rival disputants engaged in a dual of letters that produced a prolonged harangue. Some of the letters are given verbatim in consecutive issues of The East African Times. Between 29 June and 17 August, 1966, both Ritchie and Munawwar wrote four letters each to one another.<sup>53</sup> In his initial letter Ritchie suggested that their differences could be debated through correspondence.<sup>54</sup> Munawwar's answer insisted on a personal confrontation.<sup>55</sup> The editorial of the Ahmadiyya monthly in August indicated that the public meeting would have enabled: "the audience to have judged for them-

Munawwar's final answer suggested that in the light of Ritchie's unwillingness to meet, the appeal for getting together as contained in the original article should be withdrawn. The sheikh, however, still expressed the desire to continue the discussion inviting Ritchie again to write for publication in the Ahmadiyya periodical.<sup>60</sup>

The contention between Ritchie and Munawwar became quiescent for a time. The aggressive sheikh mentioned the episode in a letter to the writer:

We had a very interesting correspondence with Rev. Ritchie of Mombasa a few months back.... He had to give in very soon .... Although we had nothing to do directly with what happens in Kenya; but I thought it necessary to accent the Reverend's challenge to guard our Kenya-Tanzania border. You know Mombasa is very near from Tanga where we have built mosque and a missionaries quarter in April this year!<sup>61</sup>

It is important to note that Ritchie's reluctance to continue the harangue was regarded by Munawwar as a clear indication of retreat. The sheikh is rather unrelenting in labouring the point. Several months later he used the occasion of Ritchie's departure as reported in Lengo<sup>62</sup> as an opportunity to inject the last word. He took issue with Ritchie's parting words of advice to the Christian community in Mombasa regarding the hoped-for improvement of relations between Christians and Muslims. Writing in the Ahmadiyya Swahili journal he charged that Ritchie's work: "was to bully Muslims regarding their religion."<sup>63</sup> But when he faced the

Ahmadiyya sheikhs he was thwarted: "In the end he was defeated and he returned to his home ...."<sup>64</sup> In the concluding para-

graph the sheikh uses words approximating calumny: "There is no doubt that the priest's mind had gone to pieces because of the fierce attacks he experienced while he was in Kenya."<sup>65</sup>

One wonders to what extent such acrimony and verbal intimidation operates as an effective deterrent to Christian response toward Ahmadiyya polemics.

The Ahmadis seem so keen to provoke controversy that they seize upon the faintest hint of a prospective argument. At times they appear to invent an issue in trying to draw out their opponents. An example of this is seen in their reaction to a feature in a Nairobi secular newspaper. Bishop Trevor Huddleston, former Bishop of Masasi in Southern Tanzania, discussed a wide range of subjects in an interview. The topic was "Battle Facing the Church". In the course of the interview the discussion moved around various problems facing the church - i.e. apartheid, Marxist socialism, self-reliance in Tanzania, Secularism, the cold-war and Christianity's relationship to modern science. Islam did not enter into consideration at all.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless the Ahmadiyya Swahili monthly lifted some portions of the interview out of context and charged in the caption to the article: "Priest confesses his errors!"<sup>67</sup> The article cites certain statements in which it is alleged that Bishop Trevor acknowledges that the church has committed evil; he himself needs to learn how to preach the Gospel; and God needs to be made to grow in order that he

be sufficient for the world today. All of these allegations about one of the Ahmadiyya leaflets since reported unwarranted distortions are deliberate distortions of what was said in the natives to the translators of certain modern versions of the Bible. Referring to small print at the bottom of challenge to Christians. No one accented.

On another occasion the banner headline on the Ahmadiyya Swahili journal read across the top of the page: "The Lord Jesus Married Mary Magdalene!"<sup>68</sup> Citing certain critics who propounded the theory based on spurious Gospels that are not included as canonical scripture the article alludes to the alleged marriage as historical fact. At one point it states categorically: "It is a certainty that Jesus married her Mary Magdalene and bore offspring by her and they lived long enough to see their grand-children walking before their eyes."<sup>69</sup> Almost a year later a rejoinder

came in the form of a letter to the editor of the same journal. An Anglican padre, S.Y. Mzina, from Njombe, Tanzania, took serious objection to the offensive insinuation.<sup>70</sup> In the same edition of the Ahmadiyya paper the editorial was devoted to a supercilious tirade against Christianity and to the Ahmadiyya mission's rejection of that and its influence some of its cherished teachings.<sup>71</sup> There followed no further response from Christian correspondents.

Three correspondents wrote to the editor of Target in 1967 to verbalise the attitude of many Christians who become aware of Ahmadiyya polemics. One of these has already figured largely in this discussion. Ritchie wrote to complain

It has been seen how one-sided the positions are between

about one of the Ahmadiyya leaflets which imputes unworthy motives to the translators of certain modern versions of the Bible.<sup>72</sup> Referring to small print at the bottom of certain pages the leaflet accuses the translations with intentional concealment and deception. Ritchie observes:

Not only does it appear to betray either a gross ignorance, or wilful disregard of good scholarship, but it comes very near to being abusive and libelous .... It carries religious controversy beyond the bounds of fairness and good manners ....<sup>73</sup>

As a second correspondent objects to another leaflet ....

i.e. "A Call to True Freedom".<sup>74</sup> He comments:

One wonders whether the Ahmadiyya intention is to get converts or a move to make Christians and Ahmadiyya Muslims go at loggerheads. I must commend the Christians for refraining from such tactics.<sup>75</sup>

The correspondent makes some suggestions for a course of action to counteract the Ahmadiyya menace. He insists:

"..... keeping quiet without showing where Christians stand on this situation would not be right."<sup>76</sup> He then proposes

that the respective Christian Councils should make protests to the Ahmadiyya missions requesting that such belligerence toward Christians cease. Constructive measures are advocated by the correspondent that Christians be informed about the Ahmadiyya movement and its literature. Further, Christians should be encouraged to establish good relationships generally with all Muslims.

It has been seen how one-sided the contentions between

Ahmadis and Christians have been. Through the primary medium of Ahmadiyya journals certain authors and correspondents representing the major divisions of Christianity - i.e. Roman Catholics and Protestants - have known the antipathy and scurrilous attacks of Ahmadis. It is now appropriate to assess the obviously meagre response of Christians to Ahmadiyya aggression.

#### D. A RATIONALE FOR THE TACITURNITY OF CHRISTIANS

The reasons for Christian reticence are numerous. There are a variety of factors coming into play which inhibit a forthright counteraction to Ahmadiyya polemicism. These varied considerations operate in diverse patterns so that with certain Christians some of these aspects will apply while with others there will be different set of reasons qualifying their particular posture.

The most obvious deterrent to Christian apologetics relates to Islam generally and not only to Ahmadiyyat. There exists a common unawareness of Islam, its faith and practice - on the part of a majority of Christians. This exposes the Christian community to a position of immediate disadvantage putting it on the defensive in the face of Ahmadiyya propagandising.

There are certain practical aspects inherent in the

they seem need to bother about what antagonists may say against Christianity.

Among those who are aware and concerned about Ahmadiyya's anti-Christian thrusts there are some who have taken an attitude of enlightened indifference. Their rationalisation suggests that since Ahmadis are numerically weak and their movement relatively insignificant they are not worth the trouble of answering. This amounts to a studied apathy that is undisturbed by Ahmadiyya's aggressive tactics and content to let their Muslim adversaries deal with them.

A further extension of the foregoing attitude of deliberate unconcern is perceived in the general irenic spirit prevalent among present-day Christians. The old confession-alism with its defensive stance and its aggressive polemics has yielded to an ecumenical mood. The same temperament spills over into inter-relationships with non-Christian religions. Ritchie advocated such a perspective with regard to Muslims. He counselled in a letter to his Christian colleagues soon after his departure:

Our ideas .... need to be re-evaluated, not in terms of the bitterness and strife and opposition that existed in the fifth century Muslim era, but in terms of forgiveness and Love that is called for nowadays. This is the only way to face up to the challenge of Islam .... [He] called for a spirit of understanding and co-operation which would overcome the spirit of competitiveness and aggressiveness that now divides.....<sup>78</sup>

There is among Christians a firm disinclination towards argumentation. Holway refers to the present as: ".... a time when Christians wish to move from controversy to dialogue."<sup>79</sup> There is an innate loathing to add fuel to the polemical fires which Ahmadis seem to enjoy stirring up. One can also trace a distinct sense of pusillanimity. This is no mere cowardice but rather a repugnance for exposure to the unrelenting belligerence of Ahmadi polemicists. More than that there is an overriding prospect of futility about argumentation with the Ahmadis. They are intransigent controversialists. Schildknecht explains that the reason Roman Catholics: "did not answer their attacks: the 'good faith' would have been missing. Personally I gave out strict directives not to answer ...."<sup>80</sup> Most who have tangled with Ahmadis recall vividly their exasperating penchant for distortion to suit their preconceived conclusions and their supercilious condescension toward their opponents. Muslims have felt this keenly as well as Christians.

It is noteworthy that the reticence of Christians /not anyone else for that matter / manifested by either refraining or withdrawing from controversy is invariably interpreted as a sign of certain triumph by Ahmadis. This was the unequivocal conclusion drawn when Ritchie declined to pursue the running argument with Sheikh Munawwar. The editor of East African Times commented:

It may be noted that Christianity is a great religion but only in its outward form and glamour which enchant and entice the innocent humanity into conversion. That its tenets lack the support of reason which inspires a sense of conviction in man, has been clearly demonstrated in the present case. /Regarding Ritchie's withdrawal/

The similar judgment was made when in 1960 the American evangelist Billy Graham, declined to be drawn into a prayer dual over thirty incurables in Nairobi. The Ahmadiyya verdict was announced beforehand: "Sheikh Mubarak had earlier claimed that if Dr. Graham declined the challenge it would prove that Islam was the only religion which was capable of establishing man's relationship with God."<sup>82</sup> Christian reluctance to be involved in controversy is thereby taken to be a sign of weakness and defeat. The probable factors as indicated in the immediately previous discussion which inhibit Christian participation in controversy are deliberately disregarded by the Ahmadiyya detractors. Their cause is in their own eyes nothing but infallible.

#### E. THE UNDERLYING MOTIVE FOR THE COUNTER-CHRISTIAN STANCE: A HYPOTHESIS

After surveying the variegated programme of polemics of the Ahmadiyya movement against Christianity the question arises: Why? What is the mainspring of their vigorous antagonism? What fascination does the Christian religion hold for Ahmadis that makes it a favoured target? Part of the answer is realised in the founding of the movement by

Ghulam Ahmad. It has been their polemical orientation from its earliest inception. It is inherent in their doctrine of the Ahmadi's claim to be the Promised Messiah. It is a necessary consequence of the doctrine inimical to Christians of Jesus' non-death at the time of his crucifixion and his non-ascension and subsequent long life and natural death in India. But there seems to be more than this behind their near obsession with Christianity.

There is a hypothesis which this writer would offer as a fuller answer. The proposition is that the Ahmadis' vehement polemics against Christianity is not primarily aimed at winning Christians but rather is a tool for proselytising Sunni Muslims. This will be substantiated somewhat in the following chapter in the discussion of the effectiveness of their proselytisation. It will be seen that the great majority of their converts are from the ranks of the orthodox.

It is conceivable that their major incentive is to create and maintain the image that Ahmadiyyat is the champion of Islam in confrontation against Christianity. After all it has claimed persistently from its foundation that it is the true Islam. Supporting this is the fact that the preponderance of their polemics are aimed at Christian teachings. It is also possible that the doctrinal similarities between Christianity and Ahmadiyyat accentuate a hostile polemicism.

[e.g. the role of Messiah, etc.] The comparative incidence of anti-Christian attacks is decidedly greater in all of

their polemical devices. In the commentary to Kurani Tukufu, both Ahmadiyya periodicals and in their leaflets the counter-Christian theme is considerably dominant. This is the kind of stance which many find appealing. Schildknecht indicates:

I think it should not be overlooked that the polemic manner of Ahmadiyya is /attention efficient for/ .... a theological dispute is like a football game .... The main reason for the success of the Ahmadiyya is their uncompromising stand! They are not afraid to say what they believe and to attack others! Their reasoning is so poor, but their conviction is so strong; that attracts.<sup>83</sup>

It is quite possible that the favourable posture which Ahmadi strike is a convincing argument among many Muslims that they do indeed represent the authentic Islam.

<sup>83</sup> W. Schildknecht, "Reflections on the Muslim World in the Light of Christian Faith" (Department of Ecumenical Affairs, Christian Mission, Department of Theological Studies, University of Toronto, 1963), 116 pp. Unpublished.

<sup>84</sup> H. G. Liddell (ed.) Oxford's Twentieth Century Dictionary (Oxford: H. & G. Liddell, Ltd., 1925), p. 606.

<sup>85</sup> Interview with H. I. Saifi, Beirut, 21 Feb., 1967; see letter from H. Saifi, 2 July, 1967.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup>H. Fisher, "Africa and the Muslim West", Chap.6, The Cambridge History of Islam (Cambridge University Press, 1970, Hold et al. ed.), p. 401.

<sup>2</sup>N.H. King, Christian and Muslim in Africa (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), p. 83.

<sup>3</sup>G. Dale, Tafsiri Ya Kurani Ya Kiarabu (London: S.P.C.K., 1923), p. 604: the writer has paraphrased Dale's note (295) which reads: "Masihi ni Mwana wa Mungu: Kweli twasemi hivi, kwa sababu Mungu mwenyewe alimpa jina hili, na Bwana wetu alitufundisha hivi, na malaika Gabrieli alitunwa na Mungu kunwambia Bikira Mariamu ya kuwa mwana wake atakwitwa Mwana wa Mungu.. Bassi Waislamu tunantii Mungu! Kunwasi Mungu ni tendo la namna gani?"

<sup>4</sup>Mubarak Ahmad, Kurani Tukufu (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1953) p. 339: "Mila hizi za washenzi wa zamani zimechukuliwa na kufanywa na Wakristo, hasa na wakatoliki."

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 342: "Ukristo huu si chochote ila ni upagani."

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 201, 202.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 883.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., the discussion supra is based on pp. 109, 110, 184 - 188.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 65 "Wakristo wanatumia pombe kanisani wakisema ati ni damu ya Mungu Mwana."

<sup>10</sup>F. Schildknecht, "Reference to the Korani Tukufu in Relation to Christian Faith" (Department of Religious Affairs, Catholic Secretariat, Tanganyika Episcopal Conference, Dar es Salaam, circa 1963), 118 pp. duplicated.

<sup>11</sup>W. Geddie (ed.) Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary (Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers, Ltd., 1965), p. 606.

<sup>12</sup>Interview with M.I. Soofi, Nairobi, 21 Feb., 1967; and letter from M. Munawwar, 4 July, 1967.

<sup>13</sup>Soofi, op. cit.



Uislamu", "Mapadre Watoe Maelezo Ya 'Utatu'", "Padre Amesingizia Mtume S.A.W.", "Padre Anawachonganisha Waislamu Kwa Serikali", "Padre Amajibiwa Juu Ya Kuoa Wake Wengi", "Hekima Ya Padre Anglars Ni 'Upumbavu!'", "Injili Zinatabiri Ufikaji Wa Mtume S.A.W.", "Mtume Muhammad S.A.W. Ni Kwa Mataifa Yote", "Wasiwasi Wa Padre Waondolewa!".

28 J. Crossley, Explaining the Gospel to Muslims, Key Books No.5 (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961, 3rd impr. rev.); J. Crossley, Kuwaeleza Waislamu Injili (London: Lutterworth Press, 1961).

29 J.R. Rafiq, "Kama Mapadre Wafanyavyo!" M.Y.M., September, 1964, p. 1.

30 Ibid., "Basi imekwisha julikana ya kwamba Bwana John Crossley hakuwaeleza Waislamu Injili au Ukristo bali amewaeleza mawazo yake tu KAMA MAPADRE WENGINE WAFANYAVYO!"

31 Two Swahili series appeared in Lengo under the caption: "Kufahamiana Na Waislamu" or "To have Mutual Understanding with Muslims" as follows: seven articles in the 1964 series - "Kwa nini Kufahamiana?" May; "Je, Muhammad Alikuwa Mtu Mbaya?", July; "Mafundisho Ya Kurani", Aug.; "Maana Ya Kweli Ya Injili", Sept.; "Waislamu Na Kuoa Wake Wengi", Oct.; "Roho Mtakatifu Ni Nani Huyu?", Nov.; "Twaamini Mungu Mmoja - Sio Watatu", Dec. Six articles in the 1966 series - "Wamesahau Mambo Mawili", Jan.; "Waislamu Na Wakomunisti", Feb.; "Wakristo Wanamwasi Yesu", Mar.; "Uislamu Utambwe Haki Ya Dini", Apr.; "Kupakwa Rangi Mpya", June; "Kwa Nini Wakristo Hawana Sheria Nyingi?" Aug.; Eight articles in English appeared in Target in 1965 as follows: "Jesus and Race - A Muslim Difficulty", Jan.; "Muslims Look at Jesus", Mar.; "Religious Struggle in Yemen", Apr.; "Jesus and Muhammad - One Great Difference", May; "A Muslim's Question Answered", June; "Should Muslims go to Mecca?", Aug.; "'Off With Their Hands' Storm", Oct.; "Muslim Ideas of God".

32 J.M. Ritchie, "Je, Muhammad alikuwa mtu Mbaya?", Lengo, Julai, 1964, p. 5.

33 K.S. Wanwera, "Je, Yesu alikuwa mtu Mbaya?", M.Y.M., August, 1964, pp. 4 and 2.

34 Ibid., p. 4: "fujo, ghasia na machafuko".

35 Ibid., ".... hakudai zaidi ya ubinadamu wala kuwa mtakatifu."

- 36 Ibid., p. 2.
- 37 Ibid., p. 4.
- 38 K.S. Wamwera, "'Lengo' Kakosa Lengo!", M.Y.M., Nov., 1964, p. 6.
- 39 K.S. Wamwera, "Lengo Kasema Kweli!", M.Y.M. Dec., 1964, p. 6.
- 40 At-Talib at-Tafahum /pseudonym for J.M. Ritchie/, "Injili Ya Waislamu", letters to the editor, Lengo, January, 1965, p. 7: "Je, Mungu hatusaidii, wala hatufariji, wala hatutetei? Maana, Mungu siye Msaidizi, na Mfariji, na mtetezi?"
- 41 "Hope for the Sinful World", E.A.T., January, 1966, p. 2.
- 42 "Wakristo wanamwasi Yesu", Lengo, March, 1966, p. 4.
- 43 J.M. Ritchie, "Are the Old and New Testaments the same as the Tawrat and Injil referred to in the Quran?", Dini Na Mila, No.3, April, 1966, pp. 12 - 24.
- 44 Ibid., p. 24.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 S.S.A. Rizvi, "Are the Old and New Testaments the same as the Tawrat and Injil referred to in the Quran?" (a rejoinder to Ritchie), Dina Na Mila, No.4, Nov., 1966, pp. 40 - 52.
- 47 Ibid., p. 40
- 48 Ibid., p. 52
- 49 Ibid., pp. 53 - 55
- 50 Ibid., pp. 56, 57
- 51 Ibid., p. 39
- 52 M. Munawwar, "The Oft-Revised and Altered Holy Book", M.Y.M., July, 1966, p. 1.

53 The correspondence may be itemised chronologically as follows /in each instance only the author of the letter is given - The assumption is that his counterpart is the recipient/ Ritchie 29 June; Munawwar - 3 July; Ritchie - 11 July; Munawwar - 17 July; Ritchie - 11 Aug.; Munawwar - 17 Aug. All of the correspondence occurred in 1966. This information is gleaned from consecutive issues of E.A.T., Aug., Sept. and Oct., 1966.

54 "Another letter to Rev. Ritchie", E.A.T., Sept., 1966, p. 3.

55 "Bible Misinterpreted, Altered and Forgotten", E.A.T., August, 1966, p. 3.

56 "The End of Rev. Ritchie's Invitation" - editorial, E.A.T., Aug., 1966, p. 2.

57 "Bible Misinterpreted ..... " op. cit.

58 "Another letter to Rev. Ritchie", E.A.T., Sept., 1966, p. 3.

59 "Rev. Ritchie Climbs Down", E.A.T., Oct., 1966, p. 3.

60 Ibid.

61 Letter from M. Munawwar, 16 Dec., 1966

62 "Tuwe na moyo wa kindugu", Lengo, April, 1967, p.10.

63 "Padre Ritchie Amekata Tamaa Kabisa", M.Y.M., May, 1967, p. 1: "Kazi Yake ilikuwa kuchokoza Waislamu juu ya dini yao".

64 Ibid., "Mwishowe akashindwa na akaondoka kwenda kwao ....."

65 Ibid. "Hapana shaka akili ya padri imevurugika kwa sababu ya mashambilio makali aliyopata akiwa hapa Kenya."

66 "Battle Facing the Church" - Trevor Huddleston Talks to Tony Hall", The Sunday Nation, Aug. 27, 1967, pp. 15. 16.

## CHAPTER IX

### AN APPRAISAL OF AHMADIYYA SIGNIFICANCE

To appraise the importance of a movement in a given religious milieu is to inject the question of whether it has succeeded. Success is a notion that is singularly liable to equivocation. Who has the right to determine such a value judgment? Ask any within the movement and the predictable answer will invariably be an unqualified affirmative. On the other hand the opponents if given the opportunity will express their view in an emphatic negative. The objective observer has little advantage for he finds the question laden with subjective encumbrances. There is a certain ambiguity which inheres in the term success. Anyone attempting to reach a conclusion must approach the matter with appropriate humility.

#### A. AN EVALUATION OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ITS PROSELYTISING ENDEAVOURS

The evaluation of success depends largely on the underlying objective. An archer may put his arrow into the bulls-eye of his neighbour's target but will not be judged as successful if in fact he was aiming at his own. It is essential to understand what is the principal objective of the Ahmadiyya Movement in East Africa. From such a point of reference some decision can be made.

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There is little question that the primary raison

d'etre of the Ahmadiyya Mission from its inception right through to the present is the winning of converts to Ahmadiyyat. The Secretary of the Foreign Missions organisation for the Ahmadiyya Movement, Mirza Mubarak Ahmad expressed the essence of Ahmadiyyat when he said: "The Jama'at which I represent is purely a Missionary Movement and its sole object is to spread Islam through persuasion and preaching."<sup>1</sup> The gaining of converts is implicit in the words: "spread Islam ..... persuasion ..... preaching."

Therefore, first of all, consideration must be given to how a person comes to be regarded as an Ahmadi. The question is: what does it mean to convert to Ahmadiyyat? The answer is seen in that there are two means of entrance: one is by being born of Ahmadi parents; the other is by a formal pledge of allegiance to the present Caliph of the Ahmadiyya Movement. Such allegiance specifically demands adherence to ten pre-conditions.<sup>2</sup> These may be epitomised as requiring abstention from the worship of any but God, refraining from all forms of immorality, faithfulness in performance of salat, cultivating a virtuous character, and total submission to the faith and to the Caliph. The final condition deserves quotation:

That he (the pledger) shall establish a brotherhood with me (the Caliph) on condition of obeying me in all that is good and shall keep this to the day of his death; and this relationship shall be of such a high order that the like of it shall not be found in any worldly relationship either of family or of master and servant.<sup>3</sup>

Beyond the external act of signing the pledge there is little more to be said in Ahmadiyyat who have not formally joined. Fisher points out: "..... no regular requirement of preliminary instruction or examination, no formal observance so - even ten per cent convinced of Ahmadiyya tenets, however apart from the signature....."<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the strict conditions of joining it is clear that many alleged converts have not come over to Ahmadiyyat as convinced Ahmadis. The writer posed the question at three gatherings of Ahmadiyya communities in Western Kenya which had in the main converted from Sunni Islam: why had they left their former adherence? Their answers varied but always concerned matters more practical and mundane than doctrinal. Differences in burial procedures and matters of divorce were the main ones mentioned. At one place the primary reason for the majority of the Muslims converting to Ahmadiyyat was the failure of the Sunnis to assist in the construction of a mosque and the subsequent promise of assistance from the Ahmadiyya Mission.<sup>5</sup>

The superficiality of the conversion of many of those who are counted among the adherents has already been indicated by a previous reference in this paper to Schacht's findings at Kampala.<sup>6</sup> It is also supported by Munawwar's admission regarding their inclusion of sympathisers shown in the same context.<sup>7</sup> This notion introduces the concept of secret disciples. One Ahmadiyya missionary suggested that

there are believers in Ahmadiyyat who have not formally joined. Some may be fifty per cent persuaded, others less so - even ten per cent convinced of Ahmadiyya tenets. Nevertheless they may still be regarded as believers.<sup>8</sup> These considerations are no doubt related to the inexact and hyperbolic estimates of the number of Ahmadis in many areas of their work.

The declaration of success on the part of Ahmadis are thereby entirely foreseen. Again the head of their Foreign Missions Office affirms: "The sun really never sets over the successful endeavour of the Ahmadiyya Movement."<sup>9</sup> The official optimism seems unlimited as he states in another context:

A day will come when this Jama'at will beat all other groups and movements in the race and will dominate this world. This is the decree of God and must be fulfilled.<sup>10</sup>

It is to be expected, therefore, when Ahmadiyya leaders reflect the same brand of optimism. With respect to the gaining of converts in Tanzania Sheikh Munawwar expressed exuberantly:

..... we are going at a brisk pace in this field  
 ..... We opened three new centres. The demand for missionaries is mounting ... People decide to join us without even meeting an Ahmadi..... School boys are particularly attracted.... The next generation of Tanzanians is going to join us in their thousands.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand it is surprising when at the same time the Tanzania chief missionary's counterpart in

Kenya, Sheikh M. I. Soofi seems less exuberant. Because he had served previously in West Africa Sheikh Soofi con-  
 trusted Ahmadiyya success in East and West by stating:

"Ahmadiyya work (in East Africa) has not seen as much progress as in West Africa." Then he added as if to recover from a lapse of stereotyped optimism: "Great progress in the work is expected."<sup>12</sup>

Assessments from the Sunni opposition is worthy of mention but of little assistance toward an unbiased appraisal.

In Tanzania the General Secretary of BAKWATA estimated: "They have no progress but only noise. They are skilled craftsmen in making disturbances."<sup>13</sup>

Regarding Kenya a recent Sunni opinion was given by one of the Ahmadiis leading opponents, who said: "The Ahmadiis are losing ground except for a few notable conversions in Mombasa and Nairobi recently."<sup>14</sup>

Among the neutral observers who have authored responsible works on the subject of Islam in Africa the appraisals are not corroborative. Kirtzeck and Lewis in their introductory chapter describe the situation with regard to Islam in East Africa when they say about the Ahmadiyya community

that they: "have achieved some notable successes in Kenya, as well as West Africa."<sup>15</sup>

This writer cannot agree with the clear implication that the movement has been more successful in Kenya than in Tanzania. Neither Sheikh Soofi's comments

above nor available statistics of the comparative strengths of Ahmadiyyat in the two countries will bear this out.

Another author has given a more definite assessment when he wrote: "... their proselytising activities have failed except among the superficially Islamised."<sup>16</sup> This would imply there has been a measure of success by the Ahmadis among those who Trimmingham classifies as the "superficially Islamised." An example of this would be their limited impact in the Tabora region of Tanzania. Anderson in writing on the overall situation with regard to East Africa offers a generalisation in referring to: "... the Ahmadi missionaries, who alone have concerned themselves actively with proselytisation; but these are still relatively insignificant in numbers."<sup>17</sup> As a summary assessment the last is in the opinion of this writer the most realistic.

If the gaining of converts is the way in which the Ahmadiyya Movement proposes to spread Islam then an objective appraiser would have to say that their results in East Africa to date have been inconsiderable. A reference back to the recapitulation of the estimates of this writer on the numerical strength of Ahmadis in all of East Africa recalls that there is an estimated total of just over 5,000.<sup>18</sup> Even with granting their own estimates which bring a total of 9,000 for the three countries the number is quite inappreciable compared to the estimated total Muslim population of

four to five million for the entirety of East Africa.

But when compared to East Africa's population of more than 37,000,000 the sum of Ahmadis is even more infinitesimal.

The question arises in view of certain mass movements that are associated with West Africa. Firstly, there has been a failure on the part of the missionaries to identify themselves with the indigenous people. It should be remembered that earlier Muslim successes were accompanied by certain favourable factors which do not apply to Ahmadiyya efforts. During the interregnum between German and British administrations political and social conditions were propitious for religious upheaval. A few segments of the populace that bordered on the Muslim-majority areas of the coast were influenced by the favourable social status and measure of unity which Islam appeared to offer. Another difference is realised in that the earlier group-conversions occurred without appreciable opposition from the leaders of traditional religion. Prospective Ahmadiyya converts, however, have encountered continuing opposition from orthodox Muslims. Sheikh Soofi suggested that there are two sources of resistance which contribute to Ahmadiyya's slow progress: "... the influence of Arab Muslims and the Sunni sheikhs."<sup>20</sup> Trimmingham offers a similar general statement in his words: "But once East and West African Muslims realised that Ahmadis were regarded as deviationists by the rest of the Muslim world they had little chance of any wide success."<sup>21</sup>

Apart from any consideration of social, political or religious factor there is an interesting comment by an Asian Ahmadi regarding their slow progress. He criticised the Mission in one of the East African countries on two points that are contrasted with West Africa. Firstly, there has been a failure on the part of the missionaries to adequately identify with the indigenous people. He complained: "The missionaries seek to live in town among other Asians rather than out in the villages among Africans." Second, the failure of the Mission to establish primary and secondary schools at an earlier time has put Ahmadis at a disadvantage with regard to Christians.<sup>22</sup> What is significant about these comments is not their relative validity or non-validity but that they were made at all.

It is somewhat ironical that while orthodox Islam has provided a substantial deterrent to Ahmadiyya advance on the other hand it has also provided a substantial source of converts. This is not only the case for East Africa but apparently holds true for the movement generally in other parts of the world. Smith considered that: "The overwhelming body of their converts has come from the Sunni Muslims."<sup>23</sup> Brush points out that their zeal for tabligh has the disturbing effect that most of their proselytising is directed at converting Muslims to Ahmadiyyat.<sup>24</sup> The same general pattern holds also for East Africa. Rizvi asserts that:

maintain a presence in numerous strategic locations throughout the region is a tribute to the optimism and determination of its missionary personnel. Its relative failure to gain substantial following as reflected in the realm of comparative statistics deserves further reflection.

B. ASPECTS OF ACCOMMODATION TO THE  
INDIGENOUS MUSLIM MENTALITY

The possible reasons for the paucity of converts have already been intimated. Another question that arises concerns Ahmadiyya adaptability or the lack of it as a factor explaining its lack of success. On this particular point the generalisation of one author is given in contrast to two others. "The secret of their success," Farah asserts, "is their willingness to adapt to any given need, even to the point of inconsistency, to gain credence for their doctrine."<sup>29</sup> The words of Addison are set in contradistinction: "Despite a few signs of wavering, the Qadiani are clearly distinguished by fidelity to the beliefs of their founder and by either reluctance or incapacity to denature or adapt dogmas .... The Qadiani are, on the whole, less clever than sincere."<sup>30</sup> Brush in his conclusion implies the inability to accommodate in his criticism: "The first weakness (which impedes Ahmadiyyat's progress) is the failure of its leadership accurately to understand the various cultural environments in which the movement finds itself....."<sup>31</sup> The three

advantageous posture. While Ahmadis show little propensity

for accommodation there are at least four instances of such which are discernible of their presence in East Africa.

Epitomised these are: a discreet omission, a patient tolerance, a propitious emphasis and an adroit opportunism.

Each of these devices of accommodation will now be elaborated in turn.

The discreet omission relates to the claims of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as presented in East Africa. It may be noted that whereas as Fisher comments<sup>33</sup> the title of Mahdi is emphasised in West Africa, by contrast in East Africa it is the role of Promised Messiah that is stressed. While this fact illustrates a certain Ahmadiyya disposition to accommodate it does not precisely explicate the case in point. Specifically what is significant is not those claims which are mentioned but rather one that is absent. In the Ahmadiyya literature produced for or distributed in East Africa there is no indication, not even an inkling, of the founder's claim to be an avatar of Lord Krishna of Hindu faith.<sup>34</sup> Two references which speak of Krishna as a true prophet occur but there is no mention of Ghulam Ahmad's alleged identification with him.<sup>35</sup> This omission seems reasonable in light of the obvious tensions which exist between Africans and Asians in East Africa. Such tensions would certainly discourage the advancing of a claim which would associate Islam with Hindu belief, even though only slightly. As a

clear liability to the proselytisation of Africans it would seem to be better left unsaid. It appears quite likely, therefore, that such an omission has been deliberate and not merely an oversight. If such is the case, then the avoidance of this claim amounts to subtle accommodation.

The second aspect of adaptation is evident in the unofficial attitude of patient tolerance toward traditional custom and practice. It is true that the official position represents an unbending rigidity that seems to brook no compromise. The Caliph's directive as stated in the Swahili press appears unequivocal: "It is the obligation of every Ahmadi and every Ahmadiyya association to see that Ahmadis do not follow (pagan) customs and practice."<sup>36</sup> This is a generalisation set in the context of the present world situation. An Ahmadiyya missionary of long standing in Tanzania and one who was at the time chief missionary explained the usual policy of the mission with regard to traditional observances which are antithetical to Ahmadiyyat. Persons who adhere to such vestiges of paganism are urged to abstain. However, it is not expected that persons with undesirable customs will make a radical break with their past in drastic fashion. "Therefore," the missionary continued: "we are patient and understanding and give them time to realise the error of their ways so that they will eventually correct themselves."<sup>37</sup> There is a permissiveness that is qualified

by the firm insistence that the Ahmadiyya code must eventually be pursued. The policy of gradualism, therefore, admits a gentle form of compromise. It permits temporary lapses and occasional aberrations until the normal pattern of conformity is achieved.

A third form of accommodation is the propitious emphasis of the Ahmadiyya press in East Africa on polygamy as the Islamic ideal. What is suggested is not the amendment of doctrine but rather a deliberate stress on a settled teaching for particular advantage. The Ahmadiyya tenet differs inappreciably with the Islamic norm. In fact Ahmadis in Pakistan were aligned with the conservatives on the issue of the Islamic law of marriage.<sup>38</sup> The second Caliph echoed the arguments for polygamy as the only honourable solution to the: "moral, political, social, racial and financial problems /that/ sometimes arise...."<sup>39</sup>

The contention here is not that the Ahmadiyya doctrine itself is in any way accommodated to the East African environment, but rather its emphasis is notable by contrast to the taciturnity that is apparent at two points. One is Ahmadiyya's inconsiderable treatment of polygamy in its English literature produced for universal distribution.

There is also a parallel abatement of the incidence of polygamy among Ahmadis on the Indian sub-continent.<sup>40</sup> This is in keeping with the trend of a gradual decline

of the practice in other parts of the world. The other point of contrast is the absence in East Africa of Swahili literature by non-Ahmadi Muslims which capitalises on polygamy as a tool of propaganda. The several Swahili manuals on Islamic marriage deal primarily with Shafii regulations assuming the acceptability of polygamy from the start. It is the Ahmadis who have used it as a point of anti-Christian polemics. Because of the wide acceptance of this practice both in Islamic and traditional societies the Ahmaddiyya focus on the issue reflects in their favour. It is a reoccurrent theme in their Swahili journalism. Both in leaflets and in the monthly periodical Christians are taunted for their hypocritical and impractical insistence on monogamy. They are scorned for their refusal to accept the Bible's supposed approbation of the practice and for their alleged contempt for the Old Testament patriarchs who were polygamists. What is significant here is not the relative merits or demerits of the Ahmaddiyya case. It is rather their singular use of polygamy as a polemical device that is important. The aspect of accommodation is discerned in that their polemical stress on the issue in East Africa is incongruous with its general subsidence in the world and their comparatively meager reference to it in the English medium.

The fourth and final mode of concession to the East African milieu is Ahmaddiyya's adroit opportunism with

reference to the Maulid festival. This is an annual popular event celebrating the Prophet's birthday. Early in the development of the mission Sheikh Mubarak Ahmad published a booklet entitled "Gift of Maulid".<sup>41</sup> In his preface the author lamented the fact that the traditional prose and poetry of the Maulid renditions are given in Arabic and, therefore, many cannot understand their meaning. To answer such a need the booklet was offered for use by Muslims at the annual celebrations. A concise sketch of the life of the Prophet Muhammad is given. It contains expressions of praise to the Prophet and the true religion that he founded. It concludes with a predictable reference to Ahmad as Muhammad's messenger to remind people of the Prophet's praiseworthy character, his teachings and the religion of God.<sup>42</sup> The publication has been popularly received. It has enjoyed four printings and has had a total quantity of 16,000 copies published.

The Maulid festival is not merely an exclusive East African phenomenon. It is an observance that has universal acceptance. One author has set it in appropriate perspective with his concise comment:

The Maulid as the finest expression of reverence for Muhammad has found almost general recognition in Islam, as fulfilling a religious need of the people and as a result of the strength of the Sufi movement. This must not however blind us to the fact that all times there has also been vigorous opposition to it.<sup>43</sup>

The position of Ahmadiyyat with regard to the observance appears to be unclear. There seems to be no mention of it in the available English literature. In East Africa there are several mentions of simple and unadorned observances of Maulid by Ahmadis on various occasions.<sup>44</sup> East African Times of July, 1967, carried an editorial on the celebration. One comment is curious: "So far as the celebration of this day is concerned there is no harm in it."<sup>45</sup> This seems to imply that either in the editor's mind or among his readers there exists some reservations about the festival.

Descriptions of the observances of Maulid by Lienhardt and Schacht<sup>46</sup> reveal that it is an elaborate and joyous celebration that involves long recitations of Quranic passages and poems, processions, and dancing accompanied with instrumental music. These are elements which appear to be absent from any of the Ahmadiyya observances mentioned. It is such embellishments which Ahmadis seem to disclaim rather vehemently. An Ahmadi wrote in several issues of the Swahili journal articles which repudiate the popular Maulid celebrations in extravagant terms. He calls them variously: "innovation .... worthless .... delusion .... apostasy ..."<sup>47</sup> It is, therefore, a remarkable and intriguing fact that while the East African festival is regarded as repugnant to Ahmadis, at the same time they are ready to exploit its popularity by offering a publication bearing its theme in the title. It is a booklet that has gained wide acceptance by non-

Ahmadi Muslims. The opportunism illustrated thereby is a striking example of Ahmadiyya pragmatism.

The missionary effort in East Africa cannot be faulted for deficient ingenuity or unwillingness to accommodate to its environment. It is fitting to indicate a comparison between the disparate modes of accommodation among Africans of the Ahmadiyya movement in contrast to Sunni Islam. On the one hand Ahmadiyyat represents a structured form of propagation whereas the Sunni inroads have been informal and more imperceptible. The organisation of Ahmadiyya propagandism insures a more conscious and direct mode of accommodation. Its approach is necessarily inflexible and therefore not conducive to spontaneous growth. The adoption of Sunni Islam by the Bantu, however, has transpired more readily by virtue of its unstructured permeation within indigenous society.<sup>48</sup> Therefore, it may be said of Sunni Islam that it has become East African Islam; whereas regarding the Ahmadiyya Movement it would only be appropriate to call it Ahmadiyyat in East Africa.

#### C. AHMADIYYAT'S PROJECTED PROFILE IN GENERAL VIEW

The missions and prominent members of the community have generally provided a favourable public-relations effect in East Africa. Effective use has been made of the press - both its own and the secular media. It is no more

accident but a carefully contrived programme of public relations. Ahmadis use the tool of printed media aptly.

The following comment appearing in one of their international journals offers a clue to their adoption of the printed word:

The importance of Press cannot be over-emphasised in the present world. Being an effective weapon for moulding public opinion and giving it a desired direction it is indispensable for a Missionary Movement.<sup>49</sup>

Most of the time there is a conscious effort to project a favourable image in the public eye. Occasionally the movement receives free promotion in the secular press.

In 1955 the American pictorial magazine Life featured an article on Islam in Africa. A brief reference to the Ahmadiyya Movement's missionary activities was presented. It contained a picture of one of the missionaries, Sheikh Mohamed Ibrahim Hakeen along with comment on his work in Uganda.<sup>50</sup> Mention of the inroads which Islam has achieved on the continent is given associating the Ahmadis with the successful missionary endeavour.

A familiar tactic employed with a view to maintaining an advantageous image is the staging of a special ceremony in which a public figure is presented a copy of Kurani Tukufu. An example of such a presentation occurred when the Uganda chief missionary offered the Quran translation to the King of Toro at Fort Portal.<sup>51</sup> Similar ceremonies have been conducted featuring Jomo Kenyatta when he was Prime Minister

of Kenya and on another occasion President Nyerere of Tanzania. He speaks the national language. He was later

The prestige of the movement was greatly enhanced by the political career of a remarkable Tanzanian, Sheikh K. Amri Abedi. He was born at Ujiji on Lake Tanganyika. During his schooling he was greatly influenced by the teaching of Sh. Mubarak at the Tabora Secondary School. He became an avid Ahmadi and was an active propagator of Ahmadiyyat. In the early 1940's he went to Dar es Salaam for training in the government postal service. At the same time he also received guidance and instruction in missionary service. Also parallel to these activities was his developing interest in nationalist politics. In 1950 he was elected Secretary of the Tanganyika African Association, the forerunner of TANU. In the mid-1950s he studied in Pakistan at the Ahmadiyya missionary training college. His degree was in theology, Arabic and Urdu.

When he returned to Tanzania to enter missionary service his interest in politics was unabated. He was elected to the National Assembly in 1959 and the following year became the first African mayor of Dar es Salaam. After the achievement of independence he was appointed by his long standing friend, President Nyerere, to serve as Regional Commissioner in the Western Region in 1962. A year later he became the Minister of Justice. In this capacity he

instigated the translation of Tanzania's laws into Swahili which had become the national language. He was later shifted to be the Minister for Community Development and National Culture. He was an accepted authority on the Swahili language. His work as a poet has received wide recognition. Nearly half of the Swahili Ahmadiyya booklets are the fruit of his labours. He was largely responsible for the excellence of the Swahili of Kurani Tukufu.

Sheikh Amri Abedi died prematurely on October 9, 1964. His state funeral occurred at a time when there was a scheduled meeting of the heads of state of the three East African nations. The ceremony was honoured by the attendance of Presidents Kenyatta and Obote as well as President Nyerere, his cherished compatriot. There was a thirteen canon salute. An estimated 15,000 persons were in attendance.

Mwalimu Nyerere gave the final tribute:

This is a personal loss to those many of us who were his friends over a long period. It is also a great loss to our nation.... His great abilities and his dedication have been unstintingly at the service of the people of this country. We can ill afford this gap in our midst.<sup>52</sup>

Doubtless the Ahmadiyya Movement likewise experienced a momentous loss in his decease. His role in the forward thrust of their missions in the public eye was considerable. His influence in government circles was advantageous to the favourable reputation of the movement. His meteoric prominence served to accentuate the disparity between Ahmadiyya's numerical insignificance and its remarkable public image.<sup>53</sup>

Schildknecht seems to disparage the Ahmadiyya Movement's strong profile with his comment that it is not so noteworthy but rather is something to be expected of a religious propagation mainly succeeded in alienating the small community. He suggests that a diminutive organisation has the advantages of: "mobility, freedom of action, .... able to maintain standards high.<sup>54</sup> But the dynamic presence of Ahmadiyyat cannot be so readily explained. Such rationalisation seems inadequate to account for its public relations. There are numerous sects of comparable size which do not get the favourable attention in the press as does the Ahmadiyya Movement. Its image has been carefully nurtured and consistently maintained over a long period. It is a tribute to their sound policy of promotion and influence of the Ahmadiyya, however, to not to be measured solely on quantitative lines. The effect of their propaganda is

#### D. A PERORATION OF AHMADIYYA INFLUENCE

A digest of the purview of this study is indicative of Ahmadiyya's import in the religious milieu of East Africa. From its embryonic presence as an inconsiderable immigrant community to its current missionary endeavour the movement has had a dynamic career in East Africa. The principal vehicle of propagandism has been the printed word. Its literature has been considerable and has enjoyed an extensive circulation. The movement has demonstrated durability in the face of substantial opposition. Although they are dismissed officially as non-Muslims their continuing role to prod and stimulate among Muslims is undaunted. They have

maintained a theological posture that remains an enigma. While purporting to restore Islam they have by their zealous propagation mainly succeeded in alienating the majority Muslim communities.

One area which has not been within the purview of this paper raises a question worthy of further study. What are the social implications of Ahmadiyyat both for the Asian immigrants and for African Ahmadis? What changes are brought about in the communal aspects of Ahmadiyya presence? These are questions that warrant extensive enquiry.

Trimmingham's appraisal is definitive: "The influence of the Ahmadiyya, however, is not to be measured solely on quantitative lines. The effect of their propaganda is much greater than their small numbers might imply ....."<sup>55</sup> It is their interreaction with other Muslims that is notable. Lienhardt considers that the movement: "has caused the Sunni Muslims some heart searching .... because of their greater energy and determination...."<sup>56</sup> But it is not only their zealous activities which have provided a stimulus. The questions they raise are matters of consequence. Cragg delineates their importance as controversialists with his comment: "Its presence proves a catalyst whereby implicit questions take explicit shape and become themes of public controversy with a sharpness and provocation they might otherwise lack."<sup>57</sup>

In all probability the foremost contribution of the Ahmadiyya Movement in East Africa was the publication of the Swahili translation of the Quran, Kurani Tukufu. The career of this book has eloquently epitomised the posture of the movement itself. Holway has given the Ahmadiis an indirect tribute by his statement with regard to the recent publication of the orthodox translation. He avers: "The most important Muslim event in recent years in Kenya was the long-awaited publication in 1969 of Sheikh Abdullah Saleh al-Farsy's translation of the Quran into Swahili."<sup>58</sup> He then proceeds to show that this was in response to the earlier Ahmadiyya work. Schildknecht insists that the Ahmadiyya translation has altered the situation with Islam. He states: "Islam has become more polemic."<sup>59</sup> It remains to be seen whether Fisher is correct in intimating that the publication of these two translations might lead to more factional thinking on the part of African Muslims.<sup>60</sup> Should this transpire it is only a step further to see separatism mushroom among the rank and file of Muslims. If this were to happen Kurani Tukufu would be recognised as the trigger mechanism for the projection of Muslim independency in East Africa. The book and its parent movement are appropriately considered as latent precursors of future developments in East African Islam.

Indeed, whether such radical changes as conjectured

do materialise the Ahmadiyya Movement has already made an impressive mark. Its career as a durable stimulus continues to interact with its contemporaries of virtually every religious strain. It maintains a tension within Islam that is enigmatic. For some Muslims it acts as an obnoxious irritant, for others it is an inspiration. For all it is a catalyst.

Dr. F. P. M. ... (London: ... University Press, 1962), p. 217.

Interview with various Ahmadiya on 27 April, 1971. In the presence of Mr. H. ... of the Islamic Ahmadiyya Mission at ... which set various observations. The latter reference pertains to ...

... p. 225 and footnote No. 241.

... footnote No. 35.

Interview with M. S. Ahmad, ... 14 October, 1971.

M. S. Ahmad, The Propagation of Islam (London: ... 1964) p. 1.

M. S. Ahmad, The Propagation of Islam ...

Letter from M. ... 2 June, 1971.

Interview with M. S. Ahmad, ... 27 June, 1971.

Interview with M. S. Ahmad, ... 27 June, 1971.

Interview with M. S. Ahmad, ... 27 June, 1971.

M. S. Ahmad and F. H. Lewis, eds. Islam in Africa (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Co., 1962), p. 7.

M. S. Ahmad, Islam in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 110.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, The Preaching of Islam (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1964), p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>The full "Form of Ba'iat" and "Conditions of Ba'iat" are reproduced in Appendix F.

<sup>3</sup>n.a. Ahmad (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1954), p. 19.

<sup>4</sup>H.J. Fisher, Ahmadiyyah (London: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 147.

<sup>5</sup>Interviews with various Ahmadis on 27 April, 1973, in the presence of Sh. M. Isa of the Kisumu Ahmadiyya Mission at Shabinga, Shianda and Matawa communities. The latter reference pertains to Matawa.

<sup>6</sup>vide supra, p.105 and footnote No.84.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., footnote No.85.

<sup>8</sup>Interview with M.D. Ahmad, Mombasa, 14 October, 1972.

<sup>9</sup>M.M. Ahmad, The Propagation of Islam (Rabwah: A.A.F.M.O., 1964) p. 3.

<sup>10</sup>M.M. Ahmad, The Preaching of Islam, op. cit.

<sup>11</sup>Letter from M. Munawwar, 2 Jan., 1967.

<sup>12</sup>Interview with M.I. Soofi, Nairobi, 21 Feb., 1973.

<sup>13</sup>Interview with M. Ali, Dar es Salaam, 26 Oct., 1973.

<sup>14</sup>Interview with A. Nassir, Nairobi, 12 Apr., 1973.

<sup>15</sup>J. Knitzack and W.H. Lewis, eds. Islam in Africa (New York: Van Nostrand-Reinhold Co., 1969), p. 7.

<sup>16</sup>J.S. Trimmingham, Islam in East Africa (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), p. 110

<sup>17</sup>J.F. Addison, "The Ahmadiyya Movement and Its Western Propaganda", Harvard Theological Review Vol. LXX, 1, Jan., 1929, p. 23

<sup>17</sup>J.N.D. Anderson, "The Legal Traditions", Chap. 3, Islam in Africa, Kritzeck and Lewis, eds. op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>18</sup>vide supra., pp.106, 107.

<sup>19</sup>cf. Trimmingham, op. cit., pp. 40 - 42; and F. Schildknecht, "Tanzania", Chap. 12, Islam in Africa, Kritzeck and Lewis eds., op. cit., pp. 229, 230.

<sup>20</sup>Soofi, loc. cit.

<sup>21</sup>J.S. Trimmingham, The Influence of Islam Upon Africa (London: Longmans, 1968), p. 80

<sup>22</sup>Interviewees not identified in the interest of confidentiality, vide supra., pp. 84, 85 and accompanying note

<sup>23</sup>W.C. Smith "Ahmadiyya" The Encyclopedia of Islam Gibb and others, eds., Vol. 1 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1960), p. 302.

<sup>24</sup>S.E. Brush "Ahmadiyyat in Pakistan", The Muslim World Vol. 45, No. 2, April, 1955, p. 165.

<sup>25</sup>Interview with S.S.A. Rizvi, Dar es Salaam, 27 June, 1969.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Six African Ahmadis who had previously been Christians were interviewed as follows: A.F. Mbuya, Dar es Salaam, 8 Nov., 1968; A.K. Mwazuma, Dar es Salaam, 8 Nov., 1968; A.R. Nyamihatsi, Bukoba, 18 Mar., 1969; M. Sili, Matawa (Kenya), 27 Apr., 1973, I.A. Kanyeka, Dar es Salaam, 19 May, 1973; and H.L.M.K. Kibaya Dar es Salaam 19 May, 1973. Of these four converts had come to Ahmadiyyat via the Sunni faith and two had converted directly from Christianity.

<sup>28</sup>Interview with a group of gathered Ahmadis from El Longo Mosque. The interview took place at Mbale Market in an open place, 28 Apr., 1973.

<sup>29</sup>C.E. Farah, Islam (New York: Barron's Educational Series, 1968), p. 242.

<sup>30</sup>J.T. Addison, "The Ahmadiyya Movement and its Western Propaganda", Harvard Theological Review Vol. XXII, No. 1, Jan., 1929, p. 23

<sup>31</sup>Brush, op. cit., p. 167.

<sup>32</sup>C.H. Becker, "Materials for the Understanding of Islam in German East Africa" Trans. by B.G. Martin, Tanzania Notes and Records, No. 68, 1968, p. 34.

<sup>33</sup>Fisher, op. cit., p. 138.

<sup>34</sup>This unequivocal claim was made in 1904. vide Addison, op. cit., pp. 12, 13. The writer realises the categorical nature of his statement and acknowledges that he is not infallible in this observation. However, to the extent of his perusal of the available literature this is his conclusion.

<sup>35</sup>n.a. Ahmad op. cit. p. 7 and M.I. Soofi, Mtume Muhammad Katika Biblia (Jinja: Uganda A.M.M., 1969), p. 34. The reference is contained in a sentence which appears incomplete - an obvious type-setter's error.

<sup>36</sup>"Aliyeshindwa Kuachilia Mbali Mila Chafu, Hakukamilisha Imani" M.Y.M., Feb. 1967, p. 24. "Ni wajibu wa kila Mwahmadiyya na kila jumuiya ya Kiahmadiyya lone kwamba Waahmadiyya wasifuate mila na desturi."

<sup>37</sup>Interview with C.I. Ahmadi, Dar es Salaam, 19 May, 1973.

<sup>38</sup>"Kuoja Wake Zaidi Kuna Faida Na Hekima Kubwa", M.Y.M., July, 1955, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>39</sup>Mahmud Ahmad, Ahmadiyya Movement (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O., 1962, 2nd ed. ), p. 82.

<sup>40</sup>This point was made by several Pakistani Ahmadis interviewed: Dr. T. Ahmed, Tabora, 15 Nov., 1964; S.J. Ali, Washington, D.C., 1 Feb. 1966; M. Zafarali, Nakuru, 1 Mar., 1967; et. al.

<sup>41</sup>M. Ahmad, Zawadi Ya Maulidi (Nairobi: E.A.A.M.M., 1959, 3rd ed.).

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>43</sup>H. Fuchs, "Mawlid". Shorter Encyclopedia of Islam eds. H.A.R. Gibb and J.H. Kramers, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1961), p. 367.

44

"Maulidi Mwanza", M.Y.M., Aug., 1955, p. 3; "The Prophet's Day in Mombasa", E.A.T., Sept., 1964, p. 3; "For the First Time", E.A.T., July, 1967, pp. 1, 3. This last article describes the observance sponsored by the High Commission of Pakistan in Nairobi at which the Ahmadiyya chief Missionary was invited to participate.

45 "Eid Milad", E.A.T., July, 1967, p. 2.

46 P. Lienhardt, "The Mosque College of Lamu and Its Social Background", Tanganyika Notes and Records No. 53, Oct., 1959, pp. 228-242 (Maulid descriptions pp. 231-4); and J. Schacht, "Notes on Islam in East Africa" Studia Islamica, Vol. XXIII, pp. 21-136, (Maulid description p. 121).

47 A.I.A. Mganda, "Je, Maulidi Ni Sunna?" M.Y.M., Aug., 1969, pp. 1, 4, 6; "Maulidi Yalianza Kusomwa Lini?" M.Y.M., Jan., 1970, p. 6; "Sheikh Farsy anatoa makosa ya Barzanji", M.Y.M. Feb., 1970, p. 1; the terms which have been translated are found passim and given respectively as follows: "bidaa", "Kisichofaa", "upotevu", "ukafiri".

48 ch. Trimmingham, Islam In Africa, op. cit., pp. 59 - 65, regarding the process of Islamisation.

49 N.D. Muneer (ed.) Tahrik-i-Jadid (Rabwah: A.M.F.M.O. n.d.) p. 5.

50 Life, August 8, 1955.

51 M.Y.M., May, 1966, p. 1.

52 East African Standard, 12 Oct., 1964, p. 3.

53 Information on K. Amri Abedi has been gleaned from the following sources passim; Interview with M. Ali, Dar es Salaam 26 Oct., 1973; "A Great National Loss Mourned", E.A.T., Nov., 1964, pp. 1, 2; A. Kambaulaya, "Kumbukumbu La Marehemu Sh. K. Amri Abedi", M.Y.M., Mar., 1965, p. 6; H. Mbyana, "Maisha Ya Sheikh Amri Abedi", M.Y.M., Sept., 1965, pp. 1, 2, 4-6, Part I and Part II, Oct., 1965, p. 2; M.E. Mnyampala, "Maisha Ya Mhesimiwa Sheikh K. Amri Abedi", Swahili 35/1, March, 1965, pp. 14-18; A. Snowwhite, "Wasfu wa Marehem Sheikh Kaluta Amri Abedi Na Karii Wa Kiswahili", Swahili, 35/1, March, 1965, pp. 4-13.

- 54 Letter from F. Schildknecht, 23 June, 1967.
- 55 Trimmingham, Islam in Africa, op. cit., p. 110.
- 56 Lienhardt, op. cit., p. 228.
- 57 K. Cragg, Counsels in Contemporary Islam (Edinburgh: University Press, 1965), p. 155.
- 58 J. Holway, "Islam in Kenya and Relations with the Kenyan Churches Handbook, Barrett et. al., eds., (Kisumu: Evangel Publishing House, 1973), p. 296.
- 59 Letter from Schildknecht, loc. cit.
- 60 H. Fisher "Separatism in West Africa", Chap. 7, Islam in Africa, J. Kritzeck and W.H. Lewis, op. cit., p. 140.
- Bayat - allegiance pledged to a caliph or imam.
- Bida - an innovation in religious belief or practice.
- Bismillah - the formula: "in the name of God".
- Chay (Sw) - the meal taken prior to dawn during the fasting of Ramadan.
- Dalil (Sw) - a sign, indication, or evidence.
- Dasd - an act which becomes null and void but leaving certain irrevocable effects after its annulment: i.e. an irregular marriage as in Islamic text.
- Fatwa - a legal opinion of an acknowledged Muslim scholar on a particular juridical question.
- Hadith - a tradition or reported saying of the Prophet Muhammad, the term is applicable singly or collectively of the body of tradition.
- Hajj or Haji (Sw) - the primary pilgrimage to Mecca as distinguished from the wara q.v.
- Hotuba (Sw) - a Quranic reading or homily.
- Ijma - a consensus generally of the Muslim community in any given generation.

## GLOSSARY

Note: The majority of the foreign words appearing in the text are Arabic and are listed here without a distinguishing abbreviation. Words from languages other than Arabic will be indicated in parentheses following the words by the following abbreviations: Sa - Sanskrit; Sw - Swahili; and U - Urdu. It should also be indicated that most of the Swahili words herein are of Arabic derivation.

Adhan - the Islamic call to prayer.

anjuman (U) - society.

Arya Samaj - (Sa) - a Hindu reform movement of the late 19th century stressing monotheism and a return to the ancient Vedas.

avatar (Sa) - a manifestation of a Hindu deity incarnate on earth.

aya - a verse of the Quran.

baiat - allegiance pledged to a caliph or imam.

bida - an innovation in religious belief or practice.

bismillah - the formula: "in the name of God".

daku (Sw) - the meal taken prior to dawn during the fasting of Ramadan.

dalili (Sw) - a sign, indication, or evidence.

fasid - an act which becomes null and void but leaving certain irrevocable effects after its annulment: i.e. an irregular marriage as in this text.

fatwa - a legal opinion of an acknowledged Muslim scholar on a particular juridical question.

hadith - a tradition or reported saying of the Prophet Muhammad, the term is applicable singly or collectively of the body of tradition.

Hajj or Haji (Sw) - the primary pilgrimage to Mecca as distinguished from the umra q.v.

hotuba (Sw) - a Quranic reading or homily.

ijma - a consensus generally of the Muslim community in any given generation.

- Ijumaa (Sw) - Friday. In Muslim eschatological belief it is to appear as a mighty leader at the end of the world.
- ilham - divine revelation that is mainly subjective in nature.
- imam - generally a prayer leader but in Shiism it may also mean an acknowledged successor of the Prophet Muhammad who is a spiritual and temporal leader.
- Injil - Gospel, one of the major books divinely revealed.
- irtidad - apostasy.
- janat - an assembly of believers (Muslims)
- jihād - an exertion with the object of propagating Islam hence it may connote a "holy war".
- juzuu (Sw) - one of the thirty sections of comparable length into which the Quran is divided, to facilitate the reading of the Holy Book during the month of Ramadan.
- Kadhi (Sw) - a judge who applies Islamic law as a recognised government official.
- Kafir - an infidel or unbeliever.
- Kalima - a word but specifically the creedal formula of Islam: i.e. "la illaha illa Allah, wa Muhammad Rasul Allah".
- karani (Sw) - a clerk or secretary.
- Khatmn-i-Nubuwwat - the seal or last of the prophets.
- Khula - a form of divorce by consent of both parties, but whereby the wife provides some consideration for her release.
- Krishna (Sa) - the most popular of Hindu divinities.
- Kufr - unbelief.
- kursiy - chair, seat, or throne; and kursiyyuhu in the possessive form - his throne.
- liwali (Sw) - an official, usually appointed by a government, who deals with the affairs of the Muslim community.
- madhhab - school of Islamic law or juridical rite.
- madrassa - a traditional Muslim school, usually associated with a mosque, which offers religious training.

Mahdi - the guided one who in Muslim eschatological belief is to appear as a mighty leader at the end of the ages.

mansukh - the cancelled one, meaning a term referring to a verse in the Quran which has been abrogated by a subsequent verse.

Maulidi (Sw) or Mawlid - a celebration of the anniversary of the Prophet Muhammad's birth. It usually consists of the recitation of a poem or poems of praise composed in honour of this event.

Mawlid - cf Maulidi infra

mihrab - the niche in the wall of a mosque indicating the direction of Mecca which is to be faced during ritual prayers; cf qibla infra

mjumbe (Sw) - a messenger, representative or deputed person.

mtume (Sw) - one who is sent, an emissary, an apostle.

mujaddid - a reformer or renewer of the Islamic faith expected to appear in every century.

mulla (U) - a scholar of Islamic Theology and law.

muslih - a religious reformer.

muta - a marriage contracted for a temporary period.

mwalimu (Sw) pl. waalimu - a learned one or teacher but particularly in this context a Muslim instructor in religion and for Ahmadis an assistant missionary.

nabi - a prophet.

naskh - that which cancels or abrogates, cf mansukh supra.

purdah (U) - veil or curtain, referring to the practice of the seclusion of Muslim women.

qibla - the required direction toward which a worshipper faces during the ritual prayer, i.e. the direction of Mecca.

Ramadan or Ramadhani (Sw) - the sacred month of fasting in the Islamic calendar in which month the Quran was revealed to Muhammad.

Tawrat - the Torah, the Jewish law.

rasul - messenger or apostle of Allah.

sadaga - charitable alms that are meritorious but voluntary and non-statutory.

Sadr Anjuman-i-Ahmadiyya (U) - the official Ahmadiyya society, the title given to the executive body of the Ahmadiyya organisation.

sahabee - a companion, for Sunnis it means a companion of the Prophet, for Ahmadis it also means a companion of their founder.

sala (Sw) or salat - the statutory ritual prayer in Islam.

salat - cf. sala supra

saum or saumu (Sw) - the statutory fast, especially the fasting of Ramadan q.v.

shahadah - the act of reciting the word of witness or Kalima q.v. This is the Muslim profession of faith that initiates one into Islam.

sharia - the body of Islamic law which is regarded as divinely revealed.

shirk - the associating of any other thing, person, or deity with Allah so as to violate His absolute uniqueness. The cardinal sin in Islam.

sunna - custom or manner of life; in Islam it is the body of traditions consisting of the commendable precedents set by Muhammad in his exemplary behaviour binding on all Muslims.

sura - the word used to denote the chapters of the Quran.

tabligh - Muslim religious propagandism or missionary activity.

tafsiri (Sw) - explanation, translation, or interpretation of a writing.

Tahrik-i-Jadid (U) - The new scheme; in Ahmadiyya organisation the financial program for conducting world-wide missionary activity.

taqiyya - a religious dissimulation; in Shia doctrine a believer is considered justified in concealing his affiliation to avoid religious persecution.

Tawrat - the Torah, the Mosaic law.

tehrif or tahrif - the corruption of an original writing so that what remains is distorted; the Islamic doctrine that the Hebrew and Christian scriptures have been so corrupted and therefore must come under the criterion of the Holy Quran which only is perfect in its present form; the term may also be used in disputations between differing Muslim sects.

ufalme (Sw) - kingship, rule, dominion, or kingdom.

ujamaa (Sw) - kinship, brotherhood; but in modern African parlance it means the political system of African socialism

ulama - the body of Islamic scholars in any given generation who are the acknowledged authorities on Islamic law.

umma - a group of followers of Muhammad, a Muslim community or party, or a Muslim nation.

umra - the lesser pilgrimage performed at a time other than the appointed month of the major pilgrimage of Hajj q.v.

utakatifu (Sw) - cleanliness, purity, sanctity or holiness.

waalimu (Sw)-pl. of mwalimu q.v.

wadh - the stem admonish or warn and wadhuwa - admonishing him.

wahy - divine revelation that is objective in nature; e.g. the direct revelation of the Quran to Muhammad as a non-subjective experience.

Wanyamwezi (Sw) - the name of a major Tanzanian tribe.

Zaka or Zakat (Sw) - the statutory alms in Islam.

zakat - cf zaka supra.

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Note: The following entries are divided into two main classifications: Ahmadiyya Sources and Non-Ahmadiyya Sources. Each division is also divided into sub-classifications according to the nature of the sources.

## A. AHMADIYYA SOURCES

Note: Abbreviations similar to those used in the notes supra will apply as follows:

- A.M.F.M.O. - Ahmadiyya Muslim Foreign Missions Office.
- A.M.M. - Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission, usually joined by a preceding abbreviation, e.g. T.A.M.M., i.e. Tanganyika Ahmadiyya Muslim Mission.
- E.A. - East African
- K. - Kenya
- T. - Tanganyika
- U. - Uganda

For translations of Swahili titles vide Glossary A.

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APPENDICES

1. THE EARLY PERIOD OF AHMADIYYAH (1889 - 1901)

Kitab al-Salat by Mirza Asadullah Khan (Mubarak Ahmad, 10 pp., 1889, 2 printings, 18, 2000)

One of the numerous printings and total quantity was 100,000 copies. It is the most popular of all the Ahmadiyyah literature. It is a concise and comprehensive treatment of the ritual prayer, setting forth briefly and clearly the correct procedure for preparation and performance. It also offers specific guidance for the imam in leading the congregation.

Kitab al-Hajj by Mirza Asadullah Khan (Mubarak Ahmad, 10 pp., 1889, 2 printings, 18, 2000)

It contains a brief but complete account of the Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca. It gives a summary of the various rituals and customs which are to be observed during the pilgrimage.

Kitab al-Iman by Mirza Asadullah Khan (Mubarak Ahmad, 10 pp., 1889, 2 printings, 18, 2000)

Its ten chapters present the cardinal teachings of Ahmadiyyah, elaborating the revealed teachings of the Qur'an. It contains a summary of the various doctrines of Ahmadiyyah.

Kitab al-Nabi by Mirza Asadullah Khan (Mubarak Ahmad, 10 pp., 1889, 2 printings, 18, 2000)

This small booklet gives a concise life of the Prophet Muhammad. It also explains the various aspects of Islam, e.g. that Islam must be a complete religion, that it has given freedom to slaves and offers reward for good. It magnifies the greatness and reputation of the Prophet.

Kitab al-Hurriyyah by Mirza Asadullah Khan (Mubarak Ahmad, 10 pp., 1889, 2 printings, 18, 2000)

The Freedom Of Slaves:

## AHMADIYYA SWAHILI LITERATURE

Note: This is a chronological annotated list giving certain information not included in the Bibliography supra although these same titles appear therein, q.v. This listing renders translations of the titles along with pertinent publication details and brief descriptions of their contents. They are listed chronologically according to the two main periods of Ahmadiyya missions in East Africa. Each title is listed according to the period of its initial publication. Therefore, a publication of the early period may have subsequent printings in the current period as will be evident. The format followed in this list renders in sequence: Swahili title; English translation and or title in parentheses - author, translator, number of pages, first date of publication, number of printings and the total quantity of all printings; and finally a brief description of its contents.

## 1. The Early Period of A Unified Mission: 1934 - 1961

Kitabu Cha Sala Ya Kiislamu; Muslim Prayer Book; (Mubarak Ahmad, 26 pp., 1937, 9 printings, 60,000);

By virtue of its numerous printings and total quantity this has proved to be the most popular of all the Ahmadiyya literature. It is a concise and comprehensive treatment of the ritual prayer, setting forth specifically the correct procedure for preparation and performance. It also offers specific guidance for the imam in leading the congregation.

Masomo Ya Kiislamu; Muslim Lessons; (Mubarak Ahmad, 36 pp., 1939, 5 printings, 21,000);

It contains twenty-one lessons following the catechetical format. It gives a summary of general Islamic teachings regarding beliefs and practices concluding with the salient Ahmadiyya doctrines.

Safina Ya Nuhu; Noah's Ark; (Ghulam Ahmad's Urdu work "Kashti-Nuh" trans. by Mubarak Ahmad, 57 pp., 1944, 3 printings, 10,000);

Its ten sections present the cardinal Ahmadiyya apologetics, elaborating the developed teachings of the founder. It contains certain of the original anti-Christian polemics.

Zawadi Ya Maulidi; A Present For Maulid (Mubarak Ahmad, 10 pp., 1944, 4 printings, 16,000);

This small booklet gives a concise life of the Prophet Muhammad. It also emphasises certain virtues of Islamic religion: e.g. that there must be no compulsion in religion, that it has given freedom to slaves and offers honour for women. It magnifies the character and reputation of the Prophet.

Islamu Na Uhuru Wa Watumwa; Islam And The Freedom Of Slaves;

(Bashir Ahmad, transl. by Mubarak Ahmad, 49 pp., 1945, 2 printings, 5,000);

It presents the teachings of Muhammad and Islam generally with regard to slavery. The Prophet's commendable examples of his treatment of slaves are given as illustrative. The current favourable situation in Islamic countries is explained in contrast to the alleged hypocrisy and deplorable practices of Christian lands.

Saumu Ya Ramadhan; The Fasting Of The Month Of Ramadan (n.a., 8 pp., n.d. but circa 1945, 6 printings, 28,000);

This presents the Quranic injunctions regarding the fast. It prescribes the correct time, regulations and accepted practice regarding those who are sick or those on a journey. It concludes by showing its wisdom and its beneficial features.

Kurani Tukufu; The Holy Quran; (Mubarak Ahmad, 1063 pp., 1953, 2 printings, 15,000);

This translation has already been described in Chap. VI supra.

Uongofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Kurani Tukufu; The correctness of the translation of the Holy Quran; (A.K. Abedi, 100 pp., 1954, 3 printings, 12,000);

Containing a point by point rejoinder (28 points) of Farsy's Upotofu Wa Tafsiri Ya Makadiani q.v. (The Perverseness of the translation of the Qadianis) it labours Ahmadiyya tenets.

Kitabu Cha Haji; Manual Of The Pilgrimage; (Mubarak Ahmad, 12 pp., 1955, 3 printings, 9,000);

The booklet explains the requirement and importance of this religious duty. The procedures for its performance are set forth. The meritorious deeds are described along with the meaning and purpose of the pilgrimage generally.

Maisha Ya Mtume Muhammad; The Life Of The Apostle Muhammad; (F.R. Hakeem, Life of Muhammad transl. by Mubarak Ahmad, 43 pp., 1956, 3 printings, 15,000);

This gives a concise account of the Prophet's biography.

Hadithi Arobaini Za Mtume Muhammad; Forty Traditions Of The Apostle Muhammad; (M. Munawwar, 15 pp., 1956, 4 printings, 16,000);

A selection of forty of the sayings of the Prophet is set forth in proverbial form.

Hakika Ya Ahmadiyya; Ahmadiyya Certainty; (Mahmud Ahmad, transl. Mubarak Ahmad, 37 pp., 1957, 2 printings, 8,000);

This is a translation of an address by the second Caliph at the 1948 annual conference of Ahmadiis. It gives the rationale for Ahmadiyya separatism.

Kitabu Cha Zaka; A Manual Of Alms (legally required);

(M. Munawwar, 14 pp., 1960, 2 printings, 8,000);

The manual explicates the religious duty of giving alms and the rights of the poor. It explains how to compute what is required with regard to different kinds of property and income. It sets forth the injunctions regarding charity. A warning is given against parsimony. It concludes with certain of the Prophet's sayings with reference to alms.

## 2. The Current Period of Separate Missions: 1961 - 1974

Mfano Mwema; A Good Example; (M. Ishaque, The Ideal Man transl. by B.K. Heri, 20 pp., 1961, 1 printing, 5,000); This presents an essay in praise of Muhammad. It was out of print January 1974.

Mambo; Important Matters; (R.B. Kazema, 30pp., 1963, 1 printing, 5,000);

This is a rejoinder to The Truth About The Ahmadiyya Movement by A. Najaar. It asserts the basic Ahmadiyya tenets of continuing prophethood, the non-crucifixion of Jesus, and Ghulam Ahmad as the Promised Messiah. It was out of print Jan., 1974.

Ndoa Ya Kiislam; Muslim Marriage; (H. Mbyana, 31 pp., circa 1964, 2 printings, 10,000);

This booklet delineates the Qurani foundation of marriage and its advantages. It shows how marriages come about, the choosing of a mate, the ceremony, wedding feast and the proprieties of the wedding night. It discusses the matter of bride price and the injunctions regarding women forbidden to marry, polygamy, divorce and widowhood.

Kuondoa Kosa Moja; The Removal Of One Error; (Ghulam Ahmad, A Misunderstanding Removed transl. by J.R. Rafiq, 24 pp., 1966, 1 printing, 5,000);

It presents a rationale of the prophethood of Ahmad and his relationship to the Prophet Muhammad.

Kafara Ya Yesu; The Sacrificial Offering Of Jesus; (M. Sadiq, The Christian Doctrine Of Atonement transl. by A. Gakuria, 20 pp., 1966, 1 printing, 3,000);

This is a refutation of the Christian doctrine of atonement. It also includes an apologetic for Ahmadiyyat.

Uislamu Na Dini Nyingine; Islam And Other Religions; (Mahmud Ahmad, transl. J.R. Rafiq, 116 pp., 1967, 1 printing, 3,000);

It offers a general apologetic for Islam and its bearing on other religions. The concluding section treats the ethical aspects of Islamic teaching.

Kitabu Cha Tajwidi; Manual of Quranic Enunciation; (J.R. Rafiq, 51 pp., 1968, 1 printing 3,000);

It sets forth the precise technique of reading aloud the Quran. The principles and regulations of this as a science are elaborated.

Maombi Ya Kurani Tukufu; Petitions Of The Holy Quran; (M.I. Soofi, 19 pp., 1969, 1 printing, 5,000);

It contains 32 petitions taken from the Quran that are not part of the ritual prayer. It includes the Arabic text with the Swahili translation. It was out of print Jan., 1974.

Mtume Muhammad Katika Biblia; The Apostle Muhammad In The Bible; (M.I. Soofi, 38 pp., 1969, 1 printing, 5,000);

It contains two parts. The first seeks to show evidences that establish that Muhammad's prophethood is the fulfillment of certain alleged Biblical prophecies. The second section discusses the evidences of Ghulam Ahmad's fulfillment of Muhammad's prophecy regarding the Promised Messiah.

Masihi Aliyehidiwa; The Promised Messiah; (Mirza Mubarak Ahmad, 64 pp., 1970, 1 printing, 5,000);

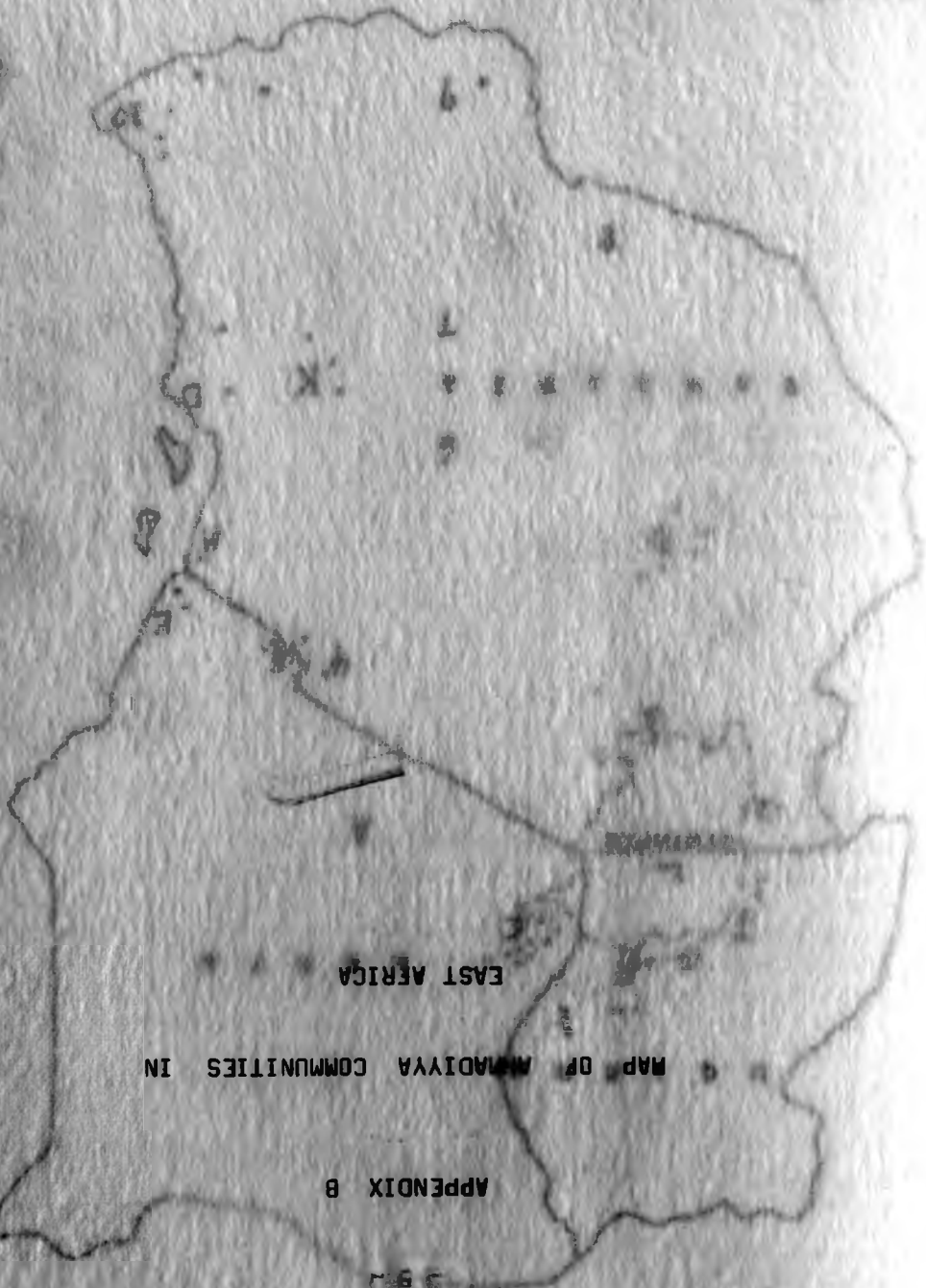
This is the translation (translator unidentified) of an address by the head of the Ahmadiyya Foreign Missions Office. It is a study of the character and personality of the movement's founder. There is an English translation of this address also available in East Africa entitled The Promised Messiah.

Maombi Ya Mtume Mtukufu Muhammad; Petitions Of The Holy Apostle Muhammad; (M.I. Soofi, 49 pp., 1971, 1 printing, 5,000);

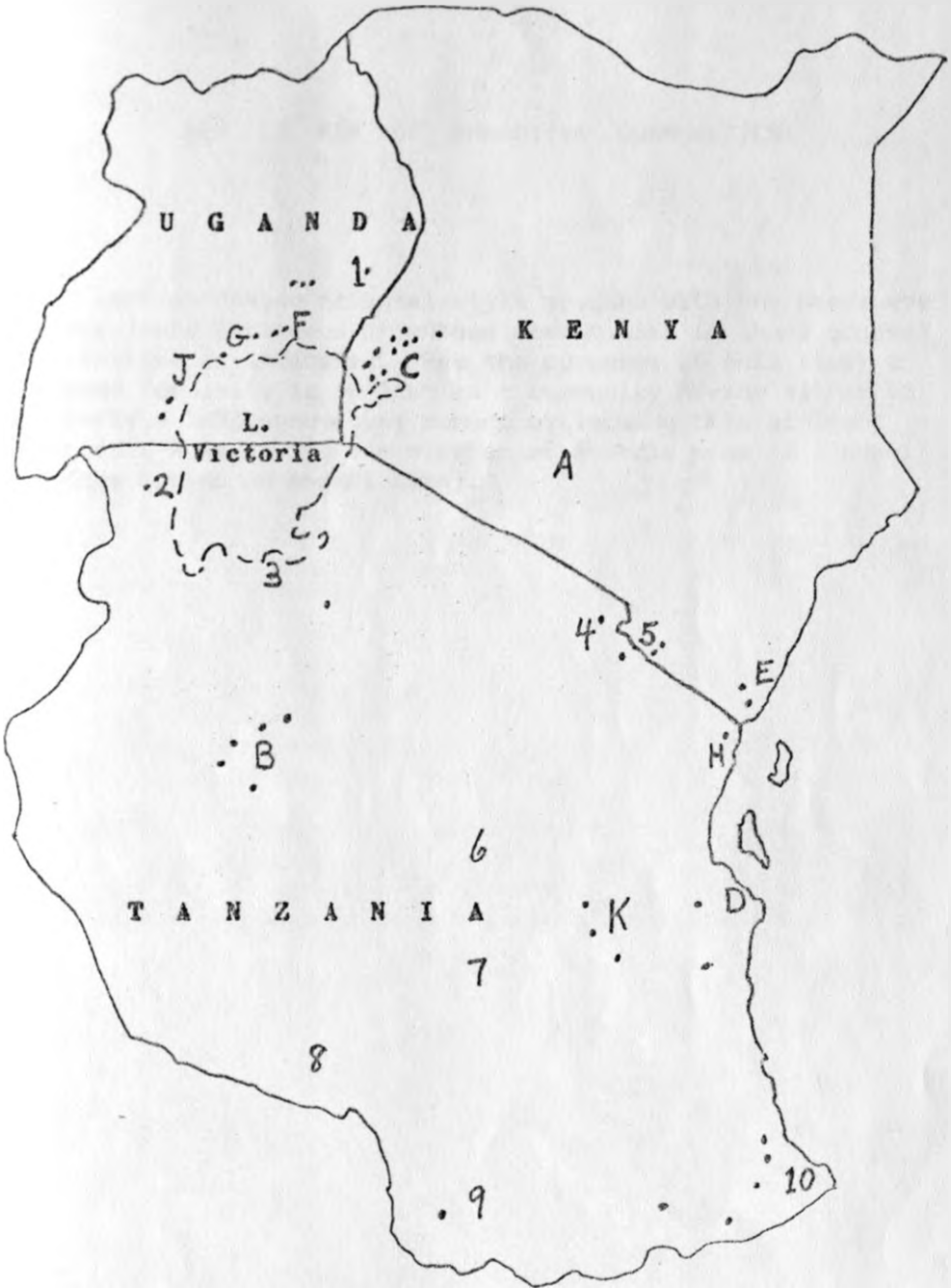
It presents 80 of the customary entreaties taken from the traditions of Muhammad. The format includes the Arabic with its Swahili translation. It was out of print Jan., 1974.

Legend:

- - - - - Lake-shore boundary
- International boundary
- Identification the approximate location of a village name
- Community in Key letter
- Station mentioned. (vide definition of station mentioned in the vicinity and/or a resident
- 1, 2, 3, etc. identify centres having one or more men
- the chronology of their dates of completion.
- These are indicated alphabetically according to
- names and usually also resident mentioned.
- 1, 2, 3, etc. identify centres having original-station
- 1, 2, 3, etc. - 1 km approx



APPENDIX B  
 MAP OF M'ADIIYA COMMUNITIES IN  
 EAST AFRICA

**Legend:**

Scale - 1mm = 1 km approx.

- A, B, C, etc. identify centres having oriental-style mosques and usually also resident missionaries. These are indicated alphabetically according to the chronology of their dates of completion.
- 1, 2, 3, etc. identify centres having one or more mosque communities in its vicinity and/or a resident African missionary. (vide definition of mosque community in Key infra)
- . identifies the approximate location of a mosque comm.
- international boundary
- - - lake-shore boundary

KEY TO MAP OF AHMADIYYA COMMUNITIES

1. Centres having oriental-style mosques with the names and approximate locations of mosque communities in their general vicinities as indicated. For the purposes of this study a mosque community is defined as a community having either an Ahmadiyya indigenous-type mosque or lacking this at least ten male Ahmadis. (Often a group of Ahmadis pray at a Sunni mosque behind an Ahmadi imam).

No. Inhabitant	Centre	Time Built	Approximate Location	Approximate Population
1	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
2	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
3	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
4	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
5	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
6	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
7	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
8	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
9	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
10	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
11	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
12	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
13	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
14	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
15	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
16	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
17	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
18	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
19	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
20	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
21	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
22	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
23	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
24	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
25	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
26	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
27	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
28	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
29	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000
30	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1915	Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi	1000



Map Identification	Centre	Year Main Mosque Completed	Mosque Community In Centre's Vicinity
D	Dar es Salaam	1957	Madina
	"		Mkongo
	"		Golini
E	Mombasa	1958	Milalani
F	Jinja	1959	Buvunya
	"		Kasambira 1
	"		Kasambira 2
	"		Kasambira 3
	"		Mbiko
G	Kampala	1963	Nikisanja
	"		Seta
H	Tanga	1966	Sitakishari
J	Masaka	1966	Kyajubira
	"		Kyotera
K	Morogoro	1970	Dutumi
	"		Magomeni
	"		Mkuyuni

Mosque Community's Approximate  
Location

=====

at Kibaha village 11 Km N. Morogoro Rd.  
at point 43 Km from Dar.

in Utete area

3 Km from Kwale

between Msambweni and Lungalunga

19 Km from town on Kampala Rd.

43 Km N. of town on road to Kamuli

5 Km from Kasambira 1 off main road

10 Km from Kasambira 1 off main road

8 Km from town on Kampala Road

19 Km S. of town

16 Km from town on Jinja Rd.

24 Km N. of town

19 Km S. of town on Mutukula Rd.

45 Km S. of town off Mutukula Rd.

96 Km S. of town on Kisaki Rd.

in Kilosa

40 Km S. of town on Matopo Rd.

2. Centres having either a resident missionary or one or more mosque communities in their general vicinities:

Map Identification	Centre	Missionary Resident?	Mosque Community in Centre's vicinity	Mosque Community's Approximate Location
1	Mbale		Bumboi Hill	6 Km from town
2	Bukoba	-	Nyakigando	30 Km from town
3	Mwanza	Yes	Luguru	100 Km N.N.E. Shinyanga between Shamwa & Nyakabindi
4	Arusha - Moshi	Yes	Machame	26 Km out of Moshi on Kilimanjaro slopes
	"		Usangi	centre in North Pare mountains
5	Taveta	No	Kitigoto	14 Km out of town
	"		Eldoro	16 Km S. of town
6	Dodoma	Yes		town - no mosque - small nucleus
7	Iringa	-		town
8	Mbeya	Yes		no community
9	Songea		Likonde	64 Km W. of town on Nangombo Rd. near Kigonsera
10	Mtwara	Yes	Kiwalala	13 Km S. Mingoyo
	"		Lulindi	24 Km out of Masasi
	"		Meda	100 Km from Lindi via Mtama & Ngunja
	"		Newala	120 Km from Mtwara
	"		Qadian	19 Km out of Lindi

APPENDIX C

THE NUMERICAL STRENGTH OF AHMADIYYA COMMUNITIES IN EAST AFRICA

Note - Method of estimation: The figures given represent the number of male adult Ahmadis. In many places the figures are those reported by Ahmadiyya interviewees. In some instances, however, the writer has drawn his own estimations based on fragments of information and on the average size of known Ahmadiyya communities of the two categories: i.e. mosque community and non-mosque community. The former has been defined (cf. definition in the Legend of Appendix B supra) as a community having either a mosque or failing this at least ten male Ahmadis; the latter is conversely a community having no mosque and less than ten male members. The average size of known communities of the first category is nineteen and of the second category four. The final total for each country is multiplied by the factor of four to arrive at an estimation of the total of Ahmadiyya adherents - including male and female, adults and children. This factor is taken from the approximate ratio of male adults to the rest of the population that is discerned from the recent censuses of the three East African countries.

1. KENYA

Centre	Map Ident.	Place	Sub-Totals	Totals
Kisumu	C	urban	5	
		mosque comm.	20	
		" "	10	
		" "	9	
		" "	23	
		" "	20	
		" "	7	
		" "	11	
		" "	20	
		" "	25	
		" "	8	
		non-mosque comm.	2	
		" "	1	
		" "	3	
		" "	1	
		" "	3	
		Kisumu vicinity Total		168
Mombasa	E	urban	50	
		mosque comm.	10	
		" "	40	
		non-mosque comm.	3	
		" "	1	
		Mombasa vicinity Total		104
Nairobi	A	urban	50	
		Nairobi vicinity Total		50
Taveta	5	town	2	
		mosque comm.	8	
		" "	20	
		non-mosque comm.	5	
		Taveta vicinity Total		35
Other Ahmadis scattered throughout Kenya				10
		Kenya Total Male Ahmadis		367

Total Ahmadis for Kenya including males, females, adults and children of Ahmadi parents:  $367 \times 4 = 1,468$

2. UGANDA

Centre	Map Ident.	Place	Sub-Totals	Totals
Jinja	F	urban	6	
		mosque comm. Buvunya	19	
		" " Kasambira 1	30	
		" " " 2	30	
		" " " 3	30	
		" " Mbiko	19	52
		non-mosque comm. 3 Busoga locations	8	
Bukoba	2	Jinja vicinity Total	30	142
Kampala	G	Bukoba vicinity urban	13	35
		mosque comm. Nikisanja	19	
		" " Seta	9	
		Kampala vicinity Total	41	41
Masaka	J	Dar es Salaam Vicinity Total	25	99
		mosque comm. Kyajubira	10	
		" " Kyotera	5	
		non-mosque comm. Koki	3	
		" " Kyanjali	4	8
Iringa	7	Masaka vicinity Total	40	47
Mbale	1	Iringa vicinity urban	3	40
		mosque comm. Bumboi Hill	12	
		non-mosque comm. Bubirabi	1	
		" " Ndega Buwachi	5	
Morogoro	K	Mbale vicinity Total	19	21
Other non-mosque comm. scattered throughout		Uganda: Gulu	1	
		Kyengerera	4	
		Kyenjojo	4	
		Mbarara	3	
Mtwara	L	Soroti urban	2	
		Scattered Comm. Total	14	14
		Uganda Total Male Ahmadis	7	265

Total Ahmadis for Uganda including males, females, adults and children of Ahmadi parents:  $265 \times 4 = 1,060$

3. TANZANIA

Centre	Map Ident.	Place	Sub-Totals	Totals
Arusha-Moshi	4	urban	2	
		mosque comm.		
	" "	Machame-Mabogini	30	
	" "	Usangi	20	
Arusha-Moshi vicinity Total				52
Bukoba	2	urban	5	
		mosque comm.		
		Nyakigando	30	
Bukoba vicinity Total				35
Dar es Salaam D	D	urban	50	
		mosque comm.	5	
	" "	Mkongo	44	
	Dar es Salaam vicinity Total			
Dodoma	6	urban	5	
		Dodoma vicinity Total		5
Iringa	7	urban	40	
		Iringa vicinity Total		40
Mbeya	8	urban	5	
		Mbeya vicinity Total		5
Morogoro	K	urban	7	
		mosque comm.	6	
	" "	Magomeni-Kilosa	20	
	" "	Mkuyuni	10	
	Morogoro vicinity Total			
Mtwara	10	mosque comm.		
			Kiwalala-Mingoyo	14
	" "	Lulindi	10	
	" "	Meda	7	
	" "	Newala	30	
	" "	Qadian	3	
	non-mosque comm.	Libobi	4	
	" "	Lindi urban	3	
	" "	Maeda	7	
" "	Mahiwa	4		
" "	Mahuta	2		

Centre	Map Ident.	Place	Sub-Totals	Totals
		non-mosque comm.	Mtama	8
		" "	Njinjo	2
		" "	Nyasa Ujamaa Vill.	1
		" "	Rutamba	7
		Mtwara vicinity	Total	102
Mwanza	3	urban		6
		mosque comm.	Luguru	20
		non-mosque comm.	Ikizu	4
		" "	Nyamuswa	5
		Mwanza vicinity	Total	35
Songea	9	mosque comm.	Likonde	40
		non-mosque comm.	Mahauhau	5
		Songea vicinity	Total	45
Tabora	8	urban		20
		mosque comm.	Ibiri	20
		" "	Mapunda	30
		" "	Ndekeli	15
		" "	Rabwah-Pangali	25
		" "	Runguya	30
		Tabora vicinity	Total	140
Tanga	H	urban		35
		mosque comm.	Sitakishari	10
		non-mosque comm.	Handeni	5
		" "	Kabuku	5
		" "	Korogwe-Lushoto	6
		" "	Magoroto	5
		" "	Pangani	5
		Tanga vicinity	Total	71
Remote non-mosque community:		Ujiji		5
		Ujiji Total		5
		Tanzania Total Male Ahmadis		677

Total Ahmadis for Tanzania including males, females, adults and children of Ahmadi parents:  $677 \times 4 = 2,708$

4. Recapitulation: Total Male Ahmadis Total All Ahmadis

=====

Kenya	367	1,468
Uganda	265	1,060
Tanzania	677	2,708
	<u>1,309</u>	<u>5,236</u>

2. The Current Period of Separate Missions: 1961 - 1974  
(listed according to chronological order of first arrival with those present in East Africa at the beginning of the period indicated first, last names capitalised for easy reference)

Chaudri Inayatullah AHMAD (C), born from previous period, dep. 1963, cont. 1967, dep. 1971, cont. 1972

Farid Muhammad SAJJAD (F), born from previous period, dep. 1963, cont. 1966, dep. 1971

Munazzar-Ul-Ahmad (M), born from previous period, dep. 1963, cont. 1966, dep. 1972

## APPENDIX D

## PAKISTANI MISSIONARY PERSONNEL IN EAST AFRICA

1. The Early Period of a Unified Mission: 1934 - 1961  
(listed according to chronological order of first arrival, last names capitalised for easy reference)

Mubarak AHMAD: arr. 1934, dep. 1958, ret. 1959, cont. into next period

Nur-ul-Haq ANWAR: arr. 1945, dep. 1949

Chaudri Inayatullah AHMADI: entered missionary service 1946  
after army discharge in East Africa, dep. 1950,  
ret. 1951, cont. into next period

Fazal Ilahi BASHIR: arr. 1947, dep. 1955

Muhammad Ibrahim HAKEEM: arr. 1947, dep. 1960

Inayatullah Khan KHALIL: arr. 1947, dep. 1960

Ziaullah MIR: arr. 1947, dep. ? (information unavailable)

Jalal-ud-Din QAMAR: arr. 1947, dep. 1955

Sayed Waliullah SHAH: arr. 1947, dep. ? (information unavailable)

Muhammad MUNAWWAR: arr. 1948, dep. 1952, ret. 1953, dep. 1960

Abdul Karim SHARMA: arr. 1948, dep. 1956, ret. 1957, dep. 1959

Nur-ud-Din MUNEER: arr. 1955, dep. 1959

Hafidh Bashir-ud-Din OBEIDULLAH: arr. 1955, dep. 1959

Mohamed Ismail MUNEER: arr. 1959, dep. 1960

Hafidh Muhammad SULEIMAN: arr. 1959, cont. into next period

Muneer-ud-Din AHMAD: arr. 1960 cont.

2. The Current Period of Separate Missions: 1961 - 1974  
(listed according to chronological order of first arrival with those present in East Africa at the beginning of the period indicated first, last names capitalised for easy reference)

Mubarak AHMAD: (E.A.), cont. from previous period, dep. 1962

Chaudri Inayatullah AHMADI: (T), cont. from previous period,  
dep. 1965, ret. 1967, dep. 1971, ret. 1972,  
dep. 1973

Hafidh Muhammad SULEIMAN: (K,T), cont. from previous period  
dep. 1962, ret. 1966, dep. 1971

Muneer-ud-Din AHMAD: (K), cont. from previous period, dep. 1963,  
ret. 1966, dep. 1972

- Nur-ul-Haq ANWAR: (K), ret. 1961, dep. 1964
- Muhammad Ibrahim HAKEEM: (U), ret. 1961, dep. 1964
- Inayatullah Khan KHALIL: (U), ret. 1961, dep. 1964
- Muhammad MUNAWWAR: (T), ret. 1961, dep. 1964, ret. 1965, dep. 1967, ret. 1969, dep. 1971
- Abdul Karim SHARMA: (K,U,T), ret. 1961, dep. 1966, dep. 1969, ret., 1973, cont. at least to 1974
- Abdul KHALIQUE: (T), arr. 1961, dep. 1962
- Naeem-ud-Din QAZI: (K), arr. 1962, dep. 1965
- Jamil-ur-Rahman RAFIQ: (K,T), arr. 1962, dep. 1965, ret. 1967, dep. 1973
- Rashid Ahmad SARWAR: (T), arr. 1962, dep. 1965, ret. 1971, cont. at least to 1974
- Muhammad Ishaque SOOFI: (K,U), arr. 1962, dep. 1965, ret. 1965, dep. 1971
- Mirza Muhammad IDRIS: (U), arr. 1963, dep. 1967
- Abdur Rahman QURESHI: (T), arr. 1963, dep. 1963
- Maqbool Ahmad ZABEEH: (U), arr. 1963, dep. 1967
- Roshan-ud-Din AHMAD: (K), arr. 1964, dep. 1968
- Malik IHSANULLAH: (T), arr. 1965, dep. 1967
- Abdur Rashid RAZI: (T), arr. 1965, dep. 1972
- Muhammad ISA: (K), arr. 1966, dep. 1969, ret. 1971, cont. at least to 1974
- Mahmood AHMAD: (U), arr. 1967, cont. at least to 1974
- Bashir Ahmad AKHTAR: (K), arr. 1967, dep. 1972
- Jalal-ud-Din QAMAR: (U), ret. 1967, dep. 1972
- Ahmad Shamsher SOOKIA: (K), arr. 1967, dep. 1971
- Abdul BASIT: (T), arr. 1969, dep. 1972
- Muhammad Shafique QAISAR: (U), arr. 1969, dep. 1970
- Munir Ahmad MUNIB: (U), arr. 1971, cont. at least to 1974
- Raja Naseer AHMAD: (U), arr. 1972, dep. 1972
- Muhammad Asraf ISHAQUE: (U,T), arr. 1972, dep. 1972, ret. 1973, cont. at least to 1974
- Abdul Hafidh KHOKHAR: (K), arr. 1972, cont. at least to 1974
- Muhammad Ismail MUNEER (of Baddomalhi - not to be confused with Mohamed Ismail Muneer supra): (T), arr. 1972, cont. at least to 1974
- Malik Rafique AHMAD: (T), arr. 1973, cont. at least to 1974

Lutf-ur-Rahman MIRZA: (K), arr. 1973, cont. at least to 1974

NOTE - Abbreviations in sections 1 and 2 supra:

The letters in parentheses - K,T,U stand for the countries Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda respectively and indicate the country or countries in which the missionary has served.

arr. means the missionary's first arrival in East Africa

dep. means departure either on leave in Pakistan or on transfer to another country

ret. means a subsequent return to East Africa after leave or transfer

### 3. The Chief Missionaries In The Current Period of Separate Missions: 1961 - 1974

( The chief missionary for the East African Mission in the early period: 1934 - 1961 was Mubarak Ahmad throughout the period with the exception of his leave in 1958/59 at which time his replacement was C.I. Ahmadi)

#### a. Kenya:

Mubarak Ahmad - July, 1961 to Apr., 1962

N.H. Anwar - Apr., 1962 to Dec., 1964

M.I. Soofi - Dec., 1964 to Aug., 1967

A.K. Sharma - Aug., 1967 to Sep., 1969

J.R. Rafiq - Sep., 1969 to Mar., 1973

L.R. Mirza - Mar., 1973 cont. at least to 1974

#### b. Uganda:

A.K. Sharma - July, 1961 to Apr., 1966

M.M. Idris - Apr., to Oct., 1966

A.K. Sharma - Oct., 1966 to Aug., 1967

M.I. Soofi - Aug., 1967 to July, 1971

J.D. Qamar - July, 1971 to Oct., 1972

Mahmood Ahmad - Oct., 1972 cont. at least to 1974

#### c. Tanzania:

M. Munawwar - July, 1961 to July, 1964

C.I. Ahmadi - July, 1964 to Jan., 1965



## APPENDIX E

## JUDGMENT OF THE TANGANYIKA CENTRAL COURT OF APPEAL:

Mwanaisha Mselemu vs Hassan Hemedi

Before The Central court of Appeal - Appeal No.11/61

APPELLANT: Mwanaisha d/o Mselemu (Original Plaintiff)

versus

RESPONDENT: Hassan s/o Hemedi (Original Defendant)

Matandu	2/60
District Commissioner, Kilwa's Appeal	7/60

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JUDGMENT  
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1. This appeal arises from a case in which the appellant Mwanaisha successfully sued the respondent Hassan in the Matandu Court for a divorce. In granting Mwanaisha the divorce the Matandu Court ordered that Hassan should pay Mwanaisha the balance of the dowery, i.e. Shs. 70/-. On appeal, the judgment of the Matandu Court was partially reversed by the Appeal Court of the District Commissioner Kilwa. The District Commissioner granted Mwanaisha a Khula divorce on the grounds of incompatibility of the parties, and ordered Mwanaisha to refund to Hassan the portion of the dowery paid by him, i.e. Shs. 200/-.

2. Mwanaisha is appealing against the District Commissioner's order regarding the refund of Shs. 200/- to Hassan. As Hassan has not cross-appealed against the grant of a divorce to Mwanaisha, we must assume that he is satisfied with such grant.

3. Mwanaisha, who is a Sunni Moslem, has contended that she would never have agreed to marry Hassan if she had known that he belonged to the Ahamadiya sect. She has alleged that she put the question of his religion to him fairly and squarely, and that Hassan had assured her that he was a Sunni Moslem. Mwanaisha has also contended that a condition of the marriage was that the ceremony should be performed, as in fact it was, by a Sunni Sheikh. The marriage took place in August, 1959, and in January, 1960, it became apparent to Mwanaisha that Hassan was an Ahamadiya. Her case is supported by her brother, Bilali Mselemu, who was entrusted by their father with making the marriage arrangements, and by Hassan's own witness Ali Selemani Machale. Ali testified that Bilali made it clear to him that there could be no question of marriage if Hassan was an

Ahamadiya, and that the marriage would have to be performed by a Sunni Sheikh. Ali has stated that he passed this information on to Hassan.

4. Hassan has contended that the question of his religion was never raised prior to marriage, and that Ali never told him that there could be no marriage if he was an Ahamadiya. He has stated that he is an Ahamadiya and always has been. He has also stated that he and Mwanaisha were married by a Sunni Sheikh because he happened to be the nearest Sheikh available.

5. Mwanaisha's case is that the marriage was irregular as Hassan is not a true Moslem, and has prayed that the marriage should be dissolved, and that as she cohabited with Hassan he must pay her the balance of dowery, i.e. Shs. 70/-. It is not disputed that the dowery was fixed at Shs. 270/- and that Hassan has paid Shs. 200/-.

6. In a careful and exhaustive judgment in which the District Commissioner reviewed various authorities, he held that an Ahamadiya is a Muslim that the marriage was not irregular and that therefore the parties could not be separated on the ground that Hassan is an Ahamadiya.

7. We consulted "Islamic Law in Africa" by Professor J.N.D. Anderson, and as this authority may not have been available to the District Commissioner we quote at length from pages 133 and 134,

"I heard of occasional cases in which a Shafii African wife had petitioned the local Liwali for the dissolution of her marriage on the grounds that her husband had adopted Ahmadi tenets as a result of the missionary activities of Indian Ahmadi that this was equivalent to apostasy from Islam, and that her marriage was thereby automatically dissolved unless the erring husband immediately returned to the faith: and most Liwalis concerned were disposed to grant such petitions. British and Indian Courts, it is true, have refused dissolution of marriage in such circumstances on the ground that Ahamadis recite the Muhammadan creed and must therefore be regarded as Muslims: but there seems to be considerable justification for the Liwalis' view that membership of the Qadiani sect of Ahmadis involves a denial that Muhammad is the last of the prophets and therefore amounts to apostasy from orthodox Islam. This however, seems to be the only juristic problem to which the Ahmadis of East Africa give rise. As for the Ibadis, their tenets are discussed in the Zanzibar section of this Survey. Suffice it to say here, therefore, that elsewhere in East Africa disputes on matters of personal status involving Ibadis are settled either by the arbitration of members of their community by correspondence with the Ibadi Qadi of Zanzibar, by reference to some local Sunni Qadi or Liwali, or even before an "infidel" judge."

After careful consideration of this passage we are inclined to support the decision of the Matandu Court.

8. There is another aspect of this case which we consider relevant. What ever may be the technical position of Ahamadiyas it is abundantly clear that Hassan deceived Mwanaisha and married her under false pretences. It is therefore only right that apart from any other considerations, he should be mulcted and Mwanaisha indemnified. In the circumstances we consider that the District Commissioner was not justified in interfering with the judgment of the Matandu Court.

9. Accordingly this appeal is allowed with costs to Mwanaisha. The judgment and order of the District Commissioner are set aside, and the judgment of the Matandu Court is restored.

PRESIDENT: M.C.E.P. BIRON  
ACTING JUDGE

MEMBER : R.G. SCOTT  
LOCAL COURTS  
ADVISER

MEMBER : A.N. BAILLIE  
DISTRICT OFFICER

4th May, 1961

2/AS.

## APPENDIX F

## THE CONDITIONS AND FORM OF BAIAT

## 1. English:

## CONDITIONS OF BA'IAT (ALLEGIANCE) LAID DOWN BY THE PROMISED MESSIAH AND MAHDI

The man who enters into the Ahmadiyya Movement must firmly make up his mind:-

FIRSTLY, that up to the day of his death he shall abstain from worshipping any but God.

SECONDLY, that he shall keep away from falsehood, adultery, gazing at women other than near relatives, cruelty, dishonesty, riot, rebellion and, in short, any kind of evil; and he shall not allow himself to be carried away by his passions, however strong they may be.

THIRDLY, that he shall say the five daily prayers without fail, according to the command of God and His Prophet; and to the best of his ability, he shall try to offer Tahajjud (night) prayers, to invoke the blessings of God upon the Holy Prophet, to ask forgiveness for his own sins and pray for God's help; and that, remembering God's blessings, he shall always praise Him.

FOURTHLY, that he shall in no way harm God's creatures in general and Muslims in particular by giving way to his passions neither with the hand or tongue nor any other means.

FIFTHLY, that in every state of pleasure or sorrow, prosperity or adversity, he shall prove himself faithful to God and that in every condition he shall submit to God's Will, being ready to bear every kind of insult or pain; and in the hour of misfortune, he shall not turn away from Him but rather draw closer.

SIXTHLY, that he shall not follow vulgar customs and shall guard against evil inclinations and shall submit himself completely to the authority of the Holy Quran and make the Word of God and the sayings of His Prophet the guiding principles of his life.

SEVENTHLY, that he shall quite give up pride and haughtiness and shall pass his days in humility, reserve, courtesy and meekness.

EIGHTHLY, that he shall consider his religion and the dignity and welfare of Islam dearer than his life, wealth and

children and, in short, dearer than anything else.

NINETHLY, that he shall for the sake of God show sympathy towards God's creatures and, to the best of his ability, he shall use his natural gifts for their welfare.

TENTHLY, that he shall establish a brotherhood with me on condition of obeying me in all that is good and shall keep this to the day of his death; and this relationship shall be of such a high order that the like of it shall not be found in any worldly relationship either of family or of master and servant.

FORM OF BA'IAT (ALLEGIANCE)

To MIRZA NASIR AHMAD  
Khalifat-ul-Masih III

Hazrat Amir-ul-Muminin,

Assalamu alaikum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh!

I have gone through the conditions of ba'iat and have agreed to them and I now pray that my ba'iat be accepted.

I bear witness that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God.

..... of .....  
enter into the Ahmadiyya Movement at the hands of Nasir Ahmad. I ask forgiveness for my sins and in future will try to guard myself against evil of every kind. I will never set up equals to God and will give my religion precedence over all worldly considerations. I will do my best to observe all the commandments of Islam and will try to study, learn and teach the Holy Quran and the Traditions (Hadith) of the Holy Prophet. I consider Muhammad (on whom be the peace and blessings of God!) to be the Seal of the Prophets and I acknowledge all the claims of the Promised Messiah. I will deem the propagation of Islam to be the first of my duties. I will obey you in everything good.

I beg forgiveness from the Lord my God for all my sins and turn towards Him, O my Lord ! I have wronged my soul and confess my sins. Pray forgive me, for there is no Forgiver except Thee. Amen !

Date..... Signature .....

## 2. Swahili:

MASHARTI KUMI YA KUINGIA KATIKA JUMUIYA YA WAISLAMU  
WAAHMADIYYA

(Yaliandikwa na Seyidna Ahmad, Mjumbe wa Mwenyezi Mungu)

Kila mwenye kutaka kuingia katika Jumuiya ya Ahmadiyya anatakiwa kutimiza kwa imara na kudumu masharti haya kumi:

1. Mwenye kutaka kuingia katika Umoja huu wa Uislamu uitwao Ahmadiyya ni juu yake kufanya ahadi kwa moyo wote ya kuwa hatamshirikisha Mwenyezi Mungu na cho chote mpaka aingie kaburini.
2. Atajitahidi sana kujiepusha kabisa na kusema uwongo, wala hatatazama wanawake wala kufanya ufasiki, ufidhuli, hiyana, ufisadi, na uasi, bali hatavikaribia vitendo vya namma hii, wala hatashindwa na tamaa mbaya za nafsi yake.
3. Atatekeleza sala tano kwa nyakati zake hasa zilizowekwa kwa amri ya Mwenyezi Mungu na Mtume wake s.a.w. na zaidi ya hayo atajitahidi sawa na uwenzo wake kusali sala ya Tahajjud na atamsalia Mtume Muhammad s.a.w. mtakatifu, na daima ataomba msamaha wa dhambi zake kwa Mwenyezi Mungu, na kwa shauku ya moyo wake ataikumbuka hisani ya Mwenyezi Mungu na atamhimidi sana siku zote.
4. Tena hatawadhuru hususa Waislamu na kwa jumla viumbe wote wa Mwenyezi Mungu kwa sababu ya tamaa mbaya ya nafsi yake; si kwa mkono wake wala kwa ulimi na viungo vyake vingine.
5. Atakuwa radhi juu ya kadri ya Mwenyezi Mungu katika kila hali; ya taabu na raha, dhiki na faraja, msiba na neema. Na kwa neno zima atakuwa tayari kukubali fedheha na maumivu katika njia ya Mwenyezi Mungu; naye atakapopata msiba wo wote hatageuka, bali ataendelea mbele kufuata amri yake Mungu.
6. Ataacha kabisa kufuata desturi mbaya ya kutii tamaa ya nafsi yake na kuzitii mila za watu; bali atakubali amri ya Ufalme wa Kurani katika kila hali, na atashika kauli ya Mwenyezi Mungu na kauli ya Mtume Muhammad mtakatifu s.a.w. katika mwendo wake siku zote.
7. Ataacha kufanya kiburi na majivuno na ataishi kwa tabia njema na huruma na atakaa kwa unyenyekevu, kwa adabu na upole sana.
8. Atafahamu dini na heshima yake na kazi ya Uislamu kuwa ni bora kuliko mali yake na heshima ya nafsi yake na kuliko watoto wake na wapenzi wake wote.



REPORT OF THE ADHADIYA MOVEMENT

kuwa ndiyo njia ya kuuimarisha Uislamu, nami nitadumisha desturi hii na kufungamana nayo, na pia kuwahimiza waaminio wengine na wazao wangu kushikamana nayo.

Ninasadiki ya kuwa ni faradhi yangu kuutumikia Uislamu kwa mali zangu, nami nitatoa sehemu 1/16, au zaidi, ya mapato yangu kwa mfululizo katika Umoja wa Ahmadiyya. Sehemu ya kumi itatolewa katika mazao ya shamba mwakani.

Sahihi au .....  
alama ya kidole .....

Shahidi .....

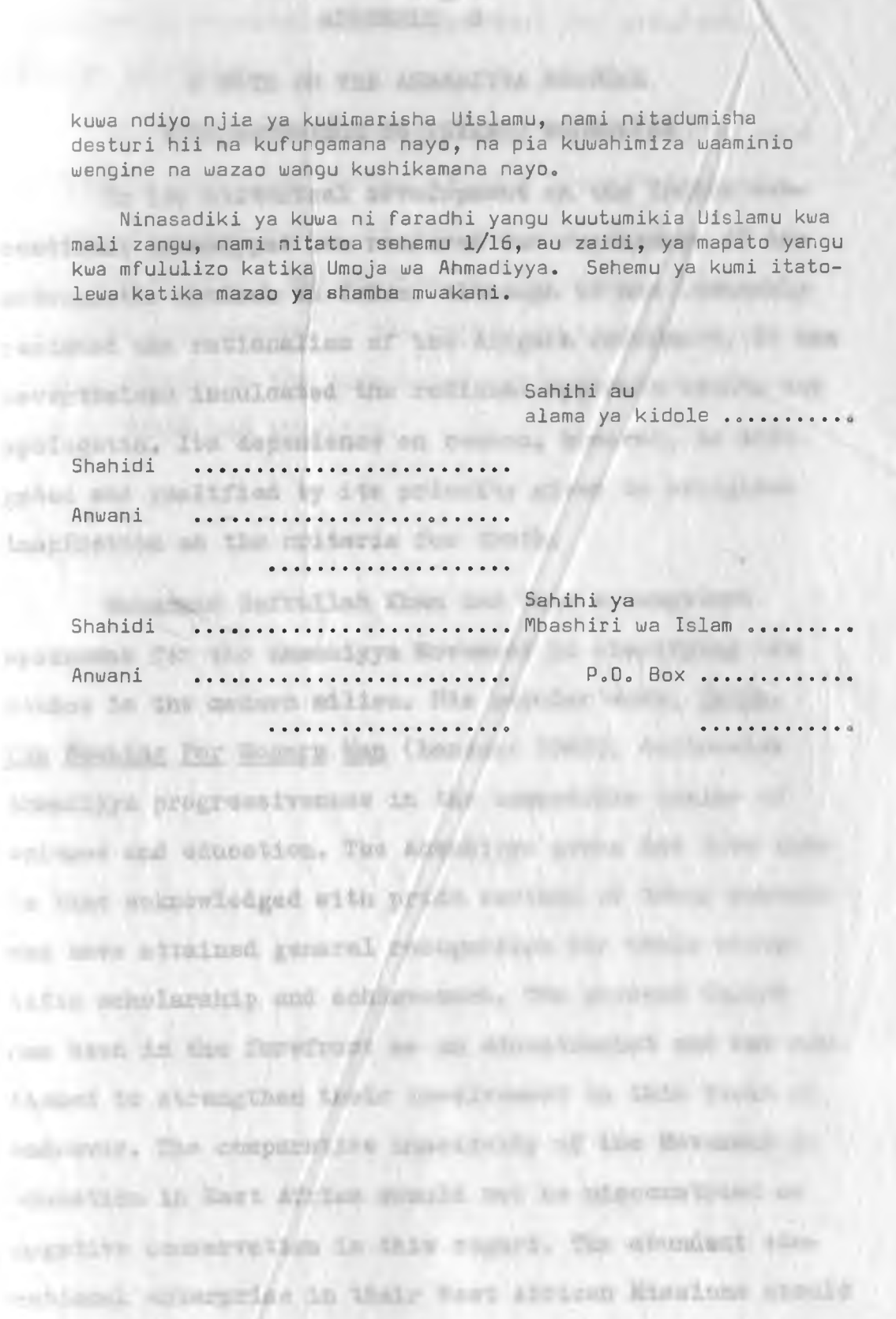
Anwani .....

Sahihi ya .....  
Mbashiri wa Islam .....

Shahidi .....

Anwani .....

P.O. Box .....



## APPENDIX G

## A NOTE ON THE AHMADIYYA POSTURE

## WITH REFERENCE TO ISLAMIC MODERNISM

In its historical development on the Indian sub-continent Ahmadiyyat has rendered due cognisance of the modernistic outlook in Islam. Although it has staunchly resisted the rationalism of the Aligarh reformers, it has nevertheless inculcated the rational approach within its apologetic. Its dependence on reason, however, is mitigated and qualified by its priority given to religious inspiration as the criteria for truth.

Muhammad Zafrullah Khan has been a competent spokesman for the Ahmadiyya Movement in clarifying its stance in the modern milieu. His popular work, Islam, Its Meaning For Modern Man (London: 1962), delineates Ahmadiyya progressiveness in the compatible realms of science and education. The Ahmadiyya press has from time to time acknowledged with pride certain of their members who have attained general recognition for their scientific scholarship and achievement. The present Caliph has been in the forefront as an educationist and has continued to strengthen their involvement in this field of endeavor. The comparative inactivity of the Movement in education in East Africa should not be misconstrued as negative conservatism in this regard. The abundant educational enterprise in their West African Missions should

sufficiently ascertain Ahmadiyya zeal for progress through education.

The Ahmadiyya Movement stands in the middle road of Islamic modernism. It has avoided the extremes of stagnating conservatism and radical rationalism. It advocates progress for Muslims in the complex socio-religious environment of the twentieth century while holding firmly to the time-honoured fundamentals of Islamic faith and practice.