

The Ahmadiyya Case

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Zahid Aziz, M. Sc., Ph.D.

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The Ahmadiyya Case

*FAMOUS RELIGIOUS COURT CASE IN CAPE TOWN
BETWEEN
LAHORE AHMADIYYA MUSLIMS
AND SUNNI MUSLIM RELIGIOUS BODIES*

CASE HISTORY, JUDGMENT AND EVIDENCE

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1987

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**The Ahmadiyya Case • MUSLIM COURT CASE
CAPE TOWN 1982-1985**

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Foreword

by

Dr Saeed Ahmad Khan

Head of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement

This book deals with the recent court case in Cape Town, South Africa, between members of our Movement there and some organisations of Sunni Muslim religious leaders, in which the essential issue was whether Ahmadis were Muslims or not. By the grace of God, the final verdict was pronounced in our favour. The court in South Africa accepted our claim that we are Muslims, and on that basis it granted an order interdicting our opponents from publishing defamatory matter which falsely alleged that we were outside the fold of Islam and which called upon the Muslim community to ostracise members of our Movement. The court also granted orders restraining the defendants from denying our members the right to use a certain mosque and Muslim cemetery, meant to be open to all Muslims, of which the defendants are trustees.

Not only have we always claimed to be and considered ourselves to be Muslims, but in fact our organisation — The Ahmadiyya Anjuman Lahore — was founded for the very purpose of disseminating knowledge of Islam among non-Muslims and Muslims, and showing the truth of Islamic teachings. These beliefs and aims were strongly proclaimed by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908), who started the Ahmadiyya Movement.

Throughout the history of our organisation, all fair-minded Muslims have regarded us as their Muslim brothers and have even commended our work. It is only the politically motivated religious leaders, with their hold on the masses, who have all through spread false propaganda against us and persecuted us, and have strived to deprive us of our rights.

It was adverse circumstances of this nature that compelled our members in Cape Town to approach the courts of the land to get relief from the campaign of propaganda, incitement to hatred, and persecution

waged against them by the defendants. Otherwise, we do not take part in inter-Muslim sectarian disputes, thereby wasting time and resources which could be spent constructively. We only put our case and complaint before God.

The account of the entire three-year long litigation is summarised in Part I of this book. It shows clearly that the defendants, and more importantly the 'international anti-Ahmadiyya experts' whose help they had, tried their hardest to prevent the court from admitting religious evidence, i.e. evidence based on the teachings of Islam, on the question of the definition of a Muslim, and whether Ahmadis fulfil that definition. This alone is sufficient proof that their allegations against our Movement have no religious basis. They asserted that the court must accept their verdicts about Ahmadis, and that it could not ask them to justify their decisions from Islamic teachings. When the court rejected this position, the defendants withdrew from the case.

The evidence presented on our behalf at the final hearing by our distinguished scholar Maulana Hafiz Sher Mohammad, ably assisted by Dr. Zahid Aziz as translator, is reproduced in Part III of this book. It should dispel the doubts and misconceptions of many people about our beliefs. A notable feature of this evidence is that, by quoting extensively from the writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, it makes clear the position of this holy man who has been so much misrepresented by various quarters. As head of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement, I affirm that this evidence is a true and accurate representation of the beliefs our Movement has always held and proclaimed.

This book has been compiled to be a source of information in a nutshell for those in search of the true facts regarding the beliefs of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Lahore. I commend it to all students of Islamic matters, and especially to Muslims themselves, with the prayer that God may cause its truth to enter their hearts. I am sure that this book will also be an invaluable source of information for Ahmadis, especially the younger ones, as regards the claims of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

Dr Saeed Ahmad Khan, S.K.
President, Ahmadiyya Anjuman Lahore,
Head of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement
December 1986

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to the memory of

Muhammad Anwar, M.A.

Imam at the London Centre of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement
who drank the cup of martyrdom
on 9 April 1986 in Georgetown, Guyana, South America
while working ceaselessly and devotedly, at great self-sacrifice,
in the service of
the Ahmadiyya Movement, the religion of Islam, and humanity.

*“And whoever obeys God and the Messenger,
they are with those whom God has granted favours,
from among the prophets and the truthful,
and the faithful (shaheed) and the righteous;
and a goodly company are they!”*
(Holy Quran, 4:69)

Introduction

A characteristic of Islam, which has been much admired by non-Muslim students of comparative religion, is that its basic doctrines and practices can be stated very simply. The average person, without being a theologian, can easily understand what beliefs one must hold, and the practices one must perform, in order to be a Muslim. We would add, incidentally, that at the other end the philosopher and the intellectual can go on applying his mind to reach the ever deeper and finer points underlying these basic principles of the faith.

A related feature of Islam, which has also aroused admiration, is that there is no priesthood in this religious system. No theological body has been established with the authority to formulate the official dogma, to determine heretical beliefs, or to admit people into or expel them from the faith. This stems from the Islamic view that institutions of priesthood stand between man and God. Their role of 'intermediary' easily leads them to claim, in effect, Divine authority, and they begin to equate their own pronouncements with the word of God.

It may be thought that the lack of an authoritative priesthood in a religion must lead to a great divergence among its followers in matters of belief and practice. But this has not happened in Islam for precisely the reason that all its basic tenets and practices can be simply described, and have been known clearly since the beginning of its history. In fact, there is remarkably little divergence among the various Muslim sects as regards the fundamentals of the faith, and it is tragic that unscrupulous sectarian leaders should emphasise differences which common sense shows to be very minor.

Though there is no priesthood in Islam, there have always been individuals who devoted their lives to the study and practice of the faith, and who expounded its teachings by their words as well as actions, without seeking gain, honour or popularity for themselves. They did not interpose themselves between man and God, or claim to be the sole, infallible

interpreters of the religion; rather, they showed others how to approach God directly and encouraged them to apply their own understanding to the faith. These saintly, learned men gained recognition due to their integrity, knowledge, high spiritual qualities, and selfless service of the faith, but this recognition usually came long after their death. Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908), the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement and the central figure in this court case, was a man of this honourable class.

Such eminent persons have, however, been few. More numerous throughout Islamic history has been a class of 'professional', petty theologians and preachers who assumed the role of priests, despite the absence of such a concept in Islam. They fulfil the worst fears that Islam has about a system of priesthood. Religion for them is a business and the means of their livelihood. In order to monopolise this field, they present religion as a complicated mystery which, they claim, only they are in a position to comprehend and convey to people. The much-admired simplicity of Islam, and its clear definition of a Muslim, is turned by them into a mass of confusion. They exploit the ignorance of the masses in religious matters for their own gain, and strive to perpetuate this ignorance by disallowing independent thought or study. Anyone not belonging to the narrow circle or sect of a particular cleric, or disagreeing with him on some point, is condemned by the said priest as being outside the faith of Islam. In modern times the professional clerics have become completely politicised, and openly hanker after political power and influence in Muslim countries. For this purpose, they have started the so-called 'fundamentalist' Islamic movements, which are so often in the international news.

Throughout Islamic history, the saintly scholars of the faith spoken of earlier, have had to face bitter opposition from the established clerics — the so-called *ulama* — of their times. The reason is easy to see. The domination of the priestly class, and its hold over the masses, was threatened by the reform work of these great men — the work of trying to restore the original, simple teachings of Islam. The clerics, therefore, used the full weight of their authority to condemn the noble reformers as self-seeking imposters and preachers of novel, un-Islamic ideas. They misrepresented and distorted their teachings beyond recognition, in order to provide grounds for branding them as *kafir* (unbelievers) and renegades. And on the basis of these faked charges, they tried to incite the governments of the day as well as the Muslim public to oppose the saintly reformers and their followers.

Precisely this has been the case with Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. The established theologians, finding no basis in Islamic sources upon which to refute his teachings and arguments, resorted to a campaign of discrediting him by false allegations. The hostility he has faced is far more intense than anything a previous Muslim reformer had to endure, and this is simply a measure of the greatness of his rank and reformation work. Every conceivable allegation which could arouse the Muslim public against him, or make him an object of mockery, however untrue or improbable it may be, has been levelled at him by his opponents. From his time to the present day, they have tried to turn every government of his land against him, from the British rulers of colonial India to the Muslim governments of modern Pakistan. Some *ulama* have even made an occupation of abusing Hazrat Mirza and blackening his good name. And for what offence? That he pointed out to them that some of their notions which were doing immense harm to Islam could not be justified from the teachings of the faith, and from those very teachings he reiterated certain truths essential to the survival of Islam in this age! This book is an account of a court case between some followers of Hazrat Mirza and powerful organisations of *ulama* bitterly opposed to him.

Lahore Ahmadiyya Anjuman

The Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam (Ahmadiyya Association for the Propagation of Islam) of Lahore, whose South African branch initiated this court case, was founded in 1914 by some prominent followers of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, with the object of preserving his true teachings and continuing his mission of the propagation of Islam. Today the clique of professional priests, as referred to above, is busily spreading the allegation in all Muslim countries and all Muslim communities in the world that members of this body are *kafir* and outside the fold of Islam. This is a great irony and tragedy because the Lahore Ahmadiyya Anjuman has a most distinguished record of service to Islam and to the interests of the Muslim people.

We note the following facts about this movement:

1. It set up Muslim missions in many countries. These missions presented Islam as such, without reference to a particular sect or movement. These missions were supported by large numbers of Muslims outside the movement.
2. It produced literature on all aspects of Islam, which was commended by numerous Sunni Muslim leaders as being unique, high

quality, and perfectly authentic. Muslims outside the movement used this literature extensively to study Islam, and still do so.

3. In public religious debates with other faiths, especially in India before partition, Lahore Ahmadiyya missionaries were often called upon by other Muslim organisations to represent Islam.
4. This revivalist work of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Anjuman played a major part in restoring the self-confidence, pride and faith of the Muslims which had been shattered by the onslaught of other religions and philosophies.
5. This restoration of Muslim national morale and identity led the Indian Muslims to claim that they constituted a distinctive, ideological nation which should have a homeland, i.e. the concept of a Pakistan. A key fundamental in this concept was the stand, championed by the Lahore Ahmadiyya movement, that all persons who profess the creed of Islam as expressed in the *Kalima* are Muslims and constitute one religious nation. This was the definition of a Muslim for the purposes of the demand for Pakistan.
6. The founders and early leaders of Pakistan, such as Mr Jinnah, approved of the work of the Lahore Ahmadiyya movement, were on friendly terms with its leading figures, and often consulted its literature on matters of Islamic law.

This fine record was recognised till a few years ago, when the priestly element was not so dominant. From the early 1970s however, the professional, politically motivated religious leaders started gaining influence and power in Muslim national affairs. This took place notably in Pakistan, the home country of the Ahmadiyya movement as well as of the opposition to it. The clerics there have been using their political strength to direct a campaign of hate and oppression against the Ahmadiyya movement and its Founder. By acting through allied Muslim organisations in other countries, they have made their campaign world-wide.

The position in Pakistan since September 1974 is that members of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam Lahore, a body with the impressive record listed above, are forcibly classified by the Pakistan constitution and law as being non-Muslims and belonging to a new religion separate from Islam! Since April 1984, it has been a criminal offence, punishable by imprisonment, for a member of this body (or any follower of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad) to call himself a Muslim, or even to follow religious

observances by which he would be represented as a Muslim. This is a colossal tragedy, not so much for the Divinely-supported Ahmadiyya movement, but for that country whose birth owes so much to this movement.

The legal action instituted by our Lahore Ahmadiyya members in Cape Town against some local Muslim organisations was undertaken to stop the malicious campaign of gross misrepresentation against us conducted by these bodies. By taking this action, our members were *not*, as it may appear superficially, indulging in an undignified sectarian squabble. This movement never involves itself in any form of internal wrangling between Muslim factions that weakens the cause of Islam and gets the religion into disrepute. *We were, in fact, presenting an aspect of Islam which shows the beauty of its teachings, and which can establish peace and harmony between all the various Muslim sects.* The basis of our case was that, according to Islamic teachings, anyone who simply professes faith in Islam using the words of the well-known *Kalima*, and claims to be a Muslim, must be regarded as a Muslim; and no one has the right to label him a *kafir*, expel him from the faith of Islam, or conduct an inquisition into his beliefs. Such a teaching not only raises the dignity of Islam in the eyes of all thinking human beings, but, if acted upon, can at once put an end to all sectarian bickering and strife among Muslims.

The fundamental issue raised by this court case for Muslims is whether we should regard the Holy Quran and the teachings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad as the ultimate authority for determining the faith of Islam, or whether we give this position to the clerics and priests of the religion, and blindly accept their verdicts even when these conflict with the prime sources of Islam. The choice and challenge is clear.

About this book

This book records the essential details of the litigation in Cape Town. It is primarily concerned with the religious issues involved in the case, and has therefore been compiled from that point of view. The book consists of three main parts:

I. A sketch of the **History** of the three year long litigation, including some reactions to the final judgment of the case;

II. The text of the final **Judgment**; and

III. The written **Evidence** submitted to the court by the Lahore Ahmadiyya side over a period of six days during the final hearings.

An **Appendix** has been compiled, consisting of further notes on some

aspects of the Evidence. This has been included due to its greatly important and interesting nature. Two useful indexes have been provided, with reference to Part III and the Appendix. The first is an index of the many authorities cited, and the second is an index of the writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, including the compilations of his speeches, talks, notices etc., to which reference has been made.

Maulana Hafiz Sher Mohammad wrote and compiled all the evidence reproduced in Part III, which constitutes the overwhelming bulk of this book. Some of the Appendix is also taken from his writings. He is, therefore, the chief contributor to this book. As our advocate commented before the court, at the outset of his final summary of argument, this case is a story of three remarkable men: Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Maulana Muhammad Ali, and Hafiz Sher Mohammad. All the original work of the learned Hafiz *sahib* is in the Urdu language. The writer of these lines, Zahid Aziz, is responsible for translating it into English, as presented in Part III, and for compiling the rest of the book. We record our thanks to all those branches and individual members of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement around the world who provided invaluable support and assistance during this protracted and difficult litigation.

At the end, we humbly submit our Ahmadiyya case before our Lord and God — Almighty Allah — and await His true and perfect judgment. In the words of the Holy Quran: *“In Allah do we trust. Our Lord, judge between us and our people with truth; and Thou art the best of judges”* (ch. 7, v. 89).

Part I

History of the Case

“Surely We have granted you a clear victory.”
(The Holy Quran, 48:1)

There has been a branch of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement in Cape Town since the late 1950s. The members of the association faced hostility from the local ‘professional’ Muslim religious leaders, as has been the situation in other parts of the world. This opposition entered a new phase in 1965 when so-called *fatwas* or ‘decrees’ were first issued to the effect that Ahmadis were *kafirs* and outside the fold of Islam. After that, there was constant malicious propaganda against the Ahmadiyya Movement in books, pamphlets and newspapers published by the local Muslim religious bodies. The Movement and its Founder were portrayed in a grossly distorted form, and viciously ridiculed in literature of the worst possible taste. Cartoon caricatures of the Founder were frequently published to revile and mock him. Attempts were made to incite the Muslim public to exclude Ahmadis from their midst and impose a social boycott against them.

In May 1982 the Lahore Ahmadiyya association — organised under the name *Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha’at Islam Lahore (South Africa)* — applied for a licence, as required by law, to allow it to make a public collection of funds for building an Islamic centre, and in accordance with due procedure the Anjuman gave notice of the application in a newspaper. At this, the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) of Cape Town, an association of religious leaders which claims to be the authoritative Muslim theological body of the area, issued an announcement styled “Urgent and Important Notice” which stated:

“The Muslim Judicial Council hereby state categorically that whatever centre the Ahmedihs are going to establish can never be an Islamic centre,

neither any type of Islamic institution or Mosque because these establishments or Mosques cannot be established by Kafirs.

“The Muslim Judicial Council will lodge strong objections to the Department concerned objecting to the Ahmediyahs collection of Funds in the name of Islam and call upon the Muslims to stand up to defend Islam.”

Start of legal action

On top of the incessant humiliation, propaganda and hostility faced by Ahmadis, this intervention by the MJC was the final step which left them with no choice but to seek legal redress for the wrongs they had long been suffering. The Anjuman began legal action against the MJC and two other bodies. The summons (notice of legal action), with the details of the claim annexed thereto, were issued in October 1982. There were two plaintiffs: first, the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha‘at Islam Lahore (South Africa), and second, Mr Ismail Peck, a member of the Anjuman. The first and chief defendant was the Muslim Judicial Council, the other two being the trustees of a mosque and the trustees of a Muslim cemetery, full details of which are given in the judgment.

In the particulars of claim, plaintiffs stated that Islam is based on certain fundamental principles — the well-known five pillars — and that they accept these tenets, and are Muslims. The grievance was that the first defendant was publishing and propagating false and defamatory allegations to the effect that Ahmadis are *kafir* and apostate (*murtadd*), and that they reject the finality of prophethood etc. The first defendant was inciting the Muslim public to hatred, violence and social ostracism against the plaintiffs. The complaint against the second defendant was that they were refusing the Ahmadis their right to use the mosque, of which the former were trustees; and similarly against the third defendant that they were denying Ahmadis burial rights in the cemetery, of which the former were trustees. The Ahmadis thus sought against the defendants the court orders listed in the judgment, to restrain the defendants from these actions. The first order, sought jointly against all the defendants, was the basis for the other restraining orders, namely, “an order declaring that members of the First Plaintiff are Muslims and as such are entitled to all such rights and privileges as pertain to Muslims”.

The seeking of this declaratory order has been misrepresented by our opponents as Ahmadis asking a non-Muslim court to determine that they are Muslims. The fact is that the Ahmadis went to court *strongly claiming that they were Muslims*, with the heart-felt grievance that certain Muslim

religious bodies were *defaming* them by calling them *kafir*, and were *denying* them the rights due to them as *Muslims*. And throughout the protracted legal battle, the plaintiffs constantly let it be known to the defendants that if they agree to desist from their campaign of vilification and from their refusal to let Ahmadis have their due Muslim rights, the legal action would be discontinued.

We stress our standpoint here. Ahmadis believe that no one can become a *kafir* or a Muslim just because someone, whether a state authority or a theological institute or a religious leader, has declared him to be so. Only God Almighty can determine the extent of a person's faith; and any gain or loss on account of it can only be dispensed by God. Therefore Ahmadis hold that one must try to be a Muslim *in God's sight*, rather than in some human authority's view, and thus they are not the least perturbed if some so-called Islamic body or government does not regard them as Muslim. The reason they went to court was to stop the defendants from spreading false allegations about them, which were misleading and inciting the innocent public, and from denying them their civil and social rights.

Defendants' response — their inability to define 'Muslim'

In response to the summons, the defendants filed a notice in court of intention to defend, and each of the three bodies involved passed resolutions to this effect. On 17 March 1983 the defendants filed their plea in answer to the claim of the *second* plaintiff (the individual Mr Peck), but filed a *notice of exception* regarding the claim of the *first* plaintiff, the Anjuman. In the *exception* they contested the entitlement of the Anjuman to institute action on behalf of its members, arguing that it was not the Anjuman but its members who were claimed to have suffered the wrongs. In their plea to the case of the second plaintiff, replying to the Ahmadis' basic point that Islam is based on the well-known five pillars the acceptance of which makes a person a Muslim, the defendants contended:

“Defendants deny that the doctrines and principles set out in the Claim alone constitute the fundamental doctrines and principles of Islam . . . Defendants plead that it is a further fundamental doctrine and principle upon which Islam is founded that the Prophet Mahomed [defendants' spelling] is the last and final prophet.”

And they considered the second plaintiff to be a non-Muslim because he:

“ . . . does not accept that the Prophet Mahomed is the last and final prophet; and recognises as a leader and reformer a person, namely Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who does not acknowledge the Prophet Mahomed to be the last and final Prophet of Allah . . . ”

In response to this plea, the second plaintiff filed a “request for further particulars to Defendants’ Plea”, in which a question was put that arises as a direct and natural implication of their stand given above. They were asked to state whether they rely on any further fundamental doctrines or principles, in addition to the finality of prophethood, and if so, to furnish full particulars of the same. The fact is that if one starts “extending” the basic foundations of Islam, as taught by the Holy Prophet Muhammad himself and as recognised throughout the history of Islam, there is then no limit to what might be added under the name “fundamental”, nor would there be agreement on what to add. The defendants were unable to stand their original ground, and on 25 April 1983 they filed a notice to amend their first plea, the first of many amendments they were to make during the whole course of the litigation. They unashamedly amended their stand on the fundamentals of Islam as follows:

“While Defendants admit that the five doctrines and principles listed by Plaintiffs may be described as fundamental to Islam they do not thereby admit . . . that such doctrines and principles are the only ones which are of importance in defining the faith or that adherence to such doctrines and principles alone constitutes a sufficient basis to qualify a person to be called a Muslim. . . . ”

“Acceptance of such principles alone does not constitute the touchstone by which a person is properly identified as a Muslim. There are many other principles and beliefs, acceptance of which is essential to the true Muslim and failure to accept which constitutes apostasy.”

The change in their position can be clearly seen: now they *admit*, a point which they previously *denied*, that the five pillars are actually the fundamentals. Moreover, they are confusing the real issue by using expressions such as “*properly* identified as a Muslim” and “essential to the *true* Muslim”. Of course to be a true and proper Muslim one needs to believe and practise much more than to merely acknowledge the fundamentals, but the issue here is not that. The question in the case is, Who can be called a Muslim for purposes of civil law and civil rights, such as the right to worship in a public mosque? If the defendants bring in the issue of “true Muslim”, it would obviously imply that their exclusion of Ahmadis from mosques and cemeteries is because they do not consider them *true*

Muslims. In that case we must ask the defendants whether all those whom they allow into the mosques, or permit to be buried in the cemeteries, which are under their charge, have been determined by them to be *true Muslims*, and if so, what was the criterion used?

Defendants' reasons for calling Ahmadis as 'kafir'

In this amendment, they pleaded the following grounds for regarding Lahore Ahmadis as *kafir*:

"Plaintiffs fail to accept the following principles and beliefs which are essential to adherence to Islam and are therefore not Muslims:

"(i) The finality of prophethood of the Prophet Muhammad, in that they accept as a leader and reformer, alternatively do not repudiate the teachings of, one Mirza Ghulam Ahmed, who claimed to be a prophet and/or the Messiah and/or one who had received revelation from God.

"(ii) The apostasy of the said Mirza Ghulam Ahmed.

"(iii) The virgin birth and immaculate conception of Jesus Christ.

"(iv) Jihad or religious war against unbelievers in Islam."

The change here, too, from the first plea can be clearly seen. They have widened their definition of who can be said to deny the finality of prophethood, going so far as to include even those who merely "do not repudiate the teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed". Moreover, by using the term "and/or" above, they are having to cast a very wide net in order to catch the Lahore Ahmadis. They are actually saying that even if Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad did *not* claim to be a prophet, a person who accepts him as a non-prophet receiving revelation from God, or even a person who does not "repudiate" him, is denying the finality of prophethood! This all-embracing statement has had to be made to cover their own weakness in lacking any specific and solid allegations which could be directed against Lahore Ahmadis.

Defendants' exception against First plaintiff succeeds

The exception filed by the defendants mentioned above, seeking to disqualify the first plaintiff — the Anjuman — from pursuing the legal action, was further amended by them on 24 May and 6 June 1983. They gave further reasons as to why the Anjuman could not sue, such as "First Plaintiff as an association is not capable of being defamed". Later events showed clearly that the defendants adopted these tactics in an attempt to have the case confined to legal technicalities only, so that they could avoid the real issue of proving from Islamic teachings their contention that Ahmadis are not Muslims.

The case for the exception was heard on 13 June 1983, and judgment given in favour of the defendants by Justices Tebbutt and Van Heerden. The exception was upheld on grounds such as: the wrongs of which Ahmadis were complaining were not suffered by them as members of the Anjuman, but rather because the defendants considered them as non-Muslims, and the Anjuman was not alleging that *it* had suffered any wrong, and was therefore seeking relief not for itself but for its members. The Anjuman thus having been disentitled to pursue the case, the litigation was continued on behalf of the second plaintiff, Mr Peck.

More pre-trial exchanges

Returning to the normal course of the case, there were a number of "requests for further particulars" and replies thereto between the plaintiff and the defendants in the period June to August 1983. We would note only one point from these exchanges. The plaintiff, in a request for particulars dated 15 June, asked the defendants for the following:

"State whether or not there are doctrines, principles or beliefs (other than those listed by the plaintiff) which are requisite to qualify a person as a Muslim. If yes, give particulars of all such doctrines and principles."

The defendants' reply, of 7 July, was as follows:

"Defendants deny that Second Plaintiff requires the Particulars requested for the purposes of pleading. Defendants plead that there are in fact many other doctrines, principles or beliefs inherent in Islam, but aver that the relevant beliefs and principles in Islam which are not accepted by Plaintiffs and accordingly disqualify Plaintiffs from being regarded as Muslims are those set out and described."

This is a plain and clear admission by the defendants that they cannot give any positive definition of a Muslim. This is exactly the position adopted by the Pakistan constitution and law in its declaration of Ahmadis as *kafir*: no definition is given of what constitutes a Muslim, in the light of which Ahmadis may be said to fall outside this faith; there is simply an invidious statement that whoever holds Ahmadi beliefs is a non-Muslim. The fact is that, besides the simple definition of a Muslim taught by the Holy Prophet Muhammad himself, which has always been relied upon by the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement, there is *no* other definition of a Muslim in Islamic teachings nor can one be devised without departing from logic, commonsense, and the religion of Islam.

Defendants' Special Plea — a new ploy

After all these exchanges of details, the defendants sprang a surprise in December 1983. They filed yet another amendment to their plea, by inserting a "Special Plea", and at the same time gave notice of filing an exception by means of which they raised the points made in their special plea as well as some other points. We quote below at length from this special plea, for the reason that from this stage onwards it remained the crucial part of their pleadings and intended evidence. The following arguments were adduced:

(a) The particulars of Plaintiff's claim involve a decision as to whether Ahmadis are Muslims.

(b) The decision of that issue involves a determination of the doctrinal and religious questions and/or disputes set out in . . .

(c) These religious and doctrinal issues and disputes are purely ecclesiastical in nature, and it is not appropriate for a Secular Court to attempt to resolve these questions.

(d) Furthermore these religious and doctrinal issues and disputes have been determined in favour of the contentions of the Defendants by the First Defendant [the Muslim Judicial Council] and by the International bodies of Islamic ecclesiastical opinion to which First Defendant is affiliated namely the following: (i) Darul Uloom of Deoband, India; (ii) Darul Ifta in Riyadh; (iii) Al-Azhar in Egypt; and (iv) Jamiatul-Ulama in Karachi, Pakistan.

(e) First Defendant and the said International Bodies referred to are empowered to make decisions of an Islamic ecclesiastical nature, and it is part of their normal functions to make such decisions which are authoritative and binding as far as the Muslim world is concerned in the areas in respect to which they carry on their ecclesiastical judicial functions.

(f) First Defendant and the said Bodies are fully conversant with the doctrinal and religious questions referred to. They are peculiarly and particularly qualified to adjudicate upon such questions and to decide them.

(g) In the premises this honourable Court cannot, alternatively should not, attempt to resolve or adjudicate upon the said doctrinal and religious issues and/or should accept and apply the decisions of the First defendant and the said ecclesiastical bodies . . . "

This was clearly a ploy to prevent the religious arguments being tested by the court, after the defendants, having consulted "certain international experts" (as referred to in their attorney's affidavit quoted further on), realised how weak was their case against the Lahore Ahmadis. The

defendants had known from the beginning that this case would involve the court discussing religious and doctrinal issues, but never before did they say that “it is inappropriate for a Secular Court to attempt to resolve these questions”, and that the court must accept the decisions of so-called “International bodies of Islamic ecclesiastical opinion”. Here 4 such bodies are cited, but in further amendments to their plea they increased this number to 10 and finally to 12. Some of the bodies listed, such as the Islamic Foundation of Leicester, England, and the Islamic Council of Europe, do not even claim to have the “ecclesiastical judicial functions” assigned to them by the defendants; they are publishing, research, or administrative bureaus. Many others, such as Darul-Uloom Deoband, are private theological colleges.

Defendants fail in filing new exception

At the same time, on 20 December 1983, the defendants raised these and some other points in a ‘Notice of Exception’ to the plaintiff’s claims, pleading for the claims to be set aside. In a further notice of exception, on 1 February 1984, they asked for the second plaintiff himself to be disqualified from pursuing his claim on various technical grounds. However, as the stage to file exceptions had by now passed, because the pleas were at an advanced stage, they had to apply to the court to be allowed to file these exceptions “out of time”.

The application was heard in March 1984 by Mr Justice Tebbutt. In affidavits submitted by the defendants’ attorney, it was explained why the exception was late and why their submission should be granted:

“ . . . it was not appreciated at the time the Plea was drawn just how complex and difficult the doctrinal issues in this case were. This only became apparent when a detailed consultation was recently held by me with certain international experts . . . I personally travelled to Pakistan, India and Saudi Arabia where I consulted a number of very eminent experts on Islamic law, Islamic theology, Islamic history and dogma, and on the movement of which the Ahmadis are followers. . . . The detailed consultations held with these experts disclosed that the evidence which will have to be adduced and assessed in order to determine the main issues will be of an extremely complex, protracted and technical nature. . . . Having had these consultations I now understand the full import of: (a) the enormously complex preparation involved . . . (b) the trial on the issues arising will involve many weeks of extremely complex expert testimony and analyses on very technical questions. . . . If the Special Plea is heard separately and upheld, it will be unnecessary to lead all this complex and voluminous

evidence and there will be a dramatic saving in costs and in the time which will otherwise be consumed in the Courts.”

The court, however, dismissed this application with costs in judgment given on 16 May 1984. The judge, referring to the defendants’ explanation for being out of time, wrote: “This statement is vague in the extreme. It says that the fact that ‘some things’ became manifest after consulting certain experts is ‘one’ of the reasons for not excepting timeously but no other reason or reasons are given . . . In any event defendants, in order to be able to plead, must have known and appreciated what the issues were that are involved in this case and what their answers were to the allegations made by the plaintiffs. A perusal of the defendants’ request for particulars to the particulars of claim, for further and better particulars thereto, and of the replies to such requests [by plaintiffs] makes that clear.”

In their submissions quoted above, the defendants are really admitting that it is *too difficult* to prove that Ahmadis are not Muslims. It is then curious that the same international experts, when writing books or making speeches for the ordinary Muslim public, are able to put forward dozens of “obvious” reasons for calling Ahmadis as *kafir*, and mosque preachers of quite average intelligence and education are able to understand these reasons and communicate the same to the masses. It appears that previously the defendants must have been under the impression, created by the propaganda literature and the reputation of these “international experts”, that it is all too easy to show that Ahmadis are *kafir*. However, in their “detailed consultations” with these experts, what they actually realised was that, certainly in regard to the Lahore Ahmadis, it is almost impossible to make out a religious case against them which can pass the scrutiny of an impartial body like an *independent* court of law. Therefore they tried to hide behind the excuse of “extremely complex, protracted and technical evidence” which can only be assessed by their “peculiarly and particularly qualified ecclesiastical bodies”.

Preparation for trial — Top Pakistani experts come to defendants’ aid

The defendants’ application having been rejected, the litigation continued its normal course. The hearing was set down for 1 November 1984. In accordance with the rules of court, the defendants gave notice on 1 October of the expert witnesses they were intending to call in the trial. The list consisted of six Pakistani legal and theological experts and nine local religious leaders. The Pakistani witnesses listed are highly prominent public figures in Pakistan, who are indeed leading international experts in

the murky field of declaring Ahmadis as *kafir*. Certainly the defendants could not have found in the whole world any other witnesses so well-qualified for this purpose or of such a high status, as these dignitaries. If *they* cannot prove that Ahmadis are *kafir*, then no one else can. We quote below the names of these six along with some of their qualifications, as given in the defendants' notice to court:

1. Moulana Muhammad Zafar Ahmed Ansari: Former member of the National Assembly of Pakistan. Founder member of the Constitutional Council of the Muslim World League. . . . Member of the Council of Islamic Ideology . . . a body established under the Constitution of Pakistan. Chairman of the Constitution Commission appointed by the President of Pakistan to advise the President on the future constitutional development of Pakistan. . . .

2. Mr Justice (Retired) Mohammad Afzal Cheema: . . . Member of the National Assembly of Pakistan 1962–1965 . . . Former acting speaker of the National Assembly 1962–1965. *Acting President of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan*, May 1963. Judge of the West Pakistan and Lahore High Courts. Federal Law Secretary of the Government of Pakistan, appointed 14 May 1973. Elevated as a Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan, October 1974 . . . Current member of the Constitution Commission appointed by the President of Pakistan. . . .

3. Maulana Justice Muhammad Taqi Usmani: . . . Member of the Constitution Commission established by the President of Pakistan. . . . Presently Judge of the Supreme Court of Pakistan (Shariat Bench). . . .

4. Professor Khurshid Ahmad: Former Minister of Planning and Statistics in the Federal Cabinet of Pakistan. Former Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of Pakistan. Former Director-General and present Chairman of the Islamic Foundation, Leicester, United Kingdom. . . .

5. Dr Sayed Riazul Hasan Gilani: Senior Lecturer higher Islamic Law, Punjab University. Senior Advisor High Court and Supreme Court of Pakistan. Standing Counsel of the Government of Pakistan in the Federal Shariat Court and in the Shariat Appeal Bench of the Supreme Court. . . .

6. Professor Mehmood Ahmad Ghazi: Associate professor, Islamic Research Institute, Islamabad, Pakistan. . . . Juris consultant of the Federal Shariat Court. Associate member of the Constitution Commission appointed by the President of Pakistan.

We have reproduced the above details from the defendants' official notice to show that in this court case the Lahore Ahmadis were pitted against, not just some local religious leaders of Cape Town who may be said to lack expertise, but really against the topmost grade of opposition to

the Ahmadiyya Movement in the world. Besides being opponents of Ahmadis, these dignitaries hold very high judicial positions in their country, some higher than even the Cape Town supreme court judges who were hearing the case! While these witnesses for the defence were themselves supreme court judges or greater, the witnesses for the Ahmadis had never even testified in a court of law before! It was truly a David against Goliath combat.

The defendants filed further amendments to their plea on 2nd and 5th October 1984, adding the allegations that Ahmadis are instructed by their Founder to have “no religiously acceptable association with Muslims” and “to create for themselves a separate religion and a separate religious existence”. On this basis they pleaded that the plaintiff’s action was “of an academic nature in that the plaintiff cannot and will not seek to participate in the religious organisation and institutions led by the Defendants” and “this honourable court should refuse to enter into a protracted and complicated dispute of an academic nature”. We say that Ahmadis had taken the legal action to gain the right to *use* the mosque and cemetery. That they may not *join* the defendants in religious services does not make the Ahmadis’ claim merely academic, because they can still *use* these facilities which are there for the benefit of *all Muslims*. In fact, the only reason Ahmadis would not join in religious services with the defendants is the latter’s own action in condemning them as *kafir*. If they announce that they consider Ahmadis and their Founder Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to be Muslims, our members would be happy to say prayers behind them.

It can be seen that the defendants were all the time trying desperately to think of reasons with which they could persuade the court not to admit the religious evidence on the issue of whether Ahmadis are Muslims or not. And as they thought of one reason after another, no matter how implausible or cynical, so they gave notice of further amendments to their original plea.

1984 hearing — Defendants submit preliminary questions

The final consolidated plea by the defendants, incorporating the various arguments referred to in the foregoing account of their pleas and amendments, was filed on 29 October 1984. On the same day, they gave notice in terms of a certain rule of court that, at the start of the hearing, they intended to apply for certain questions “to be determined *in limine* and separately from the merits of this action, and for all proceedings in the action to be stayed until the said questions have been disposed of”. There

were five such questions, the first three contesting, on the basis of various technical grounds, the entitlement of the second plaintiff to approach the court for the relief that he sought. The other two questions were both “whether or not the Court should decline to hear the merits of the dispute as to whether Ahmadis are Muslims or not”, in each question a different ground being advanced to support the contention. Both these grounds have been mentioned above. The first was that a secular court could not adjudicate on religious issues, and that it should accept the decisions of the first defendant and the “international ecclesiastical bodies”. The second ground was that the case was “academic” and “not *bone fide* with the object of securing and enforcing a legal right but . . . abuse of the process of court in order to obtain an ideological or religious advantage which falls outside the legitimate purposes for which the process of the court is designed”.

The hearing opened on 6 November 1984 in the court of Mr Justice Berman. It lasted three days and was confined to legal arguments on the preliminary questions raised by the defence. The Pakistani expert witnesses to be called by the defendants, including the highly placed Justice Muhammad Afzal Cheema, were in Cape Town for the trial. At the end of the hearing, judgment was reserved. It was some months later, on 24 July 1985, that judgment was delivered. The contentions of the defendants were rejected, and all the questions were answered in favour of the plaintiff. An extract from the judgment of Mr Justice Berman is quoted in the final judgment of the case, reproduced in Part II of this book, to which the reader is referred for the grounds on which the defendants’ arguments were rejected.

The final phase — November 1985

The date 5 November 1985 was now set for the trial to resume, and for the plaintiff and the defendants to present the religious case on the issue of whether Ahmadis are Muslims or not, as outlined in the respective pleadings of the two parties. In October the defendants’ attorneys sent a letter to the plaintiff’s attorneys stating clearly that the defence would fight the case in court. The plaintiff made full and intensive preparation for the case during that month. The one religious expert witness to testify for the Ahmadis (as against the 15 whom the defence intended to call) was *Maulana Hafiz Sher Mohammad*, an accomplished missionary, scholar, lecturer and author who has worked for the Central Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha‘at Islam Lahore since about 1940. He had prepared expert theological and historical testimony on a wide range of vital topics, such as the

definition of a Muslim, beliefs of Ahmadis, claims of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, as may be seen from the Evidence part of this book. This material is based on references to a large number of sources, classical and modern, and in order to present it as legal evidence in court he had to have the original sources ready at hand, as any of these could be required for proving authenticity. This was an enormous practical problem, but the Maulana managed to transport with him to Cape Town a veritable library of books and journals, ready for court inspection if required. Plaintiff's counsel, Mr Edwin King SC, assisted by Mr Colin Prest, were briefed by the expert witness over a number of days on all aspects of the religious issues involved and the evidence to be offered. Dr Zahid Aziz, the author of these lines, acted as interpreter between the counsel and the Maulana, translating between Urdu and English.

The trial — dramatic opening

The hearing opened on the set date in the court of Mr Justice D. M. Williamson. As I was there throughout the trial, the following account is based on first-hand knowledge and observation. A very large court room with an upper gallery was packed to the brim with members of the Muslim public, predominantly supporters of the defendants who had been instructed by their religious leaders to attend — but for a purpose that only became apparent a little later. After the arrival of the judge and the introductions of the counsel, the junior counsel for the defence proceeded to make a lengthy statement. (The senior defence counsel, Ismail Mohammad SC, who had appeared in previous hearings, was absent.)

He said that his clients could not accept “the jurisdiction of this honourable court to determine who is a Muslim”. He added that this question had been put to the “Muslim leadership of South Africa”, and further that they had “canvassed the opinions of the international Muslim community” on this point. They had, so he alleged, found the “common point of view throughout the Islamic world”, which he termed an *ijma*, that Muslims “cannot accept a determination from a non-Muslim judge as to who is a Muslim”. He claimed that the defendants had received messages from “Muslim organisations throughout the world . . . representing hundreds of millions of people” expressing this view. The counsel for the defence then announced that “the defendants wish no longer to participate in these proceedings . . . they withdraw their defence in this matter”. (These extracts are taken from the court transcripts.)

With that statement, and then a brief exchange among the counsels and the court, the defendants, their counsel, and their supporters in the public all walked out of the court room, never to return. Their supporters had been instructed to attend, just for the purpose of staging the walk-out. It may be added that for the rest of the hearing, while we gave evidence, the local religious leaders had given strict instructions to their followers that no one must attend the proceedings. Anyone doing so, risked being classed as an Ahmadi or Ahmadi sympathiser by them, and treated accordingly.

Ahmadis present full case — win judgment

With the withdrawal of the defendants, we were not obliged to present a full case, but had only to give our arguments in brief. However, we decided against this course and presented our case fully, just as it would have been in the presence of the defendants, so that the mass of evidence may be given a public hearing and placed permanently on public record. The plaintiff's counsel opened the case and called Maulana Hafiz Sher Mohammad to the witness stand. The writer of these lines had been sworn in as interpreter. After some general testimony about himself and about the religion of Islam, which was in response to opening questioning from the counsel and court, the expert witness went through his prepared evidence as given in Part III of this book. As he came to each topic in turn, the document on that subject was submitted to the court as an exhibit, and then the witness introduced the topic and proceeded to go through the bulk of the document in oral testimony. The court frequently interposed to question the witness on points and conclusions arising out of the evidence. (Transcripts of the entire oral proceedings were made.)

As may be seen from the record of the evidence, it not only presented the positive aspect of our case, i.e., the definition in Islam of a Muslim, and showing that Ahmadis clearly satisfy that definition, but it also refuted the arguments against the Ahmadis' case as advanced by the defendants in their pleas, which have been referred to in this account. Hafiz Sher Mohammad gave evidence for about five and a half days, and throughout he stood in the witness box despite the offer of a seat.

After the expert witness, the second plaintiff Mr Ismail Peck gave evidence on the wrongs he had suffered personally as a result of the pronouncements and actions of the defendants. His evidence is noted in the judgment. The last witness was the plaintiff's attorney Mr Rashad Khan. He gave evidence on the question of costs, particularly with regard to the

defendants' conduct in misleading the plaintiff's legal representatives by concealing their decision to withdraw till the last moment, thereby putting our side to much extra preparation and expense. Finally, plaintiff's senior counsel summarised the whole of the case, religious and legal, for his client, a task which took one full day. As the defendants had elected to withdraw from the trial, naturally no case was presented on their behalf.

Judgment was given on Wednesday 20 November 1985. The judge summarised all the religious and legal evidence presented, and on the grounds of that evidence he granted the plaintiff all the orders that were sought. So ended the three year long legal battle that had become known as the 'Ahmadiyya Case', with the plaintiff's claim being granted that members of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam Lahore are Muslims and entitled to all the rights pertaining to Muslims.

The aftermath

Pakistani witnesses make misleading statements

The earlier stages of this case had been given much publicity in Pakistani newspapers (both home and foreign editions) by the Pakistani religious and legal experts who were witnesses for the defendants. This reporting was greatly erroneous and untrue. At one intermediate stage, when the court set aside a temporary stay order which our side had previously obtained, the newspapers proclaimed that Ahmadis had been declared *kafir* in South Africa! At the final stage however, neither the start of the hearing in November 1985 nor the defendants' withdrawal were reported at the time these took place. After judgment was given, and announced in other sources, the Pakistani papers had no option but to print the news, and the witnesses had to make press comment. The witnesses published lengthy statements saying that "Qadianis" had been declared Muslim "by a biased Jewish judge". This was further said to show "the link between Qadianis and Israel"!

Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, witness no. 1 of the defendants, was reported as follows in the well-known Urdu daily *Jang*:

"The former head of the Pakistan Constitution Commission and the leader of the Pakistani delegation which went to South Africa last year in

pursuance of the court case between Qadianis and the Muslim Judicial Council there, Maulana Zafar Ahmad Ansari, has said that no non-Muslim court has the right to give a judgment as to whether a person is Muslim or not. He was commenting on the South African Supreme Court judgment according to which Justice Williamson declared Qadianis to be Muslims. Maulana Ansari said that this judge is a Jew, and it was because of his being a Jew that the Muslim Judicial Council boycotted the court proceedings, and had said that no non-Muslim court had the right to decide on religious affairs of the Muslims. He said that, by the unilateral verdict of this Jewish judge, the Qadianis and the Ahmadis would not become Muslims. . . . He said that, in view of the special relations of the Qadianis with Israel and the Jews, what else could be expected from this Jewish judge except that he would declare Qadianis to be Muslims.”
(*Jang*, London edition, 2 December 1985, front page)

Sayyid Riaz-ul-Hasan Gilani, another of the expert witnesses who had travelled to Cape Town for the 1984 hearing, and was now Deputy Attorney-General of the Punjab province, said:

“In October 1984, when the proper hearing of the case began, the judge was changed, and a biased Jew was appointed judge. At that stage, we said that there should first be a discussion on the scope of authority of the court, because this is a Muslim issue, and a secular or non-Muslim forum does not have the competence and authority to settle it. The Jewish judge did not accept this. At that stage we decided to boycott this Jewish court. The Muslim Judicial Council of Cape Town took the position that, as justice could not be expected from this Jewish judge, they would boycott. On 8 November [1985], the Jewish judge recorded the statement of a Qadiani named Sher Muhammad in which he said: We do not deny the finality of prophethood, we accept the Holy Prophet Muhammad as the Last Prophet. As the evidence of the Qadiani witness was not challenged, nor was it given in the presence of Muslims, hence this judgment has no value.”

(*Jang*, London edition, 4 December 1985, pages 8 and 7; Lahore edition, 1 December 1985, front page)

(As regards this last point, we say that it was *entirely through their own choice and decision* that the defendants were not present at the hearing. We had certainly prepared our case to be presented *in their presence*. They have only themselves to blame for their absence.)

There were similar misleading statements from other theologians and lawyers in Pakistan. These press statements also sought to tarnish the judgment by associating it with the apartheid system: “the judgment of the

Jewish court of the racist government of South Africa”, “this judgment is as hateful as the racist government of South Africa” (*Jang*, Lahore, 1st December 1985).

Our reply

It can be seen how false and highly misleading these statements are, and it is all the more serious because the spokesmen would be regarded by the public as “authoritative”, not only because of the positions they occupy but also because they were expert witnesses in the case itself.

In the first place, it was only Lahore Ahmadis who were involved in the court case and not Qadianis. The term “Qadiani” refers to a different sect and movement. Secondly, we consider any reference to the religion of the judge to be irrelevant, out of order, and distasteful. Moreover, this reference to the judge being a Jew is *not even true*. The learned judge in question is a Christian, but we hasten to repeat that such considerations are irrelevant so far as we are concerned. The learned judge at the 1984 hearing was, we understand, of the Jewish faith. The Pakistani expert witnesses, including the spokesmen referred to above, were present at the hearing. But no objection was then raised by the defence, either before or during the trial, that the judge was a Jew. In fact, it is known that when the same learned judge used to be an advocate, the Muslim Judicial Council had on some occasions engaged him to act for them.

Thirdly, the fact that apartheid exists in South Africa can by no means devalue the judgments or the standing of the courts of law of that country. Non-white inhabitants of South Africa generally, and even campaigners against apartheid (such as Rev Allan Boesak and Mrs Winnie Mandela), approach courts there for the redress of their grievances. There are instances all the time, even at present, of courts handing down judgments against the state, in favour of opponents of apartheid. The *Guardian*, the liberal British newspaper greatly opposed to apartheid, comments: “South African judges have never shed their capacity for independent thought and have often delivered rulings against the government” (11 December 1985, editorial).

Muslim cases in non-Muslim courts

Lastly, the chief objection repeated again and again is that a non-Muslim, secular court cannot rule on Islamic religious matters, and more particularly that such a court cannot determine who is a Muslim. As regards the issue in general, there have always been legal cases in countries with Muslim minorities, such as India or South Africa, in which the court had

to give a judgment based on Islamic teachings. Instances of such cases in South Africa have been referred to in the judgment of Mr Justice Williamson given in this book, as well as in the earlier judgment of Mr Justice Berman. Around the time of our case, the Muslim Judicial Council itself was involved in two such cases, one against a local Muslim butchers association, and another against a Muslim property developer who was seeking to build over a cemetery. Both cases require the court to take account of Islamic law.

In India, from the days of British rule to the present day, there have been cases all the time in which Christian, Hindu, or other non-Muslim judges, in a secular court, have had to give judgments based on a consideration of Islamic practice and law. Some of these cases, in connection with matters such as marriage, divorce and inheritance, involved the specific question of determining whether a certain person was a Muslim or not. In the late nineteenth century, three cases went up from India to the Privy Council in London, the highest court of appeal for India at the time, between the Hanafis and members of the Ahl-i Hadith sect on the dispute of whether the former could exclude the latter from attending mosques for prayer because of differences in the manner of offering the service. The court had to rule on the basis of Islamic teachings and practice. No Muslim sect objected to a non-Muslim court giving a judgment which required interpreting Islamic law. Incidentally, it was upheld in all these judgments that a mosque must be open to all Muslims. (See *Islamic Revival in British India*, by Dr Barbara Metcalf, Princeton University Press, U.S.A., pp. 286–287)

VERDICT OF A MUSLIM COURT

If our opponents are unwilling on grounds of conscience, as they claim, to accept the decision of a non-Muslim court, let us refer them to the findings of a *Muslim* court in the *Muslim* country of Pakistan. This was the Munir Court of Enquiry which in 1953–1954 investigated some anti-Ahmadiyya disturbances that had recently broken out in the Punjab. The enquiry examined at length the issue of ‘Who is a Muslim’, in the light of exactly this claim of the Ulama that the Ahmadis are non-Muslim. After questioning all the leading Ulama of Pakistan at the time, who were the fathers and teachers of the expert witnesses against us in this case, the two eminent judges came to the following conclusions in their report.

1. “Keeping in view the several definitions of a Muslim given by the Ulama, need we make any comment except that no two learned divines are agreed on this fundamental.” (p. 218 of the report)
2. The report refers in detail to the rulings (*fatwa*) of the Ulama of various sects condemning each other’s sect as *kafir*, and to their “practically unanimous” view that apostasy under Islamic law carries the death penalty, and comments:
 “The net result of all this is that neither Shias nor Sunnis nor Deobandis nor Ahl-i Hadith nor Barelvis are Muslims and any change from one view to the other must be accompanied in an Islamic state with the penalty of death if the Government of the State is in the hands of the party which considers the other party to be *kafirs*. . . . If the constituents of each of the definitions [of a Muslim] given by the Ulama are given effect to, . . . the grounds on which a person may be indicted for apostasy will be too numerous to count.” (p. 219)
3. Justice Munir relates in his later book *From Jinnah to Zia* that Maulana Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi, the topmost of the Ulama opposed to the Ahmadiyya Movement, when giving the definition of a Muslim at the enquiry, “could not define a Muslim as excluding the Ahmadis from Islam”. Munir adds:
 “Realising his mistake on the day following . . . an application was made by Mr Said Malik, the representative of the [Maudoodi] Jamaat, that the question ‘Who is a Muslim’ was asked without notice. The application was rejected on the ground that a person who calls another *kafir* is supposed to know who a Muslim is.”
 (*From Jinnah to Zia*, p. 136)

(Fuller details of these references are given in the Appendix, Part A: pp. 316–317, and Part I: pp. 341–343.)

Are the expert witnesses prepared to accept these findings of Muslim judges, from a public enquiry set up by Muslim authorities in the witnesses’ own independent Muslim country — Pakistan — at which their predecessors of a generation ago gave evidence?

Which party accepts Allah’s judgment?

It is alleged by our opponents that our approaching a non-Muslim court implies somehow that we do not accept Allah’s judgment. As a matter of fact, we are the ones who accept the judgment of God and His Messenger Muhammad (may peace and the blessings of God be upon him!), because

our entire case was based on presenting the teachings of the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet to show that Ahmadis are Muslims. That evidence is now recorded in this book for all to ponder over. It is the defendants and their religious experts who have *rejected the judgment of Allah and His Messenger*, because they refused to give evidence from the word of God and His Messenger to prove their case. They have refused to recognise the clear definition of a Muslim given by the Holy Messenger of Allah, by his word and practice. In fact, their submissions quoted earlier mean that they consider the judgment of their “international ecclesiastical bodies” to be the judgment of God and His Messenger, which therefore cannot be challenged!

Part II

The Judgment

by Mr Justice D. M. Williamson

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IN THE SUPREME COURT OF SOUTH AFRICA
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE PROVINCIAL DIVISION
CASE NUMBER: 10058/82

DATE: 20.11.1985

In the matter between:

AHMADIYYA ANJUMAN ISHAAT ISLAM LAHORE (SA)

ISMAIL PECK

Plaintiffs

and

THE MUSLIM JUDICIAL COUNCIL & OTHERS

Defendants

WILLIAMSON J: Originally two plaintiffs sued in this action. They were, as first plaintiff the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam Lahore (SA), a voluntary association of Muslims constituted in terms of a written constitution whose members are commonly known and referred to as Ahmadis, and second plaintiff one Ismail Peck. Ismail Peck is a member of the first plaintiff association and sued in his individual capacity as well as in his capacity as a member of such association.

The defendants are, firstly, the Muslim Judicial Council (Cape) described as a voluntary association of certain Sheiks, Imams and theologians; secondly, the trustees of a mosque situated at the corner of Long and Dorp Streets, Cape Town, to which I shall refer as the mosque and, thirdly, the trustees of the Malay portion of the Vygekraal Cemetery, Athlone, Cape.

Briefly stated the plaintiffs' cause of action is that there are certain fundamental doctrines and principles upon which Islam is founded; that the plaintiffs accept these fundamental doctrines and principles and are Muslims; that all mosques are dedicated to Allah and every Muslim, irrespective of sect or movement, has the right of admittance to any mosque no matter where it is situated for the purpose of prayer and other religious functions and that the first defendant published certain false and defamatory matter of and concerning the plaintiffs, to wit, that all Ahmadis are non-Muslims and are apostates and disbelievers and as such should be denied admittance to all mosques and also should be denied the right to bury their dead in any Muslim cemetery.

As against the second defendant the plaintiffs allege that it wrongfully refused, despite requests, to concede the right of members of the first plaintiff and the right of second plaintiff to admittance to the mosque. This, they said, was contrary to certain conditions contained in an annexure to a deed of transfer passed on 11 February 1881.

As against the third defendant the plaintiffs allege that it refused to recognise the right of members of the first plaintiff to have their dead buried in the Malay portion of the Vygekraal Cemetery. This cemetery is held in terms of a deed of grant dated 18 December 1908. This refusal, so it is alleged, is contrary to the express terms of this deed of grant.

The plaintiffs, on the above-stated facts, claimed:

- (a) Against all three defendants – an order declaring that members of the first plaintiff and second plaintiff are Muslims and as such are entitled to all rights and privileges as pertain to Muslims.
- (b) Against the first defendant – an order interdicting it from disseminating, publishing or otherwise propagating the defamatory matter complained about.
- (c) Against the second defendant – an order declaring that members of the first plaintiff and the second plaintiff are entitled to admittance to the mosque

and

- (d) Against the third defendant – an order declaring that members of the first plaintiff and second plaintiff are entitled to the same rights of burial in the cemetery as pertain to all Muslims.

At an earlier stage in the proceedings defendants excepted to first plaintiff's claim against them on the ground that first plaintiff had no *locus standi* to bring such claims. The exception was upheld and the particulars of claim, insofar as they related to the first plaintiff, were set aside. Thereupon the action was continued by second plaintiff only.

Also at an earlier stage defendants gave notice of their intention to apply at the hearing of the trial for the determination *in limine*, separately from the merits of the action and in terms of Rule of Court 33(4), of certain legal issues and for the stay of all proceedings in the action until such issues had been disposed of. One of the questions raised was formulated thus:

“... whether or not the Court should decline to entertain on its merits the dispute as to whether Ahmadis are Muslims or not ...”

Accordingly when the matter was originally set down for hearing no evidence was led. It was confined to legal argument on the questions raised. Judgment was delivered on 24 July 1985 by *Berman J.* In his judgment the learned Judge said as follows:

“Peck seeks against all three defendants a declaratory order that he is a Muslim and thus entitled to the rights and privileges pertaining to Muslims. He finds his right to claim this relief upon the provisions of section 19(1)(a)(iii) of the Supreme Court Act No 59/1959 which empowers the Court, in its discretion, to enquire into and determine at the instance of any interested person any existing, future or contingent right or obligation, notwithstanding that such person cannot claim any relief consequential upon the determination. It was Mr Mohamed’s contention that this Court should not entertain Peck’s application for such an order because it involves a decision as to whether or not Ahmadis are Muslims, a decision which will involve a determination of a number of doctrinal and religious questions which are purely ecclesiastical in nature and it is inappropriate for a secular court to attempt to resolve these questions, and further, that the relief sought by Peck is of an academic nature and not *bona fide*. With regard to the exercise or otherwise of the Court’s discretion in favour of Peck Mr Mohamed invited the Court to take into account the undesirability of a secular tribunal concerning itself with matters of spiritual faith, to the inordinate length of a trial on this aspect of the matter, and to the difficult and complicated nature of the doctrinal questions involved. Indeed, he raised the question preliminary even to that of whether or not the Court should exercise its discretion in favour of Peck as to whether a declarator can ever be granted where the claimant therefor can obtain consequential relief, for example, an order directing that he be permitted to pray in the mosque.

“I am furthermore not persuaded by Mr Mohamed that this Court should exercise its discretion against the grant of a declaratory order such as the one sought as a preliminary matter so as to avoid embarking on the treacherous waters of religious disputes. Our Courts have never lacked the courage to deal with doctrinal disputes where this has been necessary, nor have they shirked an

obligation to do so when faced therewith. Moreover, to the submission that it is undesirable that this Court be required to decide a matter involving a determination of a number of doctrinal and religious questions, purely ecclesiastical in nature, the short answer is that most litigation, if not all litigation, is undesirable. Once the matter raised by a citizen (in this instance, Peck) is one which he is entitled to lay before this Court for decision, and it is one which this Court is competent to deal with, and if the issue(s) thereby raised is or are within this Court's jurisdiction, mere dictates of convenience or inconvenience, desirability or undesirability cannot disentitle him to a hearing and a decision. And further, the discretion vested in the Court in terms of section 19(1)(a)(iii) of Act 59/1959 should not be exercised against a claimant for a declaratory order on the ground that the issue to be decided on is a theological rather than a secular one. Indeed it appears to me that the resolution of the question whether Ahmadis are Muslims or not may well be more fairly and dispassionately decided by a secular Court such as this than by some other tribunal composed of theologians. Certainly when regard is had to the considerable number of experts to be called and the considerable volume of testimony to be given by them, this Court may well be the most suitable forum to deal with them and with their evidence".

The Court accordingly answered the question in favour of the plaintiff and the matter then proceeded to trial in the ordinary course.

When the trial in this matter commenced on 5 November 1985 Mr *Desai*, on behalf of the three defendants, informed the Court that his clients no longer wished to participate in these proceedings and that they accordingly withdrew their defence. In doing so he explained that no disrespect was intended towards the Court but his clients felt that as Muslims they could not in conscience submit to the jurisdiction of this court, which is the ordinary secular court of this country, to decide who is a Muslim. Be that as it may, there is no doubt that where civil rights are in issue our courts have never refused to hear the matters because the resolution of the disputes about those rights may also involve decisions as to doctrinal matters or other issues of a religious or theological nature. As long ago as 1862 in the case of *Long v Bishop of Cape Town* 4 Searle 162 Lord *Kingsdown*, in delivering the judgment of the Privy Council, referred at page 179 to the plaintiff's right of:

“... resorting to a civil court for the restitution of civil rights and thereby giving to such court jurisdiction to determine questions of an ecclesiastical nature essential to their decision”.

Thus in *Jan & Others v Ismail & Others*, 1866(5) Searle 102, we find the Court being called upon to decide upon the rights of appointment to official positions in a mosque. It is perhaps not out of place to note that in this case we see two contending groups of Muslims approaching a secular court to decide matters of Muslim law and practice. Indeed over the years there are many instances of our courts applying Mohammedan law and Muslim usages and customs without the point being taken that it is inappropriate for a secular court to decide matters of this nature. (See in this regard the article in the 1907 *Cape Law Journal* at page 176 entitled Mohammedan Law in South Africa and also *Hessen & Others v Daout*, 6 SC 372; *Behardien v Intillah*, 6 CTR 41; *Du Toit & Others v Domingo*, 7 CTR 134; *Dobie & Others v Salie & Others*, 1900(7) SC 552; *Salie v Connelly & Others*, 1908 EDC 97; *Omar Raffie & Others v Behardien Jappie & Another*, 1891(6) EDL 169; *Jamile & Others v African Congregational Church*, 1971(3) SA 836(d) at 840(E) and *Allen & Others NNO v Gibbs & Others*, 1977(3) SA 212 SECLD).

It is abundantly clear both from the pleadings and from the evidence that what second plaintiff as a citizen of this country is really trying to do is, firstly, to enforce his civil rights not to be defamed; secondly, to establish his right to attend a mosque from which he says he is wrongfully denied entry and, thirdly, to establish his right to burial in a cemetery established by grant of the Governor of the Cape. In order to succeed on the above claims plaintiff has to establish that he is a Muslim and this is where the claim for a declaration to that effect becomes relevant. It is a claim which does not exist *in vacuo*, nor is it one which is of merely academic interest. It is, in my view, an appropriate kind of order to grant in the circumstances of this case for it is inextricably linked with the other orders which involve the civil rights of a citizen. Indeed it is the foundation upon which the right to those orders rests. A court of law therefore has no option but to enquire into the issue as to whether or not second plaintiff is a Muslim and it would be failing in its duty to a citizen of this country were it to decline to do so. This falls fairly and squarely within the principle enunciated by the Privy Council in *Long's* case well over a century ago, a principle which has been consistently applied by our courts right up to the present day.

After explaining his clients' attitude Mr Desai and his clients then left the court and played no further role in the proceedings.

I turn then to a consideration of the merits of second plaintiff's claims which were now advanced on an unopposed basis. Because evidence is uncontradicted it does not follow that it must be accepted by a court of law. As pointed out by *Innes CJ in Siffman v Kriel* 1909 TS 538:

"It does not follow because evidence is uncontradicted that therefore it is true. ... The story told by the person on whom the *onus* rests may be so improbable as not to discharge it".

So too in *Shenker Bros. v Bester*, 1952(3) SA 655 AD, *Greenberg JA* at page 670(G) observed:

"Similarly, the circumstance that evidence is uncontradicted is no justification for shutting one's eyes to the fact, if it be a fact, that it is too vague and contradictory to serve as proof of the question in issue".

I have not been unmindful of these considerations when assessing the evidence placed before me.

As already indicated the principle thrust of second plaintiff's cause of action is that Islam is founded upon certain fundamental doctrines and principles. Second plaintiff placed before this court the evidence of one Hafiz Sher Mohammad, an Ahmadi theologian and missionary and a scholar and a person learned in matters concerning the Muslim faith and religious practices. I am satisfied that he is an expert in this field and able to speak with authority on it. Before dealing with these matters the witness gave a brief historical perspective of the Ahmadiyya movement. The movement, in the main, revolves around the life of its founder, one Mirza Ghulam Ahmad who was born about the year 1835 in what is now Pakistan and who died in 1908. During the years 1880 to 1884 he wrote his first treatise in four volumes known as *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyya*. The evidence was not only that in a revelation God had entrusted to him a special mission but that he claimed to be the Mujaddid (reformer) of the 14th century. The movement itself was named in 1900 after the name of the Holy Prophet. This was necessitated by the requirement that Muslim "sects" were required to be identified in a census which was held in 1901. After the death of Mirza in 1908 the leadership fell to one Nur-ud-din who led the movement until 1914. In that year certain differences arose between two groups within the movement. This culminated in a split

within the movement. One group became known as the Lahoris and the other group became known as the Quadianis. It is to the first of these groups that second plaintiff belongs. After the split in March 1914 the leadership of the Lahori group passed to one Muhammad Ali who retained it until 1951 when Sadr-ud-din assumed the leadership. In 1981 the present leader Dr Saeed Ahmad Khan assumed office. In 1974 the constitution of Pakistan was amended and as a result the Ahmadiyyas were declared to be non-Muslims. Finally, in April 1984, a presidential ordinance was promulgated which stipulated certain penalties if an Ahmadi called himself a Muslim. Whatever the position may be according to Pakistani law the matter which falls to be determined by this Court in accordance with South African law is whether plaintiff is entitled to the relief he has claimed. This brings one to the evidence of Hafiz Sher Mohammad.

He dealt in the first place with what constitutes "Islam" and "Muslim" by examining meticulously the Holy Quran, the Hadith (i.e. the sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad) and the views of a number of Muslim scholars. The crux of this aspect of his evidence was that the religion of Islam could be summarised in the two phrases: "*la ilaha ill-Allah*" (there is no God but Allah) and "*Muhammad-ur rasul Allah*" (Muhammad is the messenger of Allah). By affirming these two precepts a person enters the fellowship of Islam. This is known as the Kalima.

While the cardinal aspect of the religion of Islam is a recital of Kalima it is quite clear that according to the teachings of the Holy Prophet a Muslim is to be recognised by his practical behaviour. According to the Hadith, the Holy Prophet is recorded as having said:

"Islam is that you should worship Allah alone and do not associate anyone with Him, keep up prayer, give to charity (Zakaat), perform the pilgrimage (Hajj) to Mekka and fast during Ramadaan."

According to the evidence placed before the Court, and in particular, the writings of the Hadith, there is no need to investigate deeply into the beliefs held by a person to determine whether he is a Muslim. One need only look at some aspects of his apparent conduct. If he is seen praying in the manner of the Muslim prayer, praying in the direction in which Muslims pray, or if he is heard proclaiming the Kalima, for example, then he is a Muslim.

Moreover, according to the sayings of the Holy Prophet, as recorded in the Hadith, it does not lie in the mouth of one Muslim to condemn

another Muslim as a *kafir* or unbeliever. Indeed *takfir* or the condemnation of a Muslim by another Muslim as a *kafir* is strictly prohibited. This principle goes as far as to say that if a person's faith is only one percent in extent, it does not make him a *kafir*, i.e.

“... if there are ninety-nine reasons for considering someone as *kafir* and only one reason against it, the *mufii* and the judge is bound to act according to that one reason for negating the *kufr* ...”

The question that arises out of this evidence is whether the beliefs held by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and the Lahori Ahmadiyya show that they are Muslims. This was the second aspect of the evidence given by Hafiz Sher Mohammad. The witness quoted extensively from the writings of the founder of the movement. Reference is made to two quotations only:

“... The gist and the essence of our religion is: There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad (peace be on him) is the messenger of Allah ...”

and

“... Our religion is the same Islam. It is not new. There are the same prayers, the same fasts, the same pilgrimage, the same *Zakaat* ...”

This evidence leaves no doubt that the basis upon which the religion of Islam is founded is the basis of the beliefs of Mirza and of the Lahori Ahmadiyya. Mirza stated his own convictions and those of his followers thus:

“We believe that whoever takes away from or adds to the Islamic *Shariah*, even to the extent of an atom, or discards what is obligatory and permits what is forbidden, is without belief, and has deviated from Islam. I admonish my people that they should believe in the holy Kalima from the bottom of their hearts, namely that there is no god except Allah and Muhammad is Allah's Messenger, even till they die, that they believe in all the prophets and all the revealed books whose authenticity is established from the Holy Quran and that they accept as obligatory fasting, prayer, poor-rate (*zakaat*) and pilgrimage and all that has been prescribed as obligatory by the Exalted Allah and His Messenger, and that they accept as forbidden all that has been forbidden and thus follow Islam in the true sense. To sum up, it is obligatory to believe in all those matters on which there was consensus in belief and practice of the

pious ones of the olden days of Islam, and which are considered to be Islam by the consensus of *Ahl-i-Sunnat*.”

The witness then referred to certain Mohammedan authorities on the subject of who are Muslims and in particular whether Ahmadis are Muslims. I was told that the essential doctrine of the Muslim faith, the Kalima or credo of Islam, namely that there is but one God, Allah, and that Muhammad is his Messenger, and that this belief and a belief in prayer, fasting, *zakaat* (the giving of alms) and the Hajj, or pilgrimage (if this can be afforded) has frequently been recognised by courts in Mohammedan countries and by learned writers on the Mohammedan law as being the touchstone by which to identify a person as a Muslim. The various authorities referred to clearly support this contention. I was also referred to decisions of foreign courts which though in no way authoritative are yet instructive in that they support the general contention advanced by Second Plaintiff. I refer to a few of them.

Amongst the decisions reference may be made to the following: *Narantakath v Parakkal* (1922) 45 Indian Law Reports Madras 986. Coram *Oldfield & Krishnan JJ*. The headnote reads:

“The essential doctrine of the Mohammedan religion is that God is only one and that Muhammad is his prophet; hence Ahmediyyans who also hold that belief are only a sect of Muhammedans, notwithstanding the fact that they differ from other Muhammedans in some other matters of religious belief. Hence on a Muhammedan becoming an Ahmediyyan he does not become an apostate.”

Then there is the case of *Maullim & Another v Marrikan* (Case No 513/1925) Supreme Court of the Straits Settlements (Singapore). I quote from the judgment of *Deane J*:

“The overwhelming evidence in this case is that the fundamentals of Mohammedanism are believed in by the Ahmediyas who are also therefore entitled to be called Mohammedans and not Kafirs and that the points on which they differ from the orthodox are on the traditions which have never been considered fundamental.”

A further case is *Hakim Khalil Ahmad & others v Malik Israfil and Others* 1917 Vol 37 Indian Cases (Patna High Court) p 302. Coram *Sir Edward Chamier CJ and Roe J*. The following passage appears:

“Members of the Ahmadiya sect of Qadian are Mohammedans; the court below have given ... reasons for holding that the plaintiffs are

Mohammedans, notwithstanding their pronounced dissent from orthodox opinion in several important articles of faith.”

And then finally *Airyasha Koreshi v Hishmatullah Koreshi* (1972) Vol XXIV All Pakistan Legal Divisions (Karachi) p 653. Coram: *Imdadally H Agha J.* The headnote reads –

“A Muslim became a Bahai and after remaining so for a number of years reverted back to Islam by renouncing the Bahai faith and reciting the Kalima. *Held:* mere recital of the Kalima was enough for a person to become a Muslim; no other formalities or rituals were necessary.”

The learned Judge is reported (at p 657) as saying:

“For becoming a Muslim all authoritative books of Islam are agreed that if a person believes in the unity of God (Allah) and Muhammad (may peace be upon him) to be His prophet and also says that he is a Muslim then he becomes a Muslim and no other formalities or rituals are to be gone through by him.”

The defence having been withdrawn by the Defendants it was incumbent upon the Second Plaintiff to prove his case as set out in the pleadings. There was, strictly speaking, no need to meet the case as pleaded by the Defendants. Nonetheless Second Plaintiff did not content himself with the proof of his own case; he proceeded to meet the case as pleaded by Defendants and in particular he met the defences raised by the Defendants that for various stated reasons concerning their belief, Ahmadis were not Muslims. The first such defence was that Ahmadis did not accept and believe in what is known as the finality of the Holy Prophet and that their founder, Mirza, had proclaimed himself to be a prophet after the Holy Prophet. This was the third aspect of the evidence tendered by the witness Mohammad.

This aspect was referred to as the issue of *Khatam an-Nabiyyin*, i.e. the belief in the Holy Prophet Muhammad as the Last and Final Prophet. Once again the witness quoted extensively from the writings of Mirza in order to establish that the founder himself and the members of the movement believed that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was the *Khatam an-Nabiyyin*. I refer only to the following:

“... I believe that the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, is the Khatam of the prophets ...”

and

“... I believe in the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, being the *Khatam an-Nabiyyin* ...”

and

“... I believe in God and His Messenger, and I also believe that the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam an-Nabiyyin* ...”

The witness then proceeded to analyse the writings of Mirza in order to establish the meaning which he attributed to the term *Khatam an-Nabiyyin*. He wrote –

“... The Holy Quran does not permit the coming of any messenger after the *Khatam an-Nabiyyin*, whether an old one or a new one ...”

and also

“... Our Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, being the *Khatam an-Nabiyyin* is a bar to the coming of any other prophet ...”

Having established precisely what the founder believed concerning the finality of the prophethood and having analysed the precise meaning of his declared beliefs, the witness went on to examine his writings with the view to establishing that he himself, all his life, denied any claim to being a prophet. Referring to the writings of the founder, the witness quoted –

“... It is total slander by Muhammad Husain to ascribe to me that I deny miracles and that I lay claim to Prophethood, and that I do not consider the Holy Prophet to be the *Khatam al-anbiya*. God forbid ... no, on the contrary, God is witness that I believe all these things ...”

and again –

“... I make no claim to Prophethood. This is your mistake, or you have some motive in mind ...”

and again –

“... Ignorant opponents allege against me that this person claims to be a prophet or apostle. I make no such claim ...”

and again –

“... In confronting the present Ulema, this humble servant has ... sworn many times by God that I am not a claimant to any

Prophethood ...”

At the same time there is no doubt that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad did claim to have received revelation from God. The witness accordingly dealt with the whole question of revelation in Islam with particular reference to its continuation among Muslim saints. This was the fourth main aspect of his evidence.

Relying on the authority of the Holy Quran he was at pains to point out that the distinctive characteristic of true religion is that it invites the acceptance of a living God who listens to the prayers of the distressed, removes their troubles, and speaks to His servants. Every follower of the faith can make the verbal claim that Islam takes man to God. However, to call people of the world towards God on the basis of one's personal experience and attainment, is the work of only those who are purified by God Himself, and are perfect followers of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Developing the theme of revelation in Islam, the witness indicated that with the prophethood having ended with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the guidance which mankind was to receive reached its completion. He then posed the questions: is it the case that, with the completion of the guidance, the link between the Creator and His creatures has been forged permanently, and all men in future will attain to God from birth? Or, will people still drift away from God and lose the right path, even after the finality of the prophethood? Who will take the place of prophets to establish the link between God and the lost people when people can go astray despite the existence of perfect teachings?

He then went on to show, on the basis of Quranic authority, that, as the Holy Prophet called people to God through the light given to him by revelation, so will those of his followers who receive the light of revelation establish the link between God and his creatures on the basis of revelation. Such persons are called saints of God; and the revelation they receive is not prophetic revelation (*wahy nubuwwat*) but saintly revelation (*wahy wilayat*).

Thereafter, the witness dealt with the modes whereby God revealed himself. It is unnecessary to deal with this subject in any detail other than to make the observation that even in the modes of revelation a distinction is drawn between revelation which is common to saints and prophets and revelation which is exclusive to prophets. This last-mentioned mode of revelation (*wahy nubuwwat*) came to an end with the Holy Prophet Muhammad but divine communication among Muslims continues in the

form of *wahy wilayat* and such revelation was regarded by the Holy Prophet as part of Prophethood.

According to the Holy Quran this type of revelation came to non-prophets, such as Moses' mother, Mary, the mother of Jesus and the disciples of Jesus. It also came to the companions of the Holy Prophet, both during his life and afterwards. In his systematic and orderly manner the witness worked his way through the writings of numerous Muslim religious authorities, scholars and writers. An analysis of these writings makes it quite clear that revelation is one of the characteristics of the chosen ones of God; and that subsequent to the Holy Prophet this revelation came to non-prophets by way of saintly revelation.

“... The door of prophethood is closed after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and shall not be opened for anyone till the Day of Judgment. However, revelation (*wahy, ilham*) remains for the saints, which does not contain the Shariah in it ...”

The witness referred to the work of a present-day theologian, Allama Khalid Mahmud, who is opposed to the Ahmadiyya movement, and who wrote –

“... News of the unseen, visions and revelations are also received by some non-prophets. Saints of God are informed of news of the unseen. ... God Himself grants the privilege of His communication, without the person reaching the rank of prophet ...”

The fifth aspect of the evidence of the witness dealt with the concept of *Muhaddas* who is a saint or a non-prophet who receives revelation. He explained that the word *Muhaddas* admitted of two types of meaning: literal and technical. In its literal or linguistic sense the word *Muhaddas* did not convey the significance of relating news of the unseen, but merely relating something; as to its technical meaning in Islamic theology Mirza himself wrote –

“... The *muhaddas* ... has the honour of being spoken to by God. Matters of the unseen are disclosed to him. His revelation, like that of prophets and messengers, is protected from the interference of the devil. The real essence of the Law is disclosed to him. He is appointed just like the prophets and, like them, it is his duty to proclaim himself openly ...”

The witness then explained the use of the words “*nabi*” (Prophet) and “*rasul*” (messenger). As before, the witness distinguished between the

literal or linguistic meaning of the words and the *technical* meaning thereof.

The *literal* meaning of the word “*rasul*” is “to be sent”, i.e.

“... A person who is sent is called *rasul* in Arabic ...”

The technical meaning of the word “*rasul*” conveys something different. Mirza explained the meaning thus –

“... According to the explanation of the Holy Quran, *rasul* is he who receives the commands and beliefs of religion through the angel Gabriel ...”

As with the word “*rasul*” (i.e. messenger), so Mirza, like other Muslim theologians, attributed to the word “*nabi*” (prophet) two meanings, i.e. a literal and a technical meaning. The literal meaning of “*nabi*” and “*nubuwwat*” is as follows:

“... *nubuwwat* means to make prophecies ...”

and again –

“... He who discloses news of the unseen received from God is called *nabi* in Arabic ...”

The technical meaning conveys something different –

“... In the terminology of Islam, *nabi* and *rasul* mean persons who bring an entirely new law, or abrogate some aspects of the previous law, or are not included among the followers of the previous prophet, having a direct connection with God without benefit from any prophet ...”

These were the meanings attributed to the words “*nabi*” and “*rasul*” by Mirza and these meanings accorded with the meanings given to them by the Muslim religious elders over the centuries. All the prophets of the past fulfil the technical meaning. Mirza, however, applied to himself only the literal meanings, and throughout his life denied applying to himself the technical meanings. Such literal use of these terms (*nabi*, *rasul*) is not against Islamic law and theology. The witness referred to various writings of Mirza to emphasise this point; for instance, and I quote –

“... These words (i.e. *nabi* and *rasul*) do not bear their real meaning, but have been used according to their literal meaning in a straightforward manner ...”

Mirza not only distinguished between the literal and technical meaning of the words but also drew a distinction, in terms of language, between that which is “real” (*haqiqat*) and that which is metaphorical (*majaz*). The witness illustrated this difference by referring to the word “lion”. In its *real* sense it is an animal. In its metaphorical sense, it could mean a brave man.

Thus the terms “*nabi*” and “*rasul*” can be defined so as to connote the real prophets and messengers of God. In other words, used in that sense, the person is actually a prophet. If, however, “*nabi*” and “*rasul*” are applied to a non-prophet or saint, they are used in their metaphorical sense, i.e. a metaphorical prophet or a saint.

As before, Mirza took pains to explain the meaning which he attached to the words, e.g. –

“... By virtue of being appointed by God, I cannot conceal those revelations I have received from Him in which the words *nubuwwat* and *risalat* (prophethood) occur quite frequently. But I say repeatedly that, in these revelations, the word ... *rasul* or *nabi* which has occurred about me does not carry its real meaning ...”

Moreover, the meanings attributed to the words were not peculiar to Mirza. Saints in the Muslim world prior to Mirza were also given the titles “*nabi*” and “*rasul*” in their divine revelations in a metaphorical way, and no one took them to have become prophets.

It is quite apparent that Mirza intended no more than that he considered himself to have fallen into the category of saints (*wali*) and not into the category of prophets.

Indeed, the witness went on to analyse Mirza’s claims in the light of the beliefs of the great religious authorities in Islamic history. It is clear on the evidence that when the words “*nabi*” and “*rasul*” are used in the literal sense or by way of metaphor for saints (*wali*) and reformers (*mujaddid*) that does not make such persons prophets. It is equally clear on the evidence that Mirza at no time claimed real prophethood, but always used the words “*nabi*” and “*rasul*” about himself in the metaphorical sense. He gave clear and explicit explanations of these words and made their literal, technical, metaphorical and real meanings quite clear. Mirza’s claims can be summarised as follows:

- He denied receiving *wahy nubuwwat* and affirmed receiving *wahy wilayat*.

- He denied the use of prophet (*nabi*) in its technical sense and affirmed the use of the term in its literal sense.
- He denied that the term *muhaddas* could be applied to him in its literal sense and affirmed that he was a *muhaddas* in the technical sense.
- He denied being an actual or real prophet and affirmed being a metaphorical prophet.

When one examines these claims against the background of the religious environment into which Mirza came there appears to be nothing untoward or sinister in such claims. They are consistent with the spiritual thought prevailing in that environment. The witness convincingly demonstrated this by referring to a wealth of writings of the saints and scholars of the Islamic religion.

The next aspect of the evidence of the witness related to the terminology of Islamic mysticism as it applies to saints. He explained the meaning of such terms as

- *fana fir rasul* (one who is 'lost' in the Holy Prophet Muhammad)
- *zill* (an image or reflection)
- *burooz* (a manifestation)
- *masil anbiya* (like unto prophets) and
- *ummati wa nabi* (follower with prophetic qualities).

Mirza used these terms; he explained them and he applied them to himself. An analysis of the use of these terms makes it clear that what Mirza was claiming was not prophethood but rather a prophet by way of image or manifestation i.e. a picture or reflection and not the real thing itself. It was stated that Mirza's heart was like a well-polished mirror in which the image of the Holy Prophet Muhammad can be seen, or in other words, the Holy Prophet was the original and Mirza was the *zill* (reflection) or picture. According to the sufis (Muslim mystics) the Prophet is the original and the saint (*wali*) is the *zill* or reflection.

Moreover, it is manifestly apparent that Mirza firmly believed that the Holy Prophet was the Last of the Prophets, and that after him no prophet is to arise, whether new or old. With the finality of prophethood, religion and religious laws reached perfection, and therefore the chain of prophets was cut off. No prophet will now come.

At the same time, whenever people stray far from God and lose faith in Him, in order to revive faith and to re-establish man's relation with God, God raises up saints and reformers. This is in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Quran and the Hadith. These are known by various titles, such as *khalifa* (deputy to the Holy Prophet), *wali* (saint), *mujaddid* (reformer) and *muhaddas* (recipient of revelation, though not a prophet). These persons are also referred to as *fana fir-rasul* (effaced in the Holy Prophet), *masil anbiya* (the like of prophets), *zilli nabi*, *buroozi nabi* and *ummami wa nabi* (prophet by way of reflection, or manifestation, or follower and prophet). These terms do not describe prophets but are synonymous for saints.

Despite the lengths to which Mirza went to explain his beliefs and the terminology which he used, he came under criticism and attack. It was alleged that he claimed to be a prophet. This was denied by one of Mirza's followers. This led to him publishing in 1901 a treatise known as "Correction of an Error". The gravamen of the publication was to explain the terminology which he had used and to reiterate that he was not a prophet in the real sense of the word but only a reflection or manifestation of the real thing. He did not purport to correct any error on his part but to correct those who were in error concerning his claims. This publication was questioned by an opponent of Mirza; a follower of Mirza replied; this reply is contained in the document styled "Clarification of Correction of an Error". Yet again, the continuing theme was repeated, and I quote –

"... After the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the doors of prophecies have been closed ... But one window ... is open. That is to say, the window of self- effacement in the Holy Prophet (*fana fir-Rasul*), or perfect successorship to the Holy Prophet which is known in other words as *burooz* (manifestation)."

And again –

"... Ignorant opponents raise the allegation against me that I claim to be a *nabi* (prophet) or *rasul* (messenger). I make no such claim ..."

By way of further explanation of the terms used by Mirza and in particular by way of dealing with the characteristics of a saint, the witness dealt with a subject which he termed "How a Believer becomes 'Mary' and 'Messiah'". He referred to a class of believers "pure from the beginning and protected from attacks of the devil". Due to the high degree of goodness and purity in them, God has compared them to Mary and given them this

name in the spiritual world. The witness referred to various Islamic writings and showed that Muslim saints are likened to Jesus and Mary, as well as to other prophets.

Against this background the witness stated that it was permissible to liken non-prophets to prophets and that the Holy Prophet himself likened those who were not prophets to prophets.

He then analysed the views of Mirza to show how a believer becomes 'Mary':

"... Every believer who accomplishes himself in piety and purity, is Mary in the sense of *buooz* (manifestation and spiritual representation). And God breathes into him His spirit, which becomes the son of Mary ..."

Thus, when a person acquires such accomplishment in turning to God that only the spirit remains, he then becomes the spirit of God in God's view, and he is named Jesus in heaven. He receives a spiritual birth at the hand of God, which is not from any physical father: rather, it is the shadow of the Grace of God, that grants him that birth. So in fact the excellence of purification and of absorption in God is such that he attains severance from bodily darkness so that only spirit remains and he is accorded the rank of Messiah or Jesushood. Indeed Messiah is the title which was given to Jesus, meaning 'one who touches God', 'partakes of Divine favours', 'the vicegerent of God', and 'one who adopts truth and righteousness'. When the believer becomes Jesus in this sense he also reaches the perfect rank of *Mahdi* (the rightly-guided one). *Mahdi* is a title which means 'rightly-guided by instinct', 'heir to all guidance', and 'the full reflection of the Divine attributes'.

It is in this spiritual sense that Mirza claimed to be the Messiah and *Mahdi*:

"... I am a Muslim ... I have come from the Lord of the heavens and the earth as a Reformer (*mujaddid*) of the religion, for the fourteenth century, having the characteristics and disposition of Jesus ..."

And a further quotation –

"... In a metaphorical and spiritual sense, this humble servant is that promised Messiah, the news of whose advent is given in the Quran and Hadith ..."

Evidence was also led to show that the claims made by Mirza in this regard do not infringe against Islamic law. The claim to be Mahdi and the like of the Messiah is permitted by Islamic Shariah. What is objectionable is to deny that the Holy Prophet was *khatam an-nabiyyin* and to claim prophethood for oneself. As already indicated Mirza believed the Holy Prophet to be *khatam an-nabiyyin* and the Last Prophet, and he held that no prophet could come after the Holy Prophet, new or old.

It is apparent that many words can have several different meanings or shades of meaning, depending on the context. Mirza in his writings seems to have explained the sense in which he uses words which have different meanings. Any fair criticism of a writer can surely only be based upon the meaning which the writer himself attaches to his terms. To attach any other meaning would only result in distortion.

One of the matters raised by Defendants in their Plea which Plaintiff elected to meet concerned the virgin birth of Jesus. The evidence in this regard was firstly, that over the centuries of the existence of Islam, Muslims have differed on the issue of the birth of Jesus. Some believe that he was born without the agency of a natural or human father, while others hold that he did have such a father. It is clear that this is not an issue of faith nor is it an essential to the religion of Islam. What is part of the faith of Muslims is the acceptance of Jesus as a prophet. Secondly, as regards Mirza, it would seem from his writings that he personally believed that Jesus was born without the agency of a human father. Thirdly, because the question of the birth of Jesus is not decided conclusively in the Holy Quran but ambiguously, he gave his followers freedom in interpreting the Quran. As a result of this freedom, some of his followers even differed from Mirza himself on some points.

On the evidence placed before the court it is clear that the virgin birth is a matter upon which Muslims differ and that such differences of interpretation are not contrary to the teachings of Islam nor are these essential to the faith of a Muslim.

Another difference raised by the Defendants was that the Second Plaintiff was not a Muslim because he does not accept the *Jihad* or religious war against unbelievers in Islam. Second Plaintiff elected to meet this defence and a considerable amount of evidence was led as to the meaning of *Jihad*. In a very comprehensive coverage of the subject the witness first of all dealt with the subject linguistically i.e. from the point of view of its root meaning. This meaning is "to strive". Secondly he

approached the subject from the point of view of the teachings of the Holy Quran. Thirdly he looked at the subject historically by referring to the Muslims in Mekka and at Madina. He then examined it against the background of the Hadith and then the Bukhari (a commentary on the sayings of the Holy Prophet). Finally he viewed the subject in the light of the writings of Muslim religious scholars.

He indicated that *jihad* and “war” are not synonymous. Indeed the Holy Quran itself distinguished between *jihad* and *qital* (fighting or war). Undoubtedly *jihad* can mean fighting and physical warfare. The witness stated this and referred to the situation of the Muslims in Madina. The unbelievers of Mekka decided to attack Madina to annihilate Islam and the Muslims by the sword. It was then that God permitted the Muslims to conduct *jihad* with the sword, because not to do so would have meant suicide for the Muslims. At that time the following Quranic verse was revealed –

“... Permission to fight is given to those upon whom war is made, because they have been wronged — and God is well able to help them ...”

According to the evidence four conditions must be present for allowing *jihad* by the sword:

- (i) fighting has to be initiated by the unbelievers;
- (ii) there must be extreme persecution of the Muslims;
- (iii) the aim of the unbelievers has to be the destruction of Islam and the Muslims; and
- (iv) the object of the Muslims must only be self-defence and protection.

But there is another meaning to *jihad*: the Hadith makes it clear that *jihad* means to exert oneself to the utmost, whether by means of one’s wealth or tongue or hands or life, whether it is against one’s desires or a visible enemy, whether its aim is to attain nearness to God or to propagate the word of God. The Holy Quran and Hadith speak of three kinds of *jihad*:

- (a) A great *jihad*
- (b) The greatest *jihad* and
- (c) A lesser *jihad*.

The first two are undertaken constantly, while the third which includes *jihad* by means of the sword, is only undertaken if the specific conditions are satisfied. Using the term in its wider significance one classical commentary, commenting on the Hadith, stated that the best *jihad* is to speak the word of truth to a tyrant –

“... It is the best because *jihad* with arguments and proofs is a *jihad* which is greater as compared to *jihad* with the sword which is a lesser *jihad* ...”

The views of the Muslim religious scholars strongly support this wider meaning of the term:

“... The age of the sword is no more. Now instead of the sword it is necessary to wield the pen ...”

Thus the term *jihad* has attained a far more significant meaning and a meaning different to that which the Defendants would seek to convey. It is a warfare involving the pen and the tongue instead of the sword and its objective is to capture the minds and hearts of men and not act as a physical opponent.

“... To change people’s views by means of the pen and tongue, and to bring about a revolution in their minds, is also *jihad*. And to spend money for this end, and to exert oneself physically, is *jihad* too ...”

Also –

“... *Jihad* is derived from *jahd*, meaning literally effort and striving. In the technical sense, it is used for proclaiming the word of God, and the supremacy and success of Islam ...”

Not only did the evidence establish that there was a much wider and more significant meaning to the word *jihad* than mere physical warfare, but it established also that it was not one of the Five Pillars of Islam:

“... One more point might be mentioned: *jihad* or the spiritual ‘struggle’ or ‘striving’ is not one of the Five Pillars of Islam. In proper translation it does not mean ‘holy war’ except by extension, but it has been debased by this meaning, which is a journalistic usage ...”

Concerning *jihad*, Mirza made his viewpoint abundantly clear. To quote only one passage from his writings –

“... In our age the pen has been raised against us. It is with the pen that we have been caused pain and suffering. In response to this, the pen is the thing which is our weapon ...”

The witness explained why it was necessary for Mirza to write about *jihad*. Many objections against Islam were advanced by Christian missionaries. One of these objections was that Islam had spread by the sword. Naturally Mirza had to reply to this criticism. Secondly, as the ideas about *jihad* which had been spread among people by the Maulvis (spiritual leader) were contradictory to the teachings of the Holy Quran it was essential to explain the correct significance of the term.

In meeting these criticisms and correcting the false teachings, Mirza had necessarily to deal with *jihad* in terms of physical warfare. He made his standpoint quite clear. I quote from his writing –

“... It should be known that the Holy Quran does not arbitrarily give the command to fight. It gives the command to fight only against those people who prevent others from believing in God, and stop them from obeying His commandments and worshipping Him. It gives the command to fight against those who attack the Muslims without cause, expel them from their homes and countries, and prevent people from becoming Muslims. These are they with whom God is wroth, and Muslims must fight them if they do not desist ...”

And a further quotation –

“... But in these times the sword is not used in answer, but the pen and the argument is used to criticise Islam. This is the reason why, in this age, God has pleased that the work of the sword be done by the pen, and the opponents be routed by fighting them with writing. Hence it is not appropriate now for anyone to answer the pen with the sword ...”

On the evidence placed before me it is clear that Mirza's convictions and beliefs concerning *jihad* fully accord with the teachings of the Holy Quran and the Hadith and the religious tenets of Islam.

The witness then set about answering some of the allegations levelled at the Ahmadiyya movement. The witness set his testimony against the background of the teachings of the Quran and in particular that Muslims are taught to listen to everyone but to accept only those aspects which are good. Secondly, they are exhorted to try and understand the teachings of

the Quran and not just to accept them.

He then referred to the writings of Mirza and quoted from them. A few short portions are quoted:

- “... Believe God to be one without partners ...”
- “... do good to your fellow beings and be people of good thoughts and character ...”
- “... do not hurt with the tongue or hand and refrain from evil and sin ...”
- “... be good and true advisors to all people and do not keep company with evildoers ...”
- “... deliberate calmly, live peaceably and give no one cause for grievance and complaint ...”

It is quite apparent that there is much goodness in the writings and teachings of Mirza.

The witness explained certain misconceptions about the attitude of the Ahmadis to intermarriage, the saying of prayers with other Muslims, and the joining of other Muslims in funeral prayers. On whatever subject he testified the touchstone of the witness was the religion of Islam as revealed primarily in the Quran and the Hadith. Thus it was when he dealt with the subject of the consensus of opinion against the Ahmadis, that he sought his authority in these sources.

He indicated that the sources of Islam were four-fold: Firstly the Quran, secondly the Hadith, thirdly reasoning, and fourthly *ijma* or consensus.

He went on to say that if there is a teaching in the Quran there cannot be an *ijma* against it. Similarly, if there is a teaching or truth to be found in the Quran or the Hadith, there is no scope for resorting to the other sources i.e. reasoning or *ijma*. He went on to enumerate three principles that emerge from Islamic writings –

- (i) the opinion of the majority is not necessarily a conclusive argument;
- (ii) the opinion of the majority is not necessarily binding upon the minority;
- (iii) the opinion of the majority is not necessarily evidence of the truth.

He illustrated this by referring to a majority of 99 to 1, where the 1 was truthful and the 99 were untruthful. In Islam, he said, the word of one truthful man must be accepted against the word of 99 untruthful men, although the 1 be much in the minority.

The test, he indicated, was not the majority view of opinion, but what is the truth. For this reason the Ahmadis do not accept *ijma* or the majority view, if this is against the Quran or the Hadith.

Although the witness dealt with the subject of *fatwas* at some length, it is not proposed to deal with it here in any detail. *Fatwas of kufr* or "rulings of heresy" are so frequent among the various Sunni groups and are given for such apparently superficial reasons, that they do not warrant special consideration.

The conformists (*muqallid*) have issued *fatwas* against the non-conformists (*ghair muqallid*), condemning them as kafir; and the non-conformists have issued *fatwas* against the conformists condemning them in similar fashion. The followers of all the four Imams and the followers of the four Sufi orders have been condemned as kafirs; and so have the Deobandis. The Deobandis, in turn, have declared the Barelvis to be kafir and the Barelvis have retaliated in like manner.

Not only have various sects, of which there are a large number, had *fatwas* directed against them, but prominent men within their ranks have been condemned individually.

There are *fatwas* against prominent leaders of modern times such as Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Jinnah and Iqbal; and there are *fatwas* of heresy against the early servants of Islam; such as Imam Hanifa, Imam Shafi, Imam Hanbal and so on.

The witness then dealt with a Muslim's right to enter a mosque. As was his wont he based his evidence upon the teachings of the Quran:

"... And who is more unjust than he who prevents (men) from the mosques of Allah, from His name being remembered therein and strives to ruin them? As for these, it was not proper for them to enter them except in fear. For them is disgrace in this world, and theirs is a grievous chastisement in the Hereafter ..."

He said that all who claimed to be Muslims had an inherent right to entry into a mosque; those who recite the *Kalima* were Muslims and it was they who were entitled to attend a mosque unhindered. It was only idolaters, i.e. those who called themselves unbelievers and therefore became kafir,

who lost their right of entry into a mosque. People had been denied entry into mosques for the slightest and most superficial of reasons. This was contrary to the teachings of the Holy Quran and contrary to the religion of Islam. Every Muslim is entitled to enter a mosque and perform devotions whatever may be the sect or school to which he belongs. Reference to certain Indian cases supports this viewpoint.

See: *Queen Empress v Ramazan & others* (1885) ILR 7 All 462

Ata Ullah v Azim Ullah (1889) 12 ILR 494

Khalik Ahmad vs Israfil 1917 Indian Cases AIR (1955) Allahabad 68.

In *Ata Ullah's* case (at p 504) *Mahmood J* is reported to have said –

“So long as a mosque is a mosque (that) so long as the plaintiffs are persons who call themselves Mohammedans and entitled to worship, there is absolutely no authority to say that any sect or any creed or any portion of the community can restrain others who claim to have the right which, to use the language of Mohammedan law, God and His Prophet gave them, from putting such right into exercise”.

In the same case *Edge CJ* is reported as follows –

“No authority has been brought to our notice to show that a mosque which has been dedicated to God can be appropriated exclusively to or by any particular sect or denomination of the Sunni Mohammedans, and without very strong authority for such a proposition, I for one could not find as a matter of law that there could be any such exclusive appropriation. As I understand it, a mosque to be a mosque at all must be a building dedicated to God and not a building dedicated to God with a reservation that it should be used only by particular persons holding particular views of the ritual. As I understand it, a mosque is a place where all Mohammedans are entitled to go and perform their devotions as of right, according to their conscience.”

(This judgment was concurred in by Straight, Brodhurst and Tyrrell JJ). See also: *Mulla on the Principles of the Mohammedan Law* (Pakistan Edition 1980) at p 222, and *Fyzee, Outlines of Mohammedan Law* pp 319 et seq.

Condition 2 of the Deed of Transfer of 11 February 1881 – which is the document in terms whereof the mosque was founded – provides that the mosque shall be –

“Free for the use of all persons professing the Moslem faith.”

It is clear from the deed of grant (signed in December 1908) that the grant was made in terms of Section 6 of the Disposal of Crown Lands Act, No. 159 (1887) (Cape) which provides for the grant of land “for special public purposes.”

The effect of the grant was to vest the land in question in the trustees as a public cemetery for the benefit of certain groups of persons, *inter alia*, Muslims. See: *In re Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, Cape Town (1897) 14 S.C. 5, 9–10*, and also *Honore The South African Law of Trust (2nd ed) pp 36–37*.

As with the mosque, so with the cemetery, once Plaintiff establishes that he is a Muslim he is entitled to the same rights as pertain to all Muslims with regard to burial.

It is not open to the Trustees to refuse burial to a Muslim. Cf *Noordien v Moslem Cemetery Board 1965 (4) SA 174 (C)*.

Indeed, this is not Third Defendant’s case; Third Defendant asserts that it can decide whether or not Second Plaintiff is a Muslim; this is clearly unsound; not only would it be contrary to Mohammedan usage and customs, but also it would be contrary to the terms of the original grant.

As far as the right of any Muslim to approach a non-Muslim Court for a ruling concerning religious matters was concerned, the witness referred to the sayings and to the experience of the Holy Prophet. He also referred to a *fatwa* concerning the duty of Muslims to protect their mosques.

The *fatwa* indicated that to resort to violence in protection of a mosque is not acceptable. Muslims should turn to the secular authorities for a decision. He also referred to other *fatwas* where it was declared that non-Muslim judges could adjudicate on Muslim matters.

The witness referred to certain instances in the life of the Holy Prophet where he said that the angel Gabriel had revealed to him that he ought to appoint a non-Muslim as a judge to determine a particular dispute. Not only was a non-Muslim judge appointed, but the Holy Prophet accepted the judge’s ruling.

It was quite clear from this evidence that Muslims are expected to accept the authority of the government of the country in which they live.

The witness indicated that hindrances were constantly being placed in the way of Ahmadis despite the fact that they were Muslims. If they

separate themselves then they are criticised; if they go to mosques they are ejected. Their right to burial is denied them. He then asked: what must they do? All that is open to them is to approach the secular authorities for implementation of their rights as citizens and Muslims. He said that *fatwas* arouse the passions of the public and this gives rise to a deprivation of rights. He appealed to the Court for a restoration of such rights, whatever might be the attitude of other Muslims.

The witness concluded his evidence by referring to two further matters. The first related to the obituaries of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and other tributes paid to him by prominent Muslims. This aspect of the evidence is not dealt with in any detail other than to say that it is quite clear that during his life, at the time of his death and thereafter, Mirza was held in very high esteem. Reference is made to one small part of a quote which seems to sum things up concerning the Founder of the movement –

“... undoubtedly the deceased was a great fighter for Islam ...”

The second matter related to the tributes which have been paid to the Lahore Ahmadiyya movement by prominent Muslims. Here too, the evidence is not dealt with in any detail and comment is confined to one short part of a letter written by Abul Ala Maudoodi (an opponent of the Ahmadis) –

“... However, the Ahmadi group is included in Islam ...”

The witness concluded his evidence by saying that those who oppose Mirza do not know him, nor have they read his works.

In my estimation the witness is a man of great learning and integrity. He gave evidence before me for some six days and created an extremely favourable impression. I accept his evidence without hesitation.

The Second Plaintiff, Ismail Peck, then gave evidence. It is obvious that he is a humble and sincere person. He was born in the Cape in 1928 into a Muslim family. He was brought up in a staunch Sunni home. His parents were practising Muslims, and he, himself, observed all the practices, rituals and requirements of the religion of Islam. He believed the Kalima, accepted the other four pillars of Islam and expressed no doubt concerning the finality of Prophethood, namely that the prophethood concluded with the Holy Prophet.

In about 1957 he became a member of the Ahmadi movement and continued to regard himself as a Muslim. Indeed, he was always accepted as such until about 1965 when he was denied entry to a mosque. He

expressed the desire, shared by all other Muslims, to be allowed unhindered entry into any mosque, including the mosque on the corner of Long and Dorp Streets in Cape Town. This desire, he said, arises simply out of the fact that he is a Muslim.

Similarly, he would like to be buried in a Muslim cemetery on the same basis i.e. that he is a Muslim. In particular, he would like to be buried in the Vygekraal Cemetery because his father and brother are buried there.

He testified to the fact that in May 1982 the Movement applied for a welfare organisation number to enable them to raise money for an Islamic centre. This caused the sheiks to incite the Sunni Muslims against the Ahmadiyya movement. The pamphlets (copies of which are annexed to the pleadings) were printed and distributed amongst the Muslim community.

He said that he felt very disturbed and offended by this action. To quote his words:

“... my world came to an end ...”

He went on to refer to certain personal incidents relating to the death of his mother and to his relationships with other Muslims and it is quite clear that the attitude taken by the Defendants had caused him deep hurt.

He went yet further and indicated that his very life had been threatened. For these reasons he was left with no alternative but to approach the Court. He was a manifestly truthful person and I accept his evidence.

The defamatory allegations complained of are that all Ahmadis are non-Muslims, apostates and disbelievers; that they reject the finality of the Holy Prophet Muhammad; that they are non-believers and as such are to be denied the right to bury their dead in any Muslim cemetery; that all business and social intercourse (including marriage) with Ahmadis is prohibited; and an exhortation to all Muslims to stand up and defend Islam against the Ahmadis (record pages 5, 6, 122, 123, 125–128); publication is not in issue (record page 488). First Defendant, denying that the statements are defamatory, pleads a *bona fide* belief in the correctness of their statements and a right and duty to communicate same – i.e. a qualified privilege.

The *onus* of establishing the qualified privilege is on First Defendant – it has tendered no evidence in regard thereto.

To say of a Muslim that he is a non-Muslim and an apostate is the grossest possible defamation; this has been testified to by the expert witness and Second Plaintiff has himself told the Court of the hurt which has been occasioned to him as a result thereof. cf *Levy v Moltke* 1934 EDL 296, 324 et seq.

Second Plaintiff is an Ahmadi, a member of a small group of only some 200 men, women and children in all in this country, and is clearly comprehended within the defamation and entitled to seek the Court's protection in respect thereof. See *SA Associated Newspapers Ltd & Another v Estate Pelsler* 1975 (4) SA 787 (AD); *Knupfer v London Express Newspaper Ltd* (1944) 1 All ER 495 (HC) 497-8; *Levy v Von Moltke* 1934 EDL 296, 315, and also *Galley on Libel & Slander* (6th ed) p 141, Note 30.

Second Plaintiff does not seek damages; merely an injunction against continued publication of such defamatory matter. Clearly he is entitled to such relief. In the result Second Plaintiff has proved that he is entitled to the various orders which he has claimed.

I turn next to consider the question of costs. Before Mr Desai and his clients withdrew from the Court, at the commencement of these proceedings Mr King, who together with Mr Prest appeared for the Second Plaintiff, gave formal notice to the Defendants that an order for attorney and client costs would be sought. It is contended that Defendants behaved unreasonably and vexatiously in failing to communicate to the Court and to Second Plaintiff their intention to withdraw from the proceedings. Mr Khan, Second Plaintiff's attorney, gave evidence as to his communication with Defendants. I accept his evidence. I am satisfied that in the light of the discussions between the attorneys, and the exchange of correspondence, in all probability the decision to withdraw had been taken some time ago, and for reasons best known to Defendants, this was kept secret until the actual moment of its announcement in Court. The letter of 21st October 1985 (Exhibit 24) from Defendants' attorneys is in my view a deliberately misleading document. In the light of the long history of the Defendants' strenuously conducted defence no one could have guessed what Defendants had in mind. Nor was the Court or the Second Plaintiff informed as to when the decision to withdraw had been taken, though the inference is clear that it probably was taken before the letter of 21st October was written.

The result of all this is that without doubt the Second Plaintiff has unnecessarily been put to considerable further expense in preparing for

what would clearly have been a protracted and complicated trial. I view this conduct on the part of the Defendants with disfavour and it is in my opinion only just that in these circumstances I should order them to pay costs on the attorney and client scale in respect of the whole litigation.

I have considered whether I should award attorney and client costs only from a certain date but have decided against that course. The Defendants have not seen fit to explain why this decision, if it is indeed one of conscience, was not taken and communicated long ago. Summons was after all served more than three years ago, in October 1982. Mr Khan also gave evidence on certain other aspects relating to costs which satisfied me as to the reasonableness of getting experts and an interpreter from overseas.

In the result I make the following order:

- (1) As against all three Defendants, **Second Plaintiff is declared to be a Muslim and as such to be entitled to all such rights and privileges as pertain to Muslims.**
- (2) As against First Defendant, **First Defendant is interdicted from disseminating, publishing or otherwise propagating false, harmful, malicious and defamatory matter of and concerning members of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishaat Islam Lahore South Africa, including Second Plaintiff, to wit, that such members are non-Muslims, disbelievers, kafir, apostates, murtadds, that they reject the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad, that they are non-believers and as such are to be denied admittance to mosques and to Muslim burial grounds, and that marriage with an Ahmadi is prohibited by Muslim law.**
- (3) As against the Second Defendant, **Second Plaintiff is declared to be entitled to admittance to the Malay mosque situate at the corner of Long and Dorp Streets, Cape Town, held under Deed of Transfer dated 11th February 1881, and to all rights and privileges therein pertaining to Muslims generally.**
- (4) As against the Third Defendant, **Second Plaintiff is declared to be entitled to the same rights of burial in the Malay portion of the Vygekraal Cemetery, held under Deed of Transfer No. 3, dated 18th December, 1908, as pertaining to all Muslims.**
- (5) As against all three Defendants: Costs of suit on the attorney and client scale.

Part III

The Evidence

This part contains the written evidence submitted to the court during the hearings in November 1985, on behalf of the religious expert witness, Maulana Hafiz Sher Mohammad. This evidence has been extensively mentioned in the Judgment, and the quotations from it given there will be found in this Part, with full references. The written evidence was also presented orally in court, and in addition some purely oral evidence was also given (which is not recorded here).

The written evidence was in the form of individual documents, mostly called *Sections*, each dealing with one issue. In this book, we have given a brief *Compiler's Note* before each Section, to explain to our readers the purpose and relevance of the evidence contained therein. Without such explanation, it would be difficult for those unfamiliar with the case to follow the evidence.

We have adopted the convention, within quotations, that whenever any explanatory words by us were necessary, these are given within *square brackets*, thus: [...]. The use of *round brackets*, i.e. (...), within a translated quotation is to show the author's original words, where this was necessary in clarification of the translation.

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Section 1

Who is a Muslim?

Compiler's Note. The most fundamental part of our evidence dealt with the question: What does a person have to profess, practice, or do, according to Islamic teachings, in order to be known as a *Muslim*? It must be made clear that the point at issue here is *not* what are the requirements for a person to be a full and true Muslim in belief and deed. The issue relevant to the case is, What is the criteria laid down by Islam for a person to be *known* as, *identified* as and *treated* as a Muslim so far as matters of civil law and his social relations with other Muslims are concerned. The evidence on this point is divided into six parts:

- (1) From the Holy Quran, extracts showing that belief in God and His messenger makes a person a 'Muslim'.
 - (2) From the Hadith, incidents showing that during the life-time of the Holy Prophet Muhammad people embraced Islam by reciting the *Kalima Shahada*.
 - (3) Opinion of Muslim authorities, throughout the history of Islam, again showing that to be known as a Muslim and included in the Islamic community, a person has only to profess the *Kalima*.
 - (4) Sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, giving certain outward signs of a Muslim, so that a person showing those signs must be treated as a Muslim.
 - (5) The Quran, Hadith, and Muslim theologians, on the prohibition of *Takfir* (calling a Muslim as a *kafir*).
 - (6) Muslim theologians' view that a person cannot be called *kafir* on the grounds that he differs with a commonly-accepted interpretation of some religious point.
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1.1: The Holy Quran

The religion of Islam is summarised in the two phrases: *la ilaha ill-Allah* (there is no God but Allah) and *Muhammad-ur rasul Allah* (Muhammad is the messenger of Allah). By affirming these two precepts, a person enters the fellowship of Islam.

These two constituents do not occur together in the Holy Quran, as they do in the *Kalima*, but each is a constant theme of the Quran:

“Know that there is no God but Allah.” (47:19)

and

“Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.” (48:29)

The Quran also says: “Believe in Allah and His messengers.” (4:171)

As regards who is a Muslim, the Quran says:

1. “Say: It is revealed to me that your God is one God. Will you then be Muslims?” (21:108)
2. “Say: We believe in Allah and in that which has been revealed to us, and in that which was revealed to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and in that which was given to Moses and Jesus, and in that which was given to the Prophets from their Lord. We do not make any distinction between any of them, and we are Muslims.” (2:136)
3. “And when I revealed to the disciples, saying, Believe in Me and My messenger, they said: We believe, and bear witness that we are Muslims.” (5:111)
4. “The desert Arabs say, We have faith. Say to them: ‘You do not have faith, but rather say, we are Muslims — faith has not yet entered your hearts’.” (49:14)
5. “Do not say ‘you are not a believer’ to a person who says *assalamu alaikum* to you.” (4:94)

These verses make it clear that the person who believes in the oneness of God and the prophethood of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and believes in his revelation, is a Muslim. Verse no. 5 goes so far as to say that a person who offers the greeting *assalamu alaikum* to show that he is a Muslim cannot be called *kafir* (unbeliever or non-Muslim).

1.2: How the Holy Prophet converted people to Islam

1. “Ibn Umar reported that the messenger of Allah, may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him, said: Islam is based on five things — testifying that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, keeping up prayer, giving in charity (*Zakaat*), the Pilgrimage (*hajj*), and fasting in Ramadaan.” (*Bukhari*, Book of Faith; Book 2, ch. 1; p. 90 of edition used)

Note: In this hadith, the *Kalima* is counted as one of the five fundamentals. The basic foundation is the *Kalima*, the other fundamentals being based upon it.

2. "Ibn Abbas related that the Holy Prophet sent Mu'az to Yemen [as governor], and instructed him: Invite the people to testify that there is no god but Allah, and that I am the messenger of Allah; if they accept this, tell them that Allah has made obligatory for them five prayers daily; if they accept that, tell them that Allah has made obligatory upon them to give in charity, which is taken from their rich and given to their poor."
(*Bukhari*, Book of *Zakaat*; Book 24, ch. 1)
3. "When the time of Abu Talib's death approached, the messenger of Allah, may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him, came to him and found with him Abu Jahl Ibn Hisham and Abdullah Ibn Abi al-Mughira. The messenger of Allah said to Abu Talib: O uncle! say 'There is no god but Allah', I shall bear witness for you to Allah about this.
"Then Abu Jahl and Abdullah Ibn Abi Umayyah said: O Abu Talib! will you turn away from the religion of Abdul Muttalib? The messenger of Allah continued to put this *Kalima* to him, and the other two kept on repeating what they had said, until Abu Talib said his last words to them, that he followed the religion of Abdul Muttalib, and he refused to say, There is no god but Allah."
(*Bukhari*, Book of Funerals; Book 23, ch. 81; vol i. p. 511)
"Abu Bakr said: O messenger of Allah, what is salvation? The Holy Prophet said: He who accepts the *Kalima* which I put before my uncle [Abu Talib], but which he rejected, that is the means of salvation."
(*Mishkat al-Masabih*, Book of Faith, sec. 3)
4. "Anas reported that the Holy Prophet said: There is no one who testifies truly from his heart that there is no God but Allah and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, but Allah prohibits for him the fire of hell."
(*Mishkat al-Masabih*, Book of Faith, sec. 1)
5. "It is reported from Abu Huraira that the Prophet, may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him, sent riders towards Najd. They brought a man of the Bani Hanifa, whose name was Sumama Ibn Usal, and tied him to one of the pillars of the mosque. Then the Holy Prophet came out to him and said: Untie Sumama. The man went to a date-tree close to the mosque, had a bath, came back into the mosque, and said: I testify that there is no god but Allah, and

Muhammad is His messenger.”

(*Bukhari*, Book of Prayer; Book 8, ch. 75; vol. i, p. 243)

6. Abu Zarr related: “I said to him [Holy Prophet]: Present Islam to me. So when he presented it, I became a Muslim there and then. He said to me: ‘Abu Zarr! Keep this matter a secret, and return to your land. When you hear of our triumph, then come.’ I said: ‘By Him Who sent you with the truth, I shall shout about this to them.’ So he [Abu Zarr] went to the mosque, and the Quraish were there. He said: O people of Quraish! I testify that there is no god but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is His servant and messenger.” (*Bukhari*, *Kitab al-Manaqib*; Book 61, ch. 9; vol. ii, p. 335)
7. In the well-known story of the conversion of Umar to Islam, given in Shibli’s famous biography of the Holy Prophet *Seerat an-nabi*, it is related that when Umar became convinced of the truth of the Quran, he declared his conversion to Islam by crying out: “I testify that there is no god but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.” (*Seerat an-Nabi*, vol. i, pp. 225–226)
8. When Abdullah Ibn Salam heard of the arrival of the Holy Prophet in Madina, he went to see him and said: “I want to ask you three things which only prophets know about.” The Holy Prophet answered his questions. The account then runs:

“He [Abdullah] said: I testify that you are the messenger of Allah. He then said: O messenger of Allah! the Jews are a people who slander; if they find out about my becoming a Muslim before you ask them about me, they will slander me. So when the Jews came, Abdullah went inside the house. The messenger of Allah, may peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, said: What sort of a man is your Abdullah Ibn Salam? They said: He is our most learned scholar, son of the most learned one, and he is the best of us, son of the best one. The Holy Prophet said: What if you see that he has become a Muslim? They said: May God save him from this! Then Abdullah came to them and said: I testify that there is no god but Allah, and I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. They said: He is the worst one of us, son of the worst one. And they began to deprecate him.”

(*Bukhari*, Book of Prophets; Book 60, ch. 1; vol. ii, p. 253)

9. "It is related from Abu Salama that his mother had expressed a dying wish that a *Muslim* slave-girl should be freed on her behalf. So he asked the Holy Prophet about it and wondered if he should set free a black slave-girl from the city of Nobiyya whom he owned. The Holy Prophet said: Bring her here. When she came, he said to her: Who is your Lord? She said: Allah. He said: Who am I? She said: The messenger of Allah. He said: Go and free her, she is a believer."
(*Tarjuman al-Sunna*, vol. ii, p. 128)
10. Abu Huraira related that he asked the Holy Prophet to pray for the guidance of his mother. He prayed: O Allah! grant guidance to Abu Huraira's mother. Abu Huraira then relates:
"I then left, being pleased because of the prayer of the messenger of Allah, may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him. When I approached the door of my house, it was closed. My mother, hearing the sound of my footsteps, called out: Stay where you are, Abu Huraira. I could hear the sound of splashing water. She had a bath, put on her upper garment, and hurried with the head-covering. Then she opened the door and said: O Abu Huraira! I testify that there is no god but Allah, and that Muhammad is His servant and messenger. I rushed back to the messenger of Allah, shedding tears of joy. He praised Allah, and spoke well of her."
(*Muslim*, Book of Virtues, vol. vi, pp. 163–164)
11. "Baraida Ibn al-Hasib related that one day they were sitting with the Holy Prophet when he said to his companions: Let us go and visit our sick Jewish neighbour. So when the Holy Prophet went in to see him, he found him near to death. He asked him how he was, and then said to him: Testify that there is no god but Allah, and that I am the messenger of Allah. The Jew looked at his father, who did not speak. [The Holy Prophet then repeated his question]. The father said: Testify to it. So the boy said: I testify that there is no god but Allah, and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. The Holy Prophet said: Praise be to Allah Who, through me, saved this man from the fire of hell."
(*Bukhari*, Book of Funerals)
12. While the Holy Prophet was asleep under a tree, a desert Arab came upon him with a sword. The account continues:

“He [the bedouin] said: Who can save you from me now? The Holy Prophet said: Allah. The sword fell from his hand. The Holy Prophet picked it up and said: Who can save you from me now? The man said: Be a better wielder of the sword [the meaning is: Forgive me]. The Holy Prophet said: Do you testify that there is no god but Allah and that I am the messenger of Allah? He said: No, but I promise that I shall not fight you nor side with those who fight you. So the Holy Prophet let him go.”

(*Mishkat al-Masabih*, ch. Reliance on God and Patience, Sec. 3)

13. A man came to the Holy Prophet while a battle was going on. He said: Shall I first fight the unbelievers and then become a Muslim, or first become a Muslim and then fight? The Holy Prophet said: Become a Muslim first, then fight. The man said: I testify that there is no god but Allah, and that you are His servant and messenger. He then went and fought until he was killed.
(*Tuhfat al-Akhyar*, p. 394)
14. Adi Ibn Hatim, a Companion of the Holy Prophet, related: The Holy Prophet, seeing me, said: Adi, why do you run from *la ilaha ill-Allah* [There is no god but Allah]? Is there anyone other than Allah worthy of being worshipped? Why do you refrain from saying *Allahu Akbur*? Is there anyone greater than Allah? These words made such an impression upon me that I immediately recited the *Kalima* and became a Muslim.
(*Tafsir Ibn Kasir*, Urdu, under verse 1:5)

1.3: Muslim authorities on ‘Who is a Muslim’

1. Abu Bakr

When Abu Bakr became the first Caliph, he wrote a letter to certain apostate tribes, explaining how he became a Muslim:

“I praise the true God, besides whom there is none to be worshipped. I declare that Allah is One, without partner, and Muhammad is His servant and messenger. We affirm the message of Allah which he brought us. He who denies it, is a *kafir*.”
(*Tarikh Tabari*, Urdu translation, vol. i, part iv, p. 38)

2. How apostate tribe became Muslim

When the tribe of Abdul Qais became apostate upon the death of the Holy

Prophet, one member of this tribe gathered them and brought them back to Islam. He announced:

“Muhammad has died, as did the previous prophets die. I declare that there is no god but Allah and that Muhammad is His servant and messenger.”

His tribe said:

“We too testify that there is no god but Allah, and certainly Muhammad is His servant and messenger.”

Thus did they stay firm in Islam.

(*Tarikh Tabari*, vol. i, pp. 94–95. Chapter on the apostates of Bahrain)

3. Imam Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.)

Ghazali, one of Islam’s greatest philosophers, wrote:

- i. “He who says, ‘There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger’, with the tongue but does not confirm it in his heart, there is no doubt that in the Hereafter he shall be included among the unbelievers, and shall enter hell. But there is also no doubt that, so far as affairs of this world are concerned, the religious and secular authorities shall include him among the Muslims because it is not known what is in his heart, and we are obliged to accept what is on his tongue.”

(*Ihya al-Ulum*, p. 97)

- ii. In his biography of Ghazali, Maulana Shibi writes:

“What were Islamic doctrines according to Ghazali? The principle of Islam is only two sentences: There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. However, in explaining the details of these, differences arose and many sects sprang up.”

(*Al-Ghazali* by Shibli, p. 102)

4. Imam Ibn Taimiyya (d. 1327 C.E.)

The Imam, an eminent theologian, considered as the *mujaddid* of his time, writes:

“The proof of someone’s Islam should be based upon something which can be known to all alike. If this had been determined by the knowledge possessed by the messenger of God, then all the hypocrites would have been included in the disbelievers. If they had been killed on this basis, they would have got an opportunity to discredit Islam by saying that the Holy Prophet killed his own

friends. Hence, the mere confession of the *Kalima* by tongue was made the criterion of embracing Islam, and the commencement and the end of war against disbelievers was made dependent on just this *Kalima*.”

(*Kitab-ul-Iman*, p. 172 as referred to in *Tarjuman al-Sunna*, footnote, vol. i, p. 471, Delhi, 1948)

5. Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi (d. 1763 C.E.)

Shah Wali-ullah, a world-renowned Indian Muslim scholar, theologian and philosopher, acknowledged by all Muslims of India and Pakistan today, wrote:

“When the commandments were formalised by the Shari’ah, the word *iman* (faith) came to be applied to the ‘two testimonies’, and the word *kufr* (unbelief) to the denial of these two. Bearing this terminology in mind, we can say that *iman* is to acknowledge with the tongue, and *kufr* is to deny these two with the tongue.”

(*Al-Khair al-Kasir*, p. 440, published in Karachi)

By the “two testimonies” is meant the *Kalima shahada*.

6. Another view from Shah Wali-ullah

“The Holy Prophet has described faith as being of two kinds. One is that upon which depend the commands relating to this world, such as the sanctity of life and property, and which is to do with matters of outward obedience. The Holy Prophet Muhammad has said: ‘I am commanded to fight people till they testify that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His messenger, say prayers and give in charity; and when they do this, they have security of life and property from me.’ And as to inward disbelief, Allah will call them to account for that. The Holy Prophet said: ‘He who prays our prayer, takes our *qibla* for his *qibla*, and eats our slaughtered meat, he is a Muslim for whom is the covenant [of protection] of Allah and His messenger; so do not violate the covenant of Allah.’ And the Holy Prophet said: ‘Three things are the basis of our faith: he who says the *Kalima* with his tongue, do not call him *kafir*, for any sin, nor expel him from Islam for any misconduct’.”

(*Hujjat-ullah al-Baligha*, vol. i, ch. *The second type of belief*, p. 322)

7. Imam Raghیب’s ‘Mufradat’

In the standard dictionary of the Holy Quran, the *Mufradat* of Imam

Raghib, *Islam* is defined as follows:

“According to the Shari‘ah, there are two grades of [a person’s commitment to] Islam. One [extent of professing] Islam is below the level of faith, and that is confession with the tongue and reciting the *Kalima*. That assures protection of life. In this case, the question of the correctness of belief does not arise. The Quranic verse pointing to this grade of Islam is: ‘*The desert Arabs say, We have faith. Tell them, You do not have faith, you should just say we are Muslims.*’

“The other grade of Islam is that which is above the level of faith, and that is that, besides professing the *Kalima* with the tongue, there should be faith in the heart and the person should show fidelity in practice and submit to the decrees of God. This grade of Islam is referred to in the following mention of Abraham: ‘*When his Lord said to him, submit, he said, I submit to the Lord of the worlds.*’ And it is referred to in the following: ‘*Surely the religion with God is Islam.*’”

(*Mufradat* of Raghib)

8. ‘*Lisan al-Hukam*’

The author of the classical *Lisan al-Hukam* wrote:

“It is written that if an atheist, or an idol worshipper, or one who believes in gods besides the One God, were to merely say, *There is no god but Allah*, he enters Islam. Or if he were to say, *I believe Muhammad to be the messenger of God*, he enters Islam. This is because the deniers of Islam refrain from saying these two formulae. Hence if he were to declare even one of these two commandments, he would be taken out of the category called non-Muslim, and would be considered as a Muslim.”

(*Lisan al-Hukam*, p. 204)

9. Imam Shafi‘i

Shafi‘i, founder of one of the four schools of jurisprudence in Sunni Islam, related the following:

“It was reported to Umar, the second Caliph, regarding a certain man that he was not a believer at heart, but merely a Muslim in the outward sense. Umar asked him: ‘Is it not true that you are only outwardly a Muslim, and not really a Muslim, and your only reason for embracing Islam is to gain Islamic rights?’ He asked Umar: ‘Sir,

does Islam deprive those people of their rights who follow Islam only in the outward sense, and does it leave no way for them?' Umar said: 'Islam has left a way for them', and then said nothing further."

(*Kitab al-Um*, vol. vi, p. 154)

10. *Sharh Fiqh Akbar*

In this authoritative work of Islamic law, Imam Abu Mansur writes:

"He who wishes to be from among the community of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, must say with his tongue, *There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah*, and affirm its meaning in his heart. He is then a Muslim, even though he may not know about the duties and prohibitions."

(p. 34 of the edition published by *Da'irat al-Mu'arif* of Egypt)

11. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed (d. 1831 C.E.)

This famous Muslim religious and military leader of North-West India converted two Sikhs to Islam as follows. The account is taken from his biography by the well-known modern writer Abul Hasan Ali Nadawi.

"During his stay in Panjtar, two Sikh spies came to meet Shah Ismail Shaheed. He asked them the reason for their coming. They said that they had come only to meet him. He said: 'You are our guests, stay as long as you like.' After about ten days, they said one day: 'Sir, we have stayed with you for so many days, listened to what you say, and we find you to exceed what we had heard from people regarding your praiseworthy qualities and likeable morals. We much admire your way and religion and we would like you to instruct us in it.' The Sayyid was very pleased, and immediately got them to recite the *Kalima* and become Muslims."

(*Jab Iman ki Bahar A'ee*, Lucknow, India, 1974, pp. 139–140)

12. *The Preaching of Islam*

This is a renowned history book giving an accurate account of the spread of Islam, written in the late nineteenth century by the eminent orientalist Sir Thomas Arnold. It is much popular in the Muslim world, and is available in Urdu as *Da'wat-i Islam*. The author quotes a reply written by the Shaikh al-Islam of Constantinople in 1888 to an enquirer who wanted to become a Muslim. The reply said:

"In reality, the basis of Islam is that one should believe God to be one, and believe in the apostleship of the Holy Prophet

Muhammad. That is, one should believe this in the heart, and profess it in words such as those of the *Kalima*: There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger. Any person professing this *Kalima* becomes a Muslim, without having to obtain anyone's approval. If, as you have written in your letter, you accept the *Kalima*, i.e. you confess that there is only one God, and Muhammad is His messenger, you are a Muslim, and you do not need our approval."

(*Da'wat-i Islam*, edition published in Karachi, 1979, Appendix iv, p. 350)

13. 'Roman Princes embrace Islam'

In *Dawat-i Islam*, under the above heading it is recorded:

"To embrace Islam, all that was required was to confess the *Kalima*: There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah."

(*ibid.*, pp. 143–144; see also *The Preaching of Islam*, English edition, reprinted by Renaissance Publishing House, Delhi, 1984, p. 160)

14. 'Simplicity of embracing Islam'

In the same work it is written:

"The most important of all the reasons for the success of the propagation of Islam is the simplicity of the *Kalima* of Islam: There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. These are the only two points which a convert to Islam must profess. It is not found anywhere in the history of the theology of Islam that the Ulama of Islam devised some complicated and intricate formulation, in place of this clear *Kalima*, for the guidance of the masses." (*ibid.*, p. 319; see also *The Preaching of Islam*, *op. cit.*, p. 413)

15. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi

This famous theologian, a leading Deoband scholar of early this century, related:

"I once went to Jaunpur at the request of a butcher, and stayed as his guest. There I received a letter containing a poem, saying four things about me. . . . The third one was: '*You are a kafir*'. . . . I need not say anything about this third point because I do not have to discuss the past state as to whether I was a *kafir* or a Muslim. At this time I recite the *Kalima* in front of everyone: I testify that there

is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. So now I am a Muslim.”

(*Majalis Hakim al-Ummat*, compiled by Maulavi Mufti Muhammad Shafi, one-time Head Mufti of Pakistan, published in Karachi, 1974, p. 197)

16. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (d. 1958)

He was a Muslim theologian, scholar and author of this century in India, who also held high political and ministerial posts in the republic of India. In his well-known Urdu commentary of the Quran, he writes:

“Here we draw attention to just one thing. What Islam has made as the basic expression of its teaching is known to everyone — *Ashhadu an la ilaha ill Allah, wa ashhadu anna Muhammad-an abdu-hu wa rasulu-hu*. That is, I confess that there is none to be worshipped besides God and I confess that Muhammad is the servant of God and His messenger.”

(*Tarjuman al-Quran*, Delhi, 1931, vol. i, p. 119)

17. Maulana Shibli (d. 1914)

Shibli, a renowned Indian Muslim scholar, writer and historian of Islam, wrote in his book on theology and philosophy:

“The principles that form the basis of Islam are *Tauheed* [belief in the Unity of God] and *Nubuwwah* [belief in the prophethood of the Holy Prophet Muhammad]. Whoever said *La ilaha ill-Allah*, he entered the garden [of Islam]. This is Islam — simple, clear and short. This simplicity is Islam’s mark of distinction as compared to other religions, and a European scholar has expressed his opinion about this simplicity in the following words: If a Christian thinker will cast a look at the lengthy and complicated beliefs of his religion, he will exclaim, *Why could not my religion be so clear and simple that I could be a believer by declaring [something as simple as] belief in one God and His messenger Muhammad*. In fact, these were the only two statements by reciting which, and by expressing belief in which, a *kafir* became a Muslim, a wicked became a righteous, a vicious one became auspicious, and a reprobate became a chosen one.”

(*Ilm-ul-kalam aur Al-kalam*, Karachi, 1976, p. 273)

18. Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani

This modern theologian writes:

“The word *Muslim* means only that one included in it claims to belong to Islam, and reads the holy *Kalima*: There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.”

(*Khutbat Sadarat*, p. 15)

19. Qari Muhammad Tayyib

The head of the *Jami'a Qasimiyya, Darul 'Ulum*, Deoband, India, wrote:

“Hence, in introducing a convert into Islam, he can be required to recite the *Kalima Tayyiba* or the *Kalima Shahada*. In either case, he shall enter Islam.”

(*Kalima Tayyiba*, Deoband, 1369 A.H., p. 66)

20. Maulavi Muhammad Yusuf Banori

The *Shaikh al-hadith* (chief scholar of Hadith) at the *Jami'a Islamiyya* in Dabhail, writes:

“It is regrettable to know that today a new trouble is rearing its head in an astonishing manner. That is, the *Kalima* of Islam, *There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is His messenger*, which is the basic tenet of the Islamic religion and the line of demarcation between unbelief and Islam, is now the subject of debate.”

(*ibid.*, pp. 2–3)

21. Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938 C.E.)

This great poet-philosopher of Muslim India, and a national hero of Pakistan, writes:

“Once, under the influence of some spiritual urge, the Holy Prophet Muhammad told one of his companions: ‘Go and tell people that whoever in his life even once says with his tongue, there is no god but Allah, he should know that he shall enter paradise.’ The Holy Prophet purposely omitted the second constituent of the *Kalima*, i.e. Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, without professing which a person cannot be a Muslim, and he considered just the confession of the Unity of God to be sufficient.”

(*Khilafat Islamia*, Lahore, 1923, pp. 9–10)

22. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi (d. 1979 C.E.)

Maulana Maudoodi is the best known religious leader of Pakistan, and founder of the powerful *Jama'at-i Islami* political party.

i. In a compilation of his sermons, he wrote:

“Brothers-in-Islam! You know that a man enters the pale of Islam

by reciting a certain sentence. And even that sentence is not very long but a few words: There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. Expressing these words by tongue, a person changes altogether. He was a *kafir*, and is now a Muslim. He was impure and is now pure.”

(*Khutbut-i Maudoodi*, Pathankot, India, 1940, p. 24)

- ii. “In these hadith, the Holy Prophet has explained the constitutional law of Islam. And that is that when a person professes the unity of God and the apostleship of the Holy Prophet, he enters the fold of Islam and becomes a citizen of the Islamic state. As to whether he is a true believer or not, only God can judge that. We are not permitted to judge it because of the [Holy Prophet’s] words: ‘*I have not been commanded to cut open people’s hearts and search their inner selves.*’ Security of life and property is established by the mere confession of unity and apostleship.”

(*Tafhimat*, Pathankot, India, 1942, p. 164)

- iii. “Every person knows that the confession of the oneness of God (*tauhid*) and the prophethood of the Holy Prophet (*risalat*) is given the name *faith (Iman)*. If a person confesses this, the legal requirement to enter the pale of Islam is fulfilled, and he deserves to be treated as one of the Muslims.”

(*Tahrik Islam Ki Ikhlaiqi Bunyaden*, i.e. Moral basis of the Islamic Movement, p. 39)

23. Ghulam Ahmad Pervez

This well-known present-day Pakistani Muslim thinker, author, and founder of the institute *Idara Tulu’-i-Islam*, writes in his Urdu commentary of the Holy Quran:

“It has been made essential that every person who wishes to enter this order [Islam] should affirm two points. One is *la ilaha ill-Allah* — I testify that there is none except Allah to bow to. Secondly, *ash-hadu anna Muhammad-an abdu-hu wa rasuluh* — Muhammad, who takes the central place in this order, is the servant and messenger of Allah.”

(*Mu’arif al-Quran*, vol. iv, p. 613)

24. Chaudhary Afzal Haque

The President of the Ahrar Muslim political movement in India before partition writes:

“Whatever degree of knowledge one has about Islam, one should convey that to non-Muslims. One should not think that one has only little knowledge. The knowledge of Islam is only a few words, by understanding which a person enters Islam. Besides Allah there is none worthy of worship — no jinn, man, tomb or cemetery — and Muhammad is the apostle of Allah. By just this, the doors of righteousness open for man, the polluted became pure, and the wicked became good.”

(*Khutbut Ahrar*, Lahore, 1944, p. 61)

25. Daily Azad, organ of the Ahrar:

“As long as a person strictly adheres to the two basic principles of Islam, i.e. *tauhid* and *risalat* [oneness of God, and prophethood of Muhammad], no cleric or priest can expel him from the pale of Islam, regardless of how erroneous and misguided that person’s views about the interpretation of the Quran and the Shari’ah may be.”

(23 May 1952)

26. Sayyid Abu Zarr Bukhari

Son of the well-known Ata-Ullah Shah Bukhari, and head of the committee of the Ahrar, said in an interview:

“We believe it to be wrong to use our positions of issuing religious verdicts in order to unlawfully expel a person from the fold of Islam. No one has the right to call *kafir* those people who are claiming with their own tongues to be Muslims.”

(Daily *Nawa-i-Waqt*, Lahore, 12 March 1969, front page)

27. Maulana Amin Ahsan Islahi (a leader of the *Jama’at Islami*, Pakistan):

“The basis of Islam is the *Kalima*: There is no god but Allah, Muhammad is the messenger of Allah.”

(*Haqiqat-i Shirk*, preface, p. 5)

28. Dr Israr Ahmad

He is a well-known scholar of the Holy Quran in Pakistan who frequently writes on Islam in the newspapers. He writes:

“Only that person in this world will be called a Muslim who professes with the tongue and expresses the *Kalima Shahadat*.”

(*Nabi Akram sey hamaray taluqaat ki bunyadain*, Lahore, 1978, p. 6)

29. Muhammad Rafiq M.A., M.Ed., Cadet College, Kohat (Pakistan):

"17 – What is the *Kalima Tayyiba*?

"Answer – In the *Kalima Tayyiba*, a person professes with his tongue, and affirms with his heart, the unity of God and the apostleship of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and he joins the brotherhood of Islam. The *Kalima Tayyiba* is: *La ilaha ill-Allah, Muhammad-ur Rasul Allah*, i.e. he says that there is none to be worshipped except Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah."

(*Iman-o-'Amal*, Lahore, 1968, pp. 19–20)

30. Mr Qadir-ud-Din ex-chief Justice, West Pakistan High Court

He said in a newspaper interview:

"It is fortunate that all sects are united upon God, Muhammad, the Quran and worship. This is the basis of the faith. Because of this, the definition of Muslim given from the very beginning is that it is he who affirms with the tongue, and the heart and soul, that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. In the time of the Holy Prophet himself, this was the very sign of a Muslim, and by accepting this *Kalima* from the heart, and affirming with the tongue, the greatest unbeliever became a Muslim."

(*Daily Jang*, Karachi, 16 May 1976)

MUSLIM VIEWS IN RECENT ENGLISH BOOKS

1. *Islam and Contemporary Society* — Islamic Council of Europe

This is a collection of papers by various present-day Muslim scholars, published in 1982 by the Islamic Council of Europe (Longman Publishers, London). The article *Islam and the Pillars of its Faith* by Dr Ebrahim El-Khouly (pp. 47–61) begins as follows:

"By this expression Islam is visualised as a building borne on five pillars. The primary pillar is testification to the unity of God, which is the foundation and source of Islamic principles, values, provisions and systems that direct society and all affairs in life. Other pillars surround this basic centre point: Prayer . . . Community wealth tax (*Zakah*) . . . fasting . . . the pilgrimage . . . All five pillars stand on the firm foundation of God being the Lord of all creation, and men being His servants." (p. 47)

And at the end of his discussion on the *First Pillar*, he concludes:

“The choice of the word *Shahada* (testification) to express belief in God and the prophethood of Muhammad means that the believer must declare his belief, just as a witness declares his testimony. Concealing a testimony in worldly matters is sinful: concealing the *Shahada* deprives a person of being regarded as a Muslim until he declares it.” (p. 49)

2. *Islam, its meaning and message* — Khurshid Ahmad

This book is edited by Khurshid Ahmad, who was at the time of publication Director-General of the Islamic Foundation, Leicester, England. He has often spoken out against the Ahmadiyya Movement, and was a witness against us in this court case. Writing in the second chapter, *Islam: Basic Principles and Characteristics*, Khurshid Ahmad says:

“A man joins the faith of Islam by honestly believing in and professing faith in the unity of God and the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him). Both these beliefs are epitomised in the *Kalima*:

La ilaha ill-Allahu Muhammad-ur Rasul-ullah (‘There is no god except Allah, Muhammad is His prophet’).

“The first part of this *Kalima* presents the concept of *Tawhid* (unity of God) and its second part affirms the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him).”

(*Islam, its meaning and message*, Islamic Foundation, Leicester, England, 1975, page 29)

1.4: Holy Prophet on Practical Signs of a Muslim

In the Holy Prophet Muhammad’s life-time, when Islam started spreading fast, there was sometimes doubt as to whether a certain convert was sincere in his profession of Islam or not. The Holy Prophet, therefore, taught his followers that if they find some particular characteristic in a person’s behaviour (e.g. Muslim manner of prayer, saying *assalamu alaikum* as greeting), they should take him to be a Muslim. Below we quote hadith which show Muslims how to tell a Muslim by his actions.

1. Abu Huraira reported that a man came and questioned the Prophet. He said: “O Muhammad, inform me what is Islam?” The Prophet said: “Islam is that you should worship Allah alone and do

not associate anyone with Him, keep up prayer, give in charity (*Zakaat*), perform the Pilgrimage (*Hajj*) to Makka and fast during Ramadaan.”

He asked, “If I do all this, will I become a Muslim?” The Prophet said: “Yes.”

(*Sunan Nasa’i*, vol. iii, p. 366 of edition used)

2. Umar related that the Angel Gabriel came to the Holy Prophet and said: “O Muhammad, tell me what Islam is?” The Holy Prophet said:

“Islam is that you testify that there is no god but Allah, and that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah, and keep up prayer, give in charity (*Zakaat*), fast in Ramadaan, and perform the Pilgrimage (*Hajj*) if you are able to.”

(*Muslim*, Book of Faith, p. 76 of edition used)
3. “A man said to Ibn Umar: Why do you not do jihad? He said: I heard the messenger of Allah, peace and blessings of Allah be upon him, say, Islam is based on five things: Testifying that there is no god but Allah, keeping up prayer, giving in charity, the Pilgrimage, and fasting in Ramadaan.”

(*Muslim*, Book of Faith, vol. i, p. 93)
4. Anas related that a man came to the Holy Prophet and said: “Your emissary came to us, and said that you claim that Allah has sent you.” The Holy Prophet replied: “He spoke the truth.” He said: “The emissary asserted that five daily prayers have been made obligatory for us.” The Holy Prophet replied: “He spoke the truth.” The man said: “Has Allah commanded you this?” The Holy Prophet said “Yes.” [The man then questioned the Holy Prophet about charity, fasting and Pilgrimage, in the same way]. The man then turned to go, saying: “By Him Who sent you, I shall do no more or less than this.” The Holy Prophet said: “If he spoke the truth, he shall enter paradise.”

(*Sahih Muslim*, vol. i, pp. 86–87)
5. The Holy Prophet said: “Whoever says prayers as we do, and faces our *Qibla*, and eats the meat slaughtered by us, he is a Muslim, for whom is the covenant of God and the covenant of the messenger of God, so violate not the covenant of God.”

(*Bukhari*, Book of Prayer; Book 8, ch. 28; vol. i, p. 222)

6. The Holy Prophet said: “Whoever testifies that there is no god but Allah, and faces our *Qibla*, and prays as we pray, and eats the meat slaughtered by us, he is a Muslim who has the rights of a Muslim and the duties of a Muslim.”
(*Bukhari*, Book of Prayer; *ibid.*)
7. Not only in books of Hadith accepted by the Ahl Sunna, but also in the collections accepted by the Shiah a very similar definition of a Muslim is given. Ali, the fourth Caliph, announced during his rule: “He who faces our *Qibla*, and eats the meat slaughtered by us, and believes in our Prophet, and testifies our testimony [i.e. the *Kalima*], and enters our religion, we shall apply to him the law of the Quran and the Islamic limitations, and no such person shall be superior to another one [in rights].”
(*Faruh Kafi*, vol. iii, Book of rejection, p. 166)
8. A man spoke very impertinently to the Holy Prophet. The account continues:
“Khalid Ibn Walid said: O messenger of Allah, shall I strike off his neck? The Holy Prophet said: No, maybe he says his prayers [i.e. is a Muslim]. Khalid said: Many performers of prayer there are who say with their tongues that which is not in their hearts. The Holy Prophet said: I have not been commanded to open out people’s hearts and cut open their insides [to see what is their intention].”
(*Bukhari*, Book of Expeditions; Book 64, ch. 63; vol. ii, p. 657)
9. “Usama related: The Holy Prophet sent us on an expedition against the Huraqa. We attacked them in the morning and defeated them. I and a Christian found one of their men. When we surrounded him he said: There is no god but Allah. The Christian stopped at this, but I hit the man with my spear till I killed him. When we returned and this news reached the Holy Prophet, he said: Usama, you killed him after he said, ‘There is no god but Allah?’ I said: He was trying to save his life. But the Holy Prophet kept on repeating this till I began to wish that I had not become a Muslim before that day.”
(*Bukhari*, Book of Expeditions, ch. *The sending of Usama to the Huraqa*; Book 64, ch. 47)

This shows that a recital of the *Kalima* is sufficient for a person to be regarded as a Muslim. The Holy Prophet’s repetition of his

reprimand, even after Usama's explanation, shows that even if there is reason to suspect that a person is insincere in his profession of the *Kalima*, he is still to be regarded as a Muslim.

10. "Ibn Abbas related that a man of the Banu Sulaim tribe passed by a party of the Companions of the Holy Prophet [on an expedition], and he had his goats with him. He offered *salaam* [*assalamu alaikum*] to them. . . . They said, He has offered *salaam* to save himself. So they stopped and killed him, and took his goats. They brought these to the Holy Prophet, so Allah revealed: '*O you who believe! When you go forth [to fight] in the way of Allah, make investigations, and do not say to anyone who offers you assalamu alaikum, You are not a believer*.'" (Tirmizi, Urdu translation, vol. ii, p. 416; see also *Bukhari*, Book of Commentary on the Quran; Book 65, ch. 18 under Sura 4; vol. ii, p. 764)

In all these hadith, it is taught that there is no need to investigate deeply into the beliefs held by a person to determine whether he is a Muslim. One need only look at some aspects of his apparent conduct. If he is seen praying in the manner of the Muslim prayer, facing in the direction in which Muslims face, or if he is heard proclaiming the *Kalima*, for example, then he is a Muslim.

1.5: The Prohibition of *Takfir*

Takfir or the condemnation of a Muslim by another Muslim as a *kafir* is strictly prohibited in the Quran, the Hadith, and the writings of many eminent Muslim authorities.

I. THE HOLY QURAN

According to the Quran, if a person says *assalamu alaikum* to us to indicate that he is a Muslim, we cannot say to him "you are not a believer." (4:94)

The second thing we learn from this verse is that if, from among a non-Muslim people, a person addresses us by *assalamu alaikum*, that is sufficient proof that he is a Muslim. When such incidents took place during the Holy Prophet's life-time, sometimes it was suspected by some Muslims that such a person was not sincere. But the Holy Prophet would say to

them: “Did you tear open his heart to see what was in it?”

Thirdly, the verse cited above goes on to say: “You yourselves were like this before.” That is, you too embraced Islam in this way, so what was sufficient for you is sufficient for them.

II. THE HADITH

1. “Ibn Umar related that the Holy Prophet said: If a Muslim calls another *kafir*, then if he is a *kafir* let it be so; otherwise, he [the caller] is himself a *kafir*.”
(*Abu Dawud*, Book of Sunna, vol. iii, p. 484)
2. “Abu Zarr reported that the Holy Prophet said: No man accuses another man of being a sinner, or of being a *kafir*, but it reflects back on him if the other is not as he called him.”
(*Bukhari*, Book of Ethics; Book 78, ch. 44)
The teaching contained in these hadith is meant to stop Muslims from dubbing each other as sinners and *kafirs*.
3. “Withhold [your tongues] from those who say ‘There is no god but Allah’ — do not call them *kafir*. Whoever calls a reciter of ‘There is no god but Allah’ as a *kafir*, is nearer to being a *kafir* himself.”
(*Tabarani*, reported from Ibn Umar)
4. “Do not call the people of the *Qibla* [i.e. those who face the *Ka’ba* in Makka for prayer] as *kafir*.”
5. “Nothing expels a man from faith except the denial of that by which he entered into it [i.e. the *Kalima*].”
(*Majma’ az-Zawa’id*, vol. i, p. 43)
6. “Three things are the basis of faith. [One is] to withhold from one who says ‘There is no god but Allah’ — do not call him *kafir* for any sin, nor expel him from Islam for any misconduct.”
(*Abu Dawud*, 15:33)

There are many other hadith prohibiting that the “people of the Qibla” be dubbed as *kafir*. Such a great sin is it that the Holy Prophet issued the warning:

7. “Whoever attributes *kufur* [unbelief] to a believer, he is like his murderer.”

(*Tirmizi*, Text and Urdu translation published in Karachi, vol. ii, p. 213)

III. ISLAMIC JURISTS OF CLASSICAL TIMES

Takfir of Muslims is also prohibited in the standard, classical works of Islamic law (*fiqh*) and creed (*'aqa'id*) accepted by the Ahl as-Sunna.

1. “And among the doctrines of the *Ahl as-Sunna* is that none of the people of the *Qibla* can be called *kafir*.”
(*Sharh 'Aqa'id Nasfi*, p. 121)
2. Regarding Imam Abu Hanifa, the founder of the Hanafi system of Islamic law, which has more followers than any other system in Islam, it is written:
 - i. “He did not call as *kafir* anyone from among the people of the *Qibla*.”
(*Sharh Mawaqif*, fifth part)
 - ii. He said: “Nothing expels a man from faith except the denial of that which made him enter it.”
(*Rad al-Mukhtar*, vol. iii, p. 310)
3. “It is extremely serious to expel a Muslim from the faith.”
(*Sharh Shifa*, vol. ii, p. 500)
4. “A ruling of *takfir* against a Muslim should not be given if it is possible to interpret his words in a favourable manner.”
(*Rad al-Mukhtar*, Book of *Jihad*, ch. on Apostasy)
5. “As for statements of *takfir* found in books of rulings (*fatwa*), these are not proof if the authors are unknown and the arguments are missing, because in matters of faith, beliefs depend on conclusive proof, and the *takfir* of a Muslim is attended with troubles of all sorts.”
(*Sharh Fiqh Akbar*, by Mulla Ali Qari)
6. Allama Sayyid Jalal-ud-Din wrote:
“The *takfir* of people of the *Qibla* is itself an act of unbelief.”
(*Dala'il al-Masa'il*)

7. Ibn Abu Hamra, a saint, wrote:
 “It has already been stated that the rule of the *Ahl Sunna* is that they do not call *kafir*, or consider as going to hell eternally, anyone who is of the people of the *Qibla*.”
8. “The Imams have made it clear that if there is any ground for not issuing *takfir*, a ruling of *takfir* should not be made, even if that ground is weak.”
 (*Raf al-ishtiba ‘an ‘ibarat al-ishtiba*, p. 4, published in Egypt)
9. “Some prejudiced persons from the Asharis call the Hanbalis as *kafir*, and some Hanbalis call the Asharis as *kafir*. But their calling each other *kafir* is not right because the belief of the trustworthy Imams of the Hanafis, Shafi’is, Hanbalis, and the Asharis, is that none of the people of the *Qibla* can be called a *kafir*.”
 (*Miftah Dar as-Sa’ada wa Misbak as-Sayyida*, vol i, p. 46)
10. “The generality of the theologians and the jurists are agreed that none of the people of the *Qibla* can be called a *kafir*.”
 (*Al-Mawaqif*, printed in Cairo, p. 600)
11. The famous eighteenth century saint of Delhi, Khawaja Mir Dard (d. 1785 C.E.), wrote:
 “We do not call *kafir* anyone of the people of the *Qibla*, even though he may be following falsehood or novel beliefs in most matters, because the acceptance of the oneness of God, and the affirmation of the prophethood of Muhammad, and the turning to the *Qibla*, do not expel them from faith as such. So he would be of those who follow later inventions and falsehood from among the Muslims. The Holy Prophet said: ‘Withhold in the matter of the people of the *Qibla*, that you do not call them *kafir*.’”
 (*‘Ilm al-Kitab*, p. 75)

IV. EVEN ONE PERCENT CORRECT BELIEFS PREVENT TAKFIR

1. Mulla Ali Qari in *Sharh Fiqh Akbar*

“They say regarding the issue of *kufr* that if there are ninety-nine reasons for considering someone as *kafir*, and only one reason against it, the mufti and the judge is bound to act according to that one reason for negating the *kufr*.”
 (p. 146)

2. Sayyid Muhammad Abidin

“If there are many reasons in any matter for the application of *kufr* [considering someone as *kafir*], and one reason for its negation, the judge must incline towards the reason which negates *takfir*, giving the Muslim the benefit of the doubt.”

(*Sil al-Hisan al-Hindi*, p. 45)

3. Husain Ahmad Madani

This well-known Deobandi theologian of this century has written in his autobiography *Naqsh-i Hayat*:

“All great scholars are unanimous in holding that if, out of hundred ingredients of the belief of some Muslim, ninety-nine are those of unbelief, and merely one of true Islamic faith, it is not allowed to call him *kafir*, nor does his life or property become violable. In fact, Hazrat Gangohi [a founder of Deoband religious school] clearly states in his *Anwar al-Qulub* that the saying of the jurists about *ninety-nine grounds* does not set a limit, and that if 999 out of a thousand points in the belief of a Muslim are unbelief (*kufr*) and only one is true belief, even then he cannot be called *kafir*.”

(*Naqsh-i Hayat*, vol. i. p. 126)

By the “one reason” out of a hundred, or a thousand, is meant the affirmation of the *Kalima* by the person concerned, while the vast majority of his beliefs may be tantamount to *kufr*.

4. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi

He wrote in his well-known journal *Tarjuman al-Quran*:

“The aim of these injunctions is that there should be as much caution in calling a Muslim *kafir* as there is in pronouncing a death sentence against someone. In fact, this matter is even more serious because by killing a person there is no risk of one becoming a *kafir*, but this risk does exist if one calls a Muslim *kafir* if that man is not really a *kafir*. Should there even be an iota of Islamic belief in that man’s heart, the slander of *kufr* shall reflect back upon the accuser. Hence, he who has fear of God in his heart, and has some realisation of the great danger of being involved in *kufr*, shall never dare call a Muslim *kafir* until he has carried out a thorough enquiry and fully ascertained that such a person was a *kafir*. There is so much caution in this regard that if there is a man whose conduct clearly shows insincerity, and whose condition is openly showing that he is

not a Muslim at heart, if even he recites the *Kalima* with his tongue, it is not allowed to call him *kafir* and treat him as a *kafir*.”
 (*Tarjuman al-Quran*, issue for month of *Jumadi al-Awwal*, 1355 A.H., circa 1936, vol. viii, p. 5)

1.6: A *Mu'awwil* cannot be called *Kafir*

(A *mu'awwil* is a person who places an interpretation on some words of the Quran, or on a religious injunction, which is different from the commonly-accepted interpretation).

1. Imam Razi

This great classical commentator of the Quran writes in his renowned commentary:

“Those who interpret differently cannot be called *kafir*.”
 (*Tafsir Kabir*, Part I, p. 172)

2. Imam Shafi'i

One of the four great founders of Islamic jurisprudence, he said:

“I do not call *kafir* those who, by error, interpret differently from the obvious meaning.”
 (*Shawahid al-Haq* by Shaikh Yusuf Ibn Ismail, p. 125)

3. Imam Shaukani

“The ulama are agreed that he who denies the ordinary meaning, and resorts to interpretation, cannot be called *kafir*, or a sinner.”

4. Allama Ibn Hajar

Commenting on the internecine warfare between two groups of the Companions of the Holy Prophet during the reign of the fourth Caliph, he said:

“The Companions cannot be expelled from Islam due to this fighting. Both groups are equal in this. There is no sin or defect in either one of them because we have shown that each of the two did an interpretation [of a Quranic command] such that neither interpretation could definitely be called wrong.”
 (*Al-Asaleeb al-Badia* by Shaikh Yusuf ibn Ismail, p. 68)

5. Abdul Wahhab Shi'rani

He wrote as follows:

- i. “Some ulāma have dared call the *mu'awwil* as *kafir*, but the majority are opposed to this ruling.”
(*Al-Yawaqit wal-Jawahir*, Part II, p. 111)
- ii. “The argument of those who say that the *mu'awwils* cannot be called *kafir* is that because they have recited the *Kalima*, ‘There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the messenger of Allah’, their honour, life and property are protected, and we do not find any evidence that an error of interpretation amounts to *kufr*.” (ibid.)
- iii. “Abul Mahasin al-Rawayani and other ulama of Baghdad say that no one belonging to the religion of Islam can be called *kafir* because the Holy Prophet has said that he who says prayers as we do, and faces our Qibla, and eats our slaughtered meat, he has the same rights and obligations as we do.” (ibid., p. 112)

Section 2

Beliefs of H. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and his followers

Compiler's Note. This Section gives detailed extracts from the writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, in which he strongly professed to be a Muslim, clearly stated that he believed in all the doctrines and practices of Islam as recognised by the *Ahl as-Sunna*, and urged his followers to adhere to the religion of Islam to the best of their ability.

1. "The gist and essence of our religion is: *There is no god but Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.*" (*Izala Auham*, p. 137)

2. "Our Kalima is: *There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.* I believe in Allah, the angels, the apostles, the revealed Books, paradise and hell and the Day of Resurrection. I accept the Holy Quran as the Book of Allah, and Muhammad (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) as the true Prophet. I lay no claim to prophethood. And I do not allege (God forbid) that there is any addition or subtraction to the Holy Quran as given to us by the Holy Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allah be on him). And I bear witness that he is the last of the Prophets and the greatest of all the prophets, and an intercessor for the sinners." (*Anwar al-Islam*, p. 34)

3. "However much our adversary ulama create hatred against us among the people and declare us *kafir* and devoid of faith, and try to make the Muslims believe that I, along with my entire following, have deviated from the Islamic beliefs and foundations of faith, these are all fabrications of those jealous Maulavis. No one with even a grain of fear of God in his heart can dare to be guilty of such things. All the five fundamentals of Islam are our faith too. We hold fast to the Book of Allah to which one is commanded to hold fast. We believe that none is to be worshipped except Allah and that our leader *Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa* (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) is His Messenger and the last of the prophets and we believe that angels, raising of the dead, the Day of Resurrection,

heaven and hell, are all truths. We believe that whatever Allah the Exalted has said in the Holy Quran, and whatever our Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) has stated, are all true as stated above. We believe that whoever takes away from or adds to the Islamic Shari'ah even to the extent of an atom, or discards what is obligatory and permits what is forbidden, is without belief, and has deviated from Islam. I admonish my followers that they should believe in the holy *Kalima* from the bottom of their hearts, namely, that there is no god except Allah and Muhammad is Allah's Messenger, even till they die, that they believe in all the prophets and all the revealed books whose authenticity is established from the Holy Quran, and that they accept as obligatory fasting, prayer, poor-rate (*zakat*) and pilgrimage and all that has been prescribed as obligatory by the exalted Allah and His Messenger, and that they accept as forbidden all that has been forbidden and thus follow Islam in the true sense.

“To sum up, it is obligatory to believe in all those matters on which there was consensus in belief and practice of the pious ones of the olden days of Islam, and which are considered to be Islam by the consensus of *Ahl-i Sunna*. I call the heaven and the earth to witness that this is my faith, and whoever attributes to me anything against this religion, he, forsaking fear of God and honesty, is committing slander against me; and on the Day of Judgment I shall have my claim against him as to when he cut open my bosom and saw that instead of my above profession I am actually at heart opposed to these statements. Beware, indeed the curse of Allah is on the liars and fabricators.” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, pp. 86–87)

4. “And brothers, you know that the pronouncements of disbelief [against me] were not based on proper investigation and did not contain even an inkling of truth. Rather all those declarations were sheer fabrication based on deceit, injustice and falsehood, out of personal jealousy. These people know very well that I am a believer and they have seen with their own eyes that I am a Muslim, that I believe in the One God with Whom there is no associate, that I profess the *Kalima*: *There is no god except Allah*, that I accept the Book of Allah, the Quran, and His Messenger Muhammad (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) as the last of the Prophets, and I believe in angels, the Day of Resurrection, heaven and hell, that I offer prayers and keep fasts, that I belong to the *Ahl-i Qibla* [those who face the Muslim direction of prayer], that I consider unlawful all that the Holy Prophet had declared unlawful and lawful all that he had declared lawful, that I have neither added, nor taken away

anything from the *Shari'ah*, not even to the extent of an atom, and that I accept all that has reached us from the Messenger of Allah (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah), whether I understand its secret or not, and that by Allah's grace, I am a believer and a unitarian." (*Nur al-Haq*, vol. i, p. 5)

5. "Efforts were made in all manner to destroy and obliterate me. Different sorts of documents of *kufir* [disbelief] were prepared against us. We were considered worse than even the Christians and the Jews, although we believe, with our body and soul, in the *Kalima Tayyiba*: *There is no god except Allah and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah*. We consider the Holy Quran as God's true and perfect book, and accept it with all sincerity of heart to be the last of the Books, and with all sincerity of heart we believe the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) to be the last of the prophets. We say the same prayers, face towards the same *Qibla*, fast in the month of Ramadaan in the same manner. There is no difference in our *Hajj* and *Zakaat*. It is not understood, then, what were the reasons for which we were declared worse than even the Jews and the Christians. Abusing us day and night was considered to bring heavenly reward. After all, there is some such thing as nobility of character. Our villifiers' path is followed only by those whose faith has been snatched away and whose hearts have turned black." (Commentary of *Sura Fatiha*, pp. 297-298)

6. "Who does not know that it is a very delicate matter to declare as *kafir* someone who is a unitarian Muslim and *Ahl-i Qibla*, especially when that Muslim declares repeatedly by his writings and lectures that he is a Muslim, and that he believes in Allah and His Messenger and in the angels and books and apostles of Allah, the Exalted, and in life after death as has been made manifest by the Exalted Allah and His Messenger (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) in their teachings; and in addition he is bound by all the commandments pertaining to fasting and prayer as explained by Allah and His Messenger, on whom be peace and blessings of Allah. To declare such a Muslim as *kafir*, nay a big *kafir* and the Anti-Christ, is the work of those people who do not guard against evil and do not fear God, and who are not in the habit of taking a charitable view of others." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 33)

7. "These people deceive the masses and lead them into mistakes of thinking that we have invented a new *Kalima* or a new prayer. What reply can I give to such fabrications? By similar fabrications they placed a

humble human being in Trinity. Look, we are Muslims and belong to the *Ummah* [followers] of Muhammad. With us, fabricating a new form of prayer or turning away from the *Qibla* are acts of *kufr* [disbelief]. We accept all commandments of the Holy Prophet and believe that disregard of even a minor commandment amounts to mischief. My claim is subordinate to the Word of Allah and the word of the Holy Prophet. We have not introduced a new *Kalima*, a new form of prayer, a new Hajj or a separate mosque of our own in disregard to the obedience of the Holy Prophet. Our mission is the service of this religion [Islam], making it overcome all other religions, and following the Holy Quran and the traditions which are proved to have emanated from the Prophet of God. We consider it necessary to follow even a weak Hadith if it is not against the Holy Quran. We consider *Bukhari* and *Muslim* [the two compilations of Hadith] as the most reliable books after the Book of Allah [the Holy Quran].” (*Ruhani Khaza'in* No. 2, compilation of talks and discourses of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, vol. vii, p. 138)

8. “Our religion is the same Islam. It is not new. There are the same prayers, the same fasts, the same pilgrimage, and the same *Zakaat*. But there is this difference that these duties had [by now] assumed outward forms only, without any true spirit in them; we want to infuse in them the spirit of sincerity. We want that these duties be performed in a manner that they produce results which are missing at the moment.” (*Ruhani Khaza'in* No. 2, vol. ix, p. 312)

9. “You, who have taken the pledge on my hand, should understand that you have pledged to give preference to religion over the worldly life. So remember that this pledge of yours is with Allah. As far as possible be firm on this pledge, stick to prayer, fasting, *Hajj*, the poor-rate (*Zakaat*), the commandments of Shari'ah, and avoid every evil and semblance of sin. Our Jama'at should be a pure model for others. Lip professions are meaningless if not accompanied by appropriate deeds.” (*Ruhani Khaza'in* No. 2, vol. v, p. 453)

10. “Prophets come with the purpose of changing the religion, changing the *qibla* [direction in which people pray], cancelling some of the [existing] commandments and introducing some new commandments. But in my case there is no claim of such a revolution. There is the same Islam as before, the same prayers as before, the same Chosen Prophet as before, and the same Holy Book as before. One does not have to omit any such thing from the original faith as to cause so much bewilderment. The claim

to be the Promised Messiah would have been dangerous, and worthy of being treated with caution, if, along with this claim, there was some alteration — God forbid — in the commandments of the faith, so that our practices would have been somewhat different from those of other Muslims. When there is none of this, and the only issue in dispute is the life or death of Jesus, the claim to be the Promised Messiah being only an off-shoot of this issue, and this claim does not mean a change in the practices of the faith, nor does it adversely affect the tenets of Islam, then is there any need for a great miracle or sign to be shown in order for this claim to be accepted, the demand for which is the old custom of people in case of a claim to prophethood? Is it difficult for a fair-minded and God-fearing person to accept a Muslim whom God has sent in support of Islam and whose objects are that he make manifest to the people the beauties of Islam, and prove that Islam is free from the objections of modern philosophy, and make the Muslims lean towards the love of Allah and the Messenger?

“If the claim of being the Promised Messiah entailed any imperatives which adversely affect the commandments and beliefs of the *Shari'ah*, that indeed would have been horrible. What ought to be looked into is what Islamic truth have I transformed by my claim, and which are the commandments of Islam in which I have made an increase or decrease of even a dot? True, I have interpreted a prophecy in a manner revealed to me by the Almighty Allah in this age. The Holy Quran is witness to the truth of this interpretation, and so are the reliable traditions of the Holy Prophet. Why is there then so much hue and cry?” (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 339)

11. “It is preposterous to imagine that in accepting my claim there is any fear of damage to the faith. I fail to understand what could cause that damage? There would have been damage only if this humble one had compelled people to follow new teachings, opposed to the teaching of Islam, e.g. if I had declared a lawful thing to be forbidden or vice-versa, or had introduced any changes in those beliefs of the Faith which are essential for salvation, or had introduced any increase or decrease in matters of fasting, prayer, pilgrimage, poor-rate (*Zakaat*), etc. which are duties prescribed by the *Shari'ah*. For instance, if I had prescribed ten or two prayers in place of the five daily prayers, or prescribed two months of fasting in place of one month, or fasting for less than a month, then there should have been total spiritual loss, rather disbelief and destruction. But when the situation is that this humble one repeatedly says only this, *O brother, I have not brought any new religion nor any new teaching, but I*

am one of you, and a Muslim like you, and for us Muslims there is no other book to follow except the Holy Quran, nor is there any other revealed book to which we invite others to follow, and when I affirm that except for the Arabian Ahmad, the last of the Prophets (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) there is none to guide us and none to be followed by us, and none whom we would like others to follow, then where lies the risk for a religious Muslim to accept my claim which is based on revelation from Allah?" (Izala Auham, pp. 181-182)

12. "It is a sheer fabrication of Muhammad Husain that he attributes to me that I deny the miracles of the prophets, on whom be peace, or that I myself lay claim to prophethood, or that, Allah forbid, I do not consider *Hazrat Muhammad Mustafa*, on whom be peace and blessings of Allah, as the last of the prophets, or that I do not believe in the angels or in the basic beliefs of Islam like resurrection, etc. or that I belittle the foundations of Islam such as fasting and prayer or consider them unnecessary. No, the Mighty Allah is witness that I believe in all these, and consider someone who disbelieves in these tenets and practices as accursed and loser in this world and the Hereafter." (*Anjam Atham*, p. 45)

13. "It ought to be understood why a Muslim is called *Muslim*? A Muslim is one who says that Islam is true, *Hazrat Muhammad* (peace and blessings of Allah be on him) is the Prophet, and the Quran is the heavenly Book. It is implied that he accepts that he will forsake this creed neither in belief, nor in worship, nor in deeds, and that all his sayings and deeds shall be confined within it." (*Ruhani Khaza'in* No. 2, vol. v, p. 163)

14. "Everything whose trace and sign are not found in the Holy Quran and Hadith, rather it is contrary to these, is in my opinion transgression and disbelief. But only a few get to the bottom of the Holy Word and understand the subtle secrets of Divine prophecies. I have neither added to, nor taken away anything from, the religion [of Islam]. Brothers, my religion is the same as yours, the same noble Prophet is my leader as is yours, and the same Holy Quran is my Guide, my beloved and my testament, belief in which is incumbent on you too." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. i, p. 232)

15. "Remember that our path is exactly the same as that of the Holy Prophet (on whom be peace and blessings of Allah) and of his venerable companions." (*Ruhani Khaza'in* No. 2, vol. x, p. 107)

16. "By distorting and changing the meanings of my books, like the Jews, and by introducing a lot of extraneous matter, hundreds of objections have been raised against me, as if I lay claim to real prophethood, as if I abandon the Holy Quran, as if I abuse the prophets of God and insult them, and as if I deny the miracles. So I lay my entire case before the Exalted Allah and I know for certain that by His Grace, He will decide in my favour because I am the wronged one." (*Chashma-i Ma'rifat*, p. 319)

17. "People did not understand my saying and said that this man claims prophethood. But God knows that this saying of theirs is clear falsehood. There is not a grain of truth in it, nor any basis for it. They have concocted this calumny to incite people to declare me *kafir*, to abuse me, to curse me and to show hostility towards me, and to create dissension among the believers. By Allah, I believe in Allah and His Messenger, and I believe that he is the last of the Prophets." (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 81; new edition p. 289)

18. "If all the Books of the Exalted Allah are looked into carefully, it will be found that all the prophets have been teaching this: 'Believe in the Exalted God to be One, without partner, and also believe in our apostleship'. That is why the entire *Ummah* was taught the gist of Islamic teaching in these two sentences: There is no God except Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah." (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 111)

19. "A man from the North West Frontier Province asked the question: 'What shortcoming had remained in the religion [of Islam] which you came to remedy?' Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad replied:

'There is no shortcoming in the commandments. Our prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, *Qibla*, *Zakaat*, and *Kalima* are the same. After the lapse of some time, lassitude creeps into the fulfilling of these commandments. Many people become oblivious of the perfect Unity of Allah. So He raises a servant who makes the people adhere to the Shari'ah anew. Listlessness sets in after a hundred years. About a hundred thousand Muslims have already turned apostate, and you think no one [i.e. a Reformer] is needed yet? People are forsaking the Holy Quran. They have nothing to do with the *Sunna* of the Prophet. They consider their customs to be their religion. Still you think, nobody is needed'." (*Ruhani Khaza'in* No. 2, vol. x, page 451)

This incident took place in Lahore on 25 May 1908, one day before Hazrat Mirza's death.

20. "In the end, I again declare before the general public that I swear by Almighty Allah that I am not a *kafir*. My belief is: There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah. And regarding the Holy Prophet, I believe [the verse of the Quran]: He is the Messenger of Allah and the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*. I swear to the truth of this statement of mine as many times as there are holy names of God, and as many times as there are letters in the Holy Quran, and as many times as there are virtues of the Holy Prophet in the sight of God. None of my beliefs is contrary to the commandments of Allah and the Holy Prophet. Whoever thinks otherwise is himself under a misunderstanding. Whoever considers me a *kafir* even now and does not desist from *takfir* [calling a Muslim a *kafir*], let him remember for certain that he shall be questioned after death. I swear by the Exalted Allah that I have such faith in Allah and the Holy Prophet that if all the beliefs of this age were placed in the balance against my belief, then by the grace of the Exalted One, my belief will be the heavier." (*Karamat as-Sadiqeen*, p. 25)

Section 3

Issue of *Khatam an-nabiyyin*

Compiler's Note. The evidence given in the first two Sections is sufficient to prove our case that we are Muslims. Nonetheless, we did not rest content with just that, but proceeded to deal in full detail with the various grounds cited by the defendants as to why they consider us *kafir*. The bulk of the rest of the evidence is of this nature.

The chief allegation against Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is that he denied that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was the Last of the Prophets, and that he himself claimed to be a prophet. The first point to note is that the term used for the Holy Prophet in this connection in the Holy Quran is *Khatam an-nabiyyin*. Throughout his writings, Hazrat Mirza affirmed in plain words that he believed the Holy Prophet Muhammad to be the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*. Not one sentence can be found to the contrary. Hence, whatever may be said as to the *interpretation* of this term, Hazrat Mirza cannot be accused of denying that the Holy Prophet was *Khatam an-nabiyyin*. Therefore, he cannot be called a *kafir* on this ground because what is required for one to be called a *Muslim* is belief in the Quran as revealed in Arabic, not belief in an interpretation of the Quran.

Accordingly, Section 3.1 gives extracts from Hazrat Mirza's writings to show that, using the Quranic term *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, he expressed his full belief that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was such. Section 3.2 shows what meaning and interpretation he gave to this term. He clearly wrote many times that the meaning of the Holy Prophet being *Khatam an-nabiyyin* is that after him no prophet can come, whether a new prophet or one from the past. Holding this belief, he obviously could not have claimed to be a prophet himself, and in Section 3.3 are collected several of his statements in which he refuted the false charge levelled against him that he was claiming to be a prophet.

3.1: Belief in *Khatam an-nabiyyin*

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and members of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam Lahore believe that the Holy Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, is the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*. Hazrat Mirza wrote as follows:

1. "I believe that the Holy Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam* of the Prophets." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 21)

2. "I believe in the Holy Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, being the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, and I know with perfect certainty and I firmly believe that our Holy Prophet is the *Khatam al-anbiya*." (*Nishan Asmani*, p. 28)
3. "I hold that our Messenger Muhammad *mustafa*, peace be upon him, is the most excellent of messengers and the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*." (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 8; new edition p. 36)
4. "I believe in God and His Messenger, and I also believe that the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*." (*ibid.*, p. 81; new edition p. 290)
5. "My belief is that our Leader and Master Hazrat Muhammad, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam al-anbiya*." (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, p. 182, footnote)
6. "We believe that there is none worthy of worship except Allah Almighty, and our Leader Muhammad *mustafa*, peace be upon him, is His Messenger and the *Khatam al-anbiya*." (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, pp. 86–87)
7. "As for belief, what God wants from you is that God is One, and Muhammad, peace be upon him, is His Prophet and the *Khatam al-anbiya*, and the greatest." (*Kishti-i Nuh*, p. 15)
8. "The finality of prophethood with the Holy Prophet is not only due to his being the last in time, but also because all the accomplishments of prophethood were completed with him." (Lecture on Islam at Sialkot, p. 6)
9. "The age of the prophethood of the Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, extends till the Day of Judgment, and he is the *Khatam al-anbiya*." (*Chashma-i Ma'rifat*, p. 82)
10. "I have written again and again that it is a real and actual fact that our Leader and Master, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam al-anbiya*." (*ibid.*, p. 324, footnote)
11. "I swear by Almighty God that I am not a *kafir*. My belief is: *There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah*. And regarding the Holy Prophet, I believe [the verse of the Quran]: *He is the Messenger of Allah and the Khatam an-nabiyyin*. I swear to the truth of this statement of mine as many times as there are holy

names of God, and as many times as there are letters in the Holy Quran, and as many times as there are virtues of the Holy Prophet in the sight of God. None of my beliefs is opposed to the commands of God and the Apostle.” (*Karamat as-Sadiqeen*, p. 25)

3.2: Meaning of *Khatam an-nabiyyin*

In his writings, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has explained the meaning of the term *Khatam an-nabiyyin* (or the synonymous term *Khatam al-anbiya*) as follows:

1. Having quoted the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* verse in Arabic, he then translates and explains it in Urdu as follows:

“That is to say: Muhammad is not the father of any man from among you, but he is the Messenger of God and the one to end the prophets. This verse too clearly argues that after our Prophet, peace be upon him, no messenger (*rasul*) shall come into the world.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 614)

It should be noted that Hazrat Mirza has here translated the Arabic term *Khatam an-nabiyyin* into Urdu as *the one to end the prophets*.
2. “The Holy Quran does not permit the coming of any messenger (*rasul*) after the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, whether a new one or an old one.” (ibid., p. 761)
3. “Our Holy Prophet being the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* is a bar to the coming of any other prophet.” (ibid., p. 575)
4. “‘*Muhammad is not the father of any man from among you, but he is the Messenger of God and the Khatam an-nabiyyin.*’ Do you not know that the Merciful God has declared our Holy Prophet unconditionally to be the *Khatam al-anbiya*, and in explanation of this verse, our Prophet has said: ‘*There is to be no prophet after me.*’” (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 20; new edition pp. 81–82)
5. “The Holy Prophet had repeatedly said that no prophet would come after him, and the hadith ‘*There is to be no prophet after me*’ was so well-known that no one had any doubt about its authenticity. And the Holy Quran, every word of which is absolute, in its verse ‘*he is the messenger of God and the Khatam an-nabiyyin*’,

confirmed that prophethood has, in fact, ended with our Holy Prophet.” (*Kitāb al-Barriyya*, p. 184, footnote)

6. “In the same way, by saying ‘*There is to be no prophet after me*’, he [the Holy Prophet] closed the door absolutely to any new prophet or a returning prophet.” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 152)
7. “After the finality of prophethood, no further prophet can come in Islam.” (*Raz Haqiqat*, p. 16)
8. “I firmly believe that our Holy Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam al-anbiya*, and after him no prophet shall come for this nation (*umma*), neither new nor old.” (*Nishan Asmani*, p. 28)
9. “The actual fact, to which I testify with the highest testimony, is that our Prophet, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam al-anbiya*, and after him there shall not come any prophet, neither old or new.” (*Anjam Atham*, p. 27, footnote)
10. “This news was given only by God Who sent our Holy Prophet, peace be upon him, after all the prophets, in order to gather all the nations under his banner.” (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, Appendix, p. 44)

3.3: Denial of claim to prophethood

Till the end of his life, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad constantly denied the allegation that he was claiming to be a prophet, as shown below.

1. “It is total slander by [Maulavi] Muhammad Husain [Batalvi] to ascribe to me that I deny miracles and that I lay claim to prophethood, and that I do not consider the Holy Prophet to be the *Khatam al-anbiya*, God forbid. . . . No, on the contrary, God is Witness that I believe all these things, and as to those who reject these beliefs and practices [of Islam], I consider them to be accursed and losers in this world and the next.” (*Majmu’a Ishiharat*, vol. ii, p. 257)
2. “Those people have fabricated a lie against me who say that this man claims to be a prophet.” (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 8; new edition p. 36)

3. "People did not understand my saying and said that this man claims prophethood. But God knows that this saying of theirs is clear falsehood. There is not a grain of truth in it, nor any basis for it." (ibid., p. 81; new edition p. 289)
4. "By way of a fabrication, they slander me by saying that I have made a claim to prophethood. . . . But it should be remembered that all this is a fabrication. Our belief is that our leader and master, Muhammad *mustafa*, peace be upon him, is the *Khatam al-anbiya*." (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, p. 182, footnote)
5. "I make no claim to prophethood. This is your mistake, or you have some motive in mind. Is it necessary that the person who lays claim to revelation should also be a prophet?" (*Jang Muqaddas*, p. 67)
6. "Ignorant opponents allege against me that this person claims to be a prophet or apostle. I make no such claim." (Pamphlet *Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala*)
7. "Can a wretched imposter who claims apostleship and prophethood for himself have any belief in the Holy Quran? And can a man who believes in the Holy Quran, and believes the verse '*He is the Messenger of God and the Khatam an-nabiyyin*' to be the word of God, say that he is a messenger and a prophet after the Holy Prophet Muhammad?" (*Anjam Atham*, p. 27, footnote)
8. "Another stupidity is that, in order to provoke the ignorant people, they say that this person has claimed prophethood. This is a complete fabrication on their part." (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 390)
9. "What ignorance, stupidity, and departure from truth, to say that prophethood has been claimed." (ibid., Appendix, p. 68)
10. "In confronting the present Ulama, this humble servant has . . . sworn many times by God that I am not a claimant to any prophethood. But these people still do not desist from declaring me as *kafir*." (Letter to Maulavi Ahmad-ullah of Amritsar, 27 January 1904)

Section 4

Revelation in Islam

Compiler's Note. This and some of the following Sections deal with certain issues in Islam, a failure to understand which properly has given rise to the misconception that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be a prophet. (Or it may be said that certain parties have misrepresented these issues in order to create the impression that Hazrat Mirza claimed to be a prophet.)

The first and foremost such issue is the concept of Divine revelation (or God speaking to man) as taught by Islam. With the ending of prophethood after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the highest form of Divine revelation, which was exclusive to prophets, has also terminated. But lower forms of revelation, which were always received by both prophets and non-prophet holy men alike, still continue. This Section establishes from the Holy Quran and the Hadith that revelation continues among Muslims, and explains its purpose. It gives instances of revelation coming to non-prophets, including examples of revelation to the Holy Prophet's Companions during his life-time. It then quotes extensively from the writings of recognised Muslim religious authorities and scholars, from the early days of Islam till the present day, to show that revelation continues and to give actual instances of revelation coming to various saints.

4.1: The Quran and Hadith on continuity of revelation

According to the Holy Quran, the distinctive characteristic of a true religion is that it invites towards a *living* God Who listens to the prayers of the distressed, removes their troubles, and speaks to His servants. The following verses illustrate this point:

1. Abraham said to his idol-worshipping father: "Why do you worship a thing which hears not, sees not, and helps you not a whit" (19:42).
2. God condemned the worshippers of the golden calf by saying: "Could they not see that it spoke not to them, nor did it guide them to the right path" (7:148).

and elsewhere:

"Did they not see that it answered them not, nor did it control harm or benefit for them" (20:89).

3. Referring to all worshippers of false gods, it is said: "Those whom these people call upon, besides God, they do not answer them at all" (13:14).

Hence true religion in every age invites to a living God Who speaks to man. Every follower of the faith can make the verbal claim that Islam takes man to God, but to call people of the world towards God on the basis of one's personal experience and attainment is the work of only those who are purified by God Himself, and are perfect followers of the Holy Prophet Muhammad.

Revelation to non-prophets

With prophethood having ended with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the guidance which mankind was to receive reached its completion. But is it the case that, with the completion of the guidance, the link between the Creator and His creatures has been forged permanently, and all men in future will attain to God from birth? Or, will people still drift away from God and lose the right path, even after the finality of prophethood? Who will take the place of prophets to establish the link between God and the lost people, when people can go astray despite the existence of perfect teachings? In this regard, the Holy Quran instructs the Holy Prophet Muhammad to declare:

"Say: This is my way. I invite to God through certain knowledge — I and those who follow me." (12:108)

Hence, as the Holy Prophet called people to God through the light given to him by revelation ("certain knowledge"), so will those of his followers who receive the light of revelation establish the link between God and His creatures on the basis of "certain knowledge". Such persons are called *auliya* (sing. *wali*), or saints, of God. The revelation they receive is not *wahy nubuwat*, but *wahy wilayat*, because the former has ended with the Holy Prophet. The Quran says about *auliya*:

"Now surely the *auliya* of God — there is no fear upon them nor do they grieve. Those who believe and guard against evil, for them are good news (*bushra*) in this world and the hereafter." (10:64,65)

Those who invite to God must first themselves have a strong connection with God. The way to forge this connection is through sainthood (*wilayat*) and what is termed "good news" or *bushra* above.

As to what *bushra* means, the Holy Prophet explained the above verse to his followers as below:

“He said: Nothing remains of prophethood except *mubashshirat* [same as *bushra*]. People said: What are *mubashshirat*? He said: True dreams.”

(*Bukhari*, Book of Interpretation of Dreams, ch. *Mubashshirat*, 91:5)

These “true dreams” are related to prophethood, as the Holy Prophet is reported to have said:

“The good dream of a righteous believer is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood.” (*Bukhari*, op. cit.)

And referring to the Holy Prophet’s revelation before he became a prophet, Bukhari records from Aishah, wife of the Prophet:

“The revelation to the Holy Prophet began first of all with true dreams.”

(*Bukhari*, Book 1)

Hence revelation or *wahy* includes true dreams.

Modes of revelation

The Holy Quran says:

“It is not vouchsafed to a mortal that God should speak to him except by revelation (*wahy*), or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger.” (42:51)

Hence, there are three modes of Divine communication with man:

1. The infusion of an idea into the mind, which is called *wahy* in this verse. The Holy Prophet has described this mode in the words: “The Holy Spirit has put this into my heart.”
2. “From behind a veil” — this includes dreams, visions, hearing words of inspiration.
3. “By sending a messenger” — this refers to the sending of angel Gabriel, who is seen and whose word is heard by the man receiving the revelation.

The first two modes of revelation are common to saints (*auliya*) and prophets. The third is exclusive to prophets, and after the Holy Prophet Muhammad this mode has terminated. Gabriel cannot now bring revelation of this sort, known as *wahy nubuwat* — revelation of prophethood. The first two modes, however, apply to non-prophets as well, as in the cases of Moses’ mother, Jesus’ disciples, and the saints among the

Muslims. The Holy Prophet has called such revelation a part of prophethood, and an acknowledged hadith indicates that there are to be persons among Muslims to whom God will speak:

“The Holy Prophet said: Among the Israelite people before you, there used to be men who were spoken to by God although they were not prophets. If there is such a one among my followers, it is Umar.”

(*Bukhari*, Book of Virtue : of the Companions, ch. Umar; Book 62, ch. 6)

It is meant to convey in this hadith that just as there used to be Divine communication with non-prophets in nations before the Muslims, so would it be with the Muslim nation. All commentators agree that Umar is mentioned as a premier or outstanding example of a recipient of revelation.

Hence the Quran and Hadith agree that *wahy nubuwwat*, the type of revelation exclusive to prophets, has ended, but Divine communication (regarded as partial prophethood) continues among the Muslims. The individuals favoured with this revelation are called *auliya* (singular *wali*) in the Quran. They are also *bashir* (givers of glad tidings) and *nazir* (warners), as Muhiy-ud-Din Ibn Arabi wrote:

“The *wali* [saint] is indeed a *bashir* and *nazir*, but he is not a law-giver.”

(*Futuhat Makkiyya*, Part II, p. 376)

The Indian Muslim theologian and leader of the early nineteenth century, Sayyid Ismail Shaheed, commenting on the Quranic verse “There is no town but it had a warner,” writes:

“It has been said that the word *nazir* [warner] includes prophets and saints.”

(*Abqaat*, pp. 401–402)

Revelation to non-prophets mentioned in the Quran

The saints (*auliya*) not only receive knowledge of the unseen, and revelations containing glad tidings and warnings (against wrong-doers), but also commands and prohibitions to the recipient (though not law). The Quran gives the following examples:

1. “We sent revelation to the mother of Moses: ‘Give him suck. Then when you fear for him, cast him into the river, and do not fear or worry. We shall bring him back to you, and make him one of the

messengers’.” (28:7)

In the revelation to Moses’ mother, the words “give him suck” and “cast” are commands, whilst “do not fear or worry” are prohibitions. Was this revelation not certain and definite, just like revelation to prophets? By acting on her revelation and casting her baby in the river, did not Moses’ mother show that she had as much belief in her revelation as the prophets did in theirs? Had this revelation not been from God, the prophecies in it could not have been fulfilled.

2. To Mary, the mother of Jesus, came the revelation: “Shake towards yourself the branch of the palm-tree. Fresh, ripe dates will fall on you. Eat and drink and cool the eye.” (19:25)
“Shake”, “eat”, “drink” and “cool” are commands.
3. The disciples of Jesus, who were not prophets, received the revelation:
“When I revealed to the disciples: ‘Believe in Me and My messenger.’ They said: ‘We believe. Bear witness that we submit’.” (3:111)

Hence it is clear that the revelation of non-prophets is certain and definite, uncorrupted by the devil. This is so that the saints can act as a true model to people, as the prophets used to be models to their people. But as the chain of prophets was cut off with the Holy Prophet, in the Muslim nation his followers have been chosen to call to God. The Quran states: “I [the Holy Prophet] invite to God through certain knowledge — I and those who follow me” (12:108).

These saints are also called *khalifas* in the Quran:

“God has promised those of you who believe and do good that He will make them *khalifas* in the earth as He made *khalifas* of those before them [i.e., the Israelites].” (24:55)

The Holy Prophet has explained this verse as follows:

“The Israelites used to be led by prophets. Whenever a prophet died, he was succeeded by another prophet. But there shall be no prophet after me. There will, however, be *khalifas*, and there will be many.”

(*Bukhari*, Book of Prophets, 60:50)

Not only will the *khalifas* be the likes of the prophets — indicated in the words “as He made those before them” of the verse above — but the criteria for their truthfulness will also be the same. The Holy Prophet said:

“The successorship [*khilafat*] shall be upon the pattern of prophet-hood.”

(*Mishkat*, Book of *Mischief*, sec. 3)

4.2: Revelation to Companions of Holy Prophet

Given below are some recorded examples of revelation to the Holy Prophet’s Companions, both during his life and afterwards.

1. “Aisha related that when the Companions decided to wash the body of the Holy Prophet [before his burial], they said: By God, we do not know whether to remove his clothes, as we do for the dead, or to wash him with his clothes on. So when they differed about this, God caused them to fall asleep, till there was not one of them whose chin was not upon his chest. Then a speaker spoke from one side of the house, they did not know who it was, saying: Wash the Holy Prophet with his clothes on.”
(*Mishkat*, ch. ‘Miracles’)
2. “A slave-girl of Abu Bakr was pregnant. He said: It was revealed to me that it would be a girl. And she gave birth to a girl.”
(*Kitab al-Lama’*, by Abu Nasr Abdullah al-Qausani, ch. Abu Bakr)
3. “In the written orders which Umar [the second Caliph] sent to [his army commander] Sa’ad Ibn Abi Waqqas during the Persian campaign, it was stated that it had been revealed to him that the enemy would be defeated.”
(*Al-Wasa’iq as-Sabasiyya*, p. 302, compiled by Dr Hamidullah of Hyderabad)
4. “Ali and al-Fazl were washing the Holy Prophet’s body when Ali heard a voice saying: Lift up your eyes to heaven.”
(*Al-Khasa’is al-Kubra*, by Suyuti, vol. ii, p. 276)
5. “Anas related that Abu Ibn Ka’b said: I shall enter the mosque and pray, and praise God so much that no one would have praised Him like that. So when he prayed, and sat down to praise God, he heard a voice from behind him saying: *O God, all praise is due to Thee, all*

good is in Thy hand, all affairs return to Thee, open or secret, all praise is due to Thee, Thou hast power over all things, forgive me my past sins and keep me pure for the rest of my life, grant me to do good deeds which please Thee from me, and turn to me mercifully. Then Abu Ibn Ka'b came to the Holy Prophet and related this to him. The Holy Prophet said: That was Gabriel.”
(*Ruh al-Ma'ani*, vol. vii, p. 64, under verse 33:40)

6. “Abdullah Ibn Zaid Ibn Abd Rabbih related: When the Holy Prophet ordered the making of a trumpet to use it to call people to prayer, I saw in a dream a man carrying a trumpet in his hand. I said to him: Are you selling the trumpet? He said: What will you do with it? I said: Call people to prayer. He said: Shall I not show you something better than it? I said: Yes. He said: Say, *Allahu Akbar* (up to the end of the words of the Call to Prayer). In the morning I went to the Holy Prophet and told him of my dream. He said: ‘Your dream is surely true, if God so will. Go and stand with Bilal and tell him your dream. Let him give the call to prayer, because his voice is louder than yours.’ So I stood with Bilal and told him of the words, and he made the call to prayer.”
(*Mishkat*, ch. ‘The Call to Prayer’, sec. 3)

To summarise, *wahy nubuwwat* has ended, but *mubashshirat* continue, and these include true dreams which are a part of prophethood. The revelation to saints among Muslims also includes inspiration and hearing words, as shown by the instances quoted above from the Companions of the Holy Prophet.

4.3: Views of Muslim theologians and religious authorities

1. Raghib in ‘Mufradat’

In his classical dictionary of the Quran, Imam Raghib defines *wahy* as follows:

Al-kalimatu-llati tulqa ila anbiya'i-hi wa auliya'i-hi wahy-un.

“The word of God which is communicated to His prophets and His saints is called *wahy*.”

(*Mufradat* of Raghib, under *wahy*)

2. Imam Ja'far Sadiq (d. 765 C.E.)

The following is recorded of this early Imam from the line of Ali:

- i. He said: "Revelation is one of the characteristics of the chosen ones of God. To give arguments without revelation is a mark of being rejected from the Divine Presence."
(*Tazkirat al-Auliya*, ch. 1, p. 23)
- ii. "Imam Ja'far says: I read the Quran with such zeal and enthusiasm that it was revealed to me through revelation."
(*Futuh at Makkiyya* by Ibn Arabi)
- iii. "Some of those who have Divine experience have said about themselves that they hear the word of God, and that He communicates with them, as is recorded of Imam Ja'far Sadiq that he said: I read a verse of the Quran so frequently that I heard it from God, the Revealer of the verse."
(*Maktubat* of Mujaddid Alif Sani, vol. iii, p. 166)

3. Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal (d. 855 C.E.)

Regarding Imam Hanbal, founder of one of the four systems of Islamic jurisprudence, it is written:

"He said: One day I was in the public baths, and there was a group of people who entered the water without any clothes. I kept in mind the hadith: He who believes in God and the Last Day should not enter the public bath without a waist-wraper. So I did not remove all my clothes. That night I saw in a dream someone saying to me: 'O Ahmad, receive good news that God has forgiven you on account of your following the hadith, and made you a leader who shall be followed.' I said: Who are you? He said: Gabriel."
(*Ihya as-Sunna*)

4. Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.)

This great philosopher, writer and mujaddid, wrote in his best-known work as follows:

- i. "Undoubtedly, knowledge comes to our hearts through the angels, and this is referred to in the word of God: It is not vouchsafed to a mortal that God should speak to him except by revelation . . ."
(*Ihya al-'Ulum*, vol. iii, p. 14)
- ii. "Know that the men of the heart are shown the secrets of the worlds through inspiration [into the mind], or through true dreams,

or through visions while awake. This is one of the highest grades of the degrees of prophethood, as a true dream is one of the forty-six parts of prophethood. So beware of denying this knowledge through lack of understanding.”

(*ibid.*, p. 67)

5. Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 1166 C.E.):

- i. “Woe unto you, O innovator! Does God not have the power to say: I am God. Our God, great is His glory, is a speaker, and not dumb. His word is heard and understood.”
(*Al-Fath ar-Rabbani*, p. 153)
- ii. “When you attain perfection in *fana* [annihilation], your rank near God will be raised, and you will be addressed in the words: This day you are with us, a dignified, trusted one.”
(*Futuh al-Ghaib*, with Persian commentary, Discourse no. 28, p. 171)
The words referred to are in a verse of the Quran in chapter *Joseph* (12:54).
- iii. The words *wa-stana‘tu-ka li-nafsi* (I have chosen thee especially for Myself), which are in the Quranic verse 20:41, were revealed to Abdul Qadir Jilani several times.
(*ibid.*, p. 33)
- iv. “I am not an ordinary preacher like your preachers. I speak by command of God Almighty. Take my words to be the orders of God. When I preach from the pulpit, God manifests Himself upon my heart.”
(*Tuhfa Qadiriyya*, p. 82)

6. Imam Qurtabi:

“The true, righteous Muslim is he whose condition resembles the condition of the prophets. He is favoured with that with which the prophets were favoured, that is, information of the unseen.”

(*Fath al-Bari*, standard commentary of *Bukhari*, vol. xii, p. 319)

7. Muhiy-ud-Din Ibn Arabi (d. 1240 C.E.)

The famous Muslim philosopher and saint of Spain wrote:

- i. “It is impossible that revelation from God can stop. For if it were to be cut off, there would not remain for the world any spiritual food by which it continues to subsist.”

(*Futuhāt Makkiyya*, Part II, p. 90, question no. 82)

- ii. "Of us [saints] are those who receive from God those very commandments which are in the Shari'ah. The source is the same as it used to be for the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Such persons are his followers because these commandments are not opposed to the Shari'ah."
(*Fusus al-Hukam*, p. 183)
- iii. "All the forms of revelation we have explained here are to be found in men of God, from among the saints. The revelation which was exclusive to the prophet, and not for the saint, is the revelation containing the Shari'ah."
(*Futuhāt Makkiyya*, Part II, p. 376)
- iv. "And thus the coming of the Quran upon the hearts of the saints is not cut off, despite the fact that the Quran is safely preserved with them. It happens due to their zeal, and it is for only some of them."
(*ibid.*, p. 258)
- v. The Quranic verse "We believe in God and what has been revealed to us . . . and we submit to Him" (2:136) was revealed in revelation received by Ibn Arabi.
(*ibid.*, Part III, p. 367)

8. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (d. 1273 C.E.)

This Persian saint and author of *Masnawi* wrote:

"It is not astrology or sorcery or mere dream,
It is true revelation — God knows best.
To hide it from the common people,
The Sufis term it inner revelation."

A commentary on the *Masnawi* explains the above verses as follows:

"The expediency of hiding it from the public is to avoid trouble, because if a man of God were to say, I learnt such and such a thing from Divine revelation, people may think that he was claiming prophethood. Then, let alone people being alienated from him, he would actually fear for his life . . .

"The fact is that God speaks to angels, prophets, and specially-chosen saints through His ancient word, and puts words in their souls with different meanings. In accordance with His eternal knowledge, God makes them understand the meaning which He

intends, and they receive that significance according to their capacity. With angels and prophets, this is called *wahy*, and with saints it is called *ilham*, but the Sufis term *wahy* as inner revelation.”
(*Miftah al-'Ulum*, Daftar iv, Part I, vol. xi, p. 361)

9. Imam Hajar Asqalani

He wrote in his commentary of *Bukhari*:

“When revelation was cut off with the Holy Prophet’s death, *ilham* [revelation to saints] came to those whom God chose.”
(*Fath al-Bari*, vol. i, p. 332)

10. Imam Abdul Wahhab Shi'rani:

- i. “The door of prophethood is closed after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and shall not be opened for anyone till the Day of Judgment. However, revelation (*wahy*, *ilham*) remains for the saints, which does not contain Shari’ah in it.”
(*Al-Yawaqit wal-Jawahir*, p. 37)
- ii. “Law-bearing prophethood has been cut off with the death of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Hence the angel of revelation brings to the saint (*wali*) the understanding of the Shari’ah, and informs him as to its secrets.”
(*ibid.*, p. 71)
- iii. “The revelation which brings Shari’ah has been stopped after the Holy Prophet Muhammad. And of the favours which God has bestowed upon me, one is that He has made me a recipient of sound revelation.”
(*Al-Kibariyya al-Ahmar*, footnote in *Yawaqit*, vol. ii, p. 8)

11. Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind (d. 1624 C.E.)

This famous *mujaddid* of India expressed the following views:

- i. He records a question and then answers it as below:
“Question: Since the religion has been completed and perfected by the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet’s example, what is the need for revelation (*ilham*), and what deficiency is there which is made good by revelation?
“Answer: Revelation makes manifest the hidden perfections of the religion, not increase the perfections in religion. Just as exercise of reason (*ijtihād*) makes clear the commandments of the religion, so does revelation make clear the secrets and subtleties which most

people cannot understand. The distinct difference between the exercise of reason and revelation is that the former is related to opinion while the latter is ascribed to the Great Creator of opinions. Therefore, revelation has a certainty which reason does not.” (*Maktubat*, vol. iii, Part VII, *Daftar* ii, Letter no. 55, p. 19)

- ii. “Commandments of the Shari’ah are revealed at particular times but commands of revelation in general are required at all times. . . . The Shari’ah commandments are based on four sources [the reference is to Quran, Hadith, *Ijma* and *Qiyas* through which laws are derived], where revelation of saints (*ilham*) finds no place. But leaving aside Shari’ah commandments, there are many other religious matters in which the fifth source is *ilham*. In fact, it may be said that, after the Quran and Hadith, *ilham* is the third source. This source will continue to exist till the end of the world.” (ibid., p. 19)
- iii. “The revelation of saints partakes of the light of prophethood, and is the consequence of the blessings of following the prophets.” (ibid., Part VI, *Daftar* iii, Letter no. 23, p. 63)
- iv. “This humble one was lifted up from the dirt of degradation, and a voice called my soul saying: I have forgiven you and those who come to Me through your mediation, whether directly [through you] or indirectly, till the Day of Judgment. And it kept on repeating this, so that no scope remains for doubt.” (*Mabd wa Mu’ad* with Urdu translation, p. 17)
- v. “Shaikh Ahmad said that one day he prepared food for the *Fatiha* of his son [i.e. charitable deed following the death of his son]. There was doubt about its Divine acceptance because of the Quranic teaching: ‘*God only accepts the deeds of the dutiful.*’ Then he had a revelation: ‘*Thou art indeed from among the dutiful.*’” (*Kahl al-Jawahir*, p. 14)
- vi. Before the birth of his youngest son, Shah Muhammad Yahya, he received the revelation: “We give thee good news of a boy, whose name is Yahya.” This is, in fact, verse 19:7 of the Quran. So he named the boy Yahya. (*Maqamat Imam Rabbani*, published in Delhi, p. 136)
- vii. He related that for a few days he was overcome by a deficiency of good deeds. So when during prayer he reached the words, “Thee

do we serve,” he faced a dilemma: if he said these words, he would be guilty under the verse “why do you say that which you do not do”; if he omitted them, he would be guilty of omission. Then he had the revelation: “*Shirk* [worship of things other than God] has been removed from your worship, and your faith has become pure.”

(*Kahl al-Jawahir*, p. 15)

- viii. He said: “All those who have entered, or are going to enter, into my spiritual order, directly or indirectly, were shown to me, and I was told of the places of their birth and residence. They were all given to me. If I wish, I can describe them all.”
(*ibid.*, Life of Shaikh Ahmad by Khawaja Muhammad Baqir of Lahore, p. 5)

12. Mu‘in-ud-Din Chishti (d. 1236 C.E.)

This saint and missionary of India, whose shrine in Ajmer is visited by thousands of Muslims every year, wrote the verse:

“Every moment the Holy Spirit breathes into Mu‘in.
So it is not I who says this, but in fact I am the second Jesus.”
(*Divan* of Chishti, ode no. 70, p. 102)

13. Al-Baidawi

The classical Arab commentator of the Quran, al-Baidawi, wrote:

“Just as the devils put bad thoughts into the hearts of disbelievers, so shall We [God] reveal the truth to you [O Muslims] and urge you to do good.”
(*Commentary of Baidawi*, vol. ii, p. 267, published in Delhi)

14. Fakhar-ud-Din Razi

Another classical commentator, Fakhar-ud-Din Razi, wrote:

“The angels project their influence into the souls of men by revelation, and show them their [i.e. angels’] accomplishments by sure visions.”
(*Tafsir Kabir*, vol. vii, p. 370)

15. Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi (d. 1763 C.E.)

He is an eminent thinker, theologian and writer, who is recognised as mujaddid of his day. He wrote:

- i. "The Muslim nation is not deprived of revelation through angels. Do you not know how Mary saw Gabriel as a strong, healthy man, and how the angels called her? Similarly, Hadith records that a believer was going towards a village to visit a fellow. In the way an angel appeared to him and said: I am an apostle of God to you. Hadith also says that if you maintain the same [high] level of faith, angels will greet you while you are lying in your beds."
(*Tafhimat*, vol. ii, p. 134)
- ii. "God revealed to me, saying: I will give you the *Tariqa* [course of teachings for spiritual progress] which shall take man nearer to God than do any of the existing *Tariqas*, and it shall be more powerful than any of them."
(*ibid.*, vol. i, p. 45)

16. Khawaja Mir Dard of Delhi (d. 1785 C.E.)

In his great work '*Ilm al-Kitab*', this famous saint of Delhi writes under the heading *Tahdees Ni'mat ar-Rabb* ('Mention of the bounties of the Lord') that he received in revelation numerous verses of the Quran, some of which are those where the Holy Prophet is addressed by God. For instance:

- i. "Warn thy near relatives." (The Quran, 26:214)
- ii. "Say: Allah is sufficient for me." (39:38)
- iii. "Be steadfast as thou art commanded, and follow not their low desires." (42:15)
- iv. "Grieve thou not for them, nor be distressed because of what they plan." (27:70)
- v. "Did He not find thee groping, and guided thee." (93:7)

See '*Ilm al-Kitab*', pp. 61–64.

17. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed (d. 1831 C.E.)

He was a learned theologian and a famous martyr of North-West India. He writes:

- i. "Among these matters, one is *ilham* [revelation], and *ilham* is that thing which is established from the prophets. It is called *wahy*. If it is proved from persons other than prophets, it is called *tahdees* [revelation of a non-prophet]. In the Quran, *ilham* as such has been called *wahy*, whether it came to prophets or to saints."
(*Mansab-i Imammat*, p. 31)

- ii. “If someone says that no person other than the prophets can obtain knowledge of the future from the unseen, I believe that he is denying a teaching of the religion which is established by repeated evidence, i.e. teachings of the faith which spread into the world because they were abundantly reported [from the Holy Prophet].” (*Abqaat*, pp. 14–17)

18. Maulavi Abdullah Ghaznavi

He was an Indian saint of the last century who was originally from Ghazni in Afghanistan, but settled in Amritsar in the Punjab. His biography records that he received a very large number of Quranic verses in his Divine revelation. Some are given below:

- i. “Send peace and blessings upon him.” (The Quran 33:56)
- ii. “And soon thy Lord will give thee so that thou art well pleased.” (93:5)
- iii. “Have We not expanded for thee thy bosom.” (94:1)
- iv. “Is not God sufficient for His servant.” (39:36)
- v. “He is only a servant upon whom We bestowed favours.” (43:59)

He also received the following revelation:

“Thou art from Me and I am from Thee. So fear not nor grieve.” (Biography of Maulavi Abdullah Ghaznavi by Maulavi Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi, pp. 10–11)

19. Maulavi Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi

One Maulavi Ghulam Ali Qasoori objected to the revelations of Maulavi Abdullah Ghaznavi as follows:

“There are some verses in the Quran which are addressed specially and solely to the Holy Prophet Muhammad. No one else can be addressed by them.”

In reply, Maulavi Abdullah Ghaznavi’s son Maulavi Abdul Jabbar Ghaznavi, a contemporary of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and a bitter opponent of the Ahmadiyya Movement, wrote the following:

“If someone receives a Divine revelation (*ilham*) which is some verse of the Quran addressed particularly to the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the recipient of this revelation would take it as referring to himself, and would interpret it in the light of his own circumstances and draw a lesson from it. . . .

“So if someone has revealed to him verses specially addressed to the Holy Prophet, for instance: ‘*Have We not expanded for thee thy breast*’, ‘*thy Lord will soon give thee so that thou wilt be pleased*’, ‘*Allah will suffice thee against them*’, ‘*be patient and resolute as the messengers were*’, ‘*hold thyself with those who call upon their Lord morning and evening*’, ‘*pray to thy Lord and sacrifice*’, ‘*obey not him whose heart We have made unmindful of Our remembrance, and he follows his low desires*’, ‘*He found thee groping and guided thee*’; the meaning would be that that person would be granted these things to the extent that he deserves, according to his station. And as for the commands and prohibitions [in the revelations], these would apply to him as to the Holy Prophet.”
(*Asbat al-ilham*, pp. 142–143)

20. Allama Khalid Mahmud

He is a present-day theologian who is a staunch opponent of the Ahmadiyya Movement. He wrote in an Urdu book:

“News of the unseen, visions and revelations are also received by some non-prophets. Saints (*auliya*) of God are informed of news of the unseen. In fact, Umar [the second Caliph] held the rank of *muhaddas*, at which station, according to the Hadith, God Himself grants the privilege of His communication, without the person reaching the rank of prophet.”

(*Aqidat al-Umma fi ma'ni khatam an-nubuwwat*, p. 48, footnote)

21. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi (d. 1979 C.E.)

The most prominent Sunni religious and political leader of recent times in Pakistan wrote in answer to a question in his monthly magazine:

“You appear surprised at there being *two* types of revelation. Had you read the Quran you would know that this Book mentions *three* types of revelation, only one of which types was collected in the Quran: ‘*It is not for a mortal that God should speak to him except by inspiration, or from behind a veil, or by sending a messenger who reveals by His permission what He [God] pleases.*’ Here three forms are described of God sending commandments and guidance to a man. One is direct revelation, i.e., inspiration into the mind. A second is speech from behind a veil. The third is that revelation is sent through a messenger — an angel. The revelations collected in the Holy Quran are only of the third kind.”

(*Monthly Tarjuman al-Quran*, September 1961, p. 100)

Section 5

Revelation and Hazrat Mirza's claim

Compiler's Note. This Section presents writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to show that he clearly distinguished between the two main types of revelation: *wahy nubuwwat* (revelation exclusive to prophets), and *wahy wilayat* (the lower form of revelation received by saints as well as prophets); and that he considered *wahy nubuwwat* to have terminated after the Holy Prophet Muhammad because it characterises a prophet. He only laid claim to receiving *wahy wilayat*. The Section then deals with the concept of *muhaddas*, the proper term for a Muslim saint who receives revelation, and shows the meaning Hazrat Mirza attached to this term.

5.1: *Wahy Nubuwwat and Wahy Wilayat*

1. *Wahy* or revelation from God is of two kinds:

- i. *Wahy nubuwwat* or *wahy risalat* (revelation exclusive to prophets).
- ii. *Wahy wilayat* or *wahy muhaddasiyyat* (revelation received by a saint, a non-prophet).

2. The persons who are raised by God for a mission are appointed either by receiving *wahy nubuwwat* or *wahy wilayat*. Hazrat Mirza wrote:

“God says [in the Holy Quran] that He does not clearly reveal news of matters unseen to anyone except His messengers (*rasul*), that is to say, those persons who are appointed through *wahy risalat* or through *wahy wilayat*, and are known as being from Him.” (*Al-Haq Mubahasa Ludhiana*, p. 117)

- i. If such a person is a recipient of *wahy nubuwwat*, he is called a *nabi* (prophet) and *rasul* (messenger), and belongs to the category of *prophets*.
- ii. If, however, he is a recipient of *wahy wilayat*, he is called a *muhaddas* (one who receives Divine revelation without being a prophet) or a *mujaddid* (religious reformer), and belongs to the category of *saints (wali)*.

3. *Wahy nubuwwat* (revelation exclusive to prophets) began with the prophet Adam and ended with the Holy Prophet Muhammad. This is what Hazrat Mirza wrote:

- i. "It is my belief that *wahy risalat* began with Adam and ended with the Holy Prophet Muhammad." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. ii, p. 230)
- ii. "A seal has been put upon *wahy nubuwwat* since thirteen hundred years ago." (*Izala Auham*, p. 534)
- iii. "It has just been shown that *wahy risalat* has been terminated till the Day of Judgment." (*ibid.*, p. 614)
- iv. "How could it be permitted that, despite the fact that our Holy Prophet Muhammad is the Last of the Prophets (*Khatam al-anbiya*), some other prophet should appear sometime and *wahy nubuwwat* commence." (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 47)
- v. "O you people, who are called the progeny of Muslims! Do not become opponents of the Quran, and do not start *wahy nubuwwat* after the Last of the Prophets." (*Asmani Faisla*, p. 16)

So, after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, *wahy nubuwwat* has been ended. To put man in contact with God now, there only remains *wahy wilayat* which is received by saints. Hazrat Mirza wrote on this point as follows:

- i. "I believe that it is not *wahy nubuwwat* but *wahy wilayat* which the saints receive through the Prophethood of Muhammad due to their perfect following of him. If anyone accuses me of claiming anything beyond this, he departs from honesty and fear of God." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. ii, no. 151, p. 297)
- ii. "I have noticed that at the time of revelation, which descends upon me in the form of *wahy wilayat*, I feel myself in the hands of an extremely strong external force." (*Barakat-ud-Du'a*, p. 21)
- iii. "Has it ever happened in the world that God should have so helped an imposter that he could be speaking a lie against God for eleven years, to the effect that His [God's] *wahy wilayat* and *wahy muhad-dasiyyat* comes to him, and God would not cut off his jugular vein." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 323)

4. Even if the *wahy nubuwwat* received by someone did not address him by the titles *nabi* (prophet) and *rasul* (messenger), he would still become a

prophet as the recipient of *wahy nubuwwat*. The Holy Prophet Muhammad's first revelation in the form of *wahy nubuwwat* is the Quranic passage beginning with the words: "*Read in the name of thy Lord, Who creates.*" The revelation of this passage made him a prophet, yet it did not address him as *nabi* or *rasul*.

Conversely, if the *wahy wilayat* received by a saint addresses him as *nabi* and *rasul*, and he even receives verses of the Holy Quran in his *wahy wilayat*, he still does *not* become a prophet, but remains a saint. Many recognised saints throughout the history of Islam received revelation in which they were called *nabi* and *rasul*, and they also had revelation which contained verses from the Holy Quran. Imam Ja'far Sadiq, an early Imam from the line of Ali, is said to have received the whole of the Holy Quran in his revelation.

Therefore, the revelation of a single sentence by way of *wahy nubuwwat* makes the recipient a prophet, but the revelation upon some saint of even the whole of the Holy Quran by way of *wahy wilayat* does *not* make him a prophet. Regarding this, Hazrat Mirza writes:

- i. "It is obvious that if it is supposed that the angel Gabriel can now descend with even one sentence of *wahy nubuwwat* and remain silent thereafter, this would still contradict the finality of prophet-hood, for when the seal of finality is breached and *wahy risalat* again starts to descend, it matters not whether the amount is little or much. Every wise person can understand that if God is true to His promise, and the promise given in the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* verse, which has been explicitly mentioned in the Hadith, that now, after the death of the Prophet of God, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, Gabriel has been forbidden forever from bringing *wahy nubuwwat* — if all these things are true and correct, then no person at all can come as a messenger (*rasul*) after our Prophet, peace be upon him." (*Izala Auham*, p. 577)
- ii. "After the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, the Holy Quran does not allow the coming of any *rasul*, whether he is a new one or a former one, because a *rasul* receives knowledge of religion through the agency of Gabriel, and the coming of Gabriel as bringing *wahy risalat* has been closed. It is self-contradictory that a messenger (*rasul*) come into the world, but not be accompanied by *wahy risalat*." (*ibid.*, p. 761)

- iii. "Will the revelation of a prophet be called anything other than *wahy nubuwwat*?" (*Siraj Munir*, p. 4)

In what explicit and unequivocal terms has Hazrat Mirza stated here that, after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, *wahy nubuwwat* has been ended! Even a single sentence of this type of revelation cannot descend upon any person after the Holy Prophet. However many saints, reformers and Divinely-inspired holy men appear among the Muslims, they would receive only *wahy wilayat*, and Hazrat Mirza is one such personage. Never did he term his revelation as *wahy nubuwwat*, but always as *wahy wilayat*.

5.2: Meaning of *Muhaddas*

In the Sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the term used for those persons who receive Divine revelation, but are not prophets, is *muhaddas*. The meaning of this term has been explained by the Holy Prophet himself as: "A person who is spoken to by God, without being a prophet." The word *muhaddas* has two types of meaning: literal (root) and technical.

The word *tahdees* (from which *muhaddas* comes) means *to relate* or *inform* something. Literally, therefore, this word does not convey the significance of relating news *of the unseen*, but merely relating something. This is what Hazrat Mirza wrote:

"In no lexicon does the word *tahdees* convey the meaning of disclosing the unseen."

(Pamphlet: *Ayk Ghalati ka Izala*)

As to the technical meaning of *muhaddas* in Islamic theology, Hazrat Mirza wrote:

"The *muhaddas* . . . has the honour of being spoken to by God. Matters of the unseen are disclosed to him. His revelation, like that of prophets and messengers, is protected from the interference of the devil. The real essence of the Law (Shari'ah) is disclosed to him. He is appointed just like the prophets, and, like them, it is his duty to proclaim himself openly. His denier is, to some extent, liable to Divine punishment."

(*Tauzih Maram*, p. 18)

According to these two meanings of *muhaddas*, Hazrat Mirza has denied the application to him of this term in its literal sense, and affirmed its application to him in the technical sense.

Section 6

Terms *nabi* and *rasul* for non-prophets

Compiler's Note. The words *nabi* ('prophet') and *rasul* ('messenger' or 'apostle') are well-known to every Muslim. These terms are generally understood in the technical sense assigned to them by Islamic theology and Shari'ah. But in Islamic literature these terms have also been used in a broad, literal (i.e. original linguistic) sense, or in a non-technical metaphorical sense, to refer to those who are not prophets. In this Section it is first shown that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has clearly distinguished between the *technical* and *linguistic* meanings of *nabi* and *rasul*, and also between the *real* and *metaphorical* use of these words. In the proper, technically-defined sense of these words, no prophet can come after the Holy Prophet Muhammad. In the literal root sense, or as a metaphor, these terms can be used for any saint, and it is *only* in this sense that Hazrat Mirza applied them to himself, as we show in this Section.

The Section then turns to the concept of *muhaddas*, and gives extracts from the writings of Hazrat Mirza to show that such a saint can be called *nabi* and *rasul* in the broad, non-real senses noted above. Views of other religious scholars are also cited to support the same conclusion.

6.1: Distinction between literal and technical meanings

a. 'Rasul'

As regards the literal (root or dictionary) meaning of the word *rasul*, Hazrat Mirza explained:

1. "A person who is sent is called *rasul* in Arabic." (*Arba'in*, No. 2, footnote, p. 18)
2. "*Risalat* in Arabic lexicology means *to be sent*." (Letter dated 17 August 1899; published in *Al-Hakam*, vol. iii, no. 29, August 1899)
3. "*Rasul* means a Divine elect who is sent." (*Siraj Munir*, p. 40)

As regards the technical meaning of *rasul*, Hazrat Mirza wrote:

1. "According to the explanation of the Holy Quran, *rasul* is he who receives the commands and beliefs of the religion through the angel Gabriel." (*Izala Auham*, p. 534)

2. "It is part of the concept and essence of *rasul* that he receive religious knowledge through angel Gabriel." (ibid., p. 614)

b. 'nabi'

Hazrat Mirza gave the root meaning of *nabi* as follows:

1. "*Nubuwwat* means 'to make prophecies'." (*Ruhani Khaza'in*, No. 2, vol. i, p. 140)
2. "He who discloses news of the unseen received from God is called *nabi* in Arabic." (*Arba'in*, No. 2, footnote, p. 18)
3. "*Nabi* here has only been used to mean 'one who makes prophecies through knowledge received from God', or 'one who explains hidden matters'." (Letter dated 17 August 1899; published in *Al-Hakam*, vol. iii, no. 29, August 1899)

Regarding the technical meaning, he wrote as follows:

1. "In the terminology of Islam, *nabi* and *rasul* mean persons who bring an entirely new law, or abrogate some aspects of the previous law, or are not included among the followers of the previous prophet, having a direct connection with God without benefit from any prophet." (ibid.)
2. "If a person makes a claim to *nubuwwat*, it is necessary in that claim that . . . he form a religious nation (*ummah*) which considers him to be a *nabi* and regards his book as the book of God." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 344)

The above are the literal and technical meanings of the words *nabi* and *rasul* as given by Hazrat Mirza, upon which are agreed the Muslim religious authorities. All prophets of the past times fulfil the *technical* meanings, while Hazrat Mirza applied to himself the *literal* meanings, and throughout his life denied applying to himself the *technical* meanings.

c. Denial of technical sense and affirmation of root sense

Having defined the meanings given above, Hazrat Mirza denied claiming to be a *nabi* or *rasul* in the *technical* sense of these terms, but affirmed that these terms applied to him in the *root or literal* sense. He wrote:

1. "This humble one has never, at any time, made a claim of *nubuwwat* or *risalat* [prophethood or messengership] in the real sense. To use a word in a non-real sense, and to employ it in speech according to its broad, root meaning, does not imply heresy (*kufur*)." (*Anjam Atham*, footnote, p. 27)

2. "These words [i.e. *nabi*, *rasul*] do not bear their real meaning, but have been used according to their literal meaning in a straightforward manner." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. i, p. 313)
3. "It is obvious that he who is sent by God is His envoy, and an envoy is called *rasul* in Arabic. And he who discloses news of the unseen received from God is called *nabi* in Arabic. The meanings in Islamic terminology are different. At this place, only the literal meaning is intended." (*Arba'in*, No. 2, footnote, p. 18)

6.2: Metaphorical and proper (real) use

Just as Hazrat Mirza has made it clear that the words *nabi* and *rasul* have been used about him *not* in their technical sense, but in terms of their root or literal meanings, similarly he has distinguished between the real and metaphorical use of these words. He has discussed at length the terms *haqiqat* ('real') and *majaz* ('metaphorical') which are concepts in the art of diction and language.

If a term is used in the same sense, and with the same meaning, as that for which it was devised or defined, it is *haqiqat* or reality. Its use in some other sense is *majaz* or metaphorical. For example, the word *lion* is defined to apply to a certain animal. If this term is used for such an animal, this use is *haqiqat* or in the real sense, meaning that it is an actual lion. If, however, the term *lion* is used of a brave man, it is *majaz* or in the metaphorical sense, meaning that metaphorically he is a lion. Other examples are words such as *moon* and *angel*, which are used in their real sense, but are also applied metaphorically to human beings to denote beauty or piety.

From these examples, the issue in question is very easy to understand. The terms *nabi* and *rasul* have been defined to denote the real prophets and messengers of God. If they are used for such a person, it is *haqiqat* or by way of reality, meaning that he is actually a prophet. If, however, *nabi* and *rasul* are applied to a non-prophet, i.e., to a saint, it is *majaz* or metaphorical, meaning that he is a metaphorical prophet, i.e. a saint. Similarly, if the Divine revelation to a prophet (known as *wahy nubuwwat*) addresses him as *nabi* or *rasul*, it means that he is actually a prophet. But if God bestows these titles upon some saint in his revelation (known as *wahy wilayat*), it means that he is metaphorically a prophet, i.e., a saint.

Regarding this, Hazrat Mirza wrote:

1. "It is true that, in the revelation which God has sent upon this servant, the words *nabi*, *rasul* and *mursal* [a variant of *rasul*] occur about myself quite frequently. However, they do not bear their real sense. . . . according to the real meaning of *nubuwwat* [prophethood], after the Holy Prophet Muhammad no new or former prophet can come. The Holy Quran forbids the appearance of any such prophets. But in a metaphorical sense God can call any recipient of revelation as *nabi* or *mursal*. . . . I say it repeatedly that these words *rasul* and *mursal* and *nabi* undoubtedly occur about me in my revelation from God, but they do not bear their real meanings. . . . This is the knowledge that God has given me. Let him understand who will. This very thing has been disclosed to me that the doors of real prophethood are fully closed after the Last of the Prophets, the Holy Prophet Muhammad. According to the real meaning, no new prophet or ancient prophet can now come."
(*Siraj Munir*, p. 3)
2. "By virtue of being appointed by God, I cannot conceal those revelations I have received from Him in which the words *nubuwwat* and *risalat* occur quite frequently. But I say repeatedly that, in these revelations, the word *mursal* or *rasul* or *nabi* which has occurred about me does not carry its real meaning."
(*Anjam Atham*, p. 27, footnote)
3. "Sometimes the revelation from God contains such words [*nabi*, *rasul*] about some of His saints in a metaphorical and figurative sense; they are not meant by way of reality. This is the whole issue which the foolish and prejudiced people have dragged in a different direction. The epithet '*nabi* of God' for the Promised Messiah, which is found in the *Sahih Muslim* etc. from the blessed tongue of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, is in the same metaphorical sense as that in which it is used in Sufi literature as an accepted and common term for [the recipient of] Divine communication. Otherwise, how can there be a prophet after the Last of the Prophets?"
(*ibid.*, p. 28, footnote)

Saints in the Muslim world prior to Hazrat Mirza were also given the titles *nabi* and *rasul* in their Divine revelations in a metaphorical sense, but no one took this as a claim on their part to be prophets. In precisely the same metaphorical way do these words occur in Hazrat Mirza's

revelations and writings. So he too is in the category of saints (*wali*), and *cannot* be considered as including himself in the category of prophets. He wrote:

“At this point, most of the ordinary people stumble and slip, and thousands of saints and holy men and prophets are mistakenly raised by them to the Divine pedestal. The fact is that when spiritual and heavenly terms reach the public, they cannot get to the bottom of them. Ultimately, they distort them somewhat and take metaphor to be reality, thus becoming involved in serious error and misguidance.”

(*Government Angrezi aur Jihad*, p. 26)

6.3: Use of *nabi* and *rasul* for saints

It has been shown above that there is a distinction between the technical definition of the terms *nabi* and *rasul*, and the use of these words in accordance with their root meanings or as a metaphor. In a non-technical sense these words are applicable to saints (*wali* or *muhaddas*).

I. HAZRAT MIRZA'S VIEWS

1. “Remember that in the word of God, the term *rusul* [pl. of *rasul*] is used for the singular and also for non-prophets.” (*Shahadat al-Quran*, pp. 20–21)
2. “The word *rasul* is a general term and includes the messenger, the prophet (*nabi*) and the saint (*muhaddas*).” (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 322)
3. “By *rasul* are meant those persons who are sent by God, whether *nabi*, or *rasul*, or *muhaddas* or *mujaddid*.” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, footnote, p. 171)
4. “If the rank of *muhaddas* is called a metaphorical prophethood or displaying an aspect of prophethood, does this imply a claim to prophethood?” (*Izala Auham*, p. 422)
5. “In a metaphorical sense, God can call any recipient of revelation

- as *nabi* or *mursal*.” (*Siraj Munir*, p. 3)
6. “Sometimes the revelation from God contains such words [*nabi*, *rasul*] about some of His saints in a metaphorical sense.” (*Anjam Atham*, footnote, p. 28)
 7. “It is true that I have said that elements of prophethood are found in *tahdees* [station of *muhaddas*], but this is the case potentially, not actually. So the *muhaddas* is potentially a prophet, and if the door of prophethood were not closed, he would be actually a prophet.” (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 81; new edition p. 290)
 8. “God speaks to *muhaddases* just as He speaks to prophets (*nabi*), and He sends *muhaddases* just as He sends messengers (*rasul*). The *muhaddas* drinks from the same fountain, from which the prophet drinks. So there is no doubt that he [the *muhaddas*] would be a prophet if the door of prophethood had not been closed.” (*ibid.*, p. 82; new edition pp. 291–292)
 9. “In terms of being sent by God (*mursal*), the prophet (*nabi*) and the saint (*muhaddas*) are on a par. And just as God has named prophets as *mursal* [‘sent ones’], so has He also named the saints as *mursal*.” (*Shahadat al-Quran*, p. 27)
 10. “By *rusul* [pl. of *rasul*] are meant those who are sent, whether a messenger or prophet or *muhaddas*. As our Leader and Messenger [Holy Prophet Muhammad] is the Last of the Prophets (*Khatam al-anbiya*), and no prophet can come after him, for this reason *muhaddases* have been substituted for prophets in this Shari‘ah.” (*ibid.*, pp. 23–24)

Hazrat Mirza has, it will be seen, given much explanation of the words *nabi* and *rasul*, to the effect that the word *rasul* is a broad term and is used for saints just as it is used for prophets, and the word *nabi* is used non-technically for saints just as it is used in its technical sense for prophets. If a person uses these words about himself, his own explanation should be sought from his writings to see if he has used them for actual prophethood or used them metaphorically to mean *muhaddas*.

It should be remembered that at no time did Hazrat Mirza claim real prophethood; on the contrary, he always used these words about himself in the root sense or as metaphors. And besides, he has made so abundantly clear the root *vis-a-vis* the technical meanings of these words, and their real *vis-a-vis* metaphorical use, that no person should stumble by

these terms and erroneously believe him to be claiming to be a prophet.

II. EARLIER AUTHORITIES ON USE OF 'NABI' AND 'RASUL'

Recognised Muslim theologians and saints have expressed the following views on the use of *nabi* and *rasul* in a broader sense:

1. **Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi** (d. 1763 C.E.) writes:

“Remember that the Saying of the Holy Prophet which mentions a large number of prophets includes *muhaddases* in its count.”
(*Al-Khair al-Kaseer*, Urdu translation, p. 246)

The Saying referred to is the well-known one which mentions the number of prophets (*nabi*) that ever appeared as 124,000. Shah Wali-ullah says that the Holy Prophet has used the word *nabi* here to include those who were merely *muhaddas*.

2. **Maulana Sana-ullah of Panipat**, a classical commentator of the Quran, writes in his commentary:

“*Rasul* has a broad significance, applying both to men and angels. . . . Some scholars say that, as a general metaphor, the word *rasul* is applied to saints as well.”
(*Tafsir Mazhari*, p. 140)

3. **Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed** (d. 1831 C.E.) wrote:

“A *muhaddas*, too, is called *rasul*.”
(*Abqaat*, p. 402)

4. **Maulana Mufti Kifayat-ullah**, a theologian of this century who was head of the *Jami'at al-'Ulama*, India, defined a *muhaddas* as follows:

“A *muhaddas* is he who receives the word of God by special revelation. Some scholars consider such a one to be a prophet of a low rank, and others consider him to be a saint of a high order.”
(*Majalis al-Abrar*, footnote, p. 18)

5. **Allama Khalid Mahmud**, a present-day theologian, has commented as follows on the writings of Maulana Jalal-ud-Din Rumi:

“In this respect, the Maulana refers to every spiritual leader who follows the *Sunna* as metaphorically a prophet.”
(*'Aqidat al-Umma fi ma'ni khatam an-nubuwwat*, p. 112)

6. Mulla Ali Qari wrote in his famous classical work:

“To be a metaphorical prophet does not constitute *kufr* nor an innovation.”

(*Sharh Shifa*, vol. ii, p. 518)

6.4: Summary

On the basis of the extracts from the writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad given in Sections 5 and 6, the following conclusions are clear:

1. Hazrat Mirza **denied** claiming to receive *wahy nubuwwat*, and **affirmed** that he received *wahy wilayat*.
2. Hazrat Mirza **denied** claiming to be a *prophet* in the **technical** sense, and **affirmed** that this term applied to him in the **root** sense.
3. He **affirmed** that he was a *muhaddas* in the **technical** sense, and **denied** the application of this word to him in a **root** sense.
4. The **root** (literal) meaning of *nabi* in the Arabic language is **the same** as the **technical** meaning of *muhaddas* in Islamic theology.
5. The person termed *muhaddas* in **Islamic theology and Hadith** is called a *metaphorical prophet* in the **spiritual side of Islam** (*Tasawwuf*).
6. Hazrat Mirza **denied** claiming to be an actual and real prophet, and **affirmed** that this word applied to him in a metaphorical sense.

Section 7

Claims of eminent Muslim saints

Compiler's Note. As Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was a Muslim saint — of the highest rank — his writings must be studied in the light of the pronouncements of the great Muslim spiritual figures of classical times who are recognised and revered by the whole Islamic world as men of authority and experience in matters spiritual. The lives and works of many of them have been studied by distinguished Western orientalis. The writings of these popular saints show the kind of language used by them to refer to their own spiritual attainments. This form of expression is accepted as standard in describing spiritual experiences and states. It is never taken literally, nor are those who use such terms condemned as imposters. On the contrary, they occupy the highest positions of distinction in the history of the Muslim faith. This Section gives extracts, some of which are quite well-known, from the writings and sayings of many such renowned saints to illustrate the terms in which they described their claims.

If the claims of Hazrat Mirza are judged by these established standards, no objection whatever arises against his statements, nor do they cause any shock or offence. In fact, his writings are of a much milder tone than the pronouncements of earlier Muslim saints, and he has explained all these terms in such a detailed and unambiguous manner as to clarify not only his own expressions but those of the previous saints as well.

The Muslim nation is agreed that the Holy Prophet Muhammad is the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, the Last Prophet, after whom no prophet can come, whether new or old. This was the belief of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and after him this is the belief held by members of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at Islam Lahore. Before the Holy Prophet Muhammad there existed the system of prophets being sent in order to forge the relation of man with God and to safeguard the Divine teachings. But when prophethood came to a close with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, there could not arise any prophet after him. Therefore, according to the Holy Quran and Hadith, in place of the prophets there would arise saints (*wali*) and *muhaddases* (non-prophets receiving God's revelation) to put man in touch with God. And to safeguard the faith and the Book of God, there would come successors to the Holy Prophet (*khalifa*) and reformers of religion (*mujaddid*) after the

Holy Prophet Muhammad. The 'successorship' verse of the Holy Quran (24:55) testifies to this fact, and the same thing has been stated by the Holy Prophet in the words:

“Surely God will raise for this nation [i.e. Muslims], at the head of every century a person who will renew the religion [i.e. *mujaddid* or reformer].”

(*Sunan Abu Dawud, Kitab ul-Malahim*)

Thus, in accordance with this Saying, just as there arose reformers for the *Shari'ah* (the formal side of the teachings of Islam) in every century, so did there arise reformers for the *Tariqat* (the spiritual side of Islam) in one century or another. This is borne out by history and actual events.

In accordance with this Saying of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, at the head of the fourteenth century of the Muslim calendar (which ran from 1883 to 1979 C.E.), Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad announced:

“This humble servant is the reformer [*mujaddid*] of both the *Shari'ah* and the *Tariqat*.”

Being the reformer of *Tariqat* as well, he, like the previous reformers and Sufis, not only used the standard terminology of *Tariqat* and *Tasawwuf* (Sufi-ism) in his books, but also discussed at length the most intricate points and delicate secrets of these spiritual sciences, in order that the students and devotees of *Tariqat* also benefit from his work of reform. But the hollow scholars of the *Shari'ah* and the half-baked Sufis could not fathom these secrets of Divine Knowledge, and rose to oppose and persecute Hazrat Mirza. There was no allegation they did not level against him, and no pain and suffering they did not cause him and his followers. Had they understood these fine points and subtle secrets of spirituality, they would not have engaged in this opposition. If they had gone through the Holy Quran, the Hadith, and some work of the classical religious authorities, they would not have found it difficult to comprehend these deeper issues of the *Shari'ah* and *Tariqat*.

When we read the books and the sayings of Sufi saints and elders of Islam of old, it is discovered that some of them referred to themselves as Mary, some as son of Mary, some as Abraham, some as Moses, some as Muhammad and Ahmad (peace be upon him), etc. There have been those who called themselves prophet (*nabi*) and messenger (*rasul*), and those who asked their disciples to use their name in the *Kalima*, the Islamic formula of faith. We also see that all the terms of *Tasawwuf* such as *fana*

fir-rasul, zill, burooz, etc. which Hazrat Mirza has used in his books, have been coined by the Sufis of earlier times. None of these terms — by which the saints are referred to as “metaphorical” prophets or “images” of prophets, etc. — were devised by Hazrat Mirza. This evidence of facts cannot be denied.

Below we take a look at the sayings and reports of those Sufi saints and religious elders of earlier times whose impeccability, reputation and authority are recognised by Muslims all over the world. If Hazrat Mirza’s explanations of the truths of *Tariqat* are studied in the light of these sayings, there remains no difficulty in understanding these terms of *Tasawwuf*.

1. Hazrat Ali (d. 661 C.E.)

The fourth Caliph, one of the most revered figures in Islam, said:

“I am the dot under the letter *b* of *Bismilla* [*Bismilla* — ‘In the name of God’ — a well-known Muslim expression, begins with the letter *b* which in Arabic has a dot under it]. I am that aspect of God about which you have been indifferent. I am the Pen, I am the Guarded Tablet, I am the Throne, I am the Chair, I am the seven heavens and the earths.”

(Preface to *Sharh Fusooos al-Hukm*, Section 8, p. 32, by Shaikh Dawud ibn Mahmud al-Qaisari)

The expressions referred to, e.g. ‘pen’ (*qalm*), ‘Guarded Tablet’ (*luh*), etc., are all used in the Holy Quran, denoting God’s attributes such as His power and knowledge.

2. Imam Ja‘far Sadiq (d. 765 C.E.)

A great-grandson of Hazrat Imam Husain, and the sixth Imam of the Shiahs, said:

“We are the prayer that is mentioned in the Book of God. We are the charity, we are the fasting, we are the Pilgrimage, we are the sacred months, we are the holy land, we are the *Ka‘ba* [central mosque of Muslim world in Makka], we are the *qibla* [direction faced when praying], we are the ‘face’ of God, we are the signs and we are the clear signs.”

(*Kitab Mazhar al-‘Ajai‘b fin-Nakt wal-Ghara‘ib*, published 1350 A.H.)

All the terms used here, such as sacred months, *qibla*, signs, etc. are taken from the Holy Quran.

3. Abu Yazid Bustami (d. 874 C.E.)

The following is recorded about this early Persian saint:

- i. “He said: People think that I am person like them, but if they were to see my attributes in the spiritual world they would die. I am like the river the depth of which is unknown, and so is its source and end.

“A man asked him, What is the *‘arsh* [throne of God]. He said, I am that. He asked, What is the *Kursi* [lit. chair, or knowledge of God]. He replied, I am that. People said that there had been many righteous servants of God, such as Abraham, Moses and the Holy Prophet Muhammad. He said, I am all of them. They then asked about the angels Gabriel, Michael, Israfeel and Izrael. He said, I am all of them as well. The questioner was silent. Abu Yazid added: If a man be totally lost in God, since God is everything he will see in himself everything.”

(*Tazkirat al-Auliya* or Memoirs of the Saints, Urdu edition, ch. 14, p. 146)

- ii. “It was put to him that on the Day of Judgment, everyone would be gathered under the banner of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. He replied:

“By God! my banner will rise higher than the Holy Prophet’s banner. All people and prophets will be gathered under it. There is no like of me in heaven, nor anyone of my attributes on earth. My attributes are hidden in the Unseen [God]. How can such a one be a man? Nay, he is the tongue of Truth [God], and the speaker is the Truth [God] Himself. *‘From Me he speaks, from Me he hears, from Me he sees.’* Therefore, it is God Who speaks through the tongue of Abu Yazid. He it is Who has said: My banner is higher than the banner of Muhammad, peace be upon him. For the flag of God is much higher than the flag of the Holy Prophet. Since you allow that the words *‘I am surely God’* can come from a tree, you should also allow that the words *‘My banner is higher than that of Muhammad’* and *‘Glory be to Me, how great is My dignity’* should issue forth from the tree of the mind of Abu Yazid.”

(*ibid.*, p. 151)

(*Note:* The reference in the words “From Me he speaks . . .” is to a hadith according to which God has said: “When I love a man, I am the Hearing with which he hears, I am the Sight with which he sees, I am the Hands with which he

holds, and I am the Feet with which he walks" — Bukhari 81:38. The reference to the words "I am surely God" coming from a tree is to the well-known incident of Moses hearing the voice saying "I am surely God, the Lord of the worlds" coming from a bush or tree, as recorded in the Quran — see 28:30. Abu Yazid here explains that just as that voice was not the voice of the tree itself, but God speaking through it, similarly his pronouncement was really the voice of God.)

iii. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, world-renowned mystical poet of Persia, sings of Abu Yazid:

"That glorious dervish Abu Yazid came to his disciples and said '*I am God,*'

"This perfect spiritual leader, in the state of spiritual intoxication, declared there is no God but me, so serve me,

"In other words, in my robe there is none but God, so how long will you search for Him in heaven and earth."

(*Miftah al-'Ulum*, pp. 25, 36, vol. 12, section 4, Part II)

4. Abu Bakr Shibli (d. 945 C.E.)

It is recorded of this famous Iraqi saint:

i. "Shaikh Shibli asked his student: Do you bear witness that I am Muhammad, the Messenger of God? The student bore witness to it."

(*Saif ar-Rabbani*, p. 100)

ii. "Have you not considered this, that when the Holy Prophet Muhammad appeared in the form of Shibli, he [Shibli] said to a student of his who was a recipient of visions: Bear witness that I am the Messenger of God. So the student said: I bear witness that you are indeed the Messenger of God. This is not something unlawful and wrong. It is just as a sleeping man [in a dream] sees one person in the form of another. And a low-ranking type of vision is one where what a person sees in a dream he sees while awake."

(*Al-Insan al-Kamil*, vol. ii, p. 46, by Abdul Qadir Jili; see also the English translation in R. A. Nicholson's *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 105)

iii. "Two men went to enter into the discipleship of Abu Bakr Shibli. He said to one of them: Say, '*There is no God but Allah, and Shibli is His Messenger*'. The man uttered the expression of *la haul wa la* [somewhat equivalent to *God forbid!*]. Shibli did the same. The man asked him why he had uttered *la haul*. Shibli asked him why he had done it. The man said, I uttered it because I had come to

become the disciple of such a violator of the religion. Shibli replied: I uttered it because I divulged such a subtle secret to an ignorant man. He then called the second man and asked him to repeat: *'There is no God but Allah, and Shibli is His Messenger'*. He said: I had thought that you were of a high rank, but you are content merely with messengership of God. Shibli laughed and said: I will teach you.

"So each person's comprehension and understanding is different. It was the same point which one man could not take in, and he rejected it, while the other had superior understanding. Shibli had not meant what the outward-looking man had thought. The fact is that the person who is the teacher, guide and mentor, is the Messenger for the student and performs the function of the Divine Messenger."

(*Tazkira Ghausiyya*, by Maulana Shah Gul Hasan, p. 315, and *Miftah al-'Ashiqeen*, p. 16)

5. Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 1166 C.E.)

He is a world-renowned Iraqi saint, of household fame in the Muslim world today.

- i. The following spiritual experience was related by him:

"God gave me the blessing of attending at Madina. One day I was busy in the remembrance of God in solitude when He took me from this world and from my own self, and then returned me. And I was saying: *'Had Moses been alive he would have obeyed me'*. This was as if I was the author [of the Saying], and not as relating this Saying. So I knew that this was due to me being drawn away by God. I was effaced [*fana*] in the Holy Prophet, and at that time I was not just so-and-so [i.e. Abdul Qadir], but I was certainly Muhammad. Otherwise, what I had said would merely have been relating something from the Holy Prophet."

(*Saif ar-Rabbani* by Sayyid Muhammad Makki, published in Bombay, p. 100)

The words *'Had Moses been alive he would have obeyed me'* are a Saying of the Holy Prophet Muhammad.

- ii. He writes in a poem:

"I was in the higher world with the light of Muhammad, In God's secret knowledge was my prophethood."

(From poem known as *Qasida Ruhi*)

- iii. “Prophethood in its outward sense has gone, but in terms of its essence it will continue till the Day of Judgment. Otherwise, why should there always be forty saints on the earth? Aspects of prophethood are to be found in some of them, whose hearts are like those of prophets. From among them are *khalifas* of God and of His messengers on earth.”
(*Faiz Subhani*, Sayings of Abdul Qadir Jilani, published in Delhi, p. 122)
- iv. “Pity be on you! You run away from me, while I am your guard. My house offers you protection, otherwise you would be destroyed. O ignorant one! first perform the pilgrimage to me and then perform the pilgrimage to the House of God. I am the door to the *Ka’ba* [central Muslim mosque in Makka], come to me and I will show you how to perform the pilgrimage.”
(*Wa’z Mahboob Subhani*, p. 235, Urdu translation of *Fath ar-Rabbani wal-faiz ar-Rahmani*)
- v. “Sainthood is the *zill* [reflection or image] of prophethood, and prophethood is the *zill* of Divinity.”
(*Bihjat al-Israr*, p. 83)
- vi. The following is part of a poem by Shaikh Abdul Qadir Jilani:
 “Though your rank is high, but mine will ever be higher than yours,
 “I am a falcon for every spiritual guide and my flight is high, is there any other man granted the like of me,
 “God informed me of an ancient secret, and gave me all that I asked,
 “He made me head of all the saints, my order is in force every moment,
 “If I reveal my secret to the oceans they would all become dry,
 “If I manifest my secret to the mountain, it would crumble and be as sand,
 “If I show my secret to the dead, it would rise to life by the power of God,
 “If I reveal my secret to fire, it would cool down and be put out,
 “The passing of months and years is not without my command, they come to me first and then pass,
 “They inform me of all the news of the world, so you should stop your arguments and debates with me,
 “All the lands of God are under my authority, and my time has

been cleaned for me before my heart,

“When I looked at all the lands of God, they amounted to but a grain,

“So who among the saints is like me, who can compete with me in knowledge and power,

“Every saint is in the footsteps of some prophet, I am in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet, the perfect moon.”

(From poem known as *Qasida Ghausiyya*)

vii. “I am much beyond your intellects. So do not measure me by anyone, nor measure anyone by me.”

(*Futuh al-Ghaib*, p. 22)

viii. “People have their spiritual guides [Shaikh], the Jinn have their spiritual guides, and the angels have their spiritual guides. But I am the spiritual guide for them all.”

(*Bihjat al-Israr*, p. 23)

ix. “God reveals wonderful types of knowledge to the heart of the great man. He discloses to him such secrets as He conceals from others. He honours him, draws him to Himself, guides him to the doors of His nearness, and opens his heart for the acceptance of knowledge and secrets. He makes him His warner to the people and a sign of God among them. He makes him a guide as well as the guided one [mahdi]. He makes him an intercessor with God as well as one whose intercession is accepted. He makes him one of the truthful ones and the saints, who are the substitutes for prophets and messengers.”

(*Futuh al-Ghaib*, discourse no. 33)

6. Farid-ud-Din Attar (d. 1220 C.E.)

He was the author of *Mantaq al-Tair* and *Tazkirat al-Auliya*, which have been translated into English by British orientalist. In a poetic verse, he says:

“I am free from spite, arrogance and greed,

“I am God, I am God, I am God.”

(*Fawa'id Faridiyya*, translation, p. 85)

7. Shaikh Shahab-ud-Din Suharwardy (d. 1234 C.E.)

Founder of one of the four chief Sufi orders, he wrote:

“No other prophet could share with the Holy Prophet Muhammad his rank of *mahmood* [or eminence, mentioned in the Holy Quran

17:79]. But saints from among his followers can share this rank.”
(*Hadiyya Mujaddidiyya*, p. 70)

8. Shaikh Muhiyud-Din Ibn Arabi (d. 1240 C.E.)

This renowned saint, known as the ‘great spiritual leader’, wrote:

- i. “I am the Quran and the *Fatiha* [opening chapter of the Quran],
“I am the spirit of the spirit, not the spirit of vessels.”
(*Fatuhah Makkiyya*, Part I, p. 1)
- ii. “And as it happened with our spiritual guide when people said to him, You are Jesus, son of Mary, so cure this man.”
(*ibid.*, vol. i, p. 199)

9. Shams-ud-Din of Tabriz (d. 1248 C.E.)

This Persian saint, who was a great influence on Rumi, wrote the following verses:

“I am the spirit that was breathed into Mary, I am the soul that was the life of Jesus,
“I know that there is none but me, I am within life and outside this world,
“Shibli and Mansur [two saints] prostrate before me, that is to say, I am in between these and those,
“I was with Noah in the ark and with Joseph in the well, I was in the breath of Jesus, I am the old lover,
“When the accursed Pharaoh was being drowned, I was in the party of Moses, I am the old lover,
“When Adam was not, I was; when the world was not, I was; life was not, but I was; I am the old lover.”
(*Kuliyat Shams Tabrizi*, pages 292 and 508)

10. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (d. 1273 C.E.)

This world-famous author of *Masnawi*, whose works have been translated into English, and whose poetry is widely studied and quoted in India, Pakistan and Iran, wrote the following lines:

- i. “Don’t give your hand into anyone’s but that of the perfect spiritual guide, for his hand is the Truth so take hold of it,
“When you give your hand into his hand, you will be saved from the wild beasts.
“Then your hand will be like that of those [Companions of the Holy Prophet] who took the pledge,

“So that ‘the hand of God was over their hands’,
 “When you give your hand into the hand of your spiritual guide,
 because he well knows the religion of Islam,
 “For, O disciple! he is the prophet of his time, for the Holy Prophet
 Muhammad’s light is manifested through him.”
 (*Miftah al-‘Ulum*, a commentary on the *Masnawi*, Section 5, vol.
 13, p. 152)

- ii. “In the path of virtue be anxious to serve humanity, so that you
 may attain prophethood within the Muslim nation,
 “I am Jesus, but he who is raised to life by my breath will live
 forever,
 “The dead raised by Jesus died again, fortunate is he who gives
 himself up to this Jesus.”
 (ibid., vol. 7, p. 45)
- iii. “If the veil be lifted from souls, each one would cry *I am Jesus*.”
 (ibid., vol. 2, p. 247)
- iv. “Whether the word of God comes from behind a veil or otherwise,
 He grants that thing with which He blessed Mary.”
 (ibid., vol. 1, p. 11)
 (The reference here is to revelation from God, which was given to
 Mary too. “From behind the veil” refers to the verse of the Quran,
 discussed in Section 4, which mentions the three modes of revela-
 tion.)
- v. “O people, I am Noah’s ark in this river; Don’t turn away from this
 boat.” (ibid., vol. 12, p. 268)
- vi. “Consider every saint to be Noah and the ship’s master, and con-
 sider the company of the people of this world to be the flood.”
 (ibid., vol. 12, p. 122)
- vii. “Remember that the saints are the *Israfeel* [name of angel who
 raises the dead to life] of the age. Through them the dead hearts
 receive life and upbringing.”
 (ibid., vol. 1, p. 10)
- viii. “The saints are the children of God, they know this while in
 absence or presence,
 “He who aspires to reach God, let him sit in the company of saints,
 “If you are far removed from the company of saints, You are really
 far removed from God.”

The sayings and claims reproduced above are from those great leaders of Islamic thought, and saints of impeccable repute, whose piety, righteousness and devotion to the Holy Prophet Muhammad have been widely recognised by the Muslim world in every age. No Muslim of learning can doubt their saintliness and their close ties with God. If the opponents of the Ahmadiyya Movement would study, in the light of the writings of these saints, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's explanations of the fine and intricate points of Sufi-ism and the issues arising in *Tariqat*, they would not have the least doubt about his truthfulness.

Statements of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad about the Sufi Saints

1. "Of all the leaders of *Tasawwuf* that there have been till the present day, not even one has disagreed with the point that in this religion the path to become the likes of prophets is open, as the Holy Prophet Muhammad has given the glad tidings for spiritual and godly learned persons that '*the Ulama of my nation are like the Israelite Prophets*'. The words of Abu Yazid Bustami given below, which are recorded in *Tazkirat al-Auliya* by Farid-ud-Din Attar, and are also found in other reliable works, are on this basis, as he says: '*I am Adam, I am Seth, I am Noah, I am Abraham, I am Moses, I am Jesus, I am Muhammad, peace be upon him and upon all these brothers of his*.'" (*Izala Auham*, pp. 258–259)
2. "We can prove to every seeker-after-truth, conclusively and definitely, that from the time of the Holy Prophet Muhammad till the present day there have been, in every century, godly persons through whom God has shown heavenly signs to other communities to guide them [towards Islam]. There have been in Islam persons such as Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, Abul Hasan Khartani, Abu Yazid Bustami, Junaid of Baghdad, Muhiyud-Din Ibn Arabi, Zul-Noon of Egypt, Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti, Qutub-ud-Din Bukhtiar, Farid-ud-Din of Pak Patan, Nizam-ud-Din of Delhi, Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi, and Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind. The number of such persons runs into thousands, and the miracles of so many people are recorded in scholarly and learned works that even a prejudiced opponent, despite his great bias, has to concede finally that these persons showed miracles and extraordinary signs." (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, p. 67)

Section 8

Muslim saints and sufis in India

Compiler's Note. This Section is similar in content to the last, but it concentrates on saints and sufi writers who moulded the religious environment of the part of the world where Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad lived. Besides recognised saints of classical ages, writings of more recent periods have also been quoted, showing that such forms of expression for spiritual ranks are also used in modern times.

8.1: Introduction

People who are God-fearing and fair-minded should take a look at the spiritual thought prevailing in the environment in which Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad appeared, in the cities of Punjab and of the Indian sub-continent generally where there now remained just memorials of the great Sufi saints and savants of Islam. These were the cities of Ajmer, Sirhind, Sialkot, Lahore, Pak Patan, Sultan Bahu, Tonsa, Chachar, Delhi, Deoband, Thana Bhoon, Gangoh, Bareli, etc. If the opponents of the Ahmadiyya Movement would read the pronouncements and writings of the saints who arose in these places, they would not raise objections to Hazrat Mirza's explanations of the fine points and truths of *Tasawwuf* and *Tariqat* (the spiritual side of Islam). A person who reads the revelations and writings of Hazrat Mirza in the light of the views of these eminent saints would not only comprehend the intricate concepts and terms of *Tariqat*, but would be convinced of the greatness of Hazrat Mirza, and would not hesitate in classing him with the most renowned elders of Islam.

8.2: Pronouncements of saints

1. Khawaja Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti of Ajmer (d. 1236 C.E.)

He was the *mujaddid* of his time and the saint who laid the foundations of the propagation of Islam in India. He wrote the following verses:

- i. "Every moment the Holy Spirit [angel Gabriel] inspires into Mu'in,
"So it is not me who says this, but the fact is that I am the second

Jesus.”

(*Diwan Khawaja Ajmeri*, ode no. 70, p. 102)

- ii. “If the Holy Spirit continues bringing its help,
“Every day in the world the Mary of the time would give birth to a
Jesus.”
(*ibid.*)
- iii. It is recorded:
“Once in our presence a man came to enter into the discipleship of
the Khawaja of Ajmer. The Khawaja asked him to recite the
Kalima [i.e. *There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the
Messenger of Allah*]. The man recited the *Kalima*. The Khawaja
said to him: ‘Say it like this, *There is no god but Allah and Chishti
is the Messenger of Allah*’. The man did so, and the Khawaja
accepted the pledge from him and invested him with the robe of
honour.”
(*Fawa'id as-Salikeen*, p. 18)

2. Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind (d. 1624 C.E.)

Known in India and Pakistan as *Mujaddid Alif Sani* (Mujaddid of the second millenium of Islam), this saint and scholar wrote:

- i. “But that Sufi who, after attaining *fana* and *baqa*, and *sair an-illa
b-illa* [i.e. contact and nearness with God], turns to the world and
calls people to the way of truth, he attains a part of prophethood,
and is classed with those who deliver the commandments of the
faith.”
(*Maktubat*, *Daftar* I, letter no. 48, p. 120)
- ii. “Though the office of prophethood has been ended, still the perfect
followers of the prophets can share some attainments and charac-
teristics of prophethood through inheritance and obedience.”
(*ibid.*, *Daftar* II, letter no. 6, p. 25)
- iii. “I am the disciple of God and also His intention. My devotion to
God is linked directly to Him without any intermediary. My hand is
the representative of God’s hand. Glory be to Him! So I am the
disciple of the Holy Prophet Muhammad as well as his spiritual
brother.”
(*ibid.*, *Daftar* III, letter no. 87, p. 209)
- iv. “It should be known that it is allowable that a person attain near-
ness to prophethood by the path of attaining to sainthood, and have

something of both of these.”

(Letter no. 123, p. 348)

- v. “During spiritual progress, I reached the station of Usman [the third Caliph of Islam] and, passing beyond it, reached the station of Farooq [Umar, the second Caliph]. Passing beyond that, I reached the station of Siddiq [Abu Bakr, the first Caliph]. Passing beyond that, I reached the station of being the beloved of God, and saw in myself the reflection of all the light and blessings of this station.”
(Letter of Shaikh Ahmad quoted by Moghal emperor Jehangir in his diary, *Tauzak Jehangiri*, p. 272, published in Ghazipur, 1863)
- vi. “Since the religious law brought by the Holy Prophet Muhammad is protected from abrogation and alteration, for this reason the learned ones of the Muslim nation have been given the place of prophets.”
(*Maktubat*, *Daftar* I, letter no. 209, p. 34)
- vii. “Due to their complete devotion and overflowing love, rather, as a mere gift and favour, the perfect followers of the prophets absorb the attainments of the prophet they follow, and become fully coloured with his colour, so much so that between the prophets and the followers there remains no difference, except that the prophet reaches his position directly while the follower attains it through obedience, or that the prophet precedes and the follower comes after . . . so one cannot imagine equality between the original and the image (*zill*).”
(*ibid.*, letter no. 248)
- viii. “A follower attains such a likeness to the one he follows that there no longer remains the concept of ‘following’, and the distinction between the follower and the mentor vanishes. It appears as if whatever the follower obtains, while being in the colour of his prophet, is obtained directly from God, as if the two of them are drinking from the same fountain and are in each other’s arms, and are in the same bed, and are hand-in-glove. Where is the follower, and who is the master, and whose obedience! In their unity there remains no room for separateness, and there appears no difference between the acts of *following* and of *being followed*.”
(*ibid.*, *Daftar* II, letter no. 54, p. 172)

3. Khawaja Habib-ullah Attar of Kashmir (15th century saint)

He instructed a disciple of his as follows about the *Kalima*:

“Lengthen your saying of *la ilaha* [‘There is no god’], and efface the thought of all others than God from the heart. After that, *ill-Allah* [‘except Allah’] should be stressed, and you should consider me to be the messenger of Allah.”

(*Masnawi Bahr al-Irfan*, vol. i, p. 179)

4. Baba Dawud Khaki

He wrote the following in praise of his spiritual guide Hazrat Makhdum of Kashmir:

“As the Holy Prophet Muhammad has said that the spiritual guide is like a prophet,

“How can a man be a believer who denies such a prophet.”

(*Wird al-Murideen*)

5. Ali Hujwiri, Data Ganj Bakhsh (d. 1071 C.E.)

This renowned saint of Lahore, author of the acclaimed Persian classic *Kashf al-Mahjub*, wrote:

i. “So God has kept the proof of the truth of the Holy Prophet Muhammad alive till today, and has made the saints the means through which it is displayed, so that the signs of God and the evidence of the Holy Prophet’s truth be manifested forever.”
(*Kashf al-Mahjub*, Persian, p. 167)

ii. “The saint does not reach perfection till he enters the circle of the prophets.”
(As quoted in the Urdu book *The Constitution of Pakistan and the Ahmadiyya Sect*, p. 23)

6. Farid-ud-Din Shakar Ganj of Pak Patan (d. 1265 C.E.)

He says in a poetic verse:

“I am *wali* [saint], I am Ali, I am *nabi* [prophet].”

(*Haqiqat Gulzar Sabiri*, by Shah Muhammad Hasan Sabiri, first published in Rampur, 1886, sixth edition published by *Maktaba Sabiriyya*, Qasur, Pakistan, 1983, p. 414. See also well-known Urdu daily *Nawa-i Waqt*, Lahore, Pakistan, 4 July 1964.)

7. Anwar as-Sufiyya

In this Lahore monthly magazine, it said in an article under the heading *Sainthood*:

“What greater proof of the truth of the teachings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad and his blessings can there be than the fact that whoever follows him perfectly receives a ‘reflected’ (*zilli*) prophethood from God, is given the task of preaching to mankind, and is appointed a *khalifa* or deputy for the support of the religion of Islam. There have been such exalted persons in every age, and there will continue to be such persons in the future, regarding whom the Holy Prophet has said: ‘*The learned ones of my nation are like the prophets of Israel*’.”

(*Anwar as-Sufiyya*, vol. iv, no. 3, December 1907, p. 12)

8. Sultan Bahu (d. 1691 C.E.)

He was the first Punjabi mystical poet. He wrote:

- i. “The station of *fana fish-shaikh* [self-annihilation in one’s spiritual mentor] means that whenever the seeker-after-God should imagine the figure of his spiritual guide in his heart, the latter should come forthwith [spiritually] and lead him by the hand to the company of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Such a guide is referred to as *yuhyi wa yumeet* [an expression in the Quran meaning *He gives life and causes death*].”
(*Kaleed at-Tauheed*, pp. 37–38)

- ii. He writes in poetic verse:
“The *arsh* [Throne], the *kursi* [Chair], the *luh* [Tablet] and the *Qalam* [Pen] are all in the heart. He who finds the heart, grieves no more.” (ibid., p. 18)
(The terms *arsh* etc. are all well-known expressions in the Quran, referring to various attributes of God such as His power and knowledge.)

“I am a bird of no abode, I live nowhere but in no abode. So being a dervish is my mark, and I am *fana fi-llah* [effaced in God].” (ibid., p. 61)

“Because of inner light, God’s revelation is received every moment [by a saint]. Because of [the Quranic words] *We are nigh*, he attains Divine nearness and company.

“He who is looked upon favourably by a dervish, his rank is higher than that of the Divine Throne.”
(ibid., p. 180)

“I know only the Truth, I see only the Truth, I cry only *Truth*,
 “Truth is in me and I am in the Truth, this is the Truth.”
 (ibid., p. 194; *Truth* here refers to the name of God, *Haqq*, in the
 Quran.)

9. Khawaja Shah Sulaiman Tonsovi (d. 1852 C.E.)

- i. The following verses of poetry were written in his praise:
 “*Arise by God’s command* was a miracle at the hand of Jesus, but
 you made thousands into Messiahs by a single breath.
 “When Moses beheld the Divine light on the mountain, he fainted
 and lost consciousness of the world.
 “But you O *Kalim-ullah* [name of Moses] see that light every
 instant, and still display a smile, desire and full understanding.
 “You are the light of God, your light is in both the worlds. The
 Throne, the Chair and the stars all display your light.
 “You are the sun, you are the moon, you are the *light upon light*.
 You are the light of Muhammad, you are the key to the hearts.
 “The seal of your sainthood is the seal in your finger-ring. What a
 glorious sainthood, having the rank of messengership (*risalat*).”
 (*Manaqib al-Mahbubin*, pp. 249–250)
- ii. “Hazrat Siyalwi then mentioned a dream of the Khawaja, to wit,
 that one night he dreamt that over his head and under his feet and
 to his right and left had been placed the Holy Quran. He asked a
 learned man the interpretation of this dream. He said: Congratula-
 tions, you will abide by the Holy Quran under all circumstances.”
 (*Miraat al-‘ashiqeen*, p. 28)

10. Hazrat Said Ameer

He was a well-known saint of Koth, district Mardaan, (North-West province of Indian sub-continent) during the late nineteenth century.

- i. It is recorded about him:
 “On Sunday the 21st of the month of *Rajab*, the holy saint received
 in revelation from God the following verses of the Holy Quran: ‘*O
 Prophet, Keep your duty to God and obey not the disbelievers and
 the hypocrites; surely God is ever-knowing and wise*’, and: ‘*Indeed
 there is for you in the Messenger of God an excellent example for
 him who hopes for God and the Last Day, and remembers God
 much*’.”
 (*Nazm al-Durrar fi Silk al-Siyar*, by Mulla Safi-ullah, disciple of

Said Ameer, p. 152)

ii. He said:

“Know that *to be appointed* by God means *messengership*, and everyone who is appointed is a messenger (*rasul*).”

(*ibid.*, p. 100)

11. Maulana Abdullah Ghaznavi

He was a disciple of Hazrat Said Ameer, and it is recorded about him that he received many Divine revelations which contained verses from the Holy Quran. See Section 4.3, extract no. 18.

12. Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi (d. 1763 C.E.)

This renowned Islamic philosopher, writer and theologian, recognised as *mujaddid* of his time, wrote:

“It was put into my mind to convey to the people that this poor one has been taught many languages . . . The teaching which was given to Adam was me, the Divine help which Noah received during the flood was me, the fire which cooled for Abraham was me, the Torah revealed to Moses was me, the miracle of raising the dead granted to Jesus was me, the Quran given to Muhammad the Holy Prophet was me. All praise is due to God, the Lord of all the worlds.”

(*Tafhimat*, Part I, as quoted in journal *Curzon Gazette*, 15 October 1902).

13. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed (d. 1831 C.E.)

He writes in praise of his leader Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi (Muslim religious and military leader in North-West India in early nineteenth century) as follows:

“Joseph has now come to Egypt from Canaan, and a whole world has come for his purchase.

“To give life to the dead the breath of Jesus has now come into the world.

“From Madina my Ahmad has come, from the cave of Saur, to teach the *Ansar*.

“Sayyid Ahmad came one day with his companions. You should say that the Last of the Prophets came again with his Companions.”

(*Najm al-Saqib*, vol. ii)

The name *ansar* is applied to a group of the Companions of the Holy Prophet. Here Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi has been called Joseph, Jesus, Ahmad (Holy Prophet Muhammad), and even *the Last of the Prophets*. His companions have been called Companions of the Holy Prophet. Such expressions are used because of the similarity and likeness which the saints bear to prophets.

14. Khawaja Mir Dard of Delhi (d. 1785 C.E.)

This famous saint, author and poet, wrote:

“Every perfect man is the Jesus of his time due to the all-encompassing power of God. And every moment he faces for his own self the affair of the soul of Jesus.”

(*Risala Dard*, p. 211)

15. Shah Niyaz Ahmad of Delhi (d. 1834 C.E.)

He described his spiritual experiences as follows:

“Sometimes I am Idris [Biblical Enoch], sometimes Seth, sometimes Noah, sometimes Jonah, sometimes Joseph, sometimes Jacob, and sometimes Hud. Sometimes I am Salih, sometimes Abraham, sometimes Isaac, sometimes Yahya [Biblical John, the Baptist], sometimes Moses, sometimes Jesus, and sometimes David.

“I am Ahmad Hashmi [i.e. Holy Prophet Muhammad] and Jesus of Mary.”

(*Diwan-e Niaz*, pp. 42, 44)

16. Khawaja Muhammad Nasir Muhammadi (d. 1758 C.E.)

He wrote in his famous work *Nala-yi-Andalib* (‘Lamentation of the Nightingale’):

“There have been perfect, and still more perfect, saints among the Muslims. In terms of their spiritual progress and path of development, some were like Adam, some like Noah, some like Abraham, some like David, some like Jacob, some like Moses, some like Jesus, and some were like Muhammad.”

(*Nala-yi-Andalib*, vol. i, p. 243)

17. Shaikh Sabir Kalyari

He wrote of Sufi Sayyid Abid Mia Usmani Naqshbandi as follows:

“I call him *Ka‘ba*, or Quran, or Prophet, or God.”

(*Mi‘raj-ul-Mu‘mineen*, pp. 144–145)

18. Nasir-ud-Din Chiragh of Delhi (d. 1356 C.E.)

He was the successor of the famous saint Nizam-ud-Din Auliya. In a verse of poetry, he says:

“O you outwardly pious one! What do you ask me concerning the rank of *qurb* [nearness to God]. It is in me and I am in it, as fragrance is in the rose.”

19. Shah Sharf Abu Ali Qalendar of Panipat (d. 1323 C.E.):

“Moses fainted upon seeing the Divine fire manifested in a tree,
“But I see that very fire in every tree.”

20. Maulana Abu Muhammad Abdul Haqq Haqqani

This modern theologian writes in his Urdu commentary of the Quran:

“A follower of the Holy Prophet may be granted that pure soul which reflects his [the Holy Prophet’s] light, just as a mirror reflects the light of the sun. Then, occasionally, supernatural signs which are known as *karamat* begin to be shown at his hand. Such a person is called a saint. There are many types of saints, such as *ghaus* and *qutb* etc., but there is no scope to discuss it in detail here.”
(*Tafsir Haqqani*, Prologue, p. 5)

21. Shaikh Abdul Haqq Muhaddis of Delhi (d. 1642 C.E.)

He was an expert of Hadith and a most famous theologian of India. In his commentary on Abdul Qadir Jilani’s book *Futuh-ul-Ghaib*, he wrote:

“Sainthood is the image (*zill*) of prophethood.”
(*Sharh Futuh-ul-Ghaib*, p. 12)

22. Allama Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938)

This renowned poet and philosopher of modern India and Pakistan composed the following verses in praise of the saint of Delhi Nizam-ud-Din Auliya:

“What the angels read, that is your name. Great is your status,
widespread is your grace.
“A visit to your shrine is life for the heart. Your rank is higher than
that of the Messiah or Khizr.”
(*Baang-e Dara*, under *Iltija’-e Musaaafir*)

23. Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Deoband

He was a very well-known teacher at the Deoband theological school. He wrote a long poem in eulogy of his two spiritual guides, Maulavi Rashid

Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1905) and Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanotavi (d. 1877), who founded the school in 1867. Some verses are given below:

“Qasim the good and Rashid Ahmad, both possessors of glory, the two of them were the Messiah of the age and Joseph of Canaan. “They saved the faith from the *samaris* [corrupters of religion] of the age. I say that the two of them were like Moses and Amran. “To be in their company and to serve them was, for the dead hearts, nothing less than [the dead] being commanded by Jesus to *Arise*.”

(*Kuliyat Shaikh al-Hind*, pp. 14–17)

Lamenting the demise of Maulavi Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, he wrote:

“One like the Founder of Islam has departed from the world. The Messiah of the age has gone to the sky, leaving everyone behind. “He raised the dead to life, and let not the living die. Just look at this Messianic work, O son of Mary.

“Those who have the taste and zeal for spirituality in their hearts, they were looking for the way to Gangoh even when in Makka.”

(*Marsiyya*, by Maulana Mahmud-ul-Hasan)

24. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi

He was a well-known Deobandi theologian of earlier this century. In his magazine he published a letter from a disciple, explaining the following problem:

“I see in a dream that I am reciting the *Kalima*, but instead of saying ‘*There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah*’, I am using your name: ‘*There is no god but Allah, and Ashraf Ali is His messenger.*’ Knowing that this is wrong, I try to correct myself, but the same words come from my lips. Upset, I wake up and cry over my mistake and, to make repentance, I send blessings upon the Holy Prophet Muhammad. But again, from my tongue come the words: ‘*O Allah, bless our master, prophet and leader Ashraf Ali.*’ Please tell me what to do.”

The reply given by the Maulana, printed after the letter, is as follows:

“In this incident, it was intended to satisfy you that the one to whom you turn [for spiritual guidance, i.e. Ashraf Ali] is a follower of the Holy Prophet’s example.”

(Monthly *Al-Imdad*, issue for the month of *Safar*, 1336 A.H., circa 1918, p. 35)

25. Maulana Ahmad Raza Khan (d. 1921)

He founded the Barelvi group at the end of the nineteenth century, which is much opposed to the Deobandis. It is recorded about him:

“Issue no. 2: The *Darood* [prayers to invoke blessings upon the Holy Prophet Muhammad], instead of being invoked upon the Holy Prophet, should be invoked upon ‘his eminence’ [Ahmad Raza Khan], as his disciples are always saying in his honour: ‘*Allah bless and send peace upon the servant of the Holy Prophet, Maulana Ahmad Raza*’.”

(*Al-Janna li-ahl al-Sunna*, p. 127, as quoted in *Deoband Se Barelli Tak*, p. 123)

26. Shaikh Sadiq Gangohi

This saint told a disciple to say:

“There is no god but Allah, and Sadiq is the messenger of Allah.”

(*Al-Takashaf an Mahmat al-Tasawwuf*, p. 594)

27. Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi (d. 1977)

He was an Indian religious scholar of recent times. Regarding the use of the word *nabi* for saints, who are not prophets, he once wrote in his newspaper as follows:

“Recently, by co-incidence, I found an example of it in the poetry of Maulana Rumi. And that too, not in some apocryphal work, but in the renowned and famous, authentic book *Masnawi*. Regarding the status and excellence of the spiritual guide it is written:

‘When you give your hand into the hand of a spiritual guide, you seek to imbibe wisdom as the mentor is the knowing and discerning. O disciple, he is a prophet of his time, as his person radiates the light of the Prophet.’

“It is clearly stated here that the perfect spiritual guide is the prophet of the time because he reflects the light of prophethood. Great theologians, philosophers, and spiritual men have written commentaries on the *Masnawi*, but none of them took exception to this form of expression. Rumi’s own son, Sultan Walad, has made the following comment: ‘The exaggeration in likening a saint to a prophet refers to the penetrating effect of his guidance; otherwise, at no time was prophethood thinkable after the Holy Prophet Muhammad.’ — *Masnawi*, vol. v, p. 67, footnote 13, printed at Kanpur.

“Obviously we will still call it lacking in due caution, but it is equally obvious that instances of such lack of caution are to be found in the writings of the great religious leaders of classical times.”

(Newspaper *Sidq Jadeed*, 8 August 1952)

28. Pir Jama‘at Ali Shah

It is written about him in a poem:

“Madina is holy and blessed, and so is Alipur. It is well to go there, and well to come here.

“Your court is that court which is the *qibla* [Muslim direction of prayer] for mankind. Your tomb is the shrine which rivals the Holy House of God [in Makka].”

(*Anwar as-Sufiyya*, published 1930, p. 9, quoted in *Raza Khani Deen*, p. 54)

29. Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938)

In praise of the perfect believer, he writes in a poem:

“He is *Kalim* [Moses], he is *Masih* [Messiah], he is *Khalil* [Abraham].

“He is Muhammad, he is the Quran, he is Gabriel.”

(*Javaid Nama*)

8.3: Conclusion

Many more pronouncements and writings of Islamic religious scholars, saints and divines can be presented, but we rest with the above. This was the prevailing environment of Islamic spiritual thought in which Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad appeared. He was the Reformer, not only of the formal side of Islam (broadly termed *Shari‘ah*), but also of the spiritual and mystic sides which pertain to spiritual development and are known as *Tariqat* and *Tasawwuf*. Hence he has employed and explained the terms and concepts of this aspect of Islam as well.

It must be remembered that these terms of *Tariqat* are not un-Islamic. It is just that the concepts expressed by the Quran and Hadith in terms such as *khilafat* (successorship to Holy Prophet), *wilayat* (sainthood), *imamat* (religious leadership), *mujaddidiyyat*, *muhaddasiyyat*, etc. are referred to by the men of *Tariqat* as ‘reflected prophethood’, ‘manifested prophethood’, ‘metaphorical prophethood’ etc. (*zilli*, *buroozi*, *majazi*

nubuwwat.)

All these terms of *Tariqat* had been well-known and in vogue since close to the beginning of Islam. And the great theologians of Hazrat Mirza's time knew that, despite the fact that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was the last and final Prophet, it is *not* prohibited in Islam for a perfect follower who reaches the stage of *fana fir-rasul* to use for himself the words 'prophet' and 'messenger' in a literal, non-technical sense. In fact, this was a standard mode of expression amongst the Sufis. So it was that when Hazrat Mirza, in his first book entitled *Barahin Ahmadiyya*, published in four parts between 1880 and 1884, quoted his revelations containing the words *nabi* and *rasul* referring to him, there was no criticism, and indeed, lavish tributes were paid to this work. For instance:

1. Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi, a leader of the Ahl-i Hadith sect, wrote in a review:

"Few are as well acquainted as ourselves with the life and views of the author of *Barahin Ahmadiyya*. So we shall give our opinion of it in brief words without exaggeration. In our opinion this book, at this time and in view of the present circumstances, is such that the like of it has not appeared in Islam up to now, while nothing can be said about the future. Its author too has been so constant in the service of Islam, with his money, life, pen and tongue, and personal experience, that very few parallels can be found in the Muslims." (Journal *Isha'at as-Sunna*, vol. vii, no. 6, June to August 1884, p. 169)

2. Maulana Sana-ullah of Amritsar, a staunch opponent of Hazrat Mirza and the Ahmadiyya movement, wrote in a book:

"My relations with Mirza sahib can be divided into two phases: the period of *Barahin Ahmadiyya* and the period afterwards. During the period of *Barahin Ahmadiyya* [i.e. before his later books], I took a favourable view of Mirza sahib. Thus, once when I was about 17 or 18 years old, I was so eager to visit Qadian that I walked there alone from the town of Batala." (*Tarikh Mirza*, p. 53)

3. In his obituary of Hazrat Mirza, the editor of the newspaper *Wakeel* of Amritsar, Maulana Abdullah Al-Imadi, wrote:

"Though some Muslim religious leaders may now pass an adverse verdict on *Barahin Ahmadiyya*, . . . the best time to pass judgment

was 1880 when it was published. At that time, however, Muslims unanimously decided in favour of Mirza sahib.”

(*Wakeel*, Amritsar, 30 May 1908)

4. More recently, Mr Abdullah Malik has written:

“The trouble is that all this examination is being done now, over sixty years after the death of Mirza sahib. And as to the books and writings of Mirza sahib, a century is now passing over them. So this analysis too must be done with reference to those times. And it must be accepted that at that time, due to various factors of the period, a whole world was deeply impressed by the knowledge, scholarship and writings of Mirza sahib.”

(*Panjab Ki Siyasi Tehrikain*, i.e., ‘Political Movements in the Punjab,’ p. 270)

Section 9

Terms and concepts of *Tasawwuf*

Compiler's Note. This Section discusses various terms employed in Islamic Sufi-ism (*Tasawwuf*) to refer to saints, which are used to denote the close relationship between saints and prophets. The explanation of these concepts is given from standard Sufi works and from the writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. It can be seen that he only employed ideas and expressions which were a well-established part of Sufi thought derived from the Holy Quran. He did not invent these terms, nor did he misrepresent these concepts, in some attempt to make extravagant claims about himself. In fact, he made it plainer than it ever had been made previously that a person to whom these terms of high spiritual rank are applied still remains in the category of saints, i.e. non-prophets, and does *not* become a prophet because the Holy Prophet Muhammad was the Last of the Prophets.

Tasawwuf and Tariqat

Just as Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, in his capacity as the Reformer (*mujaddid*) of the formal side of Islam (the *Shari'ah*), has explained, and expressed himself in, the terminology of the Holy Quran and Hadith, similarly, being also the Reformer of the spiritual and mystic side of Islam, he has discussed at length the nomenclature of this field as well. He did this so that no one may stumble into error, because unless the terminology of *Tariqat* is understood along with the terms of the *Shari'ah*, it is not possible to understand his books properly, or the works of the great Sufi saints, or even the prophecies of the Holy Prophet Muhammad about the coming Messiah and Mahdi. This is what Hazrat Mirza wrote:

“Unless one understands the question of *burooz* [a person in the complete image of a prophet], one cannot understand the meaning of this prophecy, and eventually one has to reject it.” (*Malfuzat*, vol. i, p. 454)

It is thus necessary to understand the terms of the field of *Tasawwuf* (Sufi-ism) —

- *Fana fir-rasul* — a person “effaced” in the Holy Prophet.

- *Zill* — “image” or “shadow”.
- *Burooz* — “manifestation”.
- *Masil anbiya* — the “like” of prophets.
- *Ummati wa nabi* — a follower as well as a prophet.

9.1: *Fana fir-rasul*

When we read books written by the classical religious scholars, we discover that according to the saints and holy men of Islam there are three ranks of spiritual nearness to God: *fana fish-Shaikh*, *fana fir-rasul*, and *fana fi-llah*. Those persons who attain the rank of *fana fir-rasul* become imbued with the colour of prophets of the past due to perfect following, and in this state call themselves by the names of various prophets such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, (the Holy Prophet) Muhammad and Ahmad. They also utter expressions such as “I am the prophet” and “I am the messenger”. These persons are *not* prophets in point of fact, but belong to the category of saints. Muslim scholars of the faith have written as follows to explain the concept of *fana*:

1. Professor Yusuf Saleem Chishti

This interpreter and commentator of the works of Iqbal writes:

“The first stage is *fana fish-shaikh*, producing the qualities of the spiritual leader in oneself; the second stage is *fana fir-rasul*, producing the qualities of the Holy Prophet within oneself; the third stage is *fana fi-llah*, producing the taint of the attributes of God in oneself.”

(*Sharh Bab Jibreel*, p. 267)

2. Shah Wali-ullah of Dehli (d. 1763 C.E.)

Recognised as *mujaddid* of the 12th Century Hijra, this eminent scholar wrote:

“Piety (*taqwa*) means to stay within the limits of the religious law. The *love of rites of God* is applied to loving the Holy Quran, the Holy Prophet, and the Holy Shrine (*Ka'ba*), and in fact to love everything that is associated with God, including even love for the saints. Some people call it *fana fir-rasul* or *fana fish-shaikh*.”

(*Altaf al-Qudus*, p. 93, Gujranwala, Pakistan, 1964)

3. Khawaja Shams-ud-Din Siyalwi:

“After this I asked, What is *fana fish-shaikh*? The Khawaja said: The disciple should be so engrossed in the form of his master that he should not be conscious of his own movements, and, in fact, the very form and figure of the master and disciple become one.”
(*Mirat al-'ashiqeen*, p. 229, Islamic Book Foundation, Lahore, 1981)

4. Khawaja Zia-ullah Naqshbandi:

“The rank of *fana fir-rasul* is attained when all the characteristics and qualities of the Holy Prophet are to be found in one, and all one's deeds, movements, habits, devotions and meditations are exactly according to the manner of the Holy Prophet. . . . Perfect good fortune is that God should paint His servant with the colour and qualities of His friend, the Holy Prophet.”
(*Maqasid as-Salikeen*, p. 46, Lahore)

5. Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (d. 1905 C.E.)

He was a prominent Deobandi theologian of the last century. Answering a question, he wrote:

“Question: What are *fana fish-shaikh* and *fana fir-rasul*? From where are these concepts established, and what have Sufis said about it?

“Answer: Both these words are from the terminology of spiritual leaders (*Shaikh*). The meaning is to obey God and have overwhelming love for Him. Its basis is in the Quranic words: Follow me [i.e. Muhammad], and God will love you [the Quran 3:30].”

(*Fatawa Rashidiyya*, p. 48, Islamic Kutab, Karachi)

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad explained the concept of *fana fir-rasul* in exactly the same way as other Islamic scholars, both before and after his time. He wrote:

1. “*Muhaddas* . . . due to his complete following of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and on account of his being *fana fir-rasul*, is included in the being of the Last of the Prophets [i.e. Holy Prophet Muhammad], as the fraction is included in the whole.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 575)

2. “God gives the honour of His word to a person who is *fana fin-nabi* [same as *fana fir-rasul*], just as He does with His prophets, and in these communications the servant to whom He speaks is spoken to by Him face-to-face, as it were. The servant asks a question and God replies to it, even though this question-answer may go on for fifty times or more.” (*Zameema Anjam Atham*, p. 15)
3. “At the end of every century, especially a century in which people have departed from faith and honesty, and one which is full of darkness, God raises someone who is a substitute for a prophet and whose nature reflects the image of the prophet. That substitute-prophet shows people, through his own being, the qualities of the prophet whom he obeys.” (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 247)
4. “Do not turn your attention to anything else, and like the true lover become *fana fir-rasul* [effaced in the Holy Prophet Muhammad] with your word, deed, praise and obedience, for therein lie all the blessings.”

Those persons whose nature is a mirror reflecting the image of the Holy Prophet, and who are *fana fir-rasul* or *fana fin-nabi*, who in other words are known as saints (*muhaddas*) and reformers (*mujaddid*), these are the ones amongst whom is included Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad.

9.2: *Zilli Nubuwwat*

The term *zilli nubuwwat* — ‘reflection’, ‘image’, or ‘shadow’ of prophethood — was also coined by the saints, scholars and elders of the classical ages as being synonymous with sainthood (*wilayat*), spiritual leadership (*imamat*), and successorship to the Holy Prophet Muhammad (*khilafat*). The person to whom this term is applied does *not* become a prophet, but belongs to the category of saints (*wali*). Muslim theologians, classical and modern, have defined the concept of *zill* (reflection or image) as follows:

1. Shaikh Abdul Haqq (d. 1642 C.E.)

This most famous *muhaddis* (scholar of Hadith) of Delhi, wrote:

- i. “*Wilayat* [sainthood, or being a *wali*] is the *zill* of prophethood.” (*Sharh Futuh al-Ghaib*, Lucknow, India, 1918, p. 23)
- ii. “As *wilayat* is, in point of fact, the *zill* of prophethood, whatever that man has will also appear in the shadow, especially the greater

wilayat.”
(*ibid.*, p. 12)

2. Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind (d. 1624 C.E.), *Mujaddid Alif Sani*:

- i. “In short, the station of *wilayat* is the *zill* of the station of prophethood, and the attainments of *wilayat* are the *zill* of the attainments of prophethood.”
(*Maktubat, Daftar II*, Letter no. 71, p. 236, published in Lahore)
- ii. “As the *zill* has no intrinsic value of its own, but the intrinsic value of the original which has manifested itself in the *zill*, hence the original is closer to the *zill* than the *zill*'s ownself because the *zill* is the reflection of the original, not of its own self.”
(*ibid.*, *Daftar III*, Letter no. 1, p. 6)

3. Sayyid Ismail Shaheed (d. 1831 C.E.)

This theologian who fought under Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi in a military campaign against the Sikhs, wrote in his books:

- i. “There will be many pure and holy souls who shall bear a likeness to the prophets, and shall be the *zill* of messengership. . . . In short, these persons are of such a rank that, if there had not been an end to prophets, they would have held the office of prophethood. To conclude, such persons will continue to exist till the Last Day.”
(Preface to *Sirat-i Mustaqim*, p. 1, Urdu translation by Abdul Jabbar)
- ii. “It should be known that the Imam is the deputy of the Messenger, and *Imamat* is the *zill* of messengership.”
(*Mansab-i Imam*, p. 125, *Ainah Adab*, Lahore, 1969)

4. Qari Muhammad Tayyib

The well-known Deoband theologian writes:

“Prophethood is the original, and reformership [*Tajdid* or being a *mujaddid*] is its *zill* . . . because reformership is the actual *zill* of prophethood.”
(*Ulama-i Hind ka Shandar Mazi Jadeed*, i.e. ‘Bright recent past of the Indian Ulama,’ p. 308, Dehli, 2nd edition)

5. Professor Yusuf Saleem Chishti:

“The third question is, what is the meaning of *zill*? The answer is that the *zill*, for its existence, is the follower of the original, i.e. it

stands in need of real existence. For example, if a man stands in the sun, although his *zill*, i.e. the shadow, exists, but it does not have a real or independent existence of its own. If the man moves into the shade, the *zill* ceases to exist. In other words, the essence of the *zill* has no existence.”

(*Sharh Bab Jibreel*, p. 162, Delhi, 1970)

6. Qazi Sana-ullah of Panipat

Commenting on the Quranic verse: “O Mary, God has chosen thee”, this classical commentator writes:

“That is, He has chosen thee for Himself, for His brilliance which the Sufis term as attainments of prophethood. These attainments, in the real sense, are for the prophets. The truthful ones [*sadiq*, rank of saint] gain them by way of obedience and inheritance. Mary was a truthful one, as God said: His [Jesus’] mother was a truthful woman.”

(*Tafsir Mazhari*, vol. ii, under verse mentioned)

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has discussed extensively the concept of *zill*. He wrote precisely the same as the scholars cited above, as can be seen from the extracts given below:

1. “When some persons of the Muslim nation turn to the obedience of the Holy Prophet Muhammad with perfect humility, and totally lose themselves in their humbleness, God, finding them like a clear mirror, manifests the blessings of the Holy Prophet through their being. And whatever praise they receive from God, or whatever blessings and signs are displayed by them, all these praises are for the Holy Prophet, and he is the source of all these blessings. But because the perfect follower of the Holy Prophet is a *zill* [spiritual image], the Divine light of that Holy Person can be seen in his *zill* as well. It is not a hidden matter that the shadow has the form of its original. However, the shadow has no existence of its own, and no real attribute, but all that it has is an image of its original.” (*Barahin Ahmadiyya*, Part III, Section 1, footnote on footnote 1, p. 243)
2. “No status of honour or perfection, and no position of dignity and Divine nearness, can be achieved by us except by true and perfect following of the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Whatever [spiritual achievement] we get is obtained through the medium of the Holy

Prophet by way of reflection (*zill*).” (*Izala Auham*, p. 138)

3. “There have been hundreds of persons in whom the ‘reality of Muhammad’ was established, and with God they had the names ‘Muhammad’ and ‘Ahmad’ by way of reflection (*zill*).” (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 346)
4. “Sainthood (*wilayat*) is the perfect *zill* of prophethood.” (*Hujjat-Ullah*, p. 24)
5. “The prophet is the real thing, and a saint is the *zill* [his image or shadow].” (*Karamat as-Sadiqeen*, p. 85)
6. “Thus the person who, totally effacing himself in the one he serves [i.e. Holy Prophet], receives the title of prophet (*nabi*) from God, does not contravene the finality of prophethood. It is just as when you see yourself in the mirror, you do not become two, but remain only one, though there appear to be two. The only difference is that between the real and the *zill*.” (*Kishti Nuh*, p. 15)
7. “Of course, *muhaddases* will come who will be spoken to by God, and possess some attributes of full prophethood by way of *zill* [reflection], and in some ways be coloured with the colour of prophethood. I am one of these.” (*Nishan Asmani*, p. 28)
8. “Remember well that the fruits of perfect obedience [to the Holy Prophet] are never wasted. This is an issue of *Tasawwuf*. If the rank of *zill* had not existed, the saints of the Muslim nation would have died. It was exactly this perfect obedience, and the rank of *burooz* and *zill* [becoming a reflection or image of the Holy Prophet], due to which Bayazid [famous Muslim saint, d. 874 C.E.] was called ‘Muhammad’. . . . In brief, the people who oppose us are unaware of these facts.” (*Badr*, 27 October 1905)

In short, *zilli nabi* (a prophet by way of reflection) means the image (*zill*) of a prophet, i.e. such a person who mirrors the prophethood of a prophet, or the image of prophethood is manifested through him. If this was real prophethood, it would be absurd to call it the image of prophethood. What the Holy Quran calls *wilayat* (sainthood) the Sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad call *muhaddasiyyat*, and exactly the same thing is called *zilli nubuwat* (reflected prophethood) by the Sufis. So being a “prophet by way of reflection” is precisely the same as being a saint (*wali* or *muhaddas*). It is *not* prophethood.

9.3: *Buroozi Nubuwwat*

The word *burooz* means 'to be a manifestation'. Since the light of the Holy Prophet Muhammad is manifested in the person of the saints, they are called the *burooz* of the Holy Prophet. *Buroozi nabi* — a prophet by way of manifestation — is also a term coined by the Sufi saints. Books of *Tasawwuf* give the following definition of the term *burooz*:

1. A dictionary of Sufi Terms

“*Burooz* — The turning of a perfect knower or accomplished spiritual leader towards a deficient person, giving him spiritual benefit, and making him into his manifestation by making him like him. In this sense it is said, such and such a saint has appeared in the form of such and such other saint. The meaning is that the image of the perfect saint was cast perfectly upon the second one, and the essential form of the two of them became the same.”

(*Sirr-e Dilbaran*, Dictionary of Sufi terms, Karachi, 1400 A.H., p. 90)

2. Translation of *Fusus al-Hukam*

In an Urdu translation of *Fusus al-Hukam*, the famous Sufi work written by the great Shaikh Muhiy-ud-Din Ibn Arabi, the translator Maulana Muhammad Abdul Qadeer writes in an introductory note:

“*Burooz* means that the nature of some of the saints (*auliya*) resembles the nature of a particular prophet. Many saints are made to journey through the attainments of the great prophets, and the saints become dyed with the colour of the prophets. To put it another way, the image of the attainments of the prophets is cast upon them. Or one could say that the special characteristics of the prophets are manifested and projected (*burooz*) through them. But after the completion of the journey, each of them remains at his original position of natural affinity. For instance, the saint who aids the cause of the faith is known as having the nature of Noah, or being in the footsteps of Noah, or one who manifests Noah, or the *burooz* of Noah. The saint who accepts the will of God is known as one having the nature of Moses, he who annihilates himself is known as one having the nature of Jesus, and he who is a perfect servant, combining all these, is known as one having the Muhammad nature. Sometimes it is said that such and such a saint is the *burooz* of such and such a prophet, just as the moon is the *burooz*

of the sun. In short, the prophet is the original, and the saint is his copy.”

(Urdu translation of *Fusus al-Hukam*, published by Nazir Sons, Lahore, 1979, p. 24)

3. Khawaja Ghulam Farid of Chachran (d. 1904 C.E.)

This much-loved saint who lived in the Bahawalpur area, now in Pakistan, gives the following definition:

“*Burooz* is that a soul gains benefit from another one which is perfect. When it receives the benefit of Divine illumination, it becomes its manifestation, and says: *I am that one.*”

(*Isharat Faridi*, Collection of Sayings of the famous Punjabi saint, Khawaja Ghulam Farid, Islamic Book Foundation, Lahore, p. 418)

4. Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind (d. 1624 C.E.)

“The *burooz* spoken of by some spiritual Shaikhs has nothing to do with re-incarnation. In re-incarnation, a soul forms a connection with another body as the means of its life, and to give it sensation and movement. In *burooz*, a soul forms a connection with another body, not for this purpose, but to make that body acquire attainments and reach high grades.”

(*Maktubat*, *Daftar* II, Letter no. 58, p. 191)

Regarding the concept of *burooz*, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad writes:

1. “Sometimes the coming of a soul into this world, which resembles the soul of some righteous person of the past, and not only has a connection with that soul but derives benefit from it as well, is considered as the coming of the original soul itself. In the terminology of the Sufis this is known as *burooz*.” (*Sat Bachan*, p. 49)
2. “The Sufis believe that the nature, disposition and moral qualities of a person from the past come again in another. In their terminology, they say that so and so is in the footsteps of Adam, or the footsteps of Noah. Some also call this as *burooz*.” (*Malfuzat*, vol. i, p. 239)
3. “God always employs metaphors and gives one person’s name to another on account of nature, qualities, and abilities. He whose heart is like that of Abraham is Abraham in the sight of God, and he who has the heart of Umar is Umar in His sight.” (*Fath-i Islam*,

p. 16)

4. “All the Sufis and the elders of the Muslim nation hold this belief. In fact, they even say that no one can be a perfect follower until he acquires the accomplishments of the Holy Prophet Muhammad in the sense of *burooz*. . . . When a person shows such perfect obedience of the Holy Prophet that he is, as it were, absorbed and effaced to the extent of being lost in that obedience, his condition at that time is like a mirror showing the image fully and perfectly.” (*Tafsir Sura Fatiha*, p. 261)
5. “The heart of the devotee is a mirror which is so polished by trials and tribulations that the qualities of the Prophet are reflected in it.” (*Manzur Ilahi*, p. 37)
6. “As a person’s face is seen in the mirror, though that face has its own independent existence; this is called *burooz*.” (*Tafsir Sura Fatiha*, p. 330)
7. “The whole Muslim nation is agreed that a non-prophet takes the place of a prophet as a *burooz*. This is the meaning of the hadith: *Ulama ummati ka-anbiya Bani Israil* [‘The godly learned ones of my community are like the prophets of Israel’].” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 163)

9.4: *Masil Anbiya* — Like of Prophets

Clearly, a person who is described as the *like* of a prophet, is not being considered to be a *prophet*. On the question of Muslim saints becoming the likes of prophets, Hazrat Mirza wrote as follows:

1. “Of all the leaders of *Tasawwuf* that there have been till the present day, not even one has disagreed with the point that in this religion the path to become the likes of prophets is open, as the Holy Prophet Muhammad has given the glad tidings for spiritual and godly learned persons that ‘*the Ulama of my nation are like the Israelite Prophets*’. The words of Abu Yazid Bustami given below, which are recorded in *Tazkirat al-Auliya* by Farid-ud-Din Attar, and are also found in other reliable works, are on this basis, as he says: ‘*I am Adam, I am Seth, I am Noah, I am Abraham, I am Moses, I am Jesus, I am Muhammad, peace be upon him and upon all these brothers of his.*’ . . . Similarly, Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, in his

book *Futuh al-Ghaib*, refers to this point, i.e. that man, by leaving his ego and annihilating himself in God, becomes the like, rather the very form, of the prophets." (*Izala Auham*, pp. 258–260)

2. "The Holy Quran clearly gives this instruction, and in the opening chapter gives us the hope of becoming the likes of prophets. God exhorts us to pray to Him five times a day and beseech Him to give us guidance so that we may become the like of Adam; the like of Seth, the prophet of God; the like of Noah, the second Adam; the like of Abraham, the friend of God; the like of Moses, the recipient of God's word; the like of Jesus; and the like of the Holy Prophet Muhammad and Ahmad, and the like of every truthful and faithful one." (*ibid.*, p. 257)
3. "Ponder over this, that all the eternal fountains of spiritual life have come into the world through the Holy Prophet Muhammad. This is the nation [i.e. Muslim nation] which, though not having any prophets (*nabi*) in it, has those who receive the word of God like prophets, and though not having any messengers (*rasul*) in it, has those who show God's clear signs like messengers. It has rivers of spiritual life flowing in it, and none can compete with it." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 224)
4. "God's ancient way cannot be denied, viz., that He gives the name of one to another on account of spiritual similarity. He who has the nature of Abraham is Abraham in God's sight, he who has the nature of Moses is Moses in God's sight, and he who has the nature of Jesus is Jesus in God's sight. And he who has a share of all these has all these names applied to him." (*Izala Auham*, p. 412)

The belief expressed repeatedly by Hazrat Mirza is that, after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, no prophet can come, but there can be Muslims who become the likes of prophets.

9.5: *Ummati wa Nabi* — Follower and Prophet

The Sufis have devised a term *al-anbiya' wal-auliya'* ('prophets as well as saints') which is synonymous with *muhaddas* or saint. Hazrat Mirza has used the expressions "a follower from one aspect and a prophet from another" and "follower and prophet" for this term. He writes:

1. “So the fact that he [the Messiah to come] has been called a follower [of the Holy Prophet Muhammad] as well as a prophet indicates that the qualities of both discipleship and prophethood will be found in him, as it is essential for both of these to be found in a *muhaddas*. The possessor of full prophethood, however, has only the quality of prophethood. To conclude, sainthood (*muhaddasiyyat*) is coloured with both colours. For this reason, in [the Divine revelations published in] *Barahin Ahmadiyya* too, God named this humble one as follower and as prophet.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 533)
2. “A *muhaddas*, who is a ‘sent one’, is a follower and also, in an imperfect sense, a prophet. (ibid., p. 569)

9.6: Finality of Prophethood

The belief held by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was that the Holy Prophet Muhammad is the *Last of the Prophets*, and after him no prophet is to arise, neither new nor old. Before the Holy Prophet Muhammad, prophets used to arise to put man in touch with God, and to deliver the commands of God to man. With the finality of prophethood, religion and religious laws reached perfection, and therefore the chain of prophets was cut off after the Holy Prophet. No prophet will now come.

However, whenever people stray far from God and lose faith in Him, in order to revive faith afresh and to re-establish man’s relation with God, according to the teachings of the Quran and Hadith there arise saints and reformers. Such persons are known by various titles in the Quran and Hadith, such as *wali* (saint), *imam* (spiritual leader), *mujaddid* (reformer), and *muhaddas* (a recipient of revelation who is not a prophet). The same persons are referred to in Sufi terminology as *fana fir-rasul*, *masil anbiya*, *zilli nabi*, *buuroozhi nabi*, *ummati wa nabi* etc., the meanings of which have just been explained. These terms of the Sufis do *not* describe prophets, but refer to saints.

Extracts are given below from the writings of Hazrat Mirza showing that he believed that the highest spiritual rank open to Muslims is sainthood (*wilayat*), which is attained only through truly following the Holy Prophet Muhammad. He held, as shown below, that thousands of true believers over the centuries of Islam reached this stage, and that he himself was one such man.

1. "I have seen a great power in the Holy Quran and a wonderful characteristic in following the Holy Prophet Muhammad, which power and characteristic are not to be found in any other religion. That is that the true follower reaches the stage of sainthood (*wilayat*). . . . Hence I have personal experience of this." (*Chasma-i Ma'rifat*, Part II, p. 60)
2. "This is the sainthood (*wilayat*) beyond which there is no higher stage." (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 52)
3. "Remember that by '*learned one*' is not meant a person whose knowledge of language, grammar, or logic is unmatched, but a person who is always fearing God and does not use his tongue frivolously. . . . And in the Holy Quran the quality of the learned ones is that they fear God. . . . In fact '*ulama* [learned ones] is the plural of '*alim*, and '*ilm* [knowledge] is that thing which is certain and definite. True knowledge can only be had from the Holy Quran, not from ancient Greek or modern Western philosophy. The true philosophy of faith is obtained through the Holy Quran. The perfection and highest achievement of the believer is to reach the stage of the '*ulama* and to acquire that degree of conviction which is the ultimate extent of knowledge." (*Malfuzat*, Part I, p. 346)
4. "But in the end the Holy Prophet Muhammad is the one to receive the crown of honour. I am one of his slaves and servants, to whom God speaks." (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 274)
5. "Similarly, whatever God has mentioned in the Holy Quran of His virtues, it is by way of beauty and love. By reading it, it becomes quite clear that He wants to turn the reader into a lover of God. So He made thousands of lovers in this way, and I too am one such humble servant." (*Chashma-i Ma'rifat*, Part II, p. 64)
6. "Remember that in the Holy Quran God has described this characteristic of holy life that such a person shows miracles. God listens to the prayers of such people and speaks to them and gives them news of matters unseen beforehand and aids them. So we see that there have been thousands of such persons in Islam, and in this age I am here to show this example." (*The Four Questions Answered*, p. 15)
7. "*Muhaddases* are the people who have the privilege of Divine communication, and their souls bear the utmost resemblance to the souls of the prophets. They are living reminders of the wonders of

prophethood, so that the subtle issue of Divine revelation may not become a mere tale in any age, due to being devoid of proof. It is not a correct idea that the Prophets, peace be upon them, left the world with no heirs . . . rather, in every century their heirs arise according to need, and in this century there is my humble self.” (*Barakat-ud-Dua*, p. 18)

8. “In this age too, whatever spiritual blessings of God are being sent is a result of following and obeying the Holy Prophet. I say truly, and from my experience, that no person can be called truly holy and attaining the pleasure of God, nor can he receive those blessings, deep truths and visions which are obtained by a high degree of spiritual purity, till he becomes totally absorbed in following the Holy Prophet Muhammad. This is proved by the word of God itself which says: ‘If you love God, follow me [i.e. Holy Prophet]; God will love you’ [the Quran 3:30]. I am the practical and living proof of this claim by God. Recognise me by the signs of the lovers of God and the saints as given in the Holy Quran.” (*Tafsir Sura Fatiha*, p. 121)
9. “This teaching [i.e. Islam] can make thousands into Messiahs, and has done it for hundreds of thousands.” (*The Four Questions Answered*, p. 22)
10. “Though in Islam there have been thousands of saints and godly men, none of them had been prophesied about specifically. But the one who was to come bearing the name of Messiah, he had been prophesied about. Similarly, no prophet before Jesus was a promised prophet. Only the Messiah was a promised one.” (*Tazkira Shahadatain*, p. 29)
11. “All the *khalifas* [successors to the Holy Prophet] of this religion are to be from amongst the Muslim nation, and they are the likes of the successors to Moses. Only one of them, to appear at the end of the chain, will be the Promised one who shall resemble Jesus. The rest would not be promised ones, i.e. they have not been prophesied about by name.” (ibid., p. 37)
12. “Of course, *muhaddases* will come who will be spoken to by God, and possess some attributes of full prophethood by way of reflection (*zill*), and in some ways be coloured with the colour of prophethood. I am one of these.” (*Nishan Asmani*, p. 28)

13. “We believe and acknowledge that, according to the real meaning of prophethood, after the Holy Prophet Muhammad no new or former prophet can come. The Holy Quran forbids the appearance of any such prophets. But in a metaphorical sense God can call any recipient of revelation as *nabi* or *mursal*. . . . The Arabs to this day call even the message-bearer of a man as a *rasul*, so why is it forbidden for God to use the word *mursal* in a metaphorical sense too? Do you not even remember from the Quran the words: ‘So they [some non-prophets] said, We are messengers to you’? (*Siraj Munir*, p. 3)

Section 10

Clarification of *Correction of an Error*

Compiler's Note. It is asserted by some that in his pamphlet entitled *Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala* ('Correction of an Error'), published in November 1901, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad announced that he was indeed a prophet and that his previous denials of making such a claim were in error and should now be disregarded. Historically, it so happened that when *Correction of an Error* was published, one or two opponents of Hazrat Mirza accused him of claiming to be a prophet in this booklet. However, as shown in this Section, he and his followers denied this allegation forthwith. Therefore the issue of whether he claimed to be a prophet in this booklet was settled very clearly at the very time of its publication.

10.1: Letter by Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan of Amroha

A few days after the publication of *Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala* in November 1901, Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan of Amroha, one of the two most prominent followers of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, received a letter from one Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf, belonging to the city of Amritsar, alleging that Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet in this pamphlet. When this letter was brought to the attention of Hazrat Mirza, he directed Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan as follows:

“This letter should be answered in detail so that our beliefs are conveyed to him.”

(Newspaper *Al-Hakam*, 30 November 1901, p. 2)

In obedience to this instruction, the Maulana wrote a letter to Hafiz Muhammad Yusuf which was also published in the Ahmadiyya community's paper *Al-Hakam*. The editor added the following introductory note:

“Below we reproduce an invaluable letter by Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Ahsan of Amroha which, although written by him as a reply to a postcard from Muhammad Yusuf of Amritsar, is in fact a subtle exposition of that pamphlet which *Hazrat Aqdas* [Hazrat Mirza] published under the title *Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala*. The points of truth and knowledge contained in this letter need no

advertisement from us — the name ‘scholar of Amroha’ is sufficient. But we would say that in this letter the scholarly gentleman is speaking with support of the Holy Spirit. . . . ”

(*Al-Hakam*, 24 November 1901, p. 9)

The letter, published under the title *Raqimat al-Wudud*, is as follows:

“Sir, the pamphlet with reference to which you say that Mirza sahib has claimed prophethood in it, that very pamphlet contains the following texts in which this claim is clearly and explicitly denied. It is to be regretted that you neither understood the claim itself nor the denial. The texts are as follows:

1. *‘There certainly cannot come any prophet, new or old.’*
2. *‘Such a belief [i.e., in the continuity of ‘wahy nubuwwat’, the revelation which distinguishes a prophet from a non-prophet] is undoubtedly a sin, and the verse ‘he is the Messenger of God and the Khatam an-nabiyyin’ along with the hadith ‘there is to be no prophet after me’ is conclusive proof of the absolute falsity of this view.’*
3. *‘I am strongly opposed to such beliefs.’*
Look how strong is the denial.
4. *‘I have true and full faith in this statement.’*
That is, the Seal of the Prophets verse.
5. *‘After the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the doors of prophecies have been closed till the Day of Judgment. . . . But one window, that of the path of Siddiq, is open. That is to say, the window of self-effacement in the Holy Prophet (fana fir-rasul).’*
I.e., perfect successorship to the Holy Prophet, which is known in other words as ‘burooz’ [manifestation].
6. *‘It is not possible now for a Hindu or a Jew or a Christian or a nominal Muslim to apply the word nabi to himself.’*
That is, without reaching the station of ‘fana fir-rasul’.
7. *‘All the windows of prophethood have been closed.’*
That is, without becoming ‘fana fir-rasul’.
8. *‘There is no way to the graces of God except through the Holy Prophet’s mediation.’*
9. *‘After our Holy Prophet Muhammad till the Day of Judgment, there is no prophet to whom a new shari’ah is to be revealed.’*

Look, in this extract it is denied that a law-bearing prophet will ever come after the Holy Prophet.

10. *'And whoever makes a claim of prophethood bearing a new law commits heresy.'*
11. *'I am not the independent bearer of a shari'ah.'*
Mr. Hafiz, open your eyes to read this!
12. *'Nor am I an independent prophet.'*
Mr. Hafiz, read this sentence for God's sake!
13. *'I am not a bearer of law.'*
Read this with fear of God!
14. *'All these graces have not been bestowed upon me without mediation, rather, there is a holy being in heaven, namely, Muhammad mustafa, whose spiritual benefit I receive.'*
15. *'In other words, the term Khatam an-nabiyyin is a Divine seal which has been put upon the prophethood of the Holy Prophet. It is not possible now that this seal could ever break.'*
Look how strong is this denial.
16. *'A seal has been put upon prophethood till the Day of Judgment.'*
See how often this denial is repeated in a 3-page poster.
17. *'Ignorant opponents raise the allegation against me that I claim to be a nabi [prophet] or rasul [messenger]. I make no such claim.'*
Mr. Hafiz, it is the height of ignorance to level this charge after all these denials.
18. *'I am neither a prophet nor an apostle in the sense which they have in mind.'*
19. *'Hence the person who maliciously accuses me of claiming prophethood and apostleship is a liar and an evil-minded one.'*

“O Mr. Hafiz, if you have any fear of God in you, can you say of a man whose writing in a 3-page poster so frequently denies a claim to independent prophethood, that he is a claimant to independent prophethood? Or, can any sensible person say that this *fana fir-rasul* has claimed that prophethood and apostleship which is denied by the consensus of opinion of the entire Muslim nation? Both you and I are nearing the end of our lives. How, then, can you be so bold as to make this accusation?”

10.2: A second recorded incident

In *Al-Hakam* of 31 May 1902 a letter was published from a member of the Ahmadiyya community, one Shah Deen, railway stationmaster at Mardan (District Peshawar), in which he gave an account of an argument and debate with an opponent. It read:

“Afterwards, Husain Bakhsh, who is familiar with the history of Hazrat Mirza, asked me if he had advanced a new claim. I told him that there was no new claim. The claims were the same as in the beginning. He said that he had heard that, in a recent poster, a claim to prophethood had clearly been made. I told him that he could see the poster, which did not contain anything of the sort. Therefore, upon his request, Mian Muhammad Yusuf brought the poster entitled *Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala* from his home and read it out seriously and thoughtfully, which made a deep impression upon the audience. He could not understand the issue of *burooz*. Sometimes he would call it re-incarnation, and sometimes he would say that Mirza sahib will in future lay claim to divinity, as Shams Tabriz and Mansur had done. I tried my best to make him understand this point, and quoted parallels from the lives of Hazrat Mujaddid of Sirhind and Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, etc.”

10.3: Meaning of *muhaddas* in *Correction of an Error*

Referring to the word *muhaddas* and its verbal noun *tahdees*, Hazrat Mirza has written in this pamphlet:

“I say that in no lexicon does the word *tahdees* convey the meaning of disclosing the unseen.”

In *Tauzih Maram*, published 1891, he had written:

“The *muhaddas* . . . has the honour of being spoken to by God. Matters of the unseen are disclosed to him. His revelation, like that of prophets and messengers, is protected from the interference of the devil. The real essence of the Shari‘ah is disclosed to him. He is appointed just like the prophets, and, like them, it is his duty to proclaim himself openly. His denier is, to some extent, liable to Divine punishment.”

There is no contradiction in the above two passages. In the first, he is referring to the *literal or root meaning* of *muhaddas*. In terms of its root meaning as a word of the Arabic language, it does not convey the significance of news of the *unseen* being revealed, but merely news of something. In the passage from *Tauzih Maram*, he is explaining the *technical* meaning of *muhaddas* from Hadith and Islamic Shari'ah, which is that of a person "spoken to by God, though not being a prophet". To the end of his life, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be a *muhaddas* in terms of this technical meaning, and no more. In this pamphlet, he has *not* denied being just a *muhaddas*, but has *only* stated that the *root* sense of *muhaddas* is not sufficient to convey his status.

Historical evidence

About the year 1914, when Maulana Nur-ud-Din was head of the Ahmadiyya Movement, some non-Ahmadis raised this particular objection. At this, one Hafiz Raushan Ali, a well-known scholar in the Ahmadiyya Movement, wrote a reply which was much liked by Maulana Nur-ud-Din and published in the magazine *Tashhiz al-Azhan*. Given below is the relevant extract from that magazine:

"Objection: In *Tauzih Maram* you call yourself a *muhaddas* and say that a *muhaddas* too is a prophet in one sense. But now in this poster you write that 'my title cannot be *muhaddas* because in no lexicon does the word *tahdees* convey the meaning of disclosing the unseen'.

"Answer: We say that there could only have been a contradiction between these two places if there was an affirmation of being a *muhaddas* in a certain sense, and then a denial made with regard to the same sense. But here the senses in the two places are different. Therefore, in accordance with the principle, *lau l-al-i'tibaraat labatal-al-hikma*, your alleged contradiction disappears. In the poster [*Correction of an Error*], he has made the denial in the sense that in Arabic lexicology the meaning of *tahdees* is not that of disclosing the unseen. And in *Tauzih Maram* he has made the affirmation in terms of the technical meaning, despite having made it explicit there that a *muhaddas* is also a prophet in a sense."

(*Tashhiz al-Azhan*, October 1914, vol. ix, no. 10)

This magazine was edited by Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, and the issue cited above dates from a few months *after* the split in the Ahmadiyya Movement, when he had become head of the Qadian Section.

Section 11

No claim to prophethood — Summary

Compiler's Note. Largely as summary of the arguments given in the last few Sections, this Section enumerates twenty reasons which show that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad did not claim to be a prophet. Each reason is supported by some quotations as examples.

1. First Argument

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad always denied the allegation levelled against him that he claimed to be a prophet (*nabi*). Had he been a claimant to prophethood (*nubuwwat*), he could not have made denials such as those quoted below:

- i. "There is no claim of prophethood; on the contrary, the claim is of sainthood (*muhaddasiyyat*) which has been advanced by the command of God." (*Izala Auham*, p. 421)
- ii. "In conclusion, there is no claim of prophethood on my part either. The claim is only of being a saint (*wali*) and a Reformer (*mujadid*)." (*Majmu'a Ishtharat*, vol. ii, p. 298)
- iii. "By way of a fabrication, they slander me by saying that I have made a claim to prophethood. . . . But it should be remembered that all this is a fabrication. Our belief is that our master and leader Hazrat Muhammad mustafa, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, is the Last of the Prophets. We believe in angels, miracles, and all the doctrines held by the Ahl-i Sunna." (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, footnote, p. 182)
- iv. "In confronting the present Ulama, this humble one has . . . sworn many times by God that I am not a claimant to any prophethood. But these people still do not desist from declaring me as *kafir*." (Letter to Maulavi Ahmad-ullah of Amritsar, 27 January 1904)

2. Second Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had been a claimant to prophethood, he could not have given the following interpretation of the title *Khatam an-nabiyyin* (Seal or

Last of the prophets) applied to the Holy Prophet Muhammad in a famous verse (33:40) of the Holy Quran:

- i. “*Ma Kana Muhammad-un Aba ahad-in min rijali-kum wa lakin rasul-Allahi wa Khatam an-nabiyyin* [Quran, 33:40]. That is to say, Muhammad, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, is not the father of any man from among you, but he is the Messenger of God and the one to end the prophets. This verse too clearly argues that, after our Holy Prophet, no messenger (*rasul*) shall come into the world.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 614)
- ii. “The Holy Quran, every word of which is absolute, confirms in its verse *wa lakin rasul-Allahi wa Khatam an-nabiyyin* that, as a matter of fact, prophethood has ended with our Prophet, peace and the blessings of God be upon him.” (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, pp. 184–185, footnote)
- iii. “Allah is that Being Who is *Rabb-ul-‘alameen* [Lord of the worlds], *Rahmaan* [Beneficent], and *Raheem* [Merciful], Who created the earth and the heavens in six days, made Adam, sent Messengers, sent Scriptures, and last of all made Hazrat Muhammad *mustafa*, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, who is the Last of the Prophets and Best of the Messengers.” (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 141)

3. Third Argument

Those Sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad in which occur the words *la nabiyya ba’di* (There is to be no prophet after me), have been mentioned by Hazrat Mirza in a number of places. If he had claimed to be a prophet, he could not have referred to these words as follows:

- i. “The Holy Prophet, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, had said repeatedly that no prophet would come after him, and the Saying *la nabiyya ba’di* was so well-known that no one had any doubt regarding its authenticity.” (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, footnote, p. 184)
- ii. “Similarly, by saying *la nabiyya ba’di*, he closed the door absolutely to any new prophet or a returning prophet.” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 152)

4. Fourth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he could not have written that the ‘revelation of prophets’ (*wahy nubuwwat* or *wahy risalat*) terminated with the Holy Prophet Muhammad. This, however, was exactly

what he wrote:

- i. “It is my belief that the ‘revelation of prophets’ (*wahy risalat*) began with Adam and ended with Muhammad *mustafa*, peace and the blessings of God be upon him.” (*Majmu’a Ishtiharat*, vol. ii, p. 230)
- ii. “We believe in the finality of prophethood of the Holy Prophet, peace and the blessings of God be upon him. And it is not the ‘revelation of prophets’ (*wahy nubuwwat*), but the ‘revelation of saints’ (*wahy wilayat*) which is received by the saints under the shadow of the prophethood of Muhammad by perfect obedience to him, peace be upon him. In this we do believe. Any person who accuses us of going further than this, departs from honesty and fear of God.” (*Majmu’a Ishtiharat*, vol. ii, no. 151, p. 297)

5. Fifth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he could never have written that, after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the revelation-bearing angel Gabriel cannot ever bring further ‘revelation of prophets’:

“Every sensible person can understand that if God is true to His promise, and the promise given in the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* verse, which has been explicitly mentioned in the Hadith, that now, after the death of the Prophet of God, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, Gabriel has been forbidden forever from bringing ‘revelation of prophets’ (*wahy nubuwwat*) — if all these things are true and correct, then no person at all can come as a messenger (*rasul*) after our Prophet, peace be upon him.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 577)

6. Sixth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he could not have written that he was a recipient of ‘revelation of saints’ (*wahy wilayat* or *wahy muhaddasiyyat*). This, however, was exactly what he wrote:

- i. “Has it ever happened in the world that God should have so helped an imposter that he could be speaking a lie against God for eleven years, to the effect that His *wahy wilayat* and *wahy muhaddasiyyat* [revelation as granted to saints] comes to him, and God would not cut off his jugular vein.” (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 323)
- ii. “I have noticed that at the time of revelation, which descends on me in the form of *wahy wilayat*, I feel myself in the hands of an extremely strong external force.” (*Barakat-ud-Dua*, p. 21)

7. Seventh Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would never have tested his revelation by the Holy Quran. In actual fact, he never accepted any revelation of his unless it agreed with the Holy Quran, because while *wahy nubuwwat* (the revelation granted to a prophet) is absolute and does not require verification, *wahy wilayat* (the revelation to a saint) is subordinate to the revelation of the Holy Prophet Muhammad and must be verified from the Holy Quran. Hazrat Mirza wrote:

- i. "I do not confirm any of my revelations but only after testing it by the Holy Quran, for I know that anything opposed to the Quran is falsehood and heresy." (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 79; new edition pp. 282–283)
- ii. "It was not until I had tested my revelations by the Holy Quran and authentic Sayings of the Holy Prophet, and had supplicated humbly and tearfully at the door of the Almighty Lord of the worlds, that I brought this matter on my tongue." (*ibid.*, p. 13; new edition p. 55)
- iii. "I have made it an essential rule that I do not rest content with my visions or revelations unless the Quran, the Holy Prophet's example, and his authentic Sayings support them." (*Malfuzat*, part iv, p. 203)
- iv. "A revelation of a saint, or revelation of believers generally, is not an argument unless it accords and agrees with the Holy Quran." (*Izala Auham*, p. 629)

8. Eighth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have called himself a follower and subordinate of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, as he has written:

- i. "Almighty God says [in the Holy Quran]: *wa ma arsal-na min rasul-in illa li-yuta'a bi-izn Allah*. That is, every messenger (*rasul*) is sent to be a master and leader, not to be a disciple and subordinate of someone else." (*Izala Auham*, p. 569)
- ii. "No messenger (*rasul*) comes into the world as a disciple and subordinate. Rather, he is a leader, and follows only his revelation which descends on him through angel Gabriel." (*Izala Auham*, p. 576)
- iii. "I have not made any claim to prophethood (*nubuwwat*). This is your mistake, or perhaps you have some motive in mind. Is it necessary that a person who claims to receive revelation should also

be a prophet (*nabi*)? I am a Muslim, and fully follow Allah and His Messenger.” (*Jang Muqaddas*, p. 67)

9. Ninth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he could not have written, as he has done, that because Jesus was a prophet he cannot now return to this world after the Holy Prophet Muhammad:

- i. “Apart from these arguments, the second coming of Jesus is also barred by the verse: *wa lakin rasul-Allahi wa Khatam an-nabiyyin* [i.e. Muhammad is the Messenger of God and Last of the Prophets]; and also by the Holy Prophet’s Saying: *La nabiyya ba’di* [There is to be no prophet after me]. How could it be permitted that, despite our Holy Prophet, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, being the *Khatam al-anbiya* [Last of the Prophets], some other prophet should appear sometime and the ‘revelation of prophets’ commence.” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 47)
- ii. “In the verses *al-yauma akmal-tu la-kum dina-kum* [‘This day have I perfected for you your religion’], and *wa lakin rasul-Allahi wa Khatam an-nabiyyin*, God has clearly terminated prophethood with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, and has stated unequivocally that the Holy Prophet is the Last Prophet. . . . But those people who would have Jesus return to this world believe that he shall come with his prophethood, and for a full forty-five years the angel Gabriel shall come to him with the ‘revelation of prophets’. Now tell us how, under this belief, anything would be left of the finality of prophethood and the ending of the ‘revelation of prophets’? In fact, one would have to believe that Jesus is the last of the prophets.” (*Tuhfa Golarwiya*, p. 83)
- iii. “Our unjust opponents do not consider the doors of the termination of prophethood to be fully closed. In fact, they believe that a window is still open to enable the Israelite prophet Jesus to return. If, therefore, a real prophet came into the world after the Holy Quran, and the process of ‘revelation of prophets’ (*wahy nubuwwat*) commenced, what would happen to the doctrine of the termination of prophethood? Would the revelation of a prophet be known as anything other than *wahy nubuwwat*?” (*Siraj Munir*, pp. 2–3)

10. Tenth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he could not have written that there is no need of a prophet now, after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, because the Holy Quran has brought religious laws to perfection. He wrote:

“God speaks to, and communicates with, the saints in the Muslim nation, and they are given the colour of the prophets. However, they are not prophets in reality because the Quran has fulfilled all the requirements of a perfect religious law. They are given but the understanding of the Quran. They neither add to, nor subtract from, the Holy Quran.” (*Mawahib ar-Rahman*, pp. 66–67)

11. Eleventh Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have considered the words ‘prophet’ (*nabi*) and ‘messenger’ (*rasul* or *mursal*), as occurring about him in his revelations, to be in a purely metaphorical and linguistic sense, as opposed to their technical sense. He wrote:

- i. “Do not level false allegations against me that I have claimed to be a prophet in the real sense. . . . It is true that, in the revelation which God has sent upon this servant, the words *nabi*, *rasul* and *mursal* occur about myself quite frequently. However, they do not bear their real sense: ‘To each the terms he uses’. So this is the terminology of God, that He has used these words. We believe and acknowledge that, according to the real meaning of *nubuwwat* [prophethood], after the Holy Prophet Muhammad no new or former prophet can come. The Holy Quran forbids the appearance of any such prophets. But in a metaphorical sense God can call any recipient of revelation as *nabi* or *mursal*. Have you not read those Sayings of the Holy Prophet in which occur the words *rasulu rasulillah* [‘messenger of the Messenger of God’]? The Arabs to this day call even the message-bearer of a man as a *rasul*, so why is it forbidden for God to use the word *mursal* [messenger] in a metaphorical sense too? Do you not even remember from the Quran the words: ‘So they [some non-prophets] said, We are messengers to you’? Consider justly whether this is a basis for *takfir* [calling a Muslim as *kafir*]. If you were questioned by God, what argument would you have for declaring me to be a *kafir*. I say it repeatedly that these words *rasul* and *mursal* and *nabi* undoubtedly occur about me in my revelation from God, but they do not bear their real meanings.”

(*Siraj Munir*, p. 3)

- ii. “By virtue of being appointed by God, I cannot conceal those revelations I have received from Him in which the words *nubuwwat* and *risalat* occur quite frequently. But I say repeatedly that, in these revelations, the word *mursal* or *rasul* or *nabi* which has occurred about me is not used in its real sense. (Such words have not occurred only now, but have been present in my published revelations for sixteen years. So you will find many such revelations about me in the *Barahin Ahmadiyya*.) The actual fact, to which I testify with the highest testimony, is that our Holy Prophet, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, is the Last of the Prophets, and after him no prophet is to come, neither an old one nor a new one. . . . But it must be remembered that, as we have explained here, sometimes the revelation from God contains such words about some of His saints in a metaphorical and figurative sense; they are not meant by way of reality.” (*Anjam Atham*, footnote, pp. 27–28)

12. Twelfth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have denied in his books and speeches making a claim to real prophethood, taking the words *nabi* (prophet) and *rasul* (messenger) as being in a metaphorical sense, for the metaphorical cannot be real. He wrote:

- i. “This humble one has never, at any time, made a claim of *nubuwwat* or *risalat* [prophethood or messengership] in the real sense. To use a word in a non-real sense, and to employ it in speech according to its broad, root meaning, does not imply heresy (*kufur*).” (*Anjam Atham*, footnote, p. 27)
- ii. “When God speaks to someone very frequently, and reveals to him His knowledge of hidden matters, this is prophethood (*nubuwwat*), but it is not real prophethood.” (*Malfuzat Ahmadiyya*, vol. x, p. 421)
- iii. “God has called me *nabi* by way of metaphor, not by way of reality.” (*Al-Istifta*, Supplement to *Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 64)

13. Thirteenth Argument

A famous Saying of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, narrated by Nawas ibn Sam'an and recorded in the Hadith collection Sahih Muslim, refers to the Messiah to come as *nabi* (prophet) of God. If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have considered this occurrence of the word

nabi to be metaphorical, as he wrote:

- i. "The epithet 'prophet of God' for the Promised Messiah, which is to be found in *Sahih Muslim* etc. from the blessed tongue of the Holy Prophet, is meant in the same metaphorical sense as that in which it occurs in Sufi literature as an accepted and common term for [the recipient of] Divine communication. Otherwise, how can there be a prophet after the Last of the Prophets?" (*Anjam Atham*, footnote, p. 28)
- ii. "And it should also be remembered that in *Sahih Muslim* the word *nabi* has occurred with reference to the Promised Messiah, that is to say, by way of metaphor." (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 75)
- iii. "These words are by way of metaphor, just as in Hadith also the word *nabi* has been used for the Promised Messiah. . . . And he who discloses news of the unseen, having received it from God, is known as *nabi* in Arabic. The meanings in Islamic terminology are different. Here only the linguistic [root] meaning is intended." (*Arba'in* no. 2, p. 18, footnote)
- iv. "Similarly, the Promised Messiah being called *nabi* in Hadith, is not meant in a real sense. This is the knowledge which God has given me. Let him understand, who will. This very thing has been disclosed to me that the doors of real prophethood are fully closed after the Last of the Prophets, the Holy Prophet Muhammad. According to the real meaning, no new or ancient prophet can now come." (*Siraj Munir*, p. 3)

14. Fourteenth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have considered himself as a *muhaddas* (a Muslim saint who receives Divine revelation), because they are not prophets, nor would he have limited the significance of the word *nabi* (prophet) about himself to extend only as far as sainthood. He wrote:

- i. "I firmly believe that our Holy Prophet Muhammad is the Last of the Prophets (*Khatam al-anbiya*), and after him no prophet shall come for this nation (*umma*), neither new nor old. Not a jot or tittle of the Holy Quran shall be abrogated. Of course, *muhaddases* will come who will be spoken to by God, and possess some attributes of full prophethood by way of reflection (*zill*), and in some ways be coloured with the colour of prophethood. I am one of

these.” (*Nishan Asmani*, p. 28)

- ii. “There is no doubt that this humble one has come from God as a *muhaddas* for the Muslim nation.” (*Tauzih Maram*, p. 18)
- iii. “The *muhaddases* are those persons who have the privilege of Divine communication, and their souls bear the utmost resemblance to the souls of the prophets. They are living reminders of the wonders of prophethood, so that the subtle issue of Divine revelation may not become a mere tale in any age, due to being devoid of proof.” (*Barakaat-ud-Dua*, p. 18)
- iv. “As our Leader and Messenger, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, is the Last of the Prophets (*Khatam al-anbiya*), and no prophet can come after him, for this reason *muhaddases* have been substituted for prophets in this Shari‘ah.” (*Shahadat al-Quran*, p. 24)

15. Fifteenth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have called himself ‘a follower and a prophet’ or ‘a follower from one aspect and a prophet from another’, because these two aspects are combined only in a *muhaddas* (Muslim saint), a prophet only having the aspect of prophethood. He wrote:

- i. “So the fact that he [the Messiah to come] has been called a follower [of the Holy Prophet Muhammad] as well as a prophet indicates that the qualities of both discipleship and prophethood will be found in him, as it is essential for both of these to be found in a *muhaddas*. The possessor of full prophethood, however, has only the quality of prophethood. To conclude, sainthood (*muhaddasiyyat*) is coloured with both colours. For this reason, in [the Divine revelations published in] *Barahin Ahmadiyya* too, God named this humble one as follower and as prophet.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 533)
- ii. “I cannot be called only ‘prophet’, but a prophet from one aspect and a follower from another.” (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, footnote, p. 150)
- iii. “There is no need now to follow each prophet or Book separately that came before the Holy Quran because the Prophethood of Muhammad comprises and comprehends them all. . . . All truths that take man to God are to be found in it, no new truth shall come after it, nor is there any previous truth which is not in it. Hence,

upon this Prophethood [of Muhammad] end all prophethoods. . . . Rendering obedience to this Prophethood takes one to God very easily, and one receives the gift of God's love and His revelation in a much greater measure than people used to before [the time of the Holy Prophet Muhammad]. However, its perfect follower cannot be just called 'prophet' because it would be derogatory to the perfect and complete prophethood of Holy Prophet Muhammad. But both the words *ummati* [follower of the Holy Prophet] and *nabi* [prophet] can jointly be applied to him, because that would not be derogatory to the prophethood of the Holy Prophet Muhammad." (*Al-Wasiyyat*, pp. 27–8)

- iv. "Islam is the only religion in the world having the virtue that, provided the truest and fullest obedience is rendered to our Leader and Master the Holy Prophet Muhammad, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, one can have the privilege of Divine revelation. For this reason it is recorded in Hadith: *Ulama ummati k-anbiya Bani Israil*, that is, 'the spiritual savants from among my followers are like the prophets of Israel'. In this Saying too, the godly savants are on the one hand called followers, and on the other hand they are called the likes of prophets." (*Supplement to Barahin Ahmadiyya Part V*, pp. 182–184)

(Note: Extracts 1 and 4 above make it explicitly clear that the words "a follower from one aspect and a prophet from another" are exactly equivalent to *muhaddas* or spiritual savant of the Muslim community, and do not mean a prophet.)

16. Sixteenth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he could not have written, regarding the use of these terms for him, that the word *rasul* (messenger or apostle) is a general term used not only for prophets but also for saints (*muhaddas*) and Divine reformers (*mujaddid*), and that the word *nabi* too is applied to saints. He wrote:

- i. "The word *rasul* is a general term and includes the messenger, the prophet (*nabi*), and the saint (*muhaddas*)." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 322)
- ii. "By *rasul* are meant those persons who are sent by God, whether a prophet (*nabi*), or messenger (*rasul*), or saint (*muhaddas*), or Divine Reformer (*mujaddid*)." (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, footnote, p. 171)

- iii. “By *rusul* [plural of *rasul*] are meant those who are sent, whether a messenger, or prophet, or saint.” (*Shahadat al-Quran*, p. 23)
- iv. “In terms of being sent by God (*mursal*), the prophet and the saint are on a par. And just as God has named prophets as *mursal* [‘sent ones’], so has He also named the saints as *mursal*.” (*Shahadat al-Quran*, p. 27)
- v. “My intention from the beginning, which God knows well, is that this word *nabi* does not mean real prophethood, but denotes only a saint (*muhaddas*).” (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. i, p. 97)

17. Seventeenth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have called himself a *zilli nabi* (a reflection or shadow of a prophet) because the shadow or reflection is not the actual thing itself. He wrote:

- i. “My prophethood is a reflection of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, peace and the blessings of God be upon him. It is not actual prophethood.” (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, footnote, p. 150)
- ii. “This title [*nabi*] was bestowed upon me in the sense of reflection (*zill*), not in the real sense.” (*Chashma-i Ma'rifa*, footnote, p. 324)
- iii. “Remember well that the fruits of perfect obedience [to the Holy Prophet] are never wasted. This is an issue of *Tasawwuf*. If the rank of *zill* had not existed, the saints of the Muslim nation would have died. It was exactly this perfect obedience, and the rank of *buurooz* and *zill* [becoming a reflection or image of the Holy Prophet], due to which Bayazid [famous Muslim saint, d. 874 C.E.] was called ‘Muhammad’. Upon his so saying, the verdict of heresy was pronounced against him seventy times over, and he was exiled from the city. In brief, the people who oppose us are unaware of these facts.” (*Badr*, 27 October 1905)
- iv. “The shadow itself has no independent existence, nor does it possess any quality in a real sense. Whatever is in it, is only an image of the original person that is being manifested through it.” (*Barahin Ahmadiyya*, Part I, p. 243)
- v. “It is just as when you see yourself in the mirror, you do not become two, but remain only one, though there appear to be two. The only difference is that between the real thing and the image.” (*Kishti Nuh*, p. 15)

- vi. "Sainthood (*wilayat*) is the perfect reflection (*zill*) of prophethood (*nubuwwat*)." (*Hujjat-Ullah*, p. 24)
- vii. "The prophet (*nabi*) is like the real object, while the saint (*wali*) is like the reflection (*zill*)." (*Lujjat an-Nur*, p. 38)

18. Eighteenth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he would not have called himself a *burooz* *nabi* (image or manifestation of a prophet) because, according to the spiritual savants of Islam, being a *burooz* implies a complete negation of one's own existence. He wrote:

- i. "All prophets have believed that the *burooz* is a full picture of its original, so much so that even the name becomes one." (*Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala*)
- ii. "The Sufis believe that the nature, disposition and moral qualities of a person from the past come again in another. In their terminology, they say that so and so is in the footsteps (*qadam*) of Adam, or the footsteps of Noah. Some also call this as *burooz*." (*Mulfuzat*, Part I, p. 239)
- iii. "It is customary with Muslim religious scholars that they call *burooz* as *qadam* [footsteps], and say, such and such a person is in the footsteps of Moses, such and such is in the footsteps of Abraham." (*Lujjat an-Nur*, p. 1)
- iv. "The whole Muslim nation is agreed that a non-prophet takes the place of a prophet as a *burooz* [image]. This is the meaning of the hadith: *Ulama ummati ka-anbiya Bani Israil*, that is, the savants from among my followers are the likes of the prophets. See that the Holy Prophet, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, has likened the godly savants to prophets." (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 163)
- v. "Being a *burooz* implies the negation of its own existence. Hence prophethood and apostleship by way of *burooz* does not infringe the seal of the finality of prophethood." (*Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala*)
- vi. "As a person's face is seen in the mirror, though that face has its own independent existence; this is called *burooz*." (*Tafsir Surah Fatiha*, p. 330)

19. Nineteenth Argument

After the death of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in May 1908, the headstone fixed over his grave in Qadian by his followers bore the inscription

given below:

Janab Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sahib Qadiani, Chief of Qadian, the Promised Messiah, Mujaddid of the Fourteenth Century, date of death 26 May 1908

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, his followers would never have inscribed the words *Mujaddid (Reformer) of the Fourteenth Century* on his gravestone. This inscription stayed as such for about twenty-five years, but was then altered by deleting the words *Mujaddid of the Fourteenth Century*. The word 'prophet', however, was still not added.

20. Twentieth Argument

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, he certainly would never have instructed his followers to refrain from using the word 'prophet' (*nabi*) for him, or told people at large to regard this word as deleted wherever it occurred about him. In fact, this was exactly what he did:

- i. "I wish to make it clear to all Muslim brothers that if they are displeased with these words, and if these words give injury to their feelings, they may regard them as amended . . . and in every place instead of the word *nabi*, the word *muhaddas* should be understood, and the word *nabi* should be regarded as having been deleted." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. i, p. 313)
- ii. "This humble one has never, at any time, made a claim of *nubuwwat* or *risalat* [prophethood or messengership] in the real sense. To use a word in a non-real sense, and to employ it in speech according to its broad, root meaning, does not imply heresy (*kufur*). However, I do not like even this much, for there is the possibility that ordinary Muslims may misunderstand it." (*Anjam Atham*, footnote, p. 27)
- iii. "As these words [*nabi, rasul*], which are only in a metaphorical sense, cause trouble in Islam, leading to very bad consequences, these terms should not be used in our community's common talk and everyday language. It should be believed from the bottom of the heart that prophethood has terminated with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, as God Almighty says: 'He is the Messenger of God and the last of the Prophets'. To deny this verse, or to belittle it, is in fact to separate oneself from Islam. . . . It should be remembered that I make no claim contrary to that of being a servant of Islam. The person who

ascribes to me the contrary is making a fabrication against me.”
(Letter dated 17 August 1899; published in *Al-Hakam*, vol. 3, no. 29, August 1899)

Conclusion

If Hazrat Mirza had claimed to be a prophet, how could he have:

1. declared that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was the Last of the Prophets.
2. explained the Holy Prophet Muhammad’s Saying *La Nabiyya Ba’di* as meaning that no prophet, new or old, can come after the Holy Prophet.
3. denied being a prophet in the real and actual sense of the word.
4. written that his revelation was of the type granted to Muslim saints (i.e. *wahy wilayat*), not the type granted to prophets (*wahy nubuwwat*).
5. taken the words prophet (*nabi*) and messenger (*rasul*) to be used in a metaphorical sense when referring to himself.
6. forbidden his community to apply these words to him in common usage.
7. denied strongly ever having made a claim to prophethood (*nubuwwat*).

And how could the tombstone erected over his grave by his followers immediately upon his death contain the inscription *Mujaddid of the Fourteenth Century*?

Section 12

Titles *Mary* and *Messiah* for Muslims

Compiler's Note. Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be the Promised Messiah in whose expectation the Muslims were waiting. This Section shows from the Quran, Hadith, and writings of eminent Muslim savants, that true Muslim believers can rise to spiritual heights where they are made to receive the names 'Mary' and 'Messiah' as titles of honour from God, and it gives extracts from the pronouncements of many saints who applied such titles to themselves or to other saints. Then some Sayings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad are quoted in which he has likened his eminent followers to various prophets. Then writings of Hazrat Mirza are cited, expressing the same ideas. All these extracts show that to apply the title 'Messiah' to a saint is quite allowable in Islam.

Hazrat Mirza also explained that the Hadith prophecies speaking of the appearance of the 'Messiah' do not refer to the return of Jesus, but to the coming of a *Muslim saint* who shall receive the title 'Messiah', and who shall bear a strong likeness to Jesus. Hazrat Mirza claimed to be one of those saints who received the title *Messiah*, and to be that *particular one* whose coming and tasks were prophesied in Hadith. The Section gives lengthy extracts from his writings, explaining his claim.

12.1: How a believer becomes *Mary* and *Messiah*

There is a saying of the Holy Prophet Muhammad:

“No one shall enter the kingdom of heaven who was not born twice.”

(*Maktubat* of Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind, the *Mujaddid Alif Sani*)

The meaning is that a person has two births. The first birth is the physical birth. When a child is born, his parents name him after a prophet, saint or other righteous person. The second birth takes place when a person becomes an adult. At that time, he has many aspirations and desires, and that is the time when he is subject to attack from the devil, then does his spiritual and real birth take place. He is given a name again by Almighty God, in the spiritual world, corresponding to the work he does.

Two types of believers

Among the believers, such persons are of two kinds. Firstly, those who are

pursued by the devil at the time of their spiritual birth, who tries to mislead them. The believer engages in prayer and cries before the Lord God that He may protect him from the attack of the devil and grant him to do good. In the Holy Quran, believers of this kind are compared to the Pharaoh's wife, Assiyya. Just as she remained firm on her faith in God and Moses, despite persecution of all sorts by the Pharaoh, similarly a believer of this class stays away from evil and sin despite the full assault of the devil. In the spiritual world, such believers are given the name *Assiyya*, as the Quran says:

“God sets forth an example for those who believe — the wife of Pharaoh who said: My Lord, build for me with Thee a house in heaven, and save me from the Pharaoh and his doings, and save me from an unjust people.”
(The Holy Quran, 66:11)

In this verse, God has given the example of those believers who are not yet free of the grip of base passions, but, like the Pharaoh's wife, pray and strive day and night to be free of this grip. This state of soul is known as the *self-accusing* soul.

Believers named ‘Mary’

The second class of believers are those who are pure from the beginning, and protected from attacks of the devil. Due to the high degree of goodness and purity in them, God has compared them to Mary, as that is their name in the spiritual world:

“And Mary, daughter of Amran, who guarded her chastity, so We breathed into *him* Our Spirit [i.e. bestowed Divine revelation]. She accepted the words of her Lord and His books, and was of the obedient.”
(The Holy Quran, 66:12)

This is the example of those believers who possess the *contented soul*. Note that the gender in the words “*breathed into him*” is masculine, so that the example refers to the believer. The believer who reaches this rank receives the word of God, and his being is indeed a proof of the truth of the Books of God.

The Holy Prophet's saying

This verse of the Quran is supported by the following Saying of the Holy Prophet:

“No child is born but the devil touches him when he is born, and so he cries due to the devil’s touch, except Mary and her son.”

It is not the physical birth of a child that is meant here, but the spiritual birth of a man. By “*Mary and her son*” are meant believers having these qualities. This is also the meaning explained by the famous classical commentator of the Quran, Zamakhshari:

“Its meaning is that the devil attempts to mislead every child, except Mary and her son because they were both pure. The same applies to everyone who has their qualities.”

(The commentary *Kashshaf*, vol. i, p. 302)

Hence, in this Saying of the Holy Prophet, it is not the two individuals Mary and her son who are meant, but two kinds of people who have the qualities of these two.

Sufis and the two births

The Sufis accept the two births of man. Suharwardy, founder of the famous Sufi order, wrote:

“The disciple becomes a part of the master, just as a child is a part of his father in his physical birth. Thus is the disciple born from his master, in his spiritual birth.”

(*Awarif al-Mu’arif*, vol. i, p. 45)

12.2: Muslim Saints likened to Jesus and Mary

1. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi (d. 1273 C.E.)

Rumi is a world-famous Persian poet, philosopher and saint whose great work *Masnawi* is known among Muslims as “the Quran in Pahlavi” (i.e. Persian). He has also been studied by great European Philosophers, and the *Masnawi* has been translated into English by R. A. Nicholson, the eminent British orientalist of the turn of the century. Rumi is revered in particular by the Muslims of Turkey, Iran, India and Pakistan. He writes in poetic verse:

- i. “The Whole [i.e. Spirit of God] forms a relation with the part [i.e. spirit of man], and from this, just as woman receives sperm from man, the sense of man receives a pearl. The soul of man then becomes pregnant, as did Mary, and from this pregnancy is born a Messiah. This Messiah is not the Messiah who lived in the past, but

is a Messiah whose glory is not easy to comprehend. When the Spirit of God makes pregnant the spirit of man [i.e. man receives revelation from God], that spirit then makes a whole world pregnant [i.e. they receive spiritual benefit from it]. This produces a spiritual revolution and resurrection in the world, which is so grand as to defy description.”

- ii. “Whether the word of God is from behind the curtain or not, He bestows the very thing which He gave to Mary.”
(*Miftah al-‘ulum*, vol. i, p. 11)

The reference in “behind the curtain” is to the verse of the Quran, discussed in Section 4, according to which this is one mode of Divine revelation to man.

- iii. “Souls themselves are the breath of Jesus. At times they wound and at other times they act as balm. If the veil be lifted from the souls, every one of them would say, I am the Messiah.”
(*ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 247)
- iv. “I am Jesus, but whoever receives life from my breath lives forever. Those who were brought to life by Jesus died, but fortunate are they who entrusted their lives to this Jesus.”
(*ibid.*, vol. vii, p. 45)
- v. “The one lacking insight who opposes a Messiah [i.e. a Messiah-like saint], he shall go astray like the Jews.”
(*ibid.*, vol. xvii, p. 141)
- vi. “God confines free spirits into bodies, and makes each body pregnant by the spirit. Each one of us [sages] is a Messiah for the world, the balm for every pain is in our hands.”
(*ibid.*, *Daftar* no. 1, Part I, p. 55)

2. Shams-ud-Din of Tabriz (d. 1248 C.E.)

This saint, who was the chief influence upon Jalal-ud-Din Rumi, wrote the following verses:

- i. “I am the spirit which was breathed into Mary,
“I am the soul which was the life of Jesus.”
(*The Kulliyat* of Shams-i Tabriz, p. 292)
- ii. “I was in the breath of Jesus, I am the lover of old.”
(*ibid.*, p. 508)

- iii. "The ranks and stations which Jesus and Mary did not attain, I did attain them."
(*ibid.*, p. 212)
- iv. In a recent English book on Rumi, *The Life and Work of Jalal-ud-Din Rumi* by Afzal Iqbal (The Octagon Press, London, 1983), while commenting on this great saint's view of his teacher Shams-ud-Din as expressed in his odes, it is noted:
"Shams is identified with the primeval man; he is Adam, Jesus and Mary, all rolled into one." (p. 163)
And on page 164 are quoted some of Rumi's Persian verses referring to his master by these titles.

3. Khawaja Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti (d. 1236 C.E.)

He is the saint and missionary credited with laying the foundations of the propagation of Islam in India. His *urs* (annual festival) is celebrated by Muslims around the world, and thousands go to pay homage at his shrine in Ajmer. He wrote the following verses:

- i. "If the Holy Spirit continues to give succour,
"Every day in the world the Mary of the time will give birth to a Jesus."
- ii. "Every moment the Holy Spirit breathes into Mu'in,
"So it is not I who says this, but in fact I am the second Jesus."
(*Diwan* of Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti, ode no. 70, p. 102)
- iii. In his *Tazkira Pak* in praise of Mu'in-ud-Din Chishti, Faqir Muhammad Chishti wrote:
"To speak while still in the womb,
"To show such a Messianic miracle,
"Is it the miracle of a saint or the marvel of a Messiah?
"I cannot comprehend what it is.
"Your soul is the soul of Jesus, O Khwaja!
"This is the prayer of your devotee."
(pp. 27, 86 and 143)

4. Shaikh Sa'di (d. 1292 C.E.)

This world-renowned Persian poet, whose work *Gulistan* is well-known in the West, wrote:

- "Your Jesus [i.e. your spirit] dies of loss of weight, while you are busy pampering your ass [i.e. your body].
"O wretch! buy not this world for faith,

“Buy not the ass for the Gospel of Jesus.”
(*Bou-stan*, ch. 6)

5. Sayyid Farid-ud-Din ‘Sipa Salar’:

“I am that Jesus of the sky who went even beyond the moon,
“I am the Moses of Mount Sinai where God revealed himself.”
(*Risala Sipa Salar*, p. 16)

6. Abu Yazid Bustami (d. 874 C.E.)

It is recorded about him in the classical work *Tazkirat al-Auliya*, a compilation of the lives of early Muslim saints:

“It was said, God has servants like Abraham, Moses and Jesus. He said: I am all of them.”
(*Tazkirat al-Auliya*, ch. on Abu Yazid Bustami; see also its abridged English translation *Muslim Saints and Mystics* by A. J. Arberry, p. 123)

7. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed (d. 1831 C.E.)

In a poem in praise of his master Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, he writes:

“Joseph has now come to Egypt from Canaan, and a whole world
has come for his purchase,
“To give life to the dead, the breath of Jesus has now come into the
world,
“From Madina my Ahmad has come, from the cave of Saur, to
teach the *Ansar* [name given to ‘helpers’ of Holy Prophet Muham-
mad],
“Sayyid Ahmad came one day with his companions. You should say
that the Last of the Prophets came again with his Companions.”
(*Najm al-Saqib*, vol. ii)

8. Shah Niyaz Ahmad of Delhi (d. 1834 C.E.):

“Sometimes I am Idris, sometimes Seth, sometimes Noah, some-
times Jonah, sometimes Joseph, sometimes Jacob, and sometimes
Hud. Sometimes I am Salih, sometimes Abraham, sometimes
Isaac, sometimes Yahya, sometimes Moses, sometimes Jesus and
sometimes David. I am Ahmad Hashmi and Jesus of Mary.”
(*Diwan-e Niyaz*, p. 42, 44)

9. Khawaja Mir Dard of Delhi (d. 1785 C.E.)

This famous saint, regarding whom there is a section in the English book

Mystical Dimensions of Islam by the eminent scholar Annemarie Schimmel, wrote as follows:

“Every perfect man, by the all-encompassing power of God, is the Jesus of his time. And every moment he faces for his being the affair of the soul of Jesus.”

(*Risala Dard*, p. 211)

10. **Muhyi-ud-Din Ibn Arabi** (d. 1240 C.E.)

Ibn Arabi, known as the “Great Master” of Sufi-ism, whose works have been much studied by Western scholars, wrote in his famous book *Futuhāt Makkiyya*:

“And as it happened with our spiritual guide, when it was said to him: ‘*You are Jesus, son of Mary, so heal him*’.”

(vol. i, p. 199)

11. **Abu Tamam**

This famous Arab poet was addressed as:

“O Jesus, son of Mary!”

(*Da'irat al-Mu'arif*, Part II, p. 58)

He was given this title because his poetry was life-reviving, even though he used to stammer.

12. **Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi** (d. 1763 C.E.)

The great philosopher, writer and scholar of Islam, considered as the *mujaddid* of his time, wrote in his acclaimed work the *Tafhimat Ilahiyya*:

“The miracle of raising the dead to life, which was granted to Jesus — that was myself.”

13. **Khawaja Shah Sulaiman Tonsovi** (d. 1852 C.E.)

A verse in praise of the Khawaja reads:

“‘*Arise by the command of God*’ was a miracle at the hand of Jesus, but you [O Khawaja] made thousands into Messiahs with a single breath.”

(*Manaqib al-Mahbubin*, p. 249)

14. **Shaikh Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Deoband**

- i. Writing in praise of Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, a prominent Deoband leader in the nineteenth century, the Shaikh says in a poem:

“He raised the dead to life, and let not the living die. Just look at this Messianic work, O son of Mary.”

- ii. And in praise of both Rashid Ahmad and Muhammad Qasim Nanotavi, the founder of the Deoband religious school, he wrote: “Qasim the good and Rashid Ahmad, both men of glory, the two of them were the Messiah of the age and Joseph of Canaan.”

15. Muhammad Nasir Muhammadi (d. 1758 C.E.)

He was the father of Mir Dard of Delhi and author of the work *Nala-yi-Andalib* (Lamentation of the Nightingale). He wrote in this book:

“There have been perfect, and still more perfect, saints among the Muslims. In terms of their spiritual progress and path of development, some had the temperament of Adam, some of Noah, some of Abraham, some of David, some of Jacob, some of Moses, some of Jesus, and some had the temperament of Muhammad.”
(vol. i, p. 243)

16. *Al-Tabaqat al-Kubra*

In his Urdu translation of this work, Sayyid Abdul Ghani Warisi writes:

“The man who is [spiritually] established in the form of Muhammad, is called ‘O Muhammad!’ He who is in the form of Moses is called ‘O Moses!’, and he who is in the form of Jesus is called ‘O Jesus!’”
(p. 486)

17. Mirza Ghalib (d. 1869 C.E.)

He is one of the greatest and most famous poets of the Urdu language. One of his best-known and most-quoted verses is the following:

“Let someone be the son of Mary, and let him heal my pain.”

Commenting on this verse, Professor Yusuf Salim Chishti writes in his *Sharh Diwan Ghalib*:

“Meaning — If my beloved can heal my pain, I accept him as Messiah.”
(p. 826)

18. Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938 C.E.)

In praise of the perfect believer, Iqbal says in Persian verse:

“He is *Kalim* [Moses], he is *Masih* [Messiah], he is *Khalil* [Abraham],

“He is Muhammad, he is the Book [Quran], he is Gabriel.”

19. Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani (d. 1166 C.E.)

The much revered saint of Iraq wrote:

“I was with Jesus when he spoke from the cradle.”

(*Qasida Ruhi*)

20. Muhammad Ibn Yahya Ibn Ali Jilani:

“I am Joseph and Ali,

“I am Moses and Jesus — and many of the persons before them.”

(*Gulshan-i-Raz*)

21. Anne Marie Schimmel

She is a renowned European orientalist and scholar who has been honoured by the authorities in Pakistan for her research on Islam. In her English book *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (University of North Carolina Press, U.S.A., 1975), she writes:

“According to some sufi orders, on the higher levels of his path the mystic ascends through the stations of the Islamic prophets, from Adam to Jesus; many Sufis remain in one of these stages, but the perfect shaikh is he who has become annihilated in the Prophet Muhammad. United with the *haqiqa Muhammadiyya*, he becomes the Perfect Man and thus leads his disciples with a guidance granted directly by God.” (p. 237)

“The Sufis particularly loved Mary. . . . She is often taken as the symbol of the spirit that receives divine inspiration and thus becomes pregnant with the divine light.” (p. 429)

12.3: Sayings of Holy Prophet Muhammad

The doctrines of spiritual advancement expounded by the Sufis, as explained above, have their foundations in verses 24:55 and 66:11–12 of the Holy Quran. Hadith, too, provides the ground for these ideas, as shown below. The Holy Prophet Muhammad said:

1. “There is not one prophet but a like of him is to be found among my followers. Abu Bakr is like Abraham, Umar is like Moses, Uthman is like Aaron, and Ali is like me. He who wishes to see Jesus, let him look at Abu Zarr Ghaffari.”

2. "He who likes to see Jesus in terms of piety, let him see Abu Darda."
(quoted in *Mansab-i Imamah*, a famous book by Sayyid Ismail Shaheed)
3. "He who likes to see Abraham in his tender-heartedness, let him see Abu Bakr in his kindness. He who likes to see Noah in his firmness, let him see Umar in his bravery. He who likes to see Enoch in his exaltation, let him see Uthman in his mercy. He who likes to see John the Baptist in his devotions, let him see Ali in his state of purity."
(*Kanz al-Ummal*, collection of Hadith, vol. vi, p. 161)
4. "The earth shall never lack forty men who are the likes of Abraham, on account of whom you shall be given water and aid, and sustenance. The *Majma' al-Zawa'id* says that this saying has sound authorities."
(*Al-Khabr al Dal*, by Imam Sayuti)
5. "Dahya al-Kalbi resembles Gabriel, Urwah ibn Masud Thaqfi resembles Jesus, and Abdul Uzza resembles the Anti-Christ."
(*Kanz al-Ummal*)
6. "Among the servants of God, there are three hundred whose hearts are like Adam's heart, forty whose hearts are like Moses' heart, seven whose hearts are like Abraham's heart, five whose hearts are like Gabriel's heart, three whose hearts are like [the angel] Michael's heart, and one whose heart is like [the angel] Israfil's heart."
(*Al-Khabr al-Dal* by Imam Suyuti, p. 15).
(See also Anne Marie Schimmel's *Mystic Dimensions of Islam*, p. 202, which mentions that the name of Jesus has also been added to this list in another version.)
7. "The Ulama are the heirs of the prophets."
8. "The Shaikh [spiritual leader] among his followers is like the prophet among his nation."
(This hadith has also been quoted in *Mystic Dimensions of Islam*, on p. 101 and p. 237.)
9. "The Ulama of this nation deserve to be alongside the prophets in rank."

(quoted by Ibn Arabi in his *Futuhāt Makkiyya*, p. 570)

10. “The righteous Ulama of this nation are heirs to the ranks of prophets.”
(*ibid.*)
11. “The Ulama of my nation are like the Israelite prophets.”
12. “The Ulama of this nation are like the prophets of all the nations of the world.”
13. Among the Muslims there shall be “men who are spoken to by God, without being prophets”.
(*Bukhari*, book 62, ch. 6)
14. “The Ulama are the lights of the earth, and the successors of the prophets, and heirs to me and the other prophets.”
(*Kanz al-Ummal*, vol. v, p. 201)

Hence, it is quite allowable to liken non-prophets to prophets, as the Holy Prophet Muhammad himself likened those who were not prophets to prophets.

12.4: Views of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad

Hazrat Mirza has written exactly what the eminent scholars and saints of Islam before him had written, and has expressed the view-point accepted as standard in Islam:

1. “Of all the leaders of *Tasawwuf* that there have been till the present day, not even one has disagreed with the point that in this religion the path to become the likes of prophets is open, as the Holy Prophet Muhammad has given the glad tidings for spiritual and godly learned persons that ‘*the Ulama of my nation are like the Israelite Prophets*’. The words of Abu Yazid Bustami given below, which are recorded in *Tazkirat al-Auliya* by Farid-ud-Din Attar, and are also found in other reliable works, are on this basis, as he says: ‘*I am Adam, I am Seth, I am Noah, I am Abraham, I am Moses, I am Jesus, I am Muhammad, peace be upon him and upon all these brothers of his.*’ . . . Similarly, Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jilani, in his book *Futuh al-Ghaib*, refers to this point, i.e. that man, by leaving his ego and annihilating himself in God, becomes the like, rather

the very form, of the prophets.” (*Izala Auham*, pp. 258–260)

2. “God’s ancient way cannot be denied, viz., that He gives the name of one to another on account of spiritual similarity. He who has the nature of Abraham is Abraham in God’s sight, he who has the nature of Moses is Moses in God’s sight, and he who has the nature of Jesus is Jesus in God’s sight. And he who has a share of all these has all these names applied to him.” (ibid., p. 412)
3. “Ponder over this, that all the eternal fountains of spiritual life have come into the world through the Holy Prophet Muhammad. This is the nation [i.e. Muslim nation] which, though not having any prophets (*nabi*) in it, has those who receive the word of God like prophets, and though not having any messengers (*rasul*) in it, has those who show God’s clear signs like messengers.” (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 224)

Hazrat Mirza on how a believer becomes ‘Mary’ and ‘Jesus’

“In the Holy Quran, God has given two parables of the believers. The first comparison is with the wife of Pharaoh who wishes refuge in God from this kind of husband. This is the example of those believers who bow to base passions and make mistakes, and then they show regret and repent. They seek refuge in God, as their soul is always doing them injustice like the Pharaoh as a husband. These people have the self-reproaching soul, and are constantly striving to be free from evil.

“There are other believers who have attained a higher rank. They do not only refrain from evil, but earn virtue. God has compared them to Mary: ‘She who guarded her chastity, so We breathed into it of Our spirit.’ Every believer who accomplishes himself in piety and purity, is Mary in the sense of *bu-rooz* [manifestation or spiritual representation]. And God breathes into him His spirit, which becomes the *son of Mary*.

“Zamakhshari [classical commentator of the Quran] has given the same meaning, i.e. this verse is of general application. If this meaning is not taken, then because Hadith says ‘None is safe from the devil except Mary and the son of Mary’, it would simply imply that — God forbid — all other prophets were prone to the devil.

“Hence, in reality, this verse refers to the fact that into every believer who reaches this accomplishment, the spirit of God is blown,

and he becomes the son of Mary. This contains the prophecy that a 'son of Mary' would be born in this Muslim nation. It is surprising that people name their children Muhammad, Isa [Jesus], Musa [Moses], Yacub [Jacob], Ishaq [Isaac], Ismail and Abraham, and consider this to be permissible, but they do not think it allowable for God to name someone Mary, or 'son of Mary'." (*Mulfuzat*, vol. ii, pp. 317–318)

"There is another point which is realised by pondering over the Divine word. That is that as a person makes daily progress towards the truth by receiving guidance from the attracting power of God, and goes on forsaking the self and the lower passions, the ultimate point of the purification of his soul is that, having emerged completely from the darkness of the self and base desires, and having cleansed his body — which is the residence of the soul — of dark bodily smoke, he becomes like a pure drop of water. At that time, in God's sight he is but the mere spirit which remains after the extermination of the self. In terms of perfect obedience to God, he acquires a similarity to the angels.

"Then, having reached that stage, it is his right near God that he should be called *Ruh-ullah* [the spirit of God] and *Kalimat-ullah* [the word of God]. This significance can, in a sense, also be derived from the hadith which Ibn Maja and Hakim have recorded in their books, viz. 'There is no Mahdi except Jesus'. That is to say, only he reaches the perfect rank of *Mahdi* [the rightly-guided one] who first becomes *Isa* [Jesus]. In other words, when a person acquires such an accomplishment in turning to God that only the spirit remains, he then becomes *Ruh-ullah* [spirit of God] in God's view, and he is named *Isa* [Jesus] in heaven. He receives a spiritual birth at the hands of God, which is not from any physical father, rather it is the shadow of the grace of God which grants him that birth. So, in fact the excellence of purification and of *fana fi-llah* [absorption in God] is precisely this, that he should attain such severance from bodily darkness that only the spirit remains.

"This is the rank of *Iswiyyat* ['Jesushood'], which God bestows perfectly upon whom He pleases. And the rank of perfect *Dajjaliyyat* [being the Dajjal or Anti-Christ] is that, according to the verse 'he clings to the earth', he inclines more and more to the lower valleys of base desires, till having descended to the depths of darkness, he

becomes darkness personified, and an instinctive friend of darkness and enemy of light. The existence of the quality of *Dajjaliyyat*, in opposition to the quality of *Iswiyyat*, is necessarily implied because a thing is identified by the existence of the opposite. These two qualities have been in existence right from the time of our Holy Prophet. He named Ibn Sayyad as *Dajjal*, and said to Hazrat Ali, 'You bear a resemblance to Jesus'. Hence, the seed of Jesus and of *Dajjal* began at that time, and as with the passage of time, the mischief of *Dajjaliyyat* increased, persons embodying the quality of *Iswiyyat* appeared in opposition in a corresponding manner. In the last age, by reason of the spread of evil, wickedness, unbelief and error, and by reason of the arising of all those evils which had never before existed in such magnitude and extent — in fact, the spread of these in the last days had been prophesied by the Holy Prophet — *Dajjaliyyat* was manifested to perfection. To combat this, it was essential that *Iswiyyat* be also manifested to perfection." (*Nishan Asmani*, pp. 8-9)

12.5: Meaning of *Messiah* and claim of Promised Messiah

1. "The term *messiah* is applied to that righteous one whose touch (*mas-h*) has been blessed by God, and whose breath, preaching and words are life-giving. Then this word was applied particularly to that prophet who did not fight wars, but reformed people through spiritual blessings only." (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 69)
2. "It is written in the *Lisan al-'Arab*, p. 431 [Dictionary of Arabic] that Jesus was called the Messiah because he travelled in the earth, and was not settled anywhere. The same is given in *Taj al-'Arus* and *Qamus* [Dictionaries]. It is also written that Messiah is he who has been touched (*mas-h*) with good and blessing; i.e. good and blessing have been placed in his nature, so much so that his very touch gives blessings. This name was given to Jesus, and is given by God to whom He pleases." (*Masih Hindustan Main*, p. 71)
3. "Messiah is a title which was given to Jesus, meaning 'one who touches God', 'partakes of Divine favours', the 'vicegerent of God', and 'one who adopts truth and righteousness'."

“*Mahdi* is a title given to the Holy Prophet Muhammad, meaning rightly-guided by instinct, heir to all guidance, and the full reflection of the Divine attribute *Guide*.” (*Zameema Jihad*, p. 6)

4. “I have definitely not claimed that I am Jesus, son of Mary. The person who levels this allegation against me is a liar and a fabricator. On the contrary, I have been constantly publishing for seven or eight years that I am the like of the Messiah. That is to say, God has put in my nature some of the spiritual characteristics and habits and morals of Jesus, peace be upon him. And there are many other aspects, which I have explained in these books, in terms of which my life bears a great similarity to that of Jesus. It is not a new development on my part that in these books I have considered myself to be that Promised one whose advent is prophesied implicitly in the Holy Quran and explicitly in Hadith.” (*Izala Auham*, pp. 190–191)
5. “The name ‘Promised Messiah’, which has been given to me from heaven, means nothing more than that God has made me to follow the example of Jesus in terms of moral conditions, so that I may breathe spiritual life into people by peace and gentleness. It is not just today that I have given this interpretation of the name ‘Promised Messiah’, but I gave the same meaning nineteen years ago in *Barahin Ahmadiyya*.” (*Kashf al-Ghita*, p. 12)
6. “I believe in all those things that are recorded in the Holy Quran and authentic Hadith. I do not claim to be Jesus, son of Mary, nor do I believe in re-incarnation. I only claim to be the like of the Messiah. In the same way as sainthood in Islam (*muhaddasiyyat*) bears a resemblance to prophethood, my spiritual condition bears a similarity of the highest degree to the spiritual condition of Jesus. I am a Muslim. . . . I have come from the Lord of the heavens and the earth as a Reformer (*mujaddid*) of the religion, for the fourteenth century, having the characteristics and disposition of Jesus.” (*Majmu’a Ishtiharat*, vol. i, p. 231)
7. “In some Sayings of the Holy Prophet, which are replete with metaphors, there is a prophecy of the return of the Messiah to this world. The context of these Sayings, however, shows that in fact the return of Jesus is not meant here. It is, in fact, a subtle metaphor, meaning that in some age which would resemble the time of

Jesus, a man shall arise for the reform of mankind who will resemble Jesus in his nature, faculties and appointed work. Just as Jesus regenerated the religion of Moses, and disclosed to the Jews the significance of the real intention of the Torah which they had forgotten, similarly the second Messiah will restore the religion of the 'like of Moses', who is the Last of the Prophets — Muhammad, peace be upon him. This Messiah granted to the 'like of Moses', shall in terms of his life and all the consequences to befall his people due to their obedience or rejection, bear total similarity to the Messiah granted to Moses. What God has now disclosed to me is that I am that Promised Messiah." (*Izala Auham*, p. 37)

8. "In a metaphorical and spiritual sense, this humble servant is that Promised Messiah the news of whose advent is given in the Quran and Hadith." (*ibid.*, p. 261)
9. "By using the words 'from among you' in the chapter *The Light*, the Holy Quran has given the verdict that all *khalifas* [successors to the Holy Prophet] of the Muslim nation shall arise from within the nation itself. These *khalifas* will be similar to the chain of Israelite prophets after Moses. Only one of them — the one at the end — will be the Promised one, being the like of Jesus. The rest would not be promised ones, i.e. there is no specific prophecy for any of them by name." (*Tazkira Shahadatain*, p. 30)
10. "Although I have explained this point in many of my books, that my claims that I am Jesus, the Messiah, and Muhammad, the Mahdi, do not mean that I am actually Jesus, peace be upon him, and actually Muhammad, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, but still those people who have not read my books properly can be labouring under the misconception that I have made this claim in the sense of re-incarnation, or that I am claiming that the souls of these two great prophets are actually within me. This is not the case." (*Zameema Jihad*, p. 1)
11. "So God saw this injustice from heaven, and for its correction he sent a man having the nature and temperament of Jesus. He named him *Messiah* in the same sense as when the image of a figure is reflected in water or glass, and that image may metaphorically be referred to as the person himself." (*ibid.*, p. 3)

12. "The interpretation I have given to the descent of the Messiah is not a new one. In fact, it is the same interpretation that Jesus himself expounded [when explaining the descent of Elijah as the coming of John the Baptist], because the case of the descent of Jesus is exactly analogous to the case of the descent of Prophet Elijah." (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, p. 195)
13. "Raising me at the head of the fourteenth century, God disclosed the logic behind this prophecy and made it clear that the second coming of the Messiah to this world was destined to have been in the same sense and manner as the second coming of the prophet Elijah which had been prophesied in the book of Malachi [in the Old Testament]. This book explicitly mentioned that the Promised Messiah awaited by the Jews would not come into the world until the Prophet Elijah had returned. If our opponents had any element of goodness or truth-seeking in them, they would have benefitted much by this prophecy of Malachi, upon which both the Jews and Christians are agreed. . . . As the re-appearance of the prophet Elijah in person in this world was a pre-requisite to the coming of the Messiah, under this condition Jesus would not be proved to be a true prophet. He can only be proved to be true if some other interpretation is given to the return of the prophet Elijah. In other words, by the second coming of Elijah it should be taken to mean the arising of someone like him, and that 'like' was John the Baptist, the son of Zacharias. This was the interpretation given by Jesus when challenged by the Jews. This interpretation, which is proved to have come from a prophet's lips, shows plainly that the second coming of the Messiah to this world is on the same lines as the return of Elijah. To ignore a precedent that has been established and to adopt the literal meaning, leading to many inconsistencies in one's beliefs, is the work of people who have very little sense and understanding. Metaphors and allegories predominate in prophecies, and there would be no stupidity greater than taking a word in a prophecy literally when such literal interpretation leads to many contradictions. It was this attitude for which the Jews met their destruction." (*ibid.*, p. 194)
14. "God has repeatedly favoured me with His exclusive word, saying that He has sent me in the likeness, and with the qualities, of Jesus in order to remove the Jewishness [i.e. Pharisaical attitude and

behaviour of Muslims] of the latter days. Hence, I am the promised son of Mary in a metaphorical sense, who had been promised to appear at a time of 'Jewishness' and supremacy of Christianity. I have come devoid of material means, with spiritual power and weaponry, as opposed to the wrong conception of physical warfare that prevailed among the Muslims about [the second coming of] Jesus. My war is spiritual and my kingdom is not of this world. I have nothing to do with the battles and offensives of the world. My life is one of humility and meekness, like that of Jesus. I have come to re-establish humility, meekness, righteousness, civility, and inner purity in the Muslims, and to teach the path of high morals. If Muslims do not accept me, I shall not be grieved at all because before me the Israelites did not accept Jesus." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. i, pp. 232–233)

15. "Why should one turn one's face away from the unanimously acknowledged belief of all the prophets, that sometimes God's prophecies are fulfilled literally and sometimes in a metaphorical sense." (Supplement to *Barahin Ahmadiyya*, Part V, p. 93)
16. "When God, having seen the condition of the present age and finding the earth filled with sin, impiety and misguidance, appointed me for the propagation of the truth and reformation, it was also such an age that . . . the people of the world, having finished the thirteenth century *Hijra* had reached the head of the fourteenth century. In obedience to this command I began to announce to the ordinary public, through printed posters and speeches, that the man who was to come from God at the head of this century for the revival of the religion was myself, so that faith which had disappeared from the earth, I should re-establish, and, having obtained strength from God, I should draw the world by the power of His Hand towards reform, piety and righteousness, and correct errors in belief and weaknesses in deeds. Then, after a few years had passed, it was disclosed to me clearly by Divine revelation that the Messiah who had been promised to the Muslim nation from the beginning, and the last Mahdi who was to be guided by God directly at a time of the decline of Islam and the spread of evil, the good news of whose advent was given thirteen centuries ago by the Holy Prophet Muhammad, was myself. The Divine communications and revelations about this matter came with such clarity and

persistence that there remained no room for doubt.” (*Tazkira Shahadatain*, p. 1)

17. “With great respect and humility I send this notice to Muslim *ulama*, Christian divines and Hindu pundits, informing them that I have been sent into the world to remedy and correct weaknesses and errors of morals, doctrines and faith. I follow the same lines as Jesus. On account of this I am called the Promised Messiah, for I have been commanded to spread the truth in the world by means of supernatural signs and holy teachings.” (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. iii, p. 342)
18. “The case of the second coming has already been decided in the court of Jesus, and the verdict has been pronounced in our favour. Jesus rejected the belief of the Jews that the prophet Elijah would re-appear in the world, declaring the prophecy to be metaphorical, and considered John the Baptist to be the fulfiller of the prophecy. Look how clearly this verdict of Jesus resolves the issue in contention. . . . Tell us, if two parties have a dispute on an issue, and one of them puts forward the decision of a prophet as a precedent while the other party is unable to give a precedent, which of the two is more worthy of being believed?” (*Tuhfa Golarwiya*, p. 6)

Section 13

Claim to be Messiah not against Islam

Compiler's Note. This Section quotes Muslim ulama of modern times to show that a claim to be Promised Messiah or Mahdi, as that made by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, is not disallowed in Islam. It also gives his own views to the effect that the prophecy of the coming of the Messiah, and its interpretation in any particular way, is not related to the fundamentals of Islam, but is a secondary issue of the faith.

13.1: Ulama on claim to be Messiah or Mahdi

1. Maulana Abul Jamal Ahmad:

“If Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claims to be the Mahdi and the like of the Messiah, this does not militate against the Shari‘ah. Nor do we have any reason to deny it because the services he has rendered to the religion of Islam can undoubtedly prove him true in the claim to be Mahdi. As regards the saying that he was a prophet and messenger, and recipient of revelation, and that the Holy Prophet Muhammad was not the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* and prophethood did not end with him — this cannot at all be accepted.”

(*Hikmat Baligha*, vol. ii, p. 4)

According to this statement, the claim to be Mahdi and the like of the Messiah is permitted by Islamic Shari‘ah. What is objectionable is to deny that the Holy Prophet was *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, and to claim prophethood for oneself. We have already proved that Hazrat Mirza believed the Holy Prophet to be *Khatam an-nabiyyin* and the Last Prophet, and he held that no prophet could come after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, neither new nor old. The revelation which he claimed to receive was *wahy wilayat* (revelation received by saints in Islam), which, as shown earlier, is recognised by Muslim theologians as continuing, and which many Muslim saints in history claimed to receive.

2. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

In his well-known book *Tazkira*, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Indian

Muslim theologian and political leader, wrote:

“This shows how the Reformers among Muslims have always had to face trickery, cheating and blood-thirsty verdicts from the *Ulama*. And unlimited fraud and deception was employed against them in order to incite the governments of the day against them. What has the question of whether a certain individual was or was not the Mahdi to do with the beliefs in Islam? It is not the basis of sin or goodness, nor the criterion of faith and unbelief. If a person accepts as Mahdi a man who calls to the law of Islam, enjoins good and forbids evil, it does not corrupt his Islamic beliefs.”

(*Tazkira*, p. 69)

3. Khawaja Ghulam Farid of Chachran (d. 1904)

This famous Sufi saint was a contemporary of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Commenting upon the latter's claim to be the Mahdi, he said:

“Mirza sahib has given many signs in support of his claim to be Mahdi. Two of these signs which he has explained in his book provide a high quality of evidence about his being the Mahdi . . .”
(*Isharat-i Faridi*, Persian edition, p. 70)

When someone put to him the objection: *If we do not find the characteristics of the Messiah and Mahdi in Mirza sahib, how can we accept him as such?* The Khawaja replied:

“The characteristics of the Mahdi are secret, and not those which people have in mind. Why is it surprising that this very Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sahib could be the Mahdi? One hadith says that Messiah and Mahdi is the same person. It is not necessary that all the signs of the Mahdi should appear as people have them in mind in accordance with their views and comprehension. If it had happened as people expected, everyone would recognise the Mahdi and believe in him. In fact, when we look at the prophets we find that only a few people in a prophet's nation would recognise the signs and believe in him. Others would remain doubtful, and some would not recognise him at all. These people would deny and be known as unbelievers. If the entire nation of every prophet could recognise him, they would all become believers. Look at the history of the Holy Prophet. His qualities and signs were prophesied in the scriptures. When he appeared, people did not find some of the signs to be as they had thought them to be. Those to whom these things became clear, they became believers. Those to whom these things

did not become clear, they denied. The same applies to the Mahdi. So if Mirza sahib is the Mahdi, what is the thing which prevents it?" (ibid., pp. 123–124)

4. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi (d. 1979)

He is the best known Sunni religious and political leader of this age in Pakistan, and well-known all over the Muslim world. He wrote:

- i. "Whatever may be said about the Mahdi, everyone can see that his position in Islam is not such that being a Muslim and receiving salvation depends upon recognising and accepting him. If that had been his position, he would have been explicitly mentioned in the Quran, and the Holy Prophet would not have rested content with explaining this to a couple of individuals, but would have conveyed it to the whole nation in the way in which we find that Unity of God and the Last Day have been preached. Anyone having even a little understanding of religious matters cannot see for an instant why a question which is so crucial to the faith could be left to a few isolated reports. And these reports are of such a low order that compilers like Malik, Bukhari and Muslim did not like to include them in their collections."
(*Rasa'il wa Masa'il*, Part I, p. 68)
- ii. "The scholars of Hadith have criticised the reports about the coming of the Mahdi so much so that one group does not believe at all in the coming of the Mahdi. Criticism of the reporters shows that most of these hadith were related by Shiahs. History shows that every faction has used these reports for political and religious purposes, and attempted to apply the signs contained in them to their own man. For these reasons I have concluded that these reports are correct so far as the basic fact of the coming of the Mahdi is concerned, but the explanation of the detailed signs is probably not genuine."
(ibid., p. 64)

13.2: Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's views

1. "First, it should be known that belief in the descent of the Messiah is not a belief which is one of our fundamentals of faith or one of the pillars of the religion. In fact, it is a prophecy among hundreds

of prophecies, which has nothing to do with the basis of Islam. Islam was not an incomplete religion till the time this prophecy was explained, nor did it become more complete when this prophecy was explained. It is not necessary that prophecies should be fulfilled in the literal sense." (*Izala Auham*, p. 140)

2. "I do not claim that Messiahship has ended with me, and no Messiah shall come in the future. Nay, I say repeatedly that, let alone one, more than ten thousand Messiahs can come. It is possible that one may come with worldly power and glory, and also possible that he may first arise in Damascus [according to the prophecy literally]. But, my friends, excuse me from believing and accepting that the very same Messiah, son of Mary, who died, shall descend from heaven with his physical body." (*ibid.*, pp. 294–295)
3. "My belief, and the belief of my followers, about Mahdi and the Promised Messiah is that all the hadith of this sort about the Mahdi are unreliable and untrustworthy. In my view these may be divided into three classes, within which they all fall.

"Firstly, those hadith which are unsound and wrong. . . . Secondly, there are those hadith which are weak, and due to mutual contradiction and conflict are removed from the level of reliability. . . . Thirdly, there are those hadith which are authentic, whose authenticity is proved by repeated occurrence, and which have either been fulfilled in some previous age . . . or they are such that they do not speak of physical rulership and warfare, but indicate and even state clearly that he shall not have worldly kingship and rule, nor would he fight or shed blood or have an army, but that he would re-establish faith in the hearts by spirituality and power of the heart, as is the hadith '*There is no Mahdi except Jesus*' recorded in the Hadith book of Ibn Maja. . . . This hadith means that no Mahdi shall come except the man who shall come with the temperament and disposition of Jesus, i.e., he shall be the Promised Messiah as well as the Mahdi. He shall come with the temperament of Jesus, following his technique of teaching, i.e., he shall not return evil for evil, nor shall he fight; rather, he shall spread guidance by means of a pure example and heavenly signs. . . . His teaching shall be, do not fight for the faith, but spread it by means of the light of truth, and the miracles of good morals and Divine nearness. I say truly that he who now fights for the religion . . . he disobeys God and His

Prophet, and goes outside the instructions, limits and duties set by them. I wish to inform our benevolent government that the Promised Messiah who has received guidance from God, and who follows the path of Jesus, is myself." (*Haqiqat al-Mahdi*, pages i–iii)

Section 14

Fulfilment of Prophecies

Compiler's Note. Our opponents deny that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad fulfils the Hadith prophecies about the coming Messiah; and they also ridicule some of the prophecies made by Hazrat Mirza himself. To refute this criticism, this Section outlines the basic principles governing the fulfilment of prophecies, by taking examples of admittedly fulfilled prophecies from the Quran and Hadith. If these principles are applied, all criticism against Hazrat Mirza on this score is banished.

I. Prophecies require interpretation

The critics of the Ahmadiyya Movement are constantly raising the objection that some sign or other of the coming of the Messiah or the Mahdi has not been fulfilled by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, or that some prophecy or other has not been fulfilled through him. These objections would not have been raised if the critics had known of the coherent and well-defined philosophy in Islam relating to prophecies and their fulfilment. We deal with this subject in case the objectors are really unaware of the logic underlying prophecies and of the fine and subtle points taught by Islam in this respect.

By way of introduction, *to prophesy* means to give information in advance of some event to happen in the future. The Arabic word for *prophecy* is *naba'-un*. There are two kinds of prophecies: Warnings and glad tidings. Prophecies giving good news are called *wa'da* (lit. promise), while those delivering a warning are known as *wa'eed* (lit. conditional threats). *Wa'da* strengthens one's faith by conveying good news that are then fulfilled. The purpose of *wa'eed* is to warn people of the grave consequences of their evil deeds, so that they may turn to God and mend their ways. Hence the aim of prophecies is to create living faith in God in the hearts.

Prophecies received through spiritual, not physical, senses

The first point to note is that when God informs His chosen ones and other righteous servants of events of the future, or shows them a scene with physical happenings, the recipient receives this information *not* through

his physical senses such as the eye, but through his spiritual senses in a dream or vision. Furthermore, all religious scriptures and all the religious savants of Islam are agreed that most dreams and visions need to be interpreted, there being only one prophecy in a hundred which may be fulfilled literally.

The Holy Quran, in its account of Joseph's history, mentions three dreams containing prophecies which were interpreted and fulfilled metaphorically:

1. Joseph's own dream is mentioned in the following words:

"I saw eleven stars and the sun and the moon, bowing down before me." (The Holy Quran, ch. 12, v. 4)

This prophecy, which indicated the greatness to which Joseph was to rise, was not unravelled until Joseph had risen to become the head of the Treasury in Egypt. When he attained that honour, he said: "This is the interpretation of my dream of old which my Lord has made to come true" (12:100). Hence the significance of the dream was that great and powerful men would obey him, not that anything would literally bow down to him.

2. A fellow-prisoner of Joseph had a dream which he related as follows:

"I saw myself carrying bread on my head, and the birds were eating of it." (12:36)

Joseph interpreted the dream in this way: "He shall be crucified so that birds will eat from his head" (12:41).

3. The king of Egypt, the country where Joseph was imprisoned, had a puzzling dream as follows:

"And the king said, I saw seven fat kine which were being devoured by seven lean ones, and seven green ears and seven others which were dry." (12:43)

In interpreting this dream, Joseph took "seven fat kine" to be seven years of good harvest and "seven lean ones" to be seven years of drought.

From these three examples, it will have become obvious that while the words of a prophecy may say one thing, they are taken to mean something different. It will also be seen that even sinners and disbelievers can have true dreams.

Besides the above examples from the Holy Quran, the Hadith books contain numerous instances of dreams and visions of the Holy Prophet

Muhammad which he related, and which were interpreted by him or his followers in a metaphorical sense. A few such examples are given below:

1. "I was asleep when a cup of milk was brought to me. I drank of it until its freshness could be seen coming out of my nails. Then I gave what remained to Umar ibn al-Khattab. People asked, What did you take it to mean, O Messenger of God? He said, Knowledge." (*Bukhari*, Book 3: *Kitab al-'Ilm*, ch. 22)
2. "While I was asleep I saw people brought before me wearing shirts, some of which extended as far as their chests, while others were shorter than this. Umar was brought before me, and he was wearing a shirt which was [so long that it was] trailing. People asked, What did you take it to mean, O Messenger of God? He said, Religion." (*Bukhari*, Book 2: *Kitab al-Iman*, ch. 14)
3. "I was asleep when I saw two gold bracelets on my hands. I was perturbed by them. Then a revelation came to me in my dream to blow on them. I did, and they blew away. I took them to mean the two liars to arise after me, the first Aswad Ansi, and the second Musailama, the liar of Yamma." (*Bukhari*, Book 61: *Kitab al-Manaqib*, ch. 25)
4. "I saw in a dream that I moved my sword and the leading part of it broke. This was the misfortune to befall the Muslims on the day of [the battle of] Uhud." (*Bukhari*, Book 92: *Kitab al-Ta'bir*, ch. 44)
5. "In a dream I saw cows being slaughtered. These were the Muslims on the day of Uhud." (*ibid.*, ch. 39)
6. "I saw, as it were, a black woman with dishevelled hair, leaving Madina till she reached Mahya'a which is called Juhfa. I took it to mean that the pestilence of Madina had shifted there." (*ibid.*, ch. 41)
7. "The Holy Prophet said: I saw [in a dream or vision] a spotted dog putting his mouth in the blood of members of my family. This was taken to mean Shimr [the assassin of Imam Husain] who had leprosy."
8. "Imam Husain, peace be upon him, said that he heard his father [Hazrat Ali] say: I heard the Holy Prophet say that a ram would

violate the sanctity of the Ka'ba so I wonder if I am that ram.”

The commentators of Hadith have written that this prophecy applied to Abdullah Ibn Zubair.

9. “It is related from Aishah that the Holy Prophet said [to her]: You were shown to me in a dream twice [before marriage]. A man was carrying you wrapped up in a silk cloth saying, This is your wife, look at her face. So when I opened it up, it was you. I said, If this is from God it shall be fulfilled.”
(*Bukhari*, Book 92: *Kitab al-Ta'bir*, ch. 20)

These hadith show that dreams and visions usually stand in need of interpretation.

II. Errors in interpreting dreams and visions

1. Sometimes errors are made in interpreting various matters related to a prophecy, such as the time when it is to be fulfilled. The Holy Quran says:

“God indeed fulfilled the vision of His Messenger: you shall enter the Sacred Mosque, if God please, in security, your heads shaved and hair cut short, not fearing.” (48:27)

The Holy Prophet was in Madina when he saw in a dream that he had entered Makka and was performing the *Tawaf* (circuits) around the Ka'aba. So he and his Companions marched forth towards Makka, being certain that the vision would be fulfilled that very year. However, this could not come about, and the Muslims had to return, having concluded the peace treaty of Hudaibiyya. A few of the Companions began to wonder why they had failed to achieve their goal, so much so that Umar asked the Holy Prophet if he had not said that they would go to the Ka'aba and perform the *Tawaf*. The Holy Prophet said, “Yes, but did I also say that it would be this year?” They said, No. He then told them that they would certainly go to the Ka'aba and perform the *Tawaf*. This proves three points:

- i.* The prophet or other holy man who is the recipient of the prophecy from God is not informed of all the details relating to its fulfilment.
- ii.* The recipient of the prophecy can commit an error of personal judgement in interpreting the prophecy.
- iii.* It is in order for the prophesier to take some legitimate course of action on the basis of his own interpretation of the prophecy (as in

this instance the Holy Prophet attempted to go to Makka to perform the *Tawaf* on the basis of his dream, to fulfil the prophecy).

2. The Holy Prophet Muhammad related:

“I saw in a dream that I was migrating from Makka to a place having date trees. So I thought that this would be Yamama or Hajar, but it turned out to be Madina.”

(*Bukhari*, Book: Qualities of the Companions, 63:45)

3. It is related from Aishah:

“Some of the wives of the Holy Prophet asked him, Which one of us shall join you first after your death? He said, The one with the longest hands. So they compared their hands before him, and it was Sauda who had the longest hands. But we learnt afterwards [upon the death of the first one of his wives to pass away after him] that it meant the length of the hand in giving charity, and the first one to join him after his death was Zainab, who loved to give in charity.”

(*Mishkat al-Masabih*, Book of Dreams)

III. Delay and abrogation of prophecy

Sometimes the prophecy made by a godly person about himself is actually fulfilled after him through his followers. Hadith records:

1. “The Holy Prophet said, I was asleep and the keys to the treasures of the earth were brought before me till they were placed in my hands. Abu Huraira said, The Holy Prophet departed from this world, and you [O Muslims] are bringing forth those treasures.”
(*Bukhari*, Book 92: *Kitab al-Ta'bir*, ch. 11)
2. “Ismaili said: People who interpret dreams say that the Holy Prophet saw in a dream that Usaid ibn Abi al-Ais was the Chief of Makka, having become a Muslim. However, he died while still a disbeliever, and the dream was fulfilled in his son Uttab who became a Muslim.”

It is not necessary that all the prophecies made by a prophet or other appointed one of God should be fulfilled within his lifetime. The Holy Quran, addressing the Holy Prophet on the subject of the promised destruction of his opponents, says in this regard:

“Be patient; surely God’s promise is true. Whether We [God] show you some of those things with which We threaten them [i.e. the

opponents], or cause you to die [before the fulfilment], in any case, they will return to Us.” (40:77)

In accordance with this, countless prophecies made by the Holy Prophet Muhammad have been coming to pass since his death even up to today, and will continue to find fulfilment till the end of the world.

Prophecies can sometimes be abrogated, as the Holy Quran says:

“And it is not in the power of a messenger to bring a sign except by God’s permission. For every term [of fulfilment of a prophecy] there is a command. God effaces what He pleases and establishes what He pleases.” (13:38)

IV. Prophecies of Chastisement

In case of *wa’eed*, i.e. a prophecy of death, destruction or doom, the fulfilment is conditional upon the subsequent behaviour of those against whom the warning is directed. The prophesied punishment may come to pass, or it may be mitigated or even set aside altogether, depending on their reaction. The Holy Quran has given three types of examples in this regard.

Those who do not heed the warning of the coming doom and destruction cannot escape the punishment. The Quran cites the instance of the prophet Salih who warned his people as follows: “This is the she-camel of God, a sign for you. So leave her alone to pasture in God’s earth, and do her no harm; otherwise, a punishment shall afflict you” (7:73). However, their reaction was: “Then they hamstrung the she-camel and revolted against their Lord’s commandment, and said: O Salih, bring us the punishment with which you threaten us, if you are a messenger [of God]. So the earthquake seized them, and they were motionless bodies in their houses” (7:77,78).

The second kind of people are those who, while not repenting fully upon hearing the warning, are frightened by it temporarily. In this case, even if they do not make their inner fear openly known, God will still grant them a period of respite to turn to Him, so that the punishment can be averted. If, however, they abuse this respite to continue their opposition to the Divine cause, God sends down His punishment upon them. A case in point is that of the Pharaoh and his people who opposed Moses. Every time an affliction from God befell them, they would go to Moses and say: “O enchanter, call on your Lord for us, as He has made the

covenant with you; we shall surely follow the guidance” (43:49); but then, “when We removed from them the chastisement, they broke the pledge” (43:50). When the punishment would again come, they would say: “Our Lord, remove from us the chastisement, for surely we are believers” (44:12). In reply God says: “We shall remove the chastisement a little, but you will surely return to doing evil” (44:15).

Finally, there are those who are so frightened by the prophecy of doom that they turn fully to repentance and seeking of forgiveness from God. Speaking of Jonah’s nation, the Holy Quran says:

“And why was there not a town which believed, so that their belief should have profited them, except the people of Jonah? When they believed, We removed from them the chastisement of disgrace in this world’s life.” (10:98)

Classical commentators make the following observations about this case:

1. “Jonah told them that their time-limit was forty nights. They replied, If we see the omens of destruction we shall believe in you.” (*Tafsir Kashshaf*, p. 599)
2. “Jonah was sent to Nineveh from Mosal. The people of Nineveh denied him and persisted in this [denial]. Then Jonah promised them the punishment to befall in thirty, or some say forty, nights.” (*Baidawi*, vol. iv, p. 186)
3. “Jonah told them, Your time-limit is forty nights.” (*Tafsir Kabir*, vol. v, p. 42)
4. “It is related from Ibn Mas‘ud and others that God sent Jonah to the people of Nineveh in the land of Mosal. They rejected him. He then promised them the coming of punishment within an appointed period, and left them angrily.” (*Fath al-Bari*, vol. vi, p. 325)
5. “After thirty-five days had elapsed, a terrifying, dark, smokey cloud appeared. It enveloped the city and turned surfaces black. So they put on sackcloth and went out into the field along with their women and children . . . and they manifested faith, repentance and humility. So God had mercy on them and removed their punishment from them. This happened on a Friday on the day of ‘Ashura [i.e., 10th Muharram].”

Another example of doom being averted from someone because of their turning to good deeds is recorded in a commentary of the Quran as follows:

“A washer of clothes passed by Jesus and a company of his disciples. Jesus said to them, Attend his funeral at mid-day today. However, he did not die. When the angel Gabriel appeared, Jesus asked him, Did you not give me the news of the death of this washer of clothes? He said, Yes, but afterwards he gave in charity three pieces of bread, and was therefore reprieved.”

(*Ruh al-Bayan*, vol. i, p. 257)

V. Summary

The chief points to bear in mind about prophecies have been noted above. Critics who lack this knowledge stumble here due to their prejudice and hostility. But a study of the Holy Quran, Hadith and classical Muslim literature shows that the whole subject of prophecies is a veritable science the terminology of which is composed of metaphors and allusions. Some measure of ambiguity and uncertainty are necessarily to be found in a prophecy, as has been shown here.

These principles also apply to the prophecies of the Holy Prophet Muhammad relating to the latter days when, according to these presages, the world was to turn away from religion, become a stranger to spiritual matters, and be heedless of Divine commandments. The tribulations of the *Dajjal* were to have been at their height, and at this juncture a man having the characteristics of Jesus was to have been sent to the world for its spiritual regeneration. The Holy Prophet, having received intimation from on High, told Muslims of the dramatic events to happen after the appearance of the *Dajjal* and of the signs of the coming of the Messiah, explaining to them all the details of these happenings. All these prophecies are dominated by metaphorical descriptions for the simple reason that the Holy Prophet was shown these scenes of the future through his spiritual, not physical, senses. The metaphors require interpretation according to the established criteria for prophecies, and cannot be taken literally.

Section 15

Dignity of Jesus

Compiler's Note. This Section refutes at length the wide-spread propaganda against Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad that he used abusive language about Jesus. Hazrat Mirza's writings are quoted to show the high reverence in which he held Jesus as a prophet accepted in Islam. Then, referring to the highly-charged polemical controversies between Christians and Muslims in India in the late nineteenth century, the style of reply which Hazrat Mirza was forced to employ, in order to rebut some nasty Christian literature against the Holy Prophet Muhammad, is explained by quoting from his writings. Finally, the views and practice of other Muslim theologians, both before and after his time, are given, showing that they adopted exactly the same approach as did Hazrat Mirza. Indeed their language and tone of writing was much stronger than his.

15.1: Hazrat Mirza honours Jesus as Prophet of God

One of the allegations advanced against Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is that he "insulted" Jesus Christ and used offensive words about him. The first point which belies this allegation is that, if he had criticised Jesus, how would it have been possible for him to call himself *similar* to Jesus? The very claim of Hazrat Mirza was that, in accordance with the Holy Prophet Muhammad's Saying, "The righteous learned ones of my followers will be like the prophets of Israel", he had come in the *likeness* of Jesus. Had Hazrat Mirza abused Jesus, would it not have reflected on his own person equally! Referring to this very point, he wrote:

"Muhammad Husain, at the time he prepared the ruling that it was permissible to kill me, levelled the false charge against me that I have insulted Jesus, and therefore I deserve to be killed. This is sheer fabrication of Muhammad Husain. Considering that my claim is that I am the Promised Messiah and that I bear resemblance to Jesus, everyone can understand that if, God forbid, I decry Jesus, how can I speak of my resemblance to him, since it would imply that I myself am bad." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, footnote, vol. iii, p. 78)

"In the Mosaic order, the son of Mary was the Promised Messiah, and in the order established after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, I

am the Promised Messiah. So I honour him bearing whose name I have come. That person is a mischief maker and fabricator who says that I do not honour the Messiah, son of Mary.” (*Kishti-i Nuh*, p. 16)

In principle, just these two quotations are sufficient to refute this allegation. However, we give below some further extracts from Hazrat Mirza’s books, showing clearly and conclusively that he did not offer any insult to Jesus (peace be upon him), but that he honoured him and declared belief in him (Jesus) to be a basic requirement of faith.

1. “Since we people believe Jesus, peace be upon him, to be a true prophet of God, and a holy and righteous person, how could our pens write words derogatory to his dignity.” (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, p. 93, under the caption *Most important point for the attention of the Government*)
2. “I have been sent by God also for the purpose that I should believe Jesus, peace be upon him, to be a true, holy and righteous prophet of God, and repose faith in his prophethood. There is not even a word in any book of mine that detracts from his dignity, and anyone who thinks that there is, is mistaken and a liar.” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, Title, p. 2)
3. “By his words and his deeds, Jesus, peace be upon him, showed himself to be humble and helpless, not possessing any attribute of God. He was a weak mortal, though undoubtedly a prophet and true messenger of God.” (*Jang Muqaddas*, p. 50)
4. “I swear by Almighty God that He has clearly revealed to me that Jesus, peace be upon him, was a human being like other human beings. But he was a true prophet, messenger, and chosen one of God.” (*Hujjat al-Islam*, p. 9)
5. “Jesus, peace be upon him, was undoubtedly a prophet beloved of God, possessing the highest qualities. He was righteous, venerable, and one who had found God. But he was not God.” (*Majmu‘a Ishthiharat*, vol. ii, p. 376)
6. “As the Holy Quran has testified to the prophethood of Jesus, peace be upon him, we call Jesus a true prophet and believe him to be so, and we declare the denial of his prophethood to be clear heresy.” (*Zia al-Haq*, p. 41)

7. "And if the objection is that some prophet has been insulted [by me], and that this constitutes heresy, the answer is simply, May the curse of God be upon the liars! We believe in all the prophets and honour them. Some words, which are fitting in their proper context, are not by way of abuse, but by way of supporting the doctrine of God's uniqueness. Actions are judged by intention. People such as you had declared the author of *Taqwiyyat al-Iman* [Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed] to be *kafir* because they found such words in this book which they took as being insulting to prophets and equating them with thieves. His answer, like mine, was also that 'Actions are judged by intention'." (*Anwar al-Islam*, p. 34)
8. "God has also informed me that Jesus was in reality one of His most beloved and righteous servants, and of those who are chosen by God, and of those whom God purifies with His own hand and keeps under the shadow of His light. But he is not God, as has been imagined. He is, however, a person who attained to God, and of those perfect ones who are few." (*Tuhfa Qaisariyya*, pp. 20–21)
9. "I believe that no person who abuses a righteous man like Husain or Jesus can survive even one night, but is overtaken by the Divine threat [contained in Hadith, see *Bukhari* 81:38]: 'Whoever opposes a saint of Mine, I declare war on him'." (*Ijaz Ahmadi*, p. 38)
10. "Jesus, peace be upon him, is not God but only a prophet, and not a whit more. And, by God, I have such true love for him as you do not have. I see him with the light with which you cannot. There is no doubt that he was a beloved, chosen prophet of God, and of those who receive His special grace, and who are purified by Him. But he was neither God nor the son of God." (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, under announcement entitled *Da'wat-i-Haq*, p. 5)
11. "The intensity of love which Christians claim to have for Jesus is also claimed by Muslims, as if his person is a heritage common to both Christians and Muslims, and I have the greatest right [to this claim] because my nature is absorbed in that of Jesus, and his in mine. Heavenly signs are appearing in support of this claim, and everyone has been invited to satisfy himself about this claim through a sign. I have dared to write this much here because the true love and honour I have for Jesus in my heart, and all the things I have heard from his lips [in visions], and the message he gave me,

all these things prompted me to respectfully address her majesty the Queen [Victoria], as an emissary from Jesus, that just as God has made her a guardian over the lives and properties of millions of human beings, nay, she has made laws even for the welfare of animals and birds, how well it would be if your majesty could turn your attention to the covert abuse that is offered to the dignity of Jesus [by Christians asserting that he was 'accursed' for three days]." (*Tuhfa Qaisariyya*, p. 23)

The above writings of Hazrat Mirza make it quite clear that he believed Jesus to be a holy and righteous person and a true prophet of God. In the light of these extracts, how could it be alleged that he insulted Jesus?

15.2: Hazrat Mirza's reply to Christian attacks

If the opponents of the Ahmadiyya Movement were to see the prevailing atmosphere during the time of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, and the vituperative writings of the Christian missionaries, in reply to which he was forced to use strong language, they would not raise this objection against him. At that time, Christian preachers used to write such abusive, offensive and filthy words about the Holy Prophet Muhammad that no decent person could bear to hear or read them. Hazrat Mirza told them repeatedly to give up this foul technique and not to pain the hearts of the Muslims, but the missionaries grew bolder and bolder. The writings of Revs. Imad-ud-Din, Thakar Das, and Fathi Masih deeply wounded the Muslims. And when Rev. Fathi Masih wrote a letter to him reviling the Holy Prophet Muhammad, Hazrat Mirza was forced to give a retaliatory reply based on the Bible. He made it plain that his reply was merely by way of retaliation against Fathi Masih's letter, while he actually believed Jesus to be a true prophet with the high rank given to him by the Holy Quran.

As a Muslim with a sense of honour and self-respect, was it not the duty of Hazrat Mirza, in replying to a foul-mouthed man who had deliberately hurled such abuse to hurt him, that he should not only refute the allegations but retaliate against the slanderer's own beliefs to stop him writing such falsehood and filth in the future. Even in this retaliation, Hazrat Mirza took great care to explain that he was not criticising that prophet Jesus who had been mentioned in the Quran, but was directing his

criticism at that Jesus whom Christians call God and the son of God, *not* the real Jesus but the one who existed only in their imagination. Thus he wrote:

1. "What I have written is a retaliatory reply based on the Gospels. Otherwise, I respect Jesus and believe him to be a righteous, honourable prophet." (*Faryad-i Dard*, footnote, p. 79)
2. "Whatever has come from my pen about Jesus which appears to go against his dignity is by way of a retaliatory reply. In fact, we have quoted the words of the Jews. If the Christian preachers behave in a civilised, God-fearing manner, and not hurl abuse at our Holy Prophet, the Muslims for their part would be twenty times more respectful than they." (*Chashma Masihi*, footnote, p. 2)
3. "Everywhere in our writings [of this sort] the imaginary Messiah of the Christians is meant. The humble servant of God, Jesus son of Mary, who is mentioned in the Quran, is not meant. And this technique we adopted after listening to abuse from Christian preachers over a period of full forty years. . . . It should be remembered that in future those reverends who give up the technique of hurling abuse, and speak with good manners, we too will deal with them respectfully. . . . We were tired of listening to their abuse. If someone swears at a person's father, does not that wronged person have the right to return in kind against his father." (*Nur al-Quran*, Part II, p. 2)
4. "I give you notice by this letter that if you again use such foul language and utter filthy slander in the honour of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, I will retaliate against your imaginary and fake god. O fool! Do you accuse the Holy Prophet of adultery in your letter, and call him evil and wicked, and hurt our heart. We do not turn to any court, nor will we do so, but warn you for the future to refrain from such filth. Fear God, and do not abuse the Messiah, for certainly what you will say about the Holy Prophet Muhammad will be applied to your imaginary Messiah. However, we believe the true Messiah to be holy, venerable and pure. He claimed neither to be God nor the son of God, and gave the news of the advent of the Holy Prophet Muhammad and believed in him." (*Nur al-Quran*, Part II, p. 13)

5. "I have not said anything disrespectful about Jesus. This is all a fabrication of the opponents. However, as there has not been a Messiah in reality who claimed to be God, called the coming Last of the Prophets a liar, and branded Moses as a thief, I did say about him hypothetically that a Messiah who were to say such things could not be righteous. But our Messiah, the son of Mary, who called himself a servant and messenger of God, and testified to the Holy Prophet, we believe in him." (*Tiryaq al-Qulub*, footnote, p. 77)
6. "If the Christian preachers change their policy even now, and resolve not to hurl abuse at our Holy Prophet in future, we too will resolve to use mild language in our replies. Otherwise, whatever they say, they will hear the answer to that." (*Anjam Atham*, footnote on footnote, Supplement, p. 8)
7. "Our contention is with that Jesus who claims to be God, not with that chosen Prophet of God mentioned along with the details concerning him in the Holy Quran." (*Majmu'a Ishtharat*, vol. iii, p. 332)
8. "It should be remembered that this view of ours is about that Jesus who claimed to be God, and called the former prophets as thieves, and said nothing about the Last of the Prophets except that only false prophets would come after him [i.e. Jesus]. Such a Jesus is not mentioned anywhere in the Quran." (*Anjam Atham*, p. 13)
9. "The readers should note that we had to speak in the same manner about the Christian religion as that which they use towards us. Christians in reality do not believe in our 'Isa [Jesus], peace be upon him, who called himself only a servant and a prophet, believed the former prophets to be righteous, believed in the Prophet to come, the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and had prophesied about him. They believe in a man called Yasu who is not mentioned in the Holy Quran, who, they believe, claimed to be God and used to refer to the former prophets as thieves. They also say that this man belied our Holy Prophet Muhammad, and prophesied that all claimants coming after him would be liars. . . . The readers should remember not to take our strong words as applying to 'Isa [Muslim name for Jesus], but they have been written with regard to Yasu, not a trace of whom is to be found in the Quran or Hadith." (*Arya*

Dharm, Title page, last, under caption *For the attention of the Readers*)

10. "Since Rev. Fathi Masih has sent us an extremely filthy letter, in which he has accused our Holy Prophet Muhammad of adultery, and besides this, has used many words by way of abuse and vituperation, it was, therefore, advisable to publish a reply to his letter; hence this booklet has been written. It is to be hoped that Christian preachers will read it carefully and not be pained by its words, because it is all a consequence of the harsh language and exceedingly filthy abuse by Mr Fathi Masih. Nonetheless, we take account of the holy dignity of the Messiah, peace be upon him, and, in return for Fathi Masih's strong words, an imaginary Messiah has been mentioned. Even this is out of dire necessity because this fool has heaped a great deal of abuse upon the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and has hurt our feelings." (*Nur al-Quran*, Part II, p. 3)
11. "If God were to grant you good manners, we would explain things to you with kindness and mercy, as one does to children, and satisfy you on all scores with love and courtesy. But you are falling upon us like wild beasts, and are using harsh words, not out of anger or emotion, but to cause hurt. If you are prepared to employ good morals and to abandon this brute-like behaviour, we too are ready to show love, courtesy and respect." (*Maktubat Ahmadiyya*, Vol. iii, p. 33)
12. "There remains the matter of using strong words occasionally in reply to Christians. It is very simple: when our sentiments are very badly hurt by the undeserved attacks of all kinds upon the Holy Prophet Muhammad, then as a warning only, retaliatory replies are given based on their acknowledged scriptures. These people should see if they can show any point we have made about Jesus by way of retaliation which is not from the Gospels. We certainly cannot remain silent on hearing insults heaped upon the Holy Prophet Muhammad. This type of reply is to be found in the Holy Quran itself, as for instance, 'Are the males for you, and for Him the females' [53:21], and 'Now ask them whether thy Lord has daughters and they have sons' [37:149]. Those people used to call the angels daughters of God. God says, Do you have sons and I have daughters? In short, giving retaliatory replies is a technique of debate. Otherwise, we believe Jesus to be a messenger of God and

a chosen, venerable human being.” (*Ruhani Khaza'in*, No. 2, vol. ix, pp. 479–480)

13. “Sometimes retaliatory replies have to be given, as the occasion may demand. When feelings are badly hurt, then in order to warn Christians that if this is what constitutes criticism, we too can give like replies, these points are presented out of their own scriptures. This type of reply is also to be found frequently in the Holy Quran. Our replies are only intended to warn the Christian preachers, otherwise we believe Jesus to be a messenger and chosen one of God.” (*ibid.*, pp. 470–471)
14. “I am accused of having insulted Jesus, peace be upon him, and Imam Husain, whereas I believe them to be righteous and holy. It is objected that I speak disrespectfully of Jesus and abuse him, whereas I believe him to be a great prophet and righteous servant of God.” (*ibid.*, p. 442)
15. “If it had been true that Jesus was indeed the son of God, or God, I would have been the first to worship him. I would have preached his divinity throughout the land, and even though I had to bear persecution or face death and be cut to pieces in his cause, I would not have refrained from calling people to him. But, O dear ones, may God have mercy on you and open your eyes, Jesus is not God, but only a prophet, not a whit more. And, by God, I have such true love for him as you do not have. I see him with the light with which you cannot. There is no doubt that he was a beloved, chosen prophet of God, and of those who receive His special grace, and who are purified by Him. But he was neither God nor the son of God.” (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. iii, p. 574)
16. “I inform you that actually, in the case of Jesus, the Christians and the Jews went to two opposite extremes. The Christians exaggerated his position so much that a helpless human being, who was born of a woman like ordinary mortals, was considered to be God. Then they brought him down so low as to make him accursed and enter hell [for three days]. The Jews denigrated him so much as to dub him — God forbid — as illegitimate, which some English authors have accepted, and put the entire blame on Mary. But the Holy Quran came to correct both these peoples. It told the Christians that Jesus was a prophet of God, not God, and he was not

accused but exalted spiritually. It told the Jews that he was not illegitimate, but rather that Mary was a righteous woman who became pregnant through 'guarding her chastity'. This going to opposite extremes has also happened in this age and God has sent me to restore his honour. Muslims, through ignorance, make the mistake of giving him higher than human attributes, and are unaware of the fact of his death. Christians regard him as crucified, and therefore accused. The time has now arrived to remove all these allegations regarding Jesus, which were removed once before by the Holy Prophet Muhammad. I hope you will give full consideration to these points." (*Ruhani Khaza'in*, No. 2, vol. iii, pp.110–111)

The references given above show the great honour in which Hazrat Mirza held Jesus, believing him to be a prophet and messenger of God. As to the writings to which objections are raised, they were retaliatory replies to Christian vituperation against the Holy Prophet Muhammad. Hazrat Mirza made it plain that, for the purpose of these rejoinders, the Jesus mentioned in the Holy Quran and the Jesus of the Christian conception were different. Not to distinguish between the actual and the imaginary Messiah, when Hazrat Mirza has clearly differentiated between the two, is contrary to honesty and fairness.

It is this fact, due to not understanding which, it is alleged in order to incense the masses that Hazrat Mirza insulted Jesus and used offensive words about him. This technique of giving retaliatory replies was not invented by Hazrat Mirza, but, in fact, before him as well as after him many Muslim theologians and writers of the *Ahl as-Sunna* and *Ahl al-Hadith* adopted the same method against Christian abusive literature.

15.3: Muslim Ulama criticise Jesus of the Gospels

1. Maulavi Rahmat-ullah 'Mahajar Makki':

- i. "Since Christian preachers are using rude words about the Holy Prophet Muhammad, the Holy Quran and the Hadith, in speech as well as writing, and are not afraid of the consequences in the Hereafter, and give deceitful arguments, we have been compelled to give them retaliatory replies in the same coin and to quote stories from their scriptures by way of example. But it is not a part of my

beliefs to criticise and scold any prophet, nor is it my aim to ridicule their religious injunctions. I reject such ideas a thousand times. It is a part of our faith to believe in the true messengers of God.”
(*Izalat-ul-Auham*, Preface, p. 5)

- ii. “It appears from these passages [of the Gospels] that Jesus’ opponents believed him to be voracious and to like drinking. A woman used to kiss his feet, rub fragrance on them . . . and whenever he used to come, she would carry on kissing his feet and not stop. Seeing this the Pharisees and others became disgusted with him. Because of these actions of hers, he forgave this loose woman her sins. Many women were friendly with him. Hence a critic could say that, as he was a handsome young man, women used to keep company with him out of love, and serve him with their possessions. His love for many of them was a known fact, and owing to his drinking he used to serve their needs. He had no need to marry, just as there are thousands of recluses sitting by the rivers Ganges and Jumna who, adopting this fashion, have no need to marry.”
(*ibid.*, p. 368)

2. Maulavi Aal Hasan:

- i. “May God keep one away from abusing and belying the prophets, but I write this only to answer the allegations of Christian preachers.”
(*Istiftar*, p. 419)
- ii. “The Christian preachers believe that God entered Mary’s womb as a foetus, and stayed in the menstrual discharge for many months. He then developed into a lump of flesh, and his bones grew. After this, he emerged from the outlet. He used to pass stools and water, till having grown up he became a disciple of John the Baptist. At last he spent three days in hell as an accursed one.”
(*ibid.*, p. 350)
- iii. “From the second and third discourses of the eighth chapter of the third Gospel, it appears that many harlots used to help him with their possessions. So if the Jews, out of wickedness and malice, allege that Jesus was a handsome young man with whom harlots kept company for immoral purposes, and this was why he did not marry, but used to pretend that he had no inclination towards women, what answer can be given?”
(*ibid.*, p. 391)

- iv. “Why can Mary’s son be God, but Kosliya’s son, i.e. Ramchandra, and Deoki’s son, i.e. Kahniya, not be God, whom the Hindus believe to be God as you consider Jesus to be.”
(*Istiftar*, footnote to *Izalat-ul-Auham*, p. 21)

3. Shah Abdul Aziz

He was a son of Shah Wali-ullah and a scholarly theologian in his own right. His reply to a Christian is recorded as follows:

“Once a Christian preacher came to the Shah and asked, Is your prophet the beloved of God. He said, Yes. The Christian said, Why did he not then entreat God to save Imam Husain, or was his plea not heard! The Shah replied, The Prophet did indeed entreat God, but he received the reply: Your grandson has been unjustly martyred by your people, but at this moment I am remembering the crucifixion of My own son Jesus.”

(*Raud Kausar*, Urdu history of Islam in the Indian subcontinent, by Shaikh Ikram, p. 590)

4. Maulavi Muhammad Qasim Nanotavi

He was the founder of the Deoband School. He wrote:

“Christians who claim to love Jesus so much do not in reality love him because their love is based on his being considered to be the son of God. But this is only in their imagination, and they worship a fictitious image of him and that is what they love. God has kept Jesus away from being their mediator.”

(*Hadyat al-Shi’ah*, p. 244)

5. Maulavi Sana-ullah of Amritsar

This opponent of the Ahmadiyya Movement edited the newspaper *Ahl-i Hadith* which carried the following comments:

- i. “Making a thing like wine which is the root of all evil, then serving it at a wedding feast, and participating in that feast of drinking people along with his mother, is recorded in the Gospel of John, while the Old Testament books had strictly prohibited wine.”
(*Ahl-i Hadith*, 3 March 1939)
- ii. “The Messiah by his own admission was not a good person. . . . The Gospel shows that he got strange women to rub fragrance on him — Matthew 26:6, Mark 14:3, John 12:6.”
(*ibid.*, p. 9)

- iii. “When the Messiah, by insulting his mother and treating her contemptuously, went against the emphatic commandments of the previous religious law as well as his own teachings, what doubt could possibly remain in his not being sinless. . . . The Gospels also show that he used harsh and strong language in respect of the Jewish elders, see *Matthew 23*.”
(*ibid.*, p. 9)

6. Sana-ullah’s ‘Tafsir Sanaee’

In his Urdu commentary of the Quran, Maulavi Sana-ullah wrote:

“To liken the Torah and the Gospels to . . . is on account of their present condition, containing stories such as Lot getting drunk and committing incest with his daughters — *Genesis ch. 9* — and the Messiah showing the miracle of increasing the amount of wine at a feast when it ran out — *John ch. 2*. Otherwise, the actual Torah and Gospel contained light, guidance and mercy.”
(*Tafsir Sanaee*, vol. ii, p. 17)

7. Maulana Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi:

“The fact is that these people [the Christians] do not believe in the historical Messiah who actually arose, but in their minds they have created an imaginary Messiah whom they have made God.”
(*Tafhim al-Quran*, vol. i, p. 491)

8. Maulavi Ahmad Din Gakharwi:

- i. “Readers should note that we believe Jesus to be a true prophet, and honour him like other messengers of God. We believe it to be clear heresy to abuse him or any other prophet. Hence the example of the Messiah which we shall set forth as a retaliatory reply to objections [against Islam] must not be taken to be our belief. For, our accusatory reply will be based on the Gospel as it is today.”
(*Taqdees Sayyid al-Abrar an Muta’an al-zina*, p. 4)
- ii. “It is requested of the Christian preachers that they should, in future, refrain from hurling abuse at the Founder of Islam, lest their own religion be exposed. One’s honour lies in one’s own hands.”
(*ibid.*, p. 47)

9. Hafiz Qamar-ud-Din

He was the spiritual leader at Sayyal Sharif, Punjab. He wrote:

“A boy from amongst them was called Perez, who was an ancestor of David, Solomon and Jesus. This Tamar [mother of Perez, called harlot in Genesis Ch. 38] was an ancestor of the Israelite prophets and Jesus.”

(Book *Isaee Mazhab*, pp. 4–5, published by Dar al-Tabligh, Sayyid Sharif)

10. Maulavi Abul Mahmud:

“Three female ancestors of Jesus were adulteresses and immoral women, and four male ancestors were also of bad character. . . . What can remain of the character and position of a man who comes after so many adulterers and adulteresses.”

(*Islam Aur Isaeeat*, p. 73)

11. Maulavi Abdul Haqq Haqqani

In his commentary of the Quran, he wrote:

“Young women used to accompany Jesus and his disciples, making the Jews suspicious.”

(*Tafsir Haqqani*, vol. i, Preface, p. 69)

When people objected to the above words, Maulavi Abdul Haqq Haqqani added the following footnote at this point:

“A covert Christian who, under the false names of Muhammad Salih and Muhammad Sadiq, makes false prophecies in order to ridicule Islam, has made the allegation on the above words, in order to discredit this writer, that I call Jesus an adulterer. Anyone who has even a slight acquaintance with Urdu writing can immediately belie this secret Christian and say that this is a false allegation.”

(*ibid.*, footnote, book published by *Kutub Khana Naeemiyya* of Deoband)

12. Mr Aziz, B.A., editor, ‘Madina’:

“The Messiah in whom one is invited to believe [in the Holy Quran] does not bear even a distant relation to the Messiah portrayed in the Gospels, about whom both Christians and Jews have made the worst type of allegations.”

(*Madina*, 21 December 1932)

13. Maulavi Muhammad Usman Farqleet

- i. In *Al-Jami'at*, the official organ of the *Jami'at al-'Ulama Hind* (Council of the Ulama of India), he wrote:
 "The aim of the above discussion is to show that the Christians are trying to prove the superiority of the crucified Messiah over the Holy Prophet Muhammad from the Quran. On the other hand, the Quran has neither mentioned nor described any superiority of the crucified Messiah, for the Christians have mistakenly thought the crucified man to be the Messiah. However, the Quran does speak of the Messiah who was not crucified. Hence every intelligent and fair-minded person can see that, as there is no mention of the crucified Messiah in the Quran, how can Christians prove his superiority from the Holy Quran."

(Newspaper *Al-Jami'at*, 20 November 1932)

- ii. In a debate with the Christian missionary Ahmad Masih, Maulavi Muhammad Usman Farqleet told him:

"There are three Messiahs: the Quranic Messiah, the Gospel Messiah and the *Dajjal* Messiah [Anti-Christ]. Why do you give arguments to show the excellences of the Quranic Messiah? Give proofs to show the excellences of your Gospel Messiah. The Quranic Messiah is one person, and the Gospel Messiah is someone else."

At this, Rev. Ahmad Masih replied:

"When Mirza Ghulam Ahmad distinguishes between the Quranic and the Gospel Messiah, he is declared by you people to be a *kafir*, but when you say the same thing, you are declared a hero of Islam. Why should you not be declared *kafir* for copying Mirza sahib?"

(*Paigham Sulh*, 3 March 1933, p. 5)

Do the critics still have doubts regarding the method employed by Hazrat Mirza? If they consider it right to accuse him of insulting Jesus, and therefore to pronounce all sorts of verdicts against him, they had better first exclude from Islam their own recognised leaders who, like Hazrat Mirza, distinguished between the Quranic and the Gospel Messiah, and referred to the latter as the "crucified Messiah", and accepted all the worst allegations imputed against him.

It may be noted that Hazrat Mirza was the man who wrote innumerable articles on the sinlessness of the prophets and declared all prophets to be free of sin (while many commentaries of the Quran had attributed the commission of sins to many prophets, for example, David).

Section 16

Birth of Jesus

Compiler's Note. This issue had to be dealt with in our evidence since the defendants had pleaded that Lahore Ahmadis are *kafir* because they reject the virgin birth of Jesus, and believe that he was conceived by Mary in wedlock through her husband. This Section shows that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad himself believed in the virgin birth, as do the defendants, and therefore this argument cannot be used against him. As regards the Lahore Ahmadiyya view, it must be pointed out that belief in the virgin birth of Jesus is by no means a fundamental of the Islamic faith, nor is it conclusively proven from the Holy Quran. It is shown here that Hazrat Mirza gave his followers freedom to deduce from the Quran that Jesus had a father. He told enquirers that his own belief on this issue was purely personal, based on following the majority Muslim view, rather than on any specific Divine guidance.

The Section then gives detailed arguments from the Quran and Hadith to show the grounds for believing that Jesus had a father. It goes on to quote the views of many Muslim scholars who either did not accept the virgin birth, or considered it permissible in Islam to reject this belief. Then the opinions held by prominent followers of Hazrat Mirza are given, also showing that it is by no means essential to believe in the virgin birth. At the end, the Lahore Ahmadiyya position is set out as given by Maulana Muhammad Ali: Whichever view of the birth of Jesus a person takes, it does not affect his faith or practice of Islam in any way.

16.1: Views of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad

From the very beginning, Muslims have differed on the issue of the birth of Jesus. Some believe that he was born without the agency of a father, while others hold that he did have a father. This is not an issue of *faith* but an issue of history. Accepting Jesus as a prophet is what is required of a Muslim in terms of faith.

1. As regards our Imam, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, he personally believed that Jesus was born without the agency of a father. He wrote:

- i. "One of the doctrines we hold is that Jesus Christ and John the Baptist were both born miraculously. . . . And the secret in creating Jesus and John in this manner was the manifestation of a great sign. . . . And the first thing He [God] did to bring this about was the

creation of Jesus without a father through the manifestation of Divine power only.” (*Mawahib ar-Rahman*, pp. 70–72)

- ii. “The ground on which this is based is his [Jesus Christ’s] creation without the agency of a human father, and the detail of this is that a certain section of the Jews, i.e. the Sadducees, were deniers of the Resurrection, so God informed them through some of His prophets that a son from among their community would be born without a father, and this would be a sign of the truth of Resurrection.” (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 90)
- iii. “The [Arya Samajist] lecturer also objected to Mary bearing a child by the Holy Spirit and to Jesus being born from Mary alone. The reply is that this was done by the same God who, according to the Arya Samaj teachings, creates millions of people in the beginning of every new creation, just as vegetables grow out of the earth. If, according to the Vedic teachings, God has created the world millions of times, nay times without number, in this manner, and there was no need that men and women should unite together in order that a child should be born, where is the harm if Jesus Christ was born similarly?” (*Chashma Ma’rifat*, p. 217)

2. Exactly the same view was advanced by Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi in his book *Ta’weel al-Ahadith*, written in the eighteenth century.

3. When ‘Master’ Imam-ud-Din of Gujrat was about to write his book *Al-Tanqih fi wilada-tul-Masih*, in which he proved Jesus to have a father, he wrote letters to various Muslim theologians including Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, asking for their opinion on this issue. By order of Hazrat Mirza, the following reply was sent:

“In reply to your post-card of 19 September 1894, it is stated that at the present time the Promised Messiah is engaged on such important religious matters that he cannot devote his attention elsewhere. He says that if the Almighty God were to reveal something to him about this, you would certainly be informed. One’s concentration does not work under one’s own direction. When God wishes to reveal something in the interest of mankind, He directs His servant’s attention towards that point.

“Yours humbly, Abdul Karim, Qadian, 23 September 1894.”

Those who come from God do not say or do anything without the command of God. Hence Hazrat Mirza replied that God had not disclosed

anything to him about the birth of Jesus. If God were to reveal something, he would let him know.

4. Hazrat Mirza was also a great research scholar. Apart from expressing his personal beliefs on this point, he also wrote about the Law of Creation in a general context as follows:

- i. "Man originally was not created from sperm, but one being was created from another. After that, the second law took effect, by which human beings are created from sperm." (*Chashma Ma'rifa*, p. 215)
- ii. "Every human being is born of a male and a female. If you follow this chain to its origin, then mankind will prove to have descended from Adam and his wife." (10 June 1903)
- iii. "Every sensible person must admit that the first era was a period of pure Divine creation, when the general law prevailing was that everything was accomplished without means. . . . To draw a parallel between that era and the circumstances of the present times is not correct; for instance, no child is now born without a mother and a father. If, however, man's creation in the beginning had depended upon the pre-existence of parents, how would the world have come into being?" (*Barahin Ahmadiyya*, Part IV, p. 335)

5. When refuting certain exaggerated beliefs about Jesus, Hazrat Mirza made the following points for the purposes of argument:

- i. "Jesus worked with his father Joseph for 22 years as a carpenter." (*Izala Auham*, footnote, p. 303)
- ii. "One should not at all be surprised that Jesus, like his paternal grandfather Solomon, may have shown this miracle of wisdom to the opponents of the time." (*ibid.*, p. 304)
- iii. "The Christians cannot stand their ground against Islam because they have taken as god a man who had a father, four brothers and two sisters, and was constantly persecuted by the Jews." (*Ruhani Khaza'in*, No. 2, vol. x, p. 53)

6. As the question of the birth of Jesus is not decided conclusively in the Holy Quran, but ambiguously, when people read this scripture some draw one conclusion and some take the opposite view. Hazrat Mirza undoubtedly held the belief personally that Jesus was born without the agency of a father, but he gave his followers freedom in interpreting the

Quran. This is why they had the best understanding of the Holy Book. As a result of this freedom, some even differed with Hazrat Mirza himself on some points. In his life-time, some of his followers held the belief that Jesus had a father (for instance, his right-hand man and successor Hazrat Maulana Nur-ud-Din, for whose views see 16.4). Hazrat Mirza always showed tolerance and broadmindedness, as shown by the following recorded incident:

“Once Hazrat Mirza asked Shaikh Qamar-ud-Din of Jhelum to show him the verses of the Quran from which the Shaikh had concluded that Jesus had a father. At first, the Shaikh sahib, out of respect for Hazrat Mirza, remained silent. But upon Hazrat Mirza repeating the question, he mentioned the arguments from the Quran that he knew. Hearing the arguments, Hazrat Mirza said: *‘Your arguments are certainly strong, but until God gives me to understand this point, I will follow the views of the majority of Muslims’*. . . . Hazrat Mirza said to Hakim Fazal Din [who had complained about Shaikh sahib’s belief]: *‘How can you declare as heretic someone who bases his arguments on the Quran?’*” (*Mujaddid Azam, Life of Hazrat Mirza, vol. ii, p. 1342*)

16.2: Arguments from Holy Quran and Hadith

I. LAW OF CREATION

One law of creation by God relates to the beginning when nothing existed. This law, by which God brought things into being originally, is known in the terminology of the Holy Quran as the law of *Ibda’* (or *origination*). It is a manifestation of His Divine power, and only He knows how the creation was originated in the beginning. After that, the second means of creation began, by which God created everything from a pair. This second law of creation is termed the law of *I’ada* (*reproduction* or *repetition*) or the law of *Zauj* (pairing). These laws have been referred to in the Holy Quran as follows.

1. The Laws of Origination and Reproduction

- i. “Surely He originates the creation and reproduces it.” (The Holy Quran, 85:13)

- ii. "God originates the creation, then reproduces it, then to Him will you be returned." (30:11)

2. The Law of *Zauj* or Pairs

- i. "Glory be to Him Who created all the pairs, of what the earth grows, and of their own selves, and of that which they do not know." (36:36)
- ii. "He has created for you pairs from amongst yourselves, and pairs from amongst cattle. Thus does He cause you to spread." (42:11)
- iii. "And We have created you as pairs." (78:8)

The male-female pairs in man and animals cause the species to propagate.

3. The Divine Law of Human Birth

- i. "Then [after the first creation] He made his progeny from an extract of insignificant water [i.e. sperm]." (32:8)
- ii. "Surely We have created man from sperm mixed [with ovum]." (76:2)
- iii. "O people! Surely We have created you from a male and female." (49:13)
- iv. "Let man see what he has been created from. He is created of water pouring forth, coming from between the back and the ribs." (86:5-7)
- v. "Surely He has created the pairs, the male and the female, from the sperm when it is cast." (53:45,46)

This is the law relating to the creation or birth of a human being as set forth by God in the Holy Quran. No human child can be born contrary to this law of pairs.

4. No Change in Divine Laws

"And you will not find any change in the laws of God." (33:62; 35:43)

Neither Jesus nor anyone else is outside this law of God, since the Holy Quran considers Jesus to be a mortal messenger. This is the first ground for holding that the birth of Jesus in fact took place under the law of pairs, as is the case with other human beings, and he was not born without a father. Let alone the question of a human individual being born without a

mother or father, if it is supposed for the sake of argument that God could have a son, even that could not happen without the law of pairs, as the Holy Quran says: “How could God have a son when He has no consort” (6:101).

As God has clearly laid down in the Holy Quran His law of creation by pairs, unless He equally clearly states that He created Jesus, or some other individual, in contradiction to this law in a novel manner, one must accept that the means by which God brought about his birth were all according to the law of pairs. The issue here is *not* the unlimited power of God, as to whether He *can* create a human being without a father, for He has the power to create a human being even without a single parent. The question is only whether it can be proved from the Holy Quran and authentic Traditions of the Holy Prophet Muhammad that God caused Jesus to be born without a father. When God Himself explains a law of creation through pairs, then unless He also says that He demonstrated His power by going against that law in a specific case, we cannot take any event as infringing that law. Our community does not give any importance to this particular issue (of the birth of Jesus); nonetheless, it is the duty of every Muslim to make known his sincerely and honestly drawn conclusions from the Holy Quran. Believing Jesus to have had a father or to have been born of a virgin does not affect our religious beliefs at all, because the issue of Jesus' birth has no place in the fundamentals of the Islamic faith.

As with other prophets, the prophethood of Jesus too must be acknowledged by a Muslim. The details of how and where he was born, where he spent his life, and where he died, are not constituents of faith. These are historical questions, knowledge of which can be acquired by research. In fact, modern research about Jesus has progressed so much that matters previously unknown are no longer secrets. Muslims and Christians have written hundreds of books on these topics.

II. BIRTH OF JESUS IN QURAN AND HADITH

1. Birth of Jesus in the Holy Quran

The first chapter of the Holy Quran to deal with the birth of Jesus is *The Family of Amran*, chapter 3 of the Holy Book. At the outset (3:6) this chapter teaches Muslims the principle that some verses of the Holy Quran are “decisive” or “basic”, and some others are “allegorical”, “figurative”, or not clear-cut, and that the latter type of verse should be interpreted according to the definite, unambiguous teachings of the former type of

verse.

At the beginning of the chapter, God has mentioned the spiritual blessings of the Holy Prophet Muhammad, that only those who follow the Holy Prophet shall be loved by God. In support of this claim, the example of Mary, the mother of Jesus, is cited to show how in former times an Israelite woman attained nearness to God by following a prophet. Then the Holy Quran mentions the spiritual favours Mary received due to her following of her prophet.

In the history of Mary recorded here, the Holy Quran has given three main points of guidance to Muslims. Firstly, the Holy Prophet Muhammad is commanded to announce to people: "If you love God then follow me. God will love you and forgive you your sins" (3:31). It is conveyed in this verse that those who follow the Holy Prophet shall become the lovers and the beloved of God. To prove this assertion, the Quran adds that if you study the histories of the great prophets, such as Noah, Abraham and Moses, you find that amongst their followers there arose many men and women who were loved by God, who were spoken to by Him and guided by Him at every step. The example given is that of Mary. The verses point to her purity of character and devotion to God, even during her childhood and youth. Due to her piety and righteousness, angels used to descend upon her and guide her by disclosing news of the future. The Muslims are told that if they too want angels to descend upon them, and God to speak to them and guide them at every step, like Mary, they should become pure and devoted to worship. And if they follow the Holy Prophet Muhammad perfectly, God would give them the spiritual blessings He bestowed upon Mary. This is one reason for the Quran to give the history of Mary at this point.

Secondly, when God grants His revelation and knowledge of the future to His righteous servants, those people who are worldly-minded and have gone astray from Divine guidance consider these revelations of the holy ones to be based on the recipient's own desires and make many false accusations against the righteous servants of God, as the Jews did against a lady as holy and pure as Mary. When God gave Mary, before her marriage, the news of the birth to her of a great son, this revelation which gave her comfort, and increased her faith, was used by the Jews to level all sorts of false allegations against her. The Holy Quran refuted every one of these charges and not only proved her to be pious, godly and pure, but instituted among the Muslims an honour and title named after her, so that whoever

would follow the Holy Prophet Muhammad perfectly and purify his character, in God's sight he would be the like of Mary or the like of the son of Mary. Thus did the Holy Quran not only clear Mary of the Jews' allegations against her, but bestowed upon her a high regard in the religion of Islam. Many righteous saints have there been amongst the Muslims who received from God the title 'Mary' and styled themselves as 'Mary' or the 'son of Mary'.

2. Prophets' Ancestors in the Holy Quran

The Holy Quran has not just left the matter at explaining the law of procreation through a *pair* of parents, but where it mentions the prophets collectively, it states that they all had ancestors (on the father's side). We give below a translation of the Urdu rendering of verses 6:83–87 of the Holy Quran by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, a very famous Indian Muslim scholar and writer of this century:

“And (look), this was Our argument which We gave to Abraham against his people. . . . And We gave to Abraham, Isaac and (Isaac's son) Jacob. We guided them all to the right way, and had guided Noah before Abraham. And from the descendants of Abraham, We guided David, Solomon, Job, Joseph, Moses and Aaron. Thus do We reward the doers of good (for their good). And to Zacharias, John the Baptist, Jesus and Ilyas — all of these were of the righteous. And also to Ishmael, Elisha, Jonah and Lot — We graced them over the people of the world. And of *their fathers* and descendants and brothers, many did We guide aright. We elevated them and guided them to the right path.”
(*Tarjuman al-Quran*, vol. i, 1st ed., pp. 433–434)

In the above verses, amongst the prophets whose ancestors are mentioned is included Jesus as having ancestors in the same manner as the other prophets. Had Jesus been born without a father, he could not have been mentioned amongst the prophets whose ancestors are referred to.

3. Holy Prophet Muhammad's explanation

After the Holy Quran, the next authority is the Holy Prophet Muhammad, to whom this Book was revealed, and who had the best understanding of its meanings. The whole world can err in interpreting a particular point of the Holy Quran, but the Holy Prophet cannot. He is the premier commentator of the Holy Quran, and an explanation given by him has precedence over every other person's explanation. So the verdict that the Holy Prophet gave on the birth of Jesus, during his discussion with the

visiting Christian delegation from Najran, must be considered by a Muslim to be the most correct in this matter. This discussion is recorded as follows:

“The commentators of the Holy Quran say that the delegation [of Christians] from Najran came to the Holy Prophet. It consisted of sixty mounted men, of whom fourteen were their prominent men. One of them was called al-Aqib, who was their leader and whose real name was Abdul Masih. . . . A third was Abu Haritha ibn Alqamah, who was their religious head. He was in charge of their schools, and was the most respected of them. He had mastered all their literature, thus acquiring a deep knowledge of their faith. The Roman [Byzantine] emperors held him in high honour and had built churches in his name. These people came for an audience with the Holy Prophet. . . .

“After their prayers, their leaders began talks with the Holy Prophet. The Holy Prophet asked them to adopt Islam. They replied that they were already following Islam. He told them that they were wrong because they believed God to have a son, and that their worship of the cross and eating the flesh of swine was contrary to Islam. The Christian leaders replied that if Jesus was not the son of God, then who was his father? Thus they continued to debate with the Holy Prophet about Jesus. Eventually, the Holy Prophet asked them: ‘Do you not know that there is no son but he bears resemblance to his father?’ They replied, ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Do you not know that our Lord maintains everything, guards and sustains it?’ They replied, ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Do you not know that Jesus was conceived by a woman as women conceive, and she gave birth to him as women give birth, and fed him as children are fed? And he used to eat food, drink water, and answer the call of nature?’ They replied, ‘Yes.’ He said: ‘Then how can your claim be true.’ They could not answer and became silent.”

(*Asbab Nuzul al-Quran* by Allama Abul Hasan Ali Neshapuri, 2nd edition, p. 53)

Therefore, in reply to the Christians’ questions as to who was Jesus’ father, the Holy Prophet Muhammad silenced them and rendered them speechless by expressing the view (as it appears to us) that Jesus had a father. Had the Holy Prophet believed that Jesus was born of a virgin, he could not have given this reply. This discussion between the Holy Prophet

Muhammad and the Christian delegation from Najran is recorded in almost all standard classical commentaries of the Holy Quran such as *Tafsir Ibn Jarir*, *Tafsir Kabir*, etc.

4. Mary's marriage in the Holy Quran

After all this proof, there was no need to mention specifically events such as Mary's marriage, but to provide a conclusive argument to the people of the world, the Holy Quran has also mentioned this. It tells us that before Mary's birth her mother had dedicated the child in the womb to Divine service in the Temple. When Mary was born, her mother prayed to God thus:

"I have named her Mary, and I seek protection in Thee for her and her offspring from the devil." (The Quran, 3:36)

From this prayer it appears that, despite the fact that she devoted Mary to the Temple, it was not her intention that her daughter should remain a spinster for life. Rather, she knew that on growing up Mary would marry and have children. So she prayed not only for Mary but also for her offspring. When Mary reached the age of training, her mother gave her in the charge of Zacharias at the Temple. Under him she received the best spiritual upbringing, and upon reaching youth, prayers were enjoined upon her. As the Quran records:

"O Mary! obey thy Lord, and prostrate and bow down with those who bow down." (3:43)

After this, the Holy Quran mentions that guardianship about which there arose a dispute. The Quran is a very orderly Book, and here all the events are narrated in chronological sequence. First Mary's birth is mentioned, then her being entrusted to the charge of Zacharias, then her righteousness, purity and saintliness, and then the command to her to obey God and keep up prayer. These events lead up to her reaching adulthood. Then, that guardianship is mentioned which means entering into matrimony. It was necessary to deal with the question of marriage when a girl reached adulthood, but as she had been devoted to the Temple, neither they, nor her parents could propose a match. As was customary, it was decided by casting lots as to who should take charge of her as his wife. Such a decision was believed to be the Divine verdict. And as Mary was well-known for her piety and noble character, it was natural that many should contend to have her as wife.

While all these matters were being discussed, it was natural that, hearing about them, all sorts of worries should arise in Mary's mind. So God set her mind at rest through His angels and gave her the happy news of a great son. She expressed astonishment at this prophecy in the words:

"How can I have a son when no man has touched me, nor have I been unchaste." (19:20)

As she was not married at the time, or because there were hindrances in her way as one dedicated to the Temple, or because the sudden news of a son before marriage would be astonishing for a virgin, Mary expressed surprise as to how this would happen. The angel replied: "God says, It shall be so," i.e. it would be according to the natural law of mating that is being referred to. In other words, all the obstacles will be removed and she would be married, and the child would be born in the chaste manner. This same point has been mentioned twice elsewhere in the Holy Quran:

- i. "And Mary, daughter of Amran, who guarded her chastity [by *marriage* — *ahsanat*]." (66:12)
- ii. "And she who guarded her chastity [by *marriage* — *ahsanat*]." (21:91)

In these verses, Mary's marriage is mentioned, for the Arabic word *ahsanat* is used to mean *marry*. In the Holy Quran the words *muhsanat*, *muhsineen*, and *tahassun-an* (all from the root *h-s-n*) mean, respectively, *married women*, *men who enter into marriage with women*, and *to marry*. In the light of this, the words *ahsanat farja-ha* occurring in the above two verses mean that Mary guarded her chastity by marriage.

It is incorrect to assert that these words mean that Mary guarded her chastity by remaining a virgin. Muhammad Asad, a distinguished present-day Muslim scholar, in his recently published English translation and commentary of the Quran, entitled *Message of the Quran*, comments on these words as follows:

" . . . it is to be borne in mind that the term *ihsan* . . . has the tropical meaning of 'abstinence from what is unlawful or reprehensible', and especially from illicit sexual intercourse . . . thus, for instance, the terms *muhsan* and *muhsanah* are used elsewhere in the Quran to describe, respectively, a man or a woman who is 'fortified (by marriage) against unchastity'. Hence the expression *allati ahsanat farjaha* occurring in the above verse as well as in 66:12 with reference to Mary, is but meant to stress her outstanding

chastity and complete abstinence, in thought as well as deed, from anything unlawful or morally reprehensible.”

(Note 87 on verse 21:91, p. 500)

Hence this expression is applicable to *remaining chaste by marriage* as Asad says.

In short, the Holy Quran has discussed all aspects of the issue of the birth of Jesus, without leaving anything out, and said, in our view, that he was *not* born without a father, but had a father, as did all prophets, and as do all human beings.

These are a few points of principle about Jesus' birth which we have concluded from the Holy Quran. If you disagree with our conclusions, please ponder over the Holy Quran because it invites everyone to think and reflect upon it. However, as the Holy Quran is a clear and decisive Book, please do not let alien beliefs influence you, for the Holy Quran is far and above these.

16.3: Muslim Views

1. The Batiniyya

The sect known as *Batiniyya* deny the virgin birth:

“And they deny that Jesus was born without a father.”

(*Tahzib al-Ikhlāq*, by Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, vol. i, p. 382)

2. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898)

This famous Muslim social reformer and educationist of nineteenth century India denied that Jesus was born of a virgin. See his Commentary of the Quran *Tafsir al-Quran*, published by Munshi Fazl Din, Kashmiri Bazaar, Lahore, vol. ii, pp. 24–35. See also no. 6 below.

3. Ahl-i Hadith

From the Ahl-i Hadith sect, Maulavi Hafiz Inayat-ullah of Wazirabad explains the account given in the Holy Quran (19:16–29) as follows:

“Mary left her husband's house, which was on the western side, in displeasure and went and stayed at her parents' house on the eastern side. She was not inclined to return. Meanwhile, the truth came out and Zacharias was also grieved. Recourse was had to both prayer and medicine, which God blessed, and addressing him revealed that He would grant her a son. At this Zacharias let this

revelation be known to her husband, and told him to go and tell Mary about it and bring her home. But when he got there, she made the same complaint which prevented her return, and asked for a divorce. 'I seek refuge (divorce) from you, that we cannot have relations.' She also mentioned her state of health. After some discussion, he told her that the revelation had said clearly that this union would be blessed and God would grant a pure boy. She wondered that since he, her husband, had not touched her, how she could have a son? He explained things to her and told her that her guardian (Zacharias) had sent him to inform her of the revelation and bring her home. At last, she returned with him, and at the appropriate time became pregnant. Then she had to accompany her husband on a long journey for some worldly purpose. It so happened that her pains started when they were near a palm tree in Bethlehem. She lamented the fact that it had not happened in a better place, so that she would have been relieved of it less painfully. The owner of the tree, who happened to be sitting under it selling his dates, out of sympathy let her pick any dates that she wanted, whenever she felt the need, and let her drink from a stream flowing under the tree as much as she wanted. He told her to rest, and if anyone spoke to her, to just say that she had undertaken a fast of silence. She then returned back to her people, and seeing the baby in her arms they objected that this type of domestic life, in breach of her parents' vow, was against the religious law. They added that her father did not break his word, nor did her mother like such things. Mary pointed to her guardian, Zacharias, that they should talk to him, as he had been responsible for it. They said that her marriage had set a bad example for others, and that other children dedicated to the Temple would also marry after growing up, disrupting the whole organisation."

(*Uyoon Zamzam fi milad Isa ibn Maryam*, Darul Hadith, Gujrat, Pakistan, 1963, pp. 172–176)

4. Ghulam Ahmad Pervez

This present-day theologian, author and founder of the *Idara Tulu'-i Islam* institute in Lahore, writes:

"If you bear in mind this point about the creation of a human being, the significance of the verse in question ('Surely the likeness of Jesus with God is as the likeness of Adam') becomes clear. In other words, whatever belief the Christians may hold about Jesus' birth,

they are told that in God's eyes his birth was like the birth of any human child, which from its inception reaches its completion through a number of stages. Thus did it happen with Jesus. 'O Prophet! what is revealed to thee about Jesus being a human being, and about his birth, is the truth from thy Lord; so there is no room for thee to argue or debate' (3:59).

"The Holy Quran has called Jesus the like of Adam also because, according to the Gospels, he used to call himself the son of man. For instance: 'Then he came to the disciples and said to them, Sleep and take rest, the time has come and the son of man is handed over to the sinners' (Matthew, ch. 26). Hence, he who calls himself 'the son of man', his birth is like the birth of Adam (or man). He is the son of man, and born like a human."

(*Shulah Mastur*, pp. 132–133)

5. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadawi

He was a famous Indian Muslim theologian of earlier this century. He wrote:

"Jesus had a mother and, according to the Gospel account, brothers and sisters as well, and even a human father."

(*Khutbat Madaras*, p. 51)

6. Muslim Newspaper *Sidq*

In his paper *Sidq*, Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi of India (d. 1977) received the following enquiry:

"I have seen two letters of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, dated 7 August 1870 and 8 April 1882, addressed to Maulavi Mumtaz Husain. In both these letters Sir Sayyid has emphasised that (God forbid) Jesus being born without a father is not proved from the Holy Quran. His birth, says Sir Sayyid, was a natural human birth. However, in verse 20 of the chapter *Mary* of the Holy Quran, Mary says to the angel Gabriel: 'How can I have a son when no man has touched me, nor have I been unchaste'."

— Yours faithfully, Abul Wafa Sadiqui, Delhi-6

The reply given was as follows:

"*Sidq* — Yes, the majority of *ulama* have taken this verse, and other verses, in the meanings which are well-known. But Sir Sayyid and his co-thinkers have interpreted these verses to mean, for instance, that the obstacles in the way of Mary becoming pregnant

were removed — whether this conclusion is correct or not, this interpretation does not make one subject to a verdict of heresy (*kufr*).”

(*Sidq Jadid*, Lucknow, 7 April 1972)

7. Allama Al-Sayyid Abdul Qayyum Qayoomi:

“It is a matter of great astonishment that despite the facts that Mary was married and went to live with her husband, that she and Joseph were declared wife and husband, that they lived together, and that everything took place, yet the son to whom Mary gave birth had no father! God forbid, God forgive us! Thank God that, in this book, by proving the marriage of Mary, her living with her husband, and Jesus having a father, from the Holy Quran, the Gospels, books of Hadith, and statements of Sunni Muslim scholars, in a most detailed and factual manner, we have refuted the false belief that Jesus had no father and established the reality with daylight clarity.”

(*Haqiqat al-Masih*, Gujrat, Pakistan, 1964, p. 237)

8. Muhammad Asad

In his recently published English work, *The Message of the Quran*, Muhammad Asad comments as follows:

“In connection with the announcement of a son to Mary, the Quran states in 3:47 that ‘when He wills a thing to be, He but says unto it, Be, and it is’: but since neither the Quran nor any authentic Tradition tells us anything about the chain of causes and effects (*asbab*) which God’s decree ‘Be’ was to bring into being, all speculation as to the ‘how’ of this event must remain beyond the scope of a Quran-commentary.”

(Note 15 on verse 19:11, p. 459)

Hence, according to Asad, “neither the Quran nor any authentic Tradition” tells us that Jesus was actually born of a virgin. Consequently, not the slightest blame can attach to any Muslim who believes that Jesus had a father.

16.4: Views of followers of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad

I. HAZRAT MAULANA NUR-UD-DIN

1. Book *Nur-ud-Din*

Maulana Nur-ud-Din expressed the following view:

“i. The Islam taught to us by that Divine Scripture, the Holy Quran, does not say anywhere that to become a Muslim you need to believe that Jesus had no father.

“ii. The Holy Prophet has not told us that a part of Islam is to believe that Jesus had no father.

“iii. Our beloved holy Companions, our four leaders of jurisprudence, and other great Imams, have nowhere instructed us that it is necessary to believe that Jesus was born without a father.

“iv. Our respected Sufi saints have not exhorted us anywhere in their teachings that to attain the ranks of Divine nearness, to accomplish self-reform, and to acquire noble morals, it is necessary to believe that Jesus had no father.

“v. Besides Jesus, how many prophets, messengers and appointed ones of God, have there been! Is the genealogy of any one of them recorded in the Holy Quran? In fact, God says, ‘None knows the hosts of thy Lord, save He’. So it is not necessary to know of the existence of everyone, let alone how they were born.”

(Book *Nur-ud-Din*, pp. 181–182)

2. Comments on book about Jesus having a father

When ‘Master’ Muhammad Saeed sent his book *Sa’adat Maryamiyya*, about the birth of Jesus through the agency of a human father, to Maulana Nur-ud-Din for an opinion, he gave the following reply:

“God does not waste anyone’s effort. He says: ‘Whoever desires the Hereafter and makes an effort for it, and he is a believer, these it is whose effort is rewarded.’ When it is accompanied by your sincerity and the backing of the Quran, you become deservant of Divine gratitude. . . . I myself have held these beliefs since childhood, but you have not given the arguments which I had in my mind. However, Hazrat Mirza had said: ‘I have not been told by revelation to devote energy on this point. Otherwise, this is no great issue, and if there is Divine support I can write about it. Therefore, I am silent, and will remain silent till a Divine command comes.’ This is a particular matter. But your labour cannot be

worthless.”

(Published in Periodical *Paigham Sulh*, 22 March 1929)

3. Reply to an enquiry

Shaikh Muhammad Jan, secretary of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman of Wazirabad, made a written enquiry from Maulana Nur-ud-Din in 1911 which ran:

“Sir! If a person amongst your disciples does not believe that Jesus was born without a father, is this to the detriment of his faith?”

The answer was given as follows:

“As far as my understanding goes, this issue is not a part of faith. There is no explicit direction in the Holy Quran or Hadith to the effect that one must hold this belief. If someone’s research forces this conclusion [that Jesus had a father] upon him, he cannot help it. This is my view — Nur-ud-Din.”

(*Al-Mahdi*, January 1915)

II. THE QADIANIS

1. In a booklet entitled *Izhar Haqiqat*, published just before the death of Maulana Nur-ud-Din by the Ansarullah group of Qadianis, containing signatures of forty prominent men of the Ansarullah, they answered an objection raised by someone against Maulana Nur-ud-Din to the effect that he was associated with those who believed Jesus to have a father. It is written in this reply:

“You should first answer whether he [the Maulana] was associated with the Promised Messiah, or not. Prove from Islamic law that those who believe Jesus to have a father should be excluded from Islam, or should be declared transgressors and disbelievers like those who deny the caliphs.”

(*Izhar Haqiqat*, p. 23)

2. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad, the head of the Qadianis, replied to a Christian preacher in 1913 as follows:

“The reverend says that all Muslims are agreed upon this issue, except Sir Sayyid who has rejected it on rational grounds, but that no one has rejected it on the basis of the Holy Quran. However, I will go on to show that he is wrong in saying that no one has rejected it from the Holy Quran. I will prove that people have shed light on this from the Quran itself and have proved that Jesus was

not born without a father, but was born like the rest of the world. What I mean to say is that there have been differences on this issue, and that some people have believed Jesus to have had a father.” (*Tashhiz al-Azhan*, April 1913, pp. 165–170)

3. In 1917, the following reply was given on behalf of Mirza Mahmud Ahmad to a question about the birth of Jesus:

“The Khalifat-ul-Masih II [Mirza Mahmud Ahmad] says that it is not on the basis of a clear verdict that he believes Jesus to have been born without a father, but it is a mere deduction, against which other people deduce the opposite view. However, historically the Ahmadiyya community has held the belief that Jesus had no father.”

III. HAZRAT MAULANA MUHAMMAD ALI

In his famous Urdu commentary of the Quran, the *Bayan al-Quran*, Hazrat Maulana writes:

“Christians believe in the virgin birth of Jesus, and so do Muslims generally. But there are Christians who do not believe this, and also Muslims who do not. There is, however, one difference. If, in fact, Jesus was not born without a father, it does not have any effect on any religious belief of the Muslims because it is not part of their faith to believe in the virgin birth. But the very foundations of the structure of Christianity are uprooted if it cannot be proved that Jesus was born without a father. For if he had a father, then Mary did not conceive of the Holy Spirit, nor was Jesus divine, nor is the doctrine of atonement correct.

“So, Jesus not being born of a virgin uproots Christianity altogether, but does no harm to Islam. A Muslim equally believes in the prophethood of Jesus, whether he had a father or not. He only wants to consider what the Holy Quran says, or what can be established from the Holy Prophet’s Sayings. If these record birth without a father, he will accept that, otherwise not. Nor would being born without a father show him to be superior to the prophets who had fathers because, for that matter, Adam and Eve had no father, and the Bible mentions Melchizedek who was ‘without father or mother’, see *Hebrews* 7:3. In this case, these three would be considered superior to Jesus. But, in fact, the very argument is

wrong that one born without a father is superior.

“Besides this, a Muslim does not hold that Mary conceived from the Holy Spirit. If he was born without a father, this would merely be one of the wonders of creation, that Mary possessed both types of faculties. In fact, it is not even a miracle because it is necessary for a miracle that someone should be a witness or observer. But none except Mary could be a witness to her conceiving without a husband. What sort of a miracle would this be? So all we have to determine is what the Holy Quran and the Hadith disclose about this.

“God Himself says that He has put into effect the law for mankind that after the beginning this race propagates by the sperm, and He says that He makes man from the sperm of the male mixed with the female ovum. So unless God explicitly says that He created Jesus against this law of mating, and in a different manner, we would have to accept that the means which God brought about correspond to this law. There is no question here of whether God has the power to do such a thing or not. He can create someone without a father or a mother. The question is only whether it can be shown from the Holy Quran or authentic Hadith that God made Jesus without a father. When He Himself explains a law, then unless He Himself says that in a certain case He displayed His power as against that law, we cannot take something to have happened in breach of His law. So if some person concludes from the words of the Holy Quran that Jesus was born without a father, let him believe it. I do not draw this conclusion from the Quranic words. Though I do not consider this issue to be of any great importance, I think that it is a Muslim’s duty to make known his honestly and sincerely drawn conclusions from the Quran. Believing Jesus to have had a father, or believing him not to have had a father, does not affect our religious beliefs or practical actions in any way.”

(*Bayan al-Quran*, footnote 427 under verse 3:46)

Section 17

Jihad

Compiler's Note. A widely propagated charge against Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is that he denied the Islamic teaching about *jihad*, and urged Muslims to reject this doctrine. The defendants too advanced this allegation in their pleadings. The evidence given in this Section, therefore, first examines the teachings of the Quran and Hadith to establish exactly what is meant by *jihad* there. It then cites the views of Muslim theologians on the meaning of *jihad*. All these extracts prove that *jihad* means a *struggle* in a very broad sense. Views of well-known *ulama* are further cited to show that the term *jihad* is certainly not synonymous with *war* or physical fighting.

Then writings of Hazrat Mirza are quoted, showing that he fully believed in the Islamic teaching on *jihad*, that indeed he practised it in the form appropriate to his time, and that he accepted *jihad* as taking the form of war under the conditions specified by Islam. It is then explained that in his time an entirely wrong concept of *jihad* — as mere killing — had come to prevail, and it was this false notion that Hazrat Mirza rejected and urged Muslims to reject as well.

A related allegation is that Hazrat Mirza declared support for the British government of India, and thus acted against the interests of the Muslims. The Section gives the views of contemporary Muslim leaders from a variety of groups, showing that all Muslim public figures at that time strongly expressed loyalty to the British government and condemned any idea of a *jihad* or uprising against it. The passages from Hazrat Mirza's writings now quoted by his critics, when read in context and examined against the background of prevailing Muslim opinion, cannot be objected to at all.

17.1: Jihad in Holy Quran and Hadith

Jihad is an Arabic word, the meaning of which is explained here in the light of Arabic lexicology, the Holy Quran, Hadith, and writings of the scholars of Islam.

The root *jaahada* means 'to strive'. *Juhd* means power or exertion. *Jihad* is the noun of *jaahada*, and its meaning given in the *Mufradat* of Raghib, the classical dictionary of Quranic terms, is as follows:

“To exert one's power in repelling the enemy. *Jihad* is of three kinds: against a visible enemy; against the devil; and against self.”
(page 100, in Section *Letter j followed by letter h*)

Lane's Arabic-English lexicon says under *jihad*:

"*Jihad*, infinitive noun of *jaahada*, properly signifies the using or exerting of one's utmost power, efforts, endeavours or ability, in contending with an object of disapprobation; and this is of three kinds, namely, a visible enemy, the devil, and one's self; all of which are included in the term as used in the Quran 22:77."

I. THE HOLY QURAN

It is clear from the Quran that the word *jihad* has been used there to mean 'striving' or 'exerting'.

1. "Those who strive (*jaahada*) for Us, We guide them in Our ways" (26:69). Here the meaning is to carry on a spiritual struggle to attain nearness to God.
2. "Whoever strives (*jaahada*), he only strives for his own self" (29:6). The meaning here again is struggle for self-purification.
3. "We have enjoined on man to do good to his parents. But if they strive (*jaahadaa*) with you to worship that of which you have no knowledge [i.e. false gods], then obey them not" (29:8). Here the meaning is that of 'arguing' or 'disputing', and is applied to an act of unbelievers.
4. "Strive for God a true striving (*jihad*)." (22:78)
5. "Obey not the unbelievers and hypocrites, and strive against them a mighty striving (*jihad*) with it [i.e. the Quran]." (25:52)

Both these verses give the command to conduct *jihad*. The first refers to a *jihad* for attaining nearness to God. The second mentions a *jihad* against the deniers of Islam, not by the sword but by means of the Quran itself. It is called a "mighty jihad", and is a constant duty.

6. As against the word *jihad*, the Quran has used *qu'ood* to mean the opposite, and this clarifies the meaning of *jihad* itself:

"Those believers who *sit back*, not disabled by injury, are not equal to those who do *jihad* in the way of God with their wealth and lives." (4:94)

Qu'ood is to sit back and be lazy. *Jihad* is in contrast to this, meaning 'making a full effort' even at the cost of one's life.

Muslims at Makka

Although the Holy Prophet Muhammad had received revelations ordering *jihad* while he was still resident in Makka before the emigration to Madina (see verses 4 and 5 above), he did not raise the sword against the unbelievers who were bitterly persecuting him and his followers. But he was most certainly conducting a *jihad* in Makka in obedience to these verses. This was a *jihad* of following the word of God and propagating the message of Islam. This mode of conduct clearly proves that *jihad* was not equivalent to *war* in the Holy Prophet's eyes. During this period of persecution at Makka, when some of his Companions asked permission to fight, the Holy Prophet said:

“I have been commanded to forgive, so do not fight.”
(Hadith collection *Nasa'i*, Book of Jihad)

Muslims at Madina

The Muslims emigrated to Madina and took refuge there, but their enemies from Makka did not leave them alone. They threatened the then chief of Madina, Abdullah Ibn Ubayy, in a letter as follows:

“O people of Madina, you have given refuge to our adversary. We swear by God that if you do not fight them or expel them, we shall come against you and kill your fighting men and capture your women.”

(*Abu Dawud*, vol. ii, p. 495)

Not content with this threat, the unbelievers of Makka decided to attack Madina to annihilate Islam and the Muslims by the sword. It was then that God permitted the Muslims to conduct *jihad* with the sword, because not to do so would have meant suicide for the Muslims. Therefore, in year 2 of the *Hijra* (emigration to Madina) the following Quranic verse was revealed:

“Permission to fight is given to those upon whom war is made, because they have been wronged — and God is well able to help them. Those who have been expelled from their homes unjustly, only for saying, ‘Allah is our Lord’. And if God had not allowed one group of people to repel another, then there would have been pulled down cloisters and synagogues and churches and mosques, in which God's name is remembered.” (22:39,40)

Four conditions are given here for allowing *jihad* by the sword:

- i. Fighting has to be initiated by the unbelievers, as is clear from the words “those upon whom war is made”.
- ii. There has to be extreme persecution of the Muslims — “because they have been wronged”.
- iii. The aim of the unbelievers has to be the destruction of Islam and the Muslims, as is clear from the words “there would have been pulled down . . .”.
- iv. The object of the Muslims must only be self-defence and protection, as shown by the words “if God had not allowed one people to *repel* another”.

The other verse allowing fighting says: “Fight in the way of God those who fight you, but do not go over the limit” (2:190). Hence the command in the Holy Quran to fight, or conduct *jihad* with the sword, is subject to the above conditions.

II. THE HADITH

Just as the Holy Quran has used the word *jihad* in a very wide sense, so it is in Hadith.

1. “The Holy Prophet said: Do *jihad* against the idolators with your wealth, lives and tongues.”
(*Mishkat*, Book of *Jihad*)
2. “The Holy Prophet was asked: Which *jihad* is best? He said: He who does *jihad* against the idolators with his wealth and life.”
(*Mishkat*, Book of *Jihad*)
3. “A group of Muslim soldiers came to the Holy Prophet [from a battle]. He said: Welcome, you have come from the lesser *jihad* to the greater *jihad*. It was said: What is the greater *jihad*? He said: The striving of a servant against his low desires.”
(*Al-Tasharraf*, Part I, p. 70)
4. “The Holy Prophet said: The greatest *jihad* is to speak the word of truth to a tyrant.”
(*Mishkat*, Book of Rulership and Judgment, Section 2)
5. “The Holy Prophet said: Do *jihad* against your desires as you do *jihad* against your foes.”
(*Mufradat*, under root *j-h-d*, p. 100)

6. "The Holy Prophet said: Do *jihad* against the unbelievers with your hands and tongues."
(*ibid.*)
7. "*Jihad* involves four things: enjoining the doing of good, forbidding the doing of evil, speaking the truth in a situation of trial, and having enmity for the wrong-doer."
8. "The most excellent *jihad* is the Hajj."
(*Bukhari*, Book of Sacrifices, 25:4)
9. "The *mujahid* [one engaged in *jihad*] is he who strives against his own self to obey God."

These hadith make it clear that *jihad* means to exert oneself to the utmost, whether by means of one's wealth or tongue or hands or life, whether it is against one's desires or a visible enemy, whether its aim is to attain nearness to God or to propagate the word of God. Briefly, the Holy Quran and Hadith speak of three kinds of *jihad*:

- i. A great *jihad*;
- ii. The greatest *jihad*;
- iii. A lesser *jihad*.

The first two are to be undertaken constantly, while the third, which includes *jihad* by means of the sword, is only undertaken if specific conditions are satisfied.

Jihad in Bukhari

Bukhari, of all the collections of Hadith, is the clearest on the point that *jihad* is not used exclusively for fighting. In *I'tisam bil Kitab wal Sunna*, the 4th chapter is thus headed:

"The saying of the Holy Prophet, A party of my community shall not cease to be triumphant being upholders of Truth,"

to which are added the words:

"And these are the men of learning (*ahl al-'ilm*)."
(*Bukhari*, 96:11)

Thus Bukhari's view is that the triumphant party of the Prophet's community does not consist of fighters, but of the men of learning who disseminate the truth and are engaged in the propagation of Islam. Again, in his *Book of Jihad*, Bukhari has several chapters speaking of simple invitation to Islam. For instance, the heading of 56:99 is: "May the Muslim guide the

followers of the Book to a right course, or may he teach them the Book". The heading of 56:100 — "To pray for the guidance of the polytheists so as to develop relations of friendship with them"; that of 56:102 — "The invitation [to the unbelievers] by the Holy Prophet to Islam and prophethood, and that they may not take for gods others besides Allah"; that of 56:143 — "The excellence of him at whose hands another man accepts Islam"; that of 56:145 — "The excellence of him who accepts Islam from among the followers of the Book"; and that of 56:178 — "How should Islam be presented to a child".

These headings show that up to the time of Bukhari, the word *jihad* was used in the wider sense in which it is used in the Quran, invitation to Islam being looked upon as *jihad*.

The following incident is also in Bukhari:

"A man came to Ibn Umar [son of the famous second Caliph Umar] and said: Why is it that one year you go for the hajj and one year you go for the *umra* [a lesser form of the pilgrimage], and yet you have discarded *jihad* in the way of God? You know how much God has encouraged *jihad*? Ibn Umar said: My nephew, Islam is based on five things: Belief in God and His messenger, five prayers, fasting in Ramadaan, giving *zakat*, and the pilgrimage to the House of God. The man said: Do you not hear what God has said in His Book, that if two groups of believers fight one another, make peace between them, then if one of them does wrong to the other, fight that which does wrong, till it returns to God's command; so fight them till there is an end to the mischief. Ibn Umar said: *'We acted on this in the time of the Holy Prophet. At that time, Muslims were few, and a man [who accepted Islam] used to face persecution for his religion — they would kill him or punish him. But then the followers of Islam multiplied in number, and there was no mischief left.'*" (Bukhari, Book of *Tafsir* under verse "Fight them till there is an end to mischief", chapter 30 under Surah 2)

This incident belongs to a time some decades after the Holy Prophet's death, when Muslims were fighting an internecine war, and one side had laid siege to Makka. Ibn Umar had not joined either side in this war. A man questioned him as to why he was not taking part, and referred to the verse "fight them till there is an end to mischief (*fitna*)". He replied that fighting had been necessary when Muslims were few, and Islam itself was in danger. As there was no *fitna* or danger from non-Muslims at that time,

though they still existed, Ibn Umar argued that *jihad* by the sword was *not* incumbent upon them.

Imam Fakhar-ud-Din Razi, the great classical commentator of the Quran, writes in his renowned exposition of the Quran:

“As for the verse, ‘Strive against them a great *jihad*’, some say that this refers to efforts in preaching. Others say that it refers to fighting. Some others say it includes both. The first meaning is the most accurate because this verse was revealed at Makka, and the command to fight came after the emigration.”

(*Tafsir Kabir*, vol. iv, p. 330)

Another classical commentary, the *Ruh al-Bayan*, comments on the hadith, “The best *jihad* is to speak a word of truth to a tyrant”, as follows:

“It is the best because *jihad* with arguments and proofs is a *jihad* which is greater as compared to *jihad* with the sword which is a lesser *jihad*.”

17.2: Jihad — Views of Muslim religious leaders

1. Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi

A leader of the Ahl-i Hadith sect in India in the late nineteenth century, he wrote:

“Some of our Muslim brothers believe that the present misfortunes of the followers of Islam cannot be removed without the sword. It is no use acquiring worldly education. However, looking at the present condition of the Muslims, this belief appears improbable. Brethren! the age of the sword is no more. Now instead of the sword it is necessary to wield the pen. How can the sword come into the hands of the Muslims when they have no hands. They have no national identity or existence. . . . In such a useless and weak condition, to consider them as a nation is to exceed the imagination of Shaikh Chilli [a proverbial, comical figure in Urdu fiction].”

(*Isha'at as-Sunna*, vol. vi, no. 12, December 1883, p. 364)

2. Maulavi Sana-ullah

It is noted about Maulavi Sana-ullah of Amritsar:

“As at that time our *ulama* had declared *jihad* with the sword to be rebellion and insurrection, and to be *haram* [prohibited according

to the religion], and the opponents of Islam were waging war by the pen, the need then was for jihad with the pen.”
(Magazine *Iman*, 1948)

3. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi:

“To change people’s views by means of the pen and the tongue, and to bring about a revolution in their minds, is also jihad. And to spend money for this end, and to exert oneself physically, is jihad too.”

(*Tafhimat* — I, p. 69)

4. Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938)

In a speech by this famous Muslim philosopher, as recorded in a weekly paper, the following exchange took place:

“[Dr Iqbal said:] Islam shall never be overcome, but shall triumph. “Someone objected at this to ask how it could triumph while in the slavery of the British.

“Dr Iqbal replied: Don’t you know that the parallel of the Tartars is being revived today? The very nation under whose rule we live shall become Muslim. A living proof of this is that Lord Headley is among us. The powers of Islam are not limited. There was an age of the sword. Today it is the age of the pen. It attacks from within and without, and compels you from every angle to accept it.”

(*Paigham Sulh*, 4 January 1928)

5. Maulavi Ahmad Saeed

He was a leader of the *Jami’at al-Ulama Hind* (Council of Indian Ulama). In a speech, he said:

“Excuse me, brother, all that these maulavis know is either to do jihad or to sit doing nothing. I say that, although this spirit is praiseworthy, experience is against it. You have seen the result of the jihad which you undertook in 1857. If you did not succeed then, what is the chance now. If you are keen on jihad, do it and see what happens. I have no objection against this belief of yours, but you shall not be successful. I do not understand the attitude that one either conducts jihad or else one does not do anything at all. Sir, the jihad of every age is different. At Makka, there was one type of defence [used by the Holy Prophet Muhammad], and at Madina it was a different type. You could engage in civil disobedience with the intent of jihad. God will reward you for that.”

(*Al-Jami'at*, 28 January 1931, p. 2, col. 1)

6. Maulavi Zafar Ali Khan

This well-known Muslim leader, and editor of a famous Muslim daily newspaper, wrote in his paper:

“Just as jihad is not simply that one should pick up a sword and dash into a battle-field, but it also includes struggle by speech and writing, journey and travel, similarly *shahadat* [martyrdom] is not that one should turn the earth red with blood by having one’s throat cut. It is also to sacrifice one’s comfort and pleasure, rest and ease, life and property, and honour and reputation, for some good and noble cause in the way of God, as taught by Islam.”

(Daily *Zamindar*, Lahore, 14 June 1936)

7. Maulavi Habib-ur-Rahman of Ludhiana:

“It is a religious duty to keep political parties alive. In India, jihad cannot be conducted by means of armies and weapons. Jihad here is to speak the truth without fear, and to bear with pleasure any hardship in this path. I believe that the help of a volunteer to organise a political party is the real jihad in India.”

(*Paigham Sulh*, 11 April 1934)

8. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

He was a famous Indian Muslim scholar and a leader of the Indian National Congress before independence, later becoming federal education minister in India. He writes:

“There are serious misconceptions regarding what is jihad. Many people think that jihad means only to fight. The critics of Islam too labour under this misunderstanding, whereas to think thus is to utterly narrow the practical scope of this sacred commandment. *Jihad* means to strive to the utmost. In the Quran and Sunna terminology, this utmost exertion, which is undertaken for the sake of truth rather than personal ends, is indicated by the word *jihad*. This effort could be with one’s life, or property, or expenditure of time, or by bearing labour and hardship, or fighting the enemy and shedding blood.”

(*Mas’ala Khilafat*, p. 47)

9. Weekly Sunni organ *Da'wat*:

“In world religions, it is only in Islam that the characteristic is found that, under no circumstances or condition, does it coerce other faiths. It does not allow its missionary activities to exceed the instruction: ‘Call to the path of God with wisdom and goodly exhortation’ . . . *Jihad* is derived from *jahd*, meaning literally effort and striving. In the technical sense, it is used for proclaiming the word of God, and the supremacy and success of Islam.”

(Weekly *Da'wat*, 13 November 1964)

10. Lahore Urdu daily *Imroz*:

“Human history is the greatest witness of the fact that the use of force in the propagation of any ideology does not lead to good results. If in some instance an attempt to do this by means of force and power had success, its effect was not long-lasting. The sages who tried to capture the hearts of people, and showed by their example that the teachings which they followed led to the salvation of man, had great success in meeting their objectives. In the Indian sub-continent, the Sufis and the Shaikhs [spiritual leaders] did the most to light the lamp of Islam and illuminate people’s hearts with the light of Islam. These sages neither used coercion to implement the laws of Islam, nor did they have the resources. The life of the Holy Prophet itself shows that for the reform of a degenerate society, he exercised patience, humility and lowliness, and revolutionised it.”

(Daily *Imroz*, Lahore, Pakistan, 9 November 1964)

11. Late King Faisal of Saudi Arabia

This internationally famous figure declared:

“Honoured brethren! You all have been called to raise the banner of jihad in the way of God. Jihad is not just taking up the gun or raising the sword. Jihad is to invite to the Book of God and the Example of the Prophet, to hold fast to them, and to stick to them despite difficulties, distresses and afflictions of all kinds.”

(*Umm al-Qura*, Makka, 24 April 1965)

12. Maulavi Zahid al-Husaini:

“This is the age of jihad by the pen. Today, the pen has spread much trouble. The person who does jihad by the pen is the greatest mujahid today.”

(Monthly *Khuddum-ud-Din*, Lahore, 1 October 1965)

13. Allama Abdul Haqq Haqqani

In his commentary of the Quran, he writes:

“In this age, to debate and argue with heretics is also jihad.”
(*Tafsir Haqqani*, vol. iv, p. 112)

14. Al-Shaikh Muhammad Amin:

“It is generally known that the mujahid should enjoin all good things and forbid evil ones.”
(*Rad al-Mukhtar*, vol. iii, p. 236)

15. Allama al-Qastalani

It is recorded about this classical scholar:

“He considered the jihad against one’s desires and against the devil to be the greatest jihad.”
(*Irshad as-Sari fi Sharh al-Bukhari*, vol. v, p. 37)

16. Maulavi Haidar Zaman Siddiqi:

“Similarly, in Hadith the speaking of truth to a tyrant is called the greatest jihad. . . . Hence the propagation of religious knowledge, the establishment of religious schools, and every other task done for the support of the faith, is included in jihad.”
(*Islam Ka Nazariyya Jihad*, p. 128)

17. Ghulam Ahmad Pervez

In his commentary of the Quran, this religious thinker of Lahore writes:

“Jihad means labour and struggle. The Quran has made its true meaning clear by using the word *qu’ood* (sitting) to mean the opposite: ‘Those who sit back from among the Muslims’ . . . Hence it means action . . .

“The jihad of the true believer includes the smallest action, going up to the highest deed of sacrifice. The last stage of this exertion is that where man risks his precious life to join the battle against falsehood.”

(*Mu’arif al-Quran*, vol. iv, p. 481)

18. Professor Khurshid Ahmad of the Islamic Foundation

At a Christian-Muslim dialogue conference held in 1976, Khurshid Ahmad, at that time Director-General of the Islamic Foundation,

Leicester, England, made the following comments about *jihad*:

“*Jihad* represents to Muslims an effort to strive seriously and ceaselessly to fulfil the divine will in human life. Now *Jihad* takes many forms. The first form is the fight against one’s own self in order to subdue the *nafs al-ammarah*, [man’s lower self] and subordinate it to the divine will. *Jihad* also means striving to spread the word of God, to share it with others, and here in the juridic formulations *jihad* has an important place in the relations between the Islamic state and the non-Muslim world. *Jihad* is not merely war, for it involves firstly peaceful pursuits, but war definitely has its place within the total spectrum of *jihad*. . . .

“The war of aggression Islam rules out because Islam has come to bring the end of aggression and establish peace. But the defensive and just war are accepted principles of international law and international relations, and Islam fully acknowledges them.”

(*International Review of Mission*, October 1976, vol. lxxv, no. 260, pp. 451–452. See also the Islamic Foundation’s own publication of these proceedings as the book *Christian Mission and Islamic Da’wah*, 1982, pp. 93–94)

19. Dr T. B. Irving

Islamic Perspectives — Studies in honour of Maulana Maudoodi, edited by Khurshid Ahmad and Zafar Ishaq Ansari, and published by the Islamic Foundation, England, is a collection of articles by various Muslim religious scholars, compiled as a tribute to Maulana Maudoodi. The article by Dr T. B. Irving mentions the five pillars of Islam and then adds:

“One more point might be mentioned: *Jihad* or the spiritual ‘struggle’ or ‘striving’ is not one of the Five Pillars of Islam. In proper translation it does not mean ‘holy war’ except by extension, but it has been debased by this meaning, which is a journalistic usage.” (*Islamic Perspectives*, published by the Islamic Foundation, England, 1979, p. 132)

(Note: References 18 and 19 above have been quoted in the original English.)

JIHAD AND WAR NOT SYNONYMOUS

The Quran uses the words *jihad* and *qital* (fighting or war) to mean different things. “*Jihad* in the way of God” and “fighting (*qital*) in the way of

God” do not have the same meaning. We quote below from Muslim theologians to prove this:

20. Maulavi Muhammad Hasan of Rampur

A leading follower of the famous Maulavi Muhammad Ismail Shaheed, he wrote:

“War is not jihad. War is called *qital*, and it only arises now and then. Jihad is to strive to proclaim the word of God, and this goes on for a long period. It is only your misconception that you term *qital* as jihad.”

(*Sawanih Ahmadi*, p. 108)

21. Maulavi Charagh Ali

In his great English work on jihad published in 1884, the famous rationalist religious scholar, Maulavi Charagh Ali, wrote:

“*Jihad* does not mean the waging of war. . . . I do not mean to contend that the Quran does not contain injunctions to fight or wage war. There are many verses enjoining the Prophet’s followers to prosecute a defensive war, but not one of aggression. The words *qatal* and *qital* distinctly indicate this.”

(*Jihad*, edition published by Karimsons, Karachi, 1977, Appendix A, p. 192; extract is quoted from original English.)

22. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadawi

This theologian who compiled the well-known *Sirat an-Nabi* (Life of the Holy Prophet) by Shibli, wrote:

“Jihad is generally taken to mean *qital* and fighting, but this limitation of significance is entirely wrong. . . . It means striving and effort. Its technical meaning is also close to this, i.e. to undertake all kinds of struggle and exertion for the supremacy, propagation and defence of the truth, to make sacrifices, to employ in the way of God all the physical, material and mental resources which He has given to His servants, so much so as to sacrifice one’s own life and that of one’s family and nation. To oppose the efforts of the opponents of truth, to foil their plans, to counter their attacks, and to be ready to fight them in the field of battle is also jihad. Regrettably, our opponents have reduced the scope of this important and broad significance, without which no movement in the world has or can succeed, to merely war with the enemies of the faith. It is necessary here to dispel the misconception, namely, that most

people think that *jihad* and *qital* are synonymous. This is not so. . . . One is general and the other is particular, i.e. every *jihad* is not *qital*, but among the various kinds of *jihad* one is *qital* or fighting the enemy.”

(*Sirat an-Nabi*, vol. v., pp. 199–201)

23. Maulavi Zafar Ali Khan:

“If the Muslims, during their period of government and rule, ever raised the sword to extend their territory and to make other peoples slaves, this has nothing to do with *jihad*.”

(*Zamindar*, Lahore, 14 June 1936)

24. Ghulam Ahmad Pervez:

“*Qital* is also included in *jihad*. One can say that it is the last stage of *jihad*. It is clear from this that *jihad* does not always mean *qital*. The whole life of a true believer is *jihad*.”

(*Mu‘arif al-Quran*, vol. iv, p. 488)

25. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi

He expressed his opinion as follows:

- i. “In the terminology of the Shari‘ah, *qital* and *jihad* were two different things. *Qital* is applied to the military venture undertaken against the armies of the enemy. *Jihad* is applied to the total effort mounted by the whole nation for the success of the objective for which the war began. During this struggle, *qital* may stop at times, and may also be suspended. But *jihad* continues till the time when that aim is achieved for which it began.”
(Newspaper *Mashriq*, Lahore, 12 October 1965)
- ii. “*Jihad* means not only fighting with weapons, but is applied collectively to the whole struggle made for success in war. The field of battle is only one of the many fronts of this struggle.”
(Newspaper *Kohistan*, Lahore, 18 September 1965)

17.3: Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad’s views on *jihad*

I. JIHAD ACCORDING TO HAZRAT MIRZA

1. “It should be known that the word *jihad* is derived from *juhd*, and means *to strive*. It is then metaphorically applied to religious wars.”

(*Government Angrezi aur Jihad*, p. 3)

2. "As to the means and arrangements to be used, whether for physical warfare or spiritual warfare, whether the battle is by the sword or by the pen, the following verse is sufficient for our guidance: 'Make ready for them [the enemy] whatever force you can' [the Quran 8:60]. In this verse God empowers us to employ against the enemy all suitable means, and to use the method which we consider to be the best and most effective." (*Majmu'a Ishthiharat*, vol. i, p. 360)
3. "This time is also one for a kind of jihad. I stay up till as late as 3 o'clock in the morning. Everyone should take part in this, and for the needs of the religion and religious tasks they should make day and night into one." (*Malfuzat*, Part IV, p. 196)
4. "This is an age of spiritual warfare. A battle with the devil is in progress. The devil is assailing the fort of Islam with all his weapons and schemes. He wishes to defeat Islam. But God has established this Movement in order to defeat the devil in his last battle at this time." (*Malfuzat*, Part V, p. 25)
5. "The jihad of this age is exactly to propagate Islam and refute the allegations of the critics [of Islam], to spread the beauties of the true religion, Islam, in the world, and to manifest the truth of the Holy Prophet to the world. This is jihad, until God produces different circumstances in the world." (Letter by Hazrat Mirza quoted in *Ruhani Khaza'in*, vol. 17, p. 17)
6. "Christian missionaries have started a dangerous war against Islam. In the field of battle, they have come out with spears which are pens, not sword and cannon. So the weapon we should enter the field with, is the pen and only the pen. We believe that it is the duty of every Muslim to join this battle." (*Malfuzat*, Part I, p. 217)
7. "In our age the pen has been raised against us. It is with the pen that we have been caused pain and suffering. In response to this, the pen is the thing which is our weapon." (*Malfuzat*, Part I, p. 44)

II. HAZRAT MIRZA ON JIHAD WITH THE SWORD

1. "It should be known that the Holy Quran does not arbitrarily give the command to fight. It gives the command to fight only against

those people who prevent others from believing in God, and stop them from obeying His commandments and worshipping Him. It gives the command to fight against those who attack the Muslims without cause, expel them from their homes and countries, and prevent people from becoming Muslims. These are they with whom God is wroth, and Muslims must fight them if they do not desist.” (*Nur al-Haq*, vol. i, p. 46)

2. “In short, Islamic battles fall into only three categories: for self-defence; for punishment, i.e., blood for blood; for establishing freedom, i.e., to break the power of those who kill converts to Islam. Since there is no direction to force a person into the faith by means of coercion and threat of murder, it is utterly vain and pointless to wait for a blood-shedding Mahdi or Messiah, for it is not possible that such a person could come, against the teachings of the Quran, and make people Muslims by the sword.” (*Masih Hindustan Main*, pp. 18–19)
3. “We are commanded that we should make the same kind of preparation to face the unbelievers as they do to confront us. Or that we treat them as they treat us, and as long as they do not raise the sword against us, we do not raise it against them till then.” (*Haqiqat al-Mahdi*, p. 28)
4. “In the early days of Islam, defensive wars and physical battles were also necessary because those who preached Islam were answered in those days, not by reasons and arguments, but by the sword. So in reply the sword had *per force* to be used. But in these times the sword is not used in answer, but the pen and the argument is used to criticise Islam. This is the reason why, in this age, God has pleased that the work of the sword be done by the pen, and the opponents be routed by fighting them with writing. Hence it is not appropriate now for anyone to answer the pen with the sword.” (*Malfuzat*, Part I, p. 59)

17.4: Why Hazrat Mirza had to explain meaning of Jihad

1. Of the many objections against Islam advanced by Christian missionaries, one was that Islam had spread by the sword. Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had to reply to this criticism, as he wrote:

- i. “Most Christian missionaries of this age have mistakenly raised against Islam the objection that Islam has been spread by force and the sword. Unfortunately, such critics have not pondered over those teachings of the Quran which say . . . ‘There is no compulsion in religion’; and ‘argue with the Christians with wisdom and goodly exhortations’, not with harshness; and ‘the believers are those who restrain their anger’, they forgive the attacks of the unjust people, and do not answer in a foul manner. Could such a God teach that you should kill the deniers of your religion, seize their property, and lay desolate their homes? . . .

“This is the view of ignorant Maulavis and foolish padres, and has no foundation. Therefore, God, the upholder of the right way, Who does not let a truth go to waste, by sending this humble servant in this age, intends to remove the allegation of jihad from Islam, and show people that Islam does not depend on force and the sword for its progress, but affects the hearts with its spiritual power. . . . Hence it is sheer injustice to ascribe jihad and coercion to it.” (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. ii, pp. 125–127, footnote)

- ii. “It should be strongly impressed upon the government that the Muslims of India are loyal subjects, because some uninformed Englishmen, especially Dr. Hunter, President of the Education Commission, in his famous book, have insisted that Muslims are not true well-wishers of the British government, and consider it obligatory to fight jihad against it.” (*Barahin Ahmadiyya*, Part III, p. 68)

2. As the ideas about jihad spread among the people by the Maulavis were contradictory to the Holy Quran, it was essential to explain the correct significance:

- i. “It should be remembered that the concept in the minds of the present-day Ulama, and the manner in which they explain this issue to the people, is certainly not correct, and the result is nothing but that they should produce beast-like characteristics in the people by their zealous speeches, and deprive them of all the good virtues of humanity. Thus did it happen. And I know with certainty that the sin of all unjust murders committed by these foolish and impassioned persons, who are unaware of why Islam had to fight battles in the early days, is upon the necks of these Maulavis who secretly teach such things which lead to terrible bloodshed.” (*Government*

Angrezi aur Jihad, p. 7)

- ii. Commenting on the murder of two Englishmen by a fanatic Muslim, he said:
 “This murder of two Englishmen — is this jihad? Such useless people have given Islam a bad name. What he should have done was to deal with them in such an excellent way that they would become Muslims by seeing his good morals. . . . Whenever I hear about such people, I am deeply saddened at the fact that they have departed so far from the Holy Quran, and believe the murder of innocent persons to be a good deed.” (*Malfuzat*, Part II, pp. 49–50)
- iii. “Here we also have to say with regret that, just as on the one side ignorant Maulavis have concealed the true meaning of jihad, and have taught people murder and looting, terming it jihad, on the other side the Christian padres have done precisely the same. They have published thousands of copies of books in Urdu, Pashto, etc., and propagated throughout India, the Punjab, and the Frontier that Islam has spread by the sword, and to wield the sword is Islam. The result is that the people, finding two corroborating testimonies, i.e., that of the Maulavis and that of the padres, have developed in their primitive passions.” (*Government Angrezi aur Jihad*, p. 9)

3. The Maulavis believed that the Mahdi would appear in the latter days to kill the unbelievers. As Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed to be Mahdi, he had to shed light on the issue of jihad in his time, and show that they were wrong in their concept:

- i. “Ponder over the hadith in Bukhari where, regarding the Promised Messiah, it is written: *yazi’ul-harb*, i.e., when the Messiah comes he shall end religious wars.” (*Government Angrezi aur Jihad*, p. 15)
- ii. “It is necessary that I tell the British government as to the belief, regarding the Mahdi, held by the Wahabi sect, known as Ahl-i Hadith, Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi considering himself to be its leader, and the belief in this regard held by me and my followers. The root of all this dissension and mutual enmity is that I do not believe in such a Mahdi, and so these people think of me as a *kafir*, and I look upon them as mistaken. So I give below these people’s belief about the Mahdi in comparison with mine.” (*Haqiqat al-Mahdi*, p. 3)

- iii. “As to my beliefs, just as they are correct, they are blessed, and clean of mischief. Every sensible person can realise that our beliefs — that no such Mahdi or Messiah is to come as shall make the earth red with blood, whose great achievement would be to force people to become Muslims — are fine and good beliefs which are wholly based on the principles of peace and gentleness. From these beliefs, no opponent can accuse Islam of coercion, nor does one have to needlessly behave towards human beings in a brute-like manner, nor does it stain one’s morals, nor do people holding this belief live a hypocritical life under a government of a different religion.” (ibid., pp. 10–11)
- iv. “These people are so adamant upon their belief about jihad, which is totally wrong and opposed to the Quran and Hadith, that the person who does not accept it, and is against it, is branded *dajjal* [anti-Christ] by them, and they declare him deservant of being murdered. I too have been under this sentence for a long time.” (*Government Angrezi aur Jihad*, p. 7)

17.5: Jihad and the British Government

I. VIEWS OF PROMINENT MUSLIMS OF THE TIME

1. Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi (d. 1831)

He was a Muslim military as well as religious leader who fought against Sikh rule in the North West of India, and is regarded as *mujaddid* of the thirteenth century *hijra*. It is recorded about him:

“When he was going forth to conduct jihad against the Sikhs, a man asked him: ‘Why do you go so far to fight jihad against the Sikhs, when the British are ruling the country and they are deniers of Islam. Conduct jihad against them in every house and wrest India from them; millions of people will support and help you’. . . .

“He replied: The British government may be deniers of Islam, but they are not oppressing the Muslims, nor preventing them from religious obligations and worship. For what reason then can we fight jihad against them, and needlessly shed the blood of both sides, contrary to the principles of religion.”

(*Musalmanon Ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, by Sayyid Tufail Ahmad, 3rd edition, 1940)

2. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed

He was the deputy of Sayyid Ahmad Bareilvi, and died in a battle against the Sikhs. It is written about him:

- i. "A man asked, Why do you not give a pronouncement of jihad against the British? He replied: In no way is it obligatory to fight jihad against them. Firstly, we are their subjects. Secondly, they do not interfere in our performance of our religious duties. We have every kind of freedom under their rule. In fact, if someone attacks them, Muslims must fight the attacker and let not their government be harmed a whit."
(*Hayyat Tayyiba*, biography by Mirza Hairat of Delhi, 1972 edition, published in Lahore, p. 364)
- ii. "Maulavi Ismail had announced that 'jihad is not valid against the British government in the religious sense, nor do we have any dispute with them; we are only retaliating against the Sikhs for our brothers.' This was why the British rulers knew nothing, and did not stop his preparations."
(*ibid.*, p. 201)
- iii. "This was the reason why Maulavi Ismail of Delhi, who knew the Quran and Hadith, and acted upon them, did not fight in his country India against the British, under whose peace and protection he lived, nor did he fight the states of this country. Outside this country, he fought the Sikhs who interfered in the religious practices of the Muslims, prohibiting the loud sounding of the Azan."
(*Al-Iqtisad fi masa'il al-jihad*, by Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi, published 1876, pp. 49–50)

3. Maulana Sayyid Nazir Husain of Delhi (d. 1902)

He was the top-most Ahl-i Hadith theologian.

- i. In a *fatwa*, he wrote:
"Since the criterion of jihad is absent from this land, to conduct jihad here would be a means of destruction and a sin."
(*Fatawa Naziriyya*, vol. iv, p. 472)
- ii. It is noted about him:
"In terms of the true meaning of jihad, Sayyid Nazir Husain of Delhi did not consider the 1857 rebellion to be Islamic legal jihad. He thought it to be faithlessness, breach of covenant, and mischief, and declared it to be a sin to take part or help in it."

(Magazine *Isha'at as-Sunna*, vol. vi, no. 10, October 1883, p. 288)

4. Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi

He was an Ahl-i Hadith leader and editor of *Isha'at as-Sunna*, who opposed Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad after his claim to be the Promised Messiah. In a book on jihad, he wrote:

“Uninformed Muslims should examine this implication and bear it in mind, and not consider fighting with every rival faith on account of its unbelief to be legal jihad. To fight with peaceful or covenanted people most definitely cannot be legal jihad, whether national or religious, but is rebellion and sedition. The Muslims who took part in the 1857 rebellion were serious sinners, and according to the Quran and Hadith they were rebels, mischief makers and wicked. Most of the ordinary people among them were like beasts. Those known as the prominent and the Ulama were unacquainted with true faith, or lacking in understanding.”

(*Al-Iqtisad fi masa'il al-Jihad*, p. 49)

5. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal

He was an eminent Ahl-i Hadith religious scholar as well as political leader. In his book *Tarjuman-i Wahhabiyyat*, he wrote:

- i. “This book has been written to inform the British government that no Muslim subject of India and the Indian states bears malice towards this great power.”
(Edition published in Lahore, 1895, p. 4)
- ii. “Be concerned about those people who are ignorant of their religious teachings, in that they wish to efface the British government, and to end the current peace and tranquility by disorder under the name of jihad. This is sheer stupidity and foolishness.” (p. 7)
- iii. “During the mutiny [of 1857], some rajas and so-called nawabs and men of means interfered in the peace and calm of India under the name of jihad, and they fanned the flames of battle till their disorder and hostility reached such a level that women and children, who cannot be killed under any law, were thoughtlessly slaughtered. . . . If anyone lets loose such mischief today, he would also be the same kind of trouble-maker, and from beginning to end he would stain the name of Islam.” (p. 15)
- iv. “In 1875, Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi . . . gave the reply that jihad and religious war against the British government of

India, against the authority which has granted religious freedom, is forbidden by and contrary to the law of Islam, and those people who take up weapons against the British government of India, or against any sovereign who has granted religious freedom, and wish to conduct religious jihad, are all rebels and deservant of punishment. Then Maulavi Muhammad Husain, in support of his claim and reply, sent his ruling to all the Ulama of Punjab and other parts of India, and well-publicised it. He obtained the seals and signatures of approval of all the Ulama of Punjab and India in support of the ruling that the taking up of arms by Indian Muslims, and jihad against the British government of India, was opposed to the Sunna and the faith of the monotheists." (p. 61)

6. Sultan of Turkish (Ottoman) empire

The Sultan of the Turkish empire used to be known as the *Khalifa-tul-Muslimeen* (Head of the Muslims), and was recognised as their titular head by vast numbers of Muslims. A history book records:

"The Sultan of Turkey, who was the *Khalifa-tul-Muslimeen*, thanked this assistance of the British [during the Crimean war] in this way, that in 1857 when the independent minded Muslims and Hindus of India joined forces to launch a war of independence against British rule, the Khalifa wrote and gave to the British a *fatwa* to the effect that the Muslims of India ought not to fight the British because the latter had proved to be supporters and well-wishers of the Islamic Khilafat."

(*Tarikh Aqwam 'Alam*, Parts I and II, by Murtaza Ahmad Khan, p. 540)

7. Hunter's *The Indian Musalmans*

In 1872 a British scholar and civil servant in India, W. W. Hunter, published a now historic book entitled *The Indian Musalmans*, in which he gave the views of various sects of Islam on the question of whether Muslims were duty-bound by their religion to wage a war-like jihad against the British government of India. Regarding the Shiah sect, Hunter writes:

"Their present declaration of the non-obligation to rebel is spontaneous, and it is well that such a declaration has been put on record. It comes to us stamped with the highest authority which the Shias can give to any document, and will be permanently binding on the whole sect." (p. 121)

Regarding the Sunni Hanafis, the majority sect, he then adds:

“I now pass to the Formal Decisions of the greater sect. The Sunnis, as they are the most numerous class of Indian Musalmans, so they have of late been the most conspicuous in proclaiming that they are under no religious obligation to wage war against the Queen. To that end they have procured two distinct sets of Legal Decisions, and the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta has summed up the whole Sunni view of the question in a forcibly written pamphlet. . . .

“The Law Doctors of Northern Hindustan set out by tacitly assuming that India is a Country of the Enemy (*Dar-ul-Harb*), and deduce therefrom that religious rebellion is uncalled for. The Calcutta Doctors declare India to be a Country of Islam (*Dar-ul-Islam*), and conclude that religious rebellion is therefore unlawful.”
(p. 122)

(*The Indian Musalmans* by W. W. Hunter, published by Trubner and Co., London, 1872, second edition)

The two rulings (*fatwas*) referred to here are given in English translation in Appendix II and III of *The Indian Musalmans*. In the first *fatwa*, the following question was asked:

“What is your Decision, O men of learning and expounders of the law of Islam, in the following: Whether a Jihad is lawful in India, a country formerly held by a Muslim ruler, and now held under the sway of a Christian government, where the said Christian Ruler does in no way interfere with his Muslim subjects in the Rites prescribed by their Religion, such as Praying, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Zakat, Friday Prayer, and Jama‘at, and gives them fullest protection and liberty in the above respects in the same way as a Muslim Ruler would do, and where the Muslim subjects have no strength and means to fight with their rulers; on the contrary, there is every chance of the war, if waged, ending with a defeat, and thereby causing an indignity to Islam.”

The *fatwa* given on this question, dated 17 July 1870, is as follows:

“The Musalmans here are protected by Christians, and there is no Jihad in a country where protection is afforded, as the absence of protection and liberty between Musalmans and Infidels is essential in a religious war, and that condition does not exist here. Besides,

it is necessary that there should be a probability of victory to Muslims and glory to the Indians. If there be no such probability, the *Jihad* is unlawful.”

This *fatwa* bears the seals of the following: Maulavi Ali Muhammad, Maulavi Abdul Hai, Maulavi Fazlullah, Muhammad Naim, and Maulavi Rahmatullah, all of Lucknow, Maulavi Qutb-ud-Din of Delhi, Maulavi Lutfullah of Rampur, and others. See pages 218–219 of *The Indian Muslims*.

In the second *fatwa*, given by Maulavi Karamat Ali of the Calcutta Muhammadan Society, it is first determined that India is *Dar-ul-Islam*, and then it is added:

“The second question is, ‘Whether it is lawful in this Country to make *Jihad* or not.’ This has been solved together with the first. For *jihad* can by no means be lawfully made in *Dar-ul-Islam*. This is so evident that it requires no argument or authority to support it. Now, if any misguided wretch, owing to his perverse fortune, were to wage war against the Ruling Powers of this Country, British India, such war would be rightly pronounced rebellion; and rebellion is strictly forbidden by the Islamic Law. Therefore such war will likewise be unlawful; and in case any one would wage such war, the Muslim subjects would be bound to assist their Rulers, and, in conjunction with their Rulers, to fight with such rebels.”
(*ibid.*, p. 219)

II. EXTRACTS FROM RECENT HISTORY BOOK

Dr Barbara Daly Metcalf of the U.S.A. has written a book entitled *Islamic Revival in British India, 1860–1900*, published by the Princeton University Press, Princeton (1982), based on her doctoral research work. At various places in this book, the views of famous Muslim theologians and prominent figures of the last century have been given on the question of *jihad* in relation to British rule of India. Some extracts are given below.

1. The Deobandis

Regarding the attitude and mode of conduct of leaders of the Deoband school, it is written about one of the founders, Rashid Ahmad Gangohi:

“Further, Rashid Ahmad sanctioned turning to the government for aid in disputes with Hindus. ‘Do not fight and die [to reclaim the site of a mosque from Hindus],’ he wrote, ‘but turn to the

government.’ The Deobandis made sure that they conformed in every way to a posture of loyalty. Rashid Ahmad, for this reason, refused to accept a grant of 5000 Rupees a year from the Shah of Afghanistan for fear that a political link might be suspected. And the school celebrated ceremonial occasions like coronations with appropriate pomp, and observed times of crises, like Queen Victoria’s last illness, with fitting prayers and messages.” (pp. 154–155)

2. Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan

His views have been quoted above from his book *Tarjuman al-Wahhabiyya*. This book is described as follows by Dr Metcalf:

“After the Mutiny [of 1857] . . . some among the British still feared that Muslims would once again resort to open warfare, as they had done in the 1830s. Those who did saw the Ahl-i Hadith as the heirs of the jihad tradition and singled out Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan as its exponent. . . . But far from fomenting jihad, he had written *Tarjuman-i Wahhabiyyat* to prove that the Ahl-i Hadith were loyal. He quoted Lord Northbrook’s testimonial to Muslim loyalty. He pointed out that Bhopal had aided the British in the war in Egypt. He cited, as did all the writers on this subject, the obligation of Muslims to accept a ruler who had provided security and with whom one had made an agreement.” (p. 279)

3. Deputy Nazir Ahmad

He was a famous literary figure of the time who also translated the Quran into Urdu. His attitude is recorded as follows:

“He mocked those who aped British dress and manners. Still he enthusiastically embraced British rule, writing at length during the 1870s to deny the legitimacy of jihad.” (p. 332)

4. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898)

He is considered as one of the greatest Indian Muslim leaders during British rule. About his views it is written:

“Gradually he became convinced that British rule was long to stay, and that those Muslims aligned with it would be both true to their religion and prosperous. He had to convince his fellow Muslims of the truth of this position. . . . To the British he had to show that the Muslims were both loyal and important to the stability of their rule. . . . His efforts — if not his religious thought — were to be

welcomed by many Muslims of his day.” (p. 319)

III. ULAMA USE WORD ‘HARAM’ ABOUT JIHAD

Hazrat Mirza is accused of having described jihad as *haram* (forbidden by the religion). Below are quoted writings of some Ulama in which they have used the word *haram* in the same context.

1. Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi:

- i. “To fight against this government [i.e. British rule of India] or to aid those who fight against it, even though they be one’s Muslim brothers, is clear treachery and *haram*.”
(*Al-Iqtisad fi masa’il al-jihad*, p. 49)
- ii. “It is not permissible for Muslim subjects to fight, or aid those who fight, against their government, whatever be the religion of that government, when they are performing their religious obligations with freedom under its peace and law. On this basis, it is *haram* for the Indian Muslims to oppose, and to rebel against, the British government.”
(*Isha’at as-Sunna*, vol. vi, no. 10, p. 287)

2. Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal:

“I do not support war, nor can any Muslim support it bearing in mind the limits imposed by the Shari’ah. According to Quranic teachings, there can only be two types of jihad or war: defensive and corrective. In the first case, it is only under the condition . . . that when Muslims are wronged and expelled from their homes, they are permitted, not ordered, to raise the sword. . . . For territorial expansion, it is *haram* in Islam to conduct war, and it is also *haram* to raise the sword for the propagation of the faith.”
(*Makatib Iqbal*, collection of letters of Iqbal, Part I, p. 203)

3. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi:

“No true reformer can decide to adopt only one of the sword or the pen for the execution of his reform work. He needs both of these to accomplish his task. As long as preaching and exhortation by the tongue can be effective in teaching people morality and civilisation, to raise the sword is not only not permitted, but it is *haram*.”
(*Al-Jihad fil-Islam*, 3rd edition, p. 27)

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad wrote in precisely the same vein. In a well-known poem, he wrote:

Drop the idea of jihad at this time, O friends; To spread the faith by war and *qital* (fighting) is *haram* now.

No coercion is there for you from an alien nation; it does not forbid you prayer and fasting.

That Messiah has now come who is the Imam of the faith; an end has been put to religious wars.

The Holy Prophet had said; that Jesus would postpone the wars.

To imagine that a mahdi would come to shed blood; and expand the faith by killing unbelievers.

This is all sheer falsehood, O heedless ones; it is slander, without proof, without light.

17.6: Hazrat Mirza's statements on loyalty to British rule

1. "Muslims in government employment are constantly endeavouring to prove me a traitor to this benevolent government. I hear that efforts are always being made to report false things about me [to the government], whereas you know well that I am not a man of rebellious nature." (*Tiryaq al-Qulub*, p. 15 of the first edition)
2. "Some of them [the opponents] write false complaints against me to the British government, and they put these forward, dressing themselves up as informers, and concealing their enmity." (*Anjam Atham*, p. 68)
3. "In this book of his, he has given an account of my circumstances, by way of fabrication, and has written that I am a spreader of disorder and an enemy of the government, and that signs of rebellion can be seen in my behaviour, and that he is certain that I shall do such things, and that I am an opponent of the government." (*Nur al-Haq*, Part I, p. 24)
(Reference here is to a Christian preacher Rev. Imad-ud-Din.)
4. "It should be mentioned that Dr. Clarke [a Christian missionary opponent] has said in his [court] statement, at some places implicitly and at others explicitly, that I am a danger to the British government." (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, p. 3)

5. "They are trying to turn the government against me. The government is excusable to some extent if it were to turn against me, because it is not the knower of the unseen. This is why I often had to send memorials specially addressed to the government, and to acquaint it myself with my circumstances, so that it would know the true and correct facts." (*Malfuzat*, Part I, p. 209)

It is astonishing, therefore, that the opponents first take false complaints against Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad to the government, and act as false informers, alleging that he was a rebel against the British government. But when he clears himself of this charge, they try to incite people against him by accusing him of praising the government!

Section 18

Fatwas of Kufr

Compiler's Note. One chief argument advanced by our opponents is that Ahmadis are *kafir* because the leaders of various Muslim groups have issued *fatwas* (rulings) against them, describing them as *kafir*. But the fact is that all these sects have also issued *fatwas* of the same sort against each other. Their *fatwas* declare Muslims to be *kafir* on the most trivial grounds. Therefore by this argument, every Muslim in the world can be proved to be a *kafir*! This Section first quotes examples of *fatwas* of *kufr* issued by various Sunni sects against each other in recent times. It then shows that the great Muslim religious figures in history were all persecuted and branded as *kafir* by the religious leaders and the Muslim governments of their times. The fact that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has been subjected to similar treatment is more an indication of his truth, rather than proving him to be a *kafir*.

Ghulam Ahmad Pervez of Lahore is a well-known Pakistani Islamic thinker and writer, representing the *Ahl-i Quran* tendency, and founder of the *Idarq Tulu'-i-Islam* (Institute of the Dawn of Islam). In the monthly journal of this institute, entitled *Tulu'-i-Islam*, dated August 1969, there is an extensive article headed *Fatwas of Kufr* (Rulings of Heresy) quoting *fatwas* of various Sunni groups condemning one another as *kafir*. A long extract from this article is given below in translation.

START OF QUOTE

The Sunnis are divided into two main sects: Non-conformists (*ghair muqallid*), commonly known as *Ahl-i Hadith*, and conformists (*muqallid*), commonly known as *Hanafis*. The conformists are divided into two groups: Deobandi and Bareilvi. Also among the conformists are the various Sufi orders. Now let us see how these sects are declaring each other as *kafir*.

Fatwas of conformists against non-conformists

1. "The non-conformist (*ghair muqallid*) sect, whose distinctive outward manner [of prayer] in this country is saying *Amen* aloud, raising the hands [during the prayer], folding the arms on the chest, and reciting the *Al-Hamd* behind the Imam, are excluded from the

Sunnis, and are like other misguided sects, because many of their beliefs and practices are opposed to those of the Sunnis. It is not permissible to pray behind them. To mix with them socially and sit with them, and to let them enter mosques at their pleasure, is prohibited in Islamic Shari'ah."

(This bears the seals of nearly seventy *Ulama*. Reference the book: *Arguments with regard to the expulsion of Wahabis from mosques*, p. 8.)

2. "He who calls conformism (*taqlid*) as prohibited, and conformists as polytheists, is a *kafir* according to Islamic Shari'ah, and in fact a *murtadd* [apostate]."

(Book: *Discipline of mosques with regard to the expulsion of mischief-makers from mosques*)
3. "It is obligatory upon the *Ulama* and *Muftis* that, by merely hearing of such a thing, they should not hesitate to issue *fatwas* of heresy and apostasy. Otherwise, they themselves would be included among the apostates." (ibid.)
4. Ahmad Raza Khan, the Bareilvi leader, has quoted the beliefs of all sections of the non-conformists, and given the *fatwa*:

"All these groups are *murtadd* and *kafir*. He who doubts their being *kafirs*, is himself a *kafir*."

(Book *Hisam al Haramain*)

Fatwas of non-conformists against conformists

1. "Question: What say the *Ulama* and the *Muftis* regarding the conformist (*muqallid*) group, who follow only one Imam [i.e. Hanafis]. Are they Sunnis or not? Is it valid to pray behind them or not? Is it permissible to allow them into mosques, and to mix with them socially?

"Answer: Undoubtedly, prayers are not permissible behind conformists because their beliefs and practices are opposed to those of the Sunnis. In fact, some of their beliefs and practices lead to polytheism, and others spoil prayers. It is not correct in Islamic Shari'ah to allow such conformists into mosques."

This bears the seals of nineteen priests. (Reference the book: *Collection of Fatwas*, pp. 54–55)
2. The late Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan wrote:

"The word *polytheist* can be applied to conformists, and *polytheism*

can be applied to conformism. Most people today are conformists. The Quranic verse, ‘Most people believe not, they are but polytheists’, applies quite well to them.”
(*Iqtarab as-Sa'a*, p. 16)

Not only Hanafis, but all of them:

“The followers of all the four Imams and the followers of the four Sufi orders, viz. Hanafi, Shafi‘i, Maliki, Hanbali, Chishtiyya, Qadiriyya, Naqshbandiyya and Mujaddidiyya are all *kafirs*.”
(*Jami al-Shuhood*, p. 2)

Fatwa of three hundred Ulama against Deobandis

“The Deobandis, because of their contempt and insult, in their acts of worship, towards all saints, prophets, and even the Holy Prophet Muhammad and the very Person of God Himself, are definitely *murtadd* and *kafir*. Their apostasy and heresy is of the worst kind, so that anyone who doubts their apostasy and heresy even slightly is himself a *murtadd* and *kafir*. Muslims should be very cautious of them, and stay away from them. Let alone praying behind them, one should not let them pray behind one, or allow them into mosques, or eat the animal slaughtered by them, or join them on happy or sad occasions, or let them come near one, or visit them in illness, or attend their funerals, or give them space in Muslim grave-yards. To sum up, one must stay away from them completely.”

(See the *Unanimous Fatwa of Three Hundred Ulama*, published by Muhammad Ibrahim of Bhagalpur)

Deobandis should be declared non-Muslim minority

In March 1953, a poster was put up on walls in Karachi headed: “Demands: Deoband sect should be declared a separate minority”. Among other things it said:

“Just as Sikhs originated from Hinduism, but are not Hindus, and Protestants came from Roman Catholicism, but are not Catholics, similarly, the Deobandi sect originated in the Sunni community, but are not Sunnis. The representatives of this minority sect are Mufti Muhammad Shafi, Sayyid Sulaiman Nadawi, Ihtasham-ul-Haqq, and Abul Ala Maudoodi, etc.”

After this it was demanded that this sect be declared a non-Muslim minority. It was signed by 28 persons (see *Tulu‘-i-Islam*, May 1953, p. 64).

Fatwa of Deobandis against Barelvis

Maulavi Sayyid Muhammad Murtaza of Deoband has, in his book, tried to show that Ahmad Raza Khan, the Barelvi leader, was a *kafir*, a great *kafir*, Anti-Christ of this century, *murtadd*, and excluded from Islam. (See the booklet *Radd at-Takfir ala-l-fahash at-Tanzir.*)

The opposite side

Ahmad Raza Khan (Barelvi) has noted the beliefs of Muhammad Qasim Nanotavi (founder of the school at Deoband) and Rashid Ahmad Gangohi (of Deoband), and then added:

“They are all *murtadd* [apostate] according to the unanimous view (*ijma*) of Muslims.”

This *fatwa* bears the signatures and seals of *Ulama* of Makka and Madina, and other *Muftis* and Islamic judges. Three reasons have been given for calling them *kafir*:

1. They deny the finality of prophethood;
2. They insult the Holy Prophet;
3. They believe that God can tell a lie.

Hence it is written about them:

“He who doubts that they are *kafirs*, is himself a *kafir*.”
(*Hisam al-Haramain*, pp. 100 and 113)

You will have seen that all the sects, whether Hanafis, Ahl-i Hadith, Deobandi, or Barelvi, and all the Sufi orders such as Chishtiyya, Qadi-riyya, etc., have had *fatwas* of heresy and apostasy pronounced against them. And not only sects, but the prominent men of these sects have had *fatwas* directed against them individually.

Fatwas against individual leaders

Maulana Nazir Husain of Delhi (Ahl-i Hadith) was called disputant, doubter, follower of base passions, jealous, dishonest and alterer (of the Quran).

Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalavi, along with the above Maulana, was called devil, atheist, stupid, senseless, faithless, etc. This *fatwa* bears the seals of 82 *Ulama* of Arabia and elsewhere. (Book *Nazar al-Haq*)

Maulana Sana-Ullah of Amritsar (Ahl-i Hadith) had *fatwas* directed against him which were obtained in Makka. It is written about his commentary of the Quran:

“It is the writing of a misguided person, one who has invented new doctrines. In his commentary he has collected beliefs such as re-incarnation and the doctrines of the Mu’tazila [an early extreme Muslim sect]. It is neither permissible to obtain knowledge from Maulana Sana-ullah, nor to follow him. His evidence cannot be accepted, nor can he lead prayers. There is no doubt regarding his heresy and apostasy. . . . His commentary deserves to be cut to pieces. In fact, it is forbidden to see it except for the purpose of refuting it.”

(*Faisila Makka*, pp. 15–20)

Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani (Deobandi):

Referring to an article of his, the weekly *Tarjuman Islam* of Lahore carried the following extract in its issue for 10 November 1961:

“Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani, Deobandi, was a first-rate scholar and servant of Quran and Hadith. He needs no introduction. But one was very shocked by a letter of his which contained the grotesque idea of the denial of Hadith. This concept goes beyond the Mu’tazila, and breaks the records of the ideologies of Chakralvi and Pervez.”

All those whose record is said to be broken by Husain Ahmad Madani, have had *fatwas* of *kufir* directed against them. This makes it clear that Maulana Madani too is considered a *kafir*.

Maulana Maudoodi:

Abul Ala Maudoodi and his party have been the subject of *fatwas* by *Ulama* of nearly every sect.

1. Mufti Muhzar-ullah, of Jami Fatehpuri in Delhi, wrote in his *fatwa*: “On the very face of it, these things [beliefs of Maudoodi’s party] exclude a Muslim from the Sunnis, and lead to divisions among the believers, and is the basis of making a new sect. But looking closely, these things take one to heresy. In this case, they do not make a new sect, but result in one’s entry into the group of apostates.”
2. Maulana Hafiz-ullah of Aligarh has written: “Whatever was the position of the *Zarar* mosque, similar is the position of this [i.e. Maudoodi’s] party.”
[*Note*: The *Zarar* mosque was a mosque built by some hypocrite Muslims in Madina during the Holy Prophet’s time for the purpose

of conspiring against Islam].

The word *kufr* is used about the *Zarar* mosque in the Holy Quran. Hence the same word applies to these people.

3. Maulana Izaz Ali, Deobandi, wrote in his *fatwa*:
“I consider this [i.e. Maudoodi’s] party to be even more harmful for the faith of the Muslims than are the Ahmadis.”
4. Mufti Sayyid Mahdi Hasan, President-Mufti of the theological school at Deoband, writes in his *fatwa*:
“If an Imam of a mosque agrees with the views of Maudoodi, it is a hateful matter to pray behind him.”
5. Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani (Deobandi) wrote in a letter to Maudoodi:
“Your ‘Islamic’ movement is against the righteous tradition in Islam. It is like the [extremist] sects of old such as Mu’tazila, Khwarij and Rafiz. It resembles modern sects such as Qadiani, Chakralvi [deniers of Hadith], Naturi [rationalist], and Baha’i [i.e. the Baha’i religion]. It seeks to make a new Islam. It is based on principles, beliefs and practices which are against the Sunnis and Islam.”
6. The Committee of *Ulama* of Maulana Ahmad Ali wrote in a poster against Maudoodi:
“His reasoning is devilry against the Quran.”
It is then added:
“May God save all Muslims from Maudoodi and the evil and deceit of his so-called Islamic Party.”

Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan [prominent Muslim modernist leader and founder of the Aligarh University for Muslims, d. 1898]:

In his biography *Hayat-i Jawa'id* by Maulana Hali, the storm of condemnation and *takfir* against Sir Sayyid is fully detailed. Read some of these lines:

“Sir Sayyid was called atheist, irreligious, Christian, nature-worshipper, anti-Christ, and many other things. *Fatwas* that he was a *kafir* were prepared, and signatures of Maulavis of every town and city were obtained. Even those who remained silent against Sir Sayyid as regards *takfir*, were called *kafir*.” (p. 623)

“All the Muslim sects in India, be they Sunni or Shiah, conformist or non-conformist, the seals and signatures of the known and

unknown *Ulama* and priests of all these are on these *fatwas*.” (p. 627)

A *fatwa* was obtained from Makka, bearing the seals of Muftis of all the four schools, in which it was written:

“This man is an heretic, or he was inclined to unbelief (*kufr*) from Islamic law in some aspect. . . . If he repents before he is arrested, and turns away from his misguided views, and there are clear signs of repentance from him, then he should not be killed. Otherwise, it is obligatory to kill him for the sake of the faith.” (p. 633)

Jinnah and Iqbal [revered in Pakistan as fathers of the nation]:

Sir Sayyid had at least expressed views on religious matters. But these people also called Jinnah as “the great *kafir*”. Even a true believer like Iqbal had a *fatwa* of *kufr* directed against him.

Fatwas of kufr against early savants

The pastime of declaring people as *kafir* is not a product of the present age. Unfortunately, this disease is very old, and there can hardly be anyone from among the great figures of Muslim religious history who escaped being a subject of such *fatwas*. Let us look at the great leaders of religion after the age of the Holy Prophet’s Companions.

Abu Hanifa: He was disgraced, called ignorant, inventor of new beliefs, hypocrite and *kafir*. He was imprisoned and poisoned. He died in 150 A.H. [circa 768 C.E.].

Imam Shafi’i: He was called devil and imprisoned. Prayers were said for his death. He was taken in captivity from Yemen to Baghdad, in a condition of humiliation and degradation. He died in 204 A.H. [circa 820 C.E.].

Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal: He was kept in prison for 28 months, with a heavy chain around his feet. He was publicly humiliated, slapped and spat upon. Every evening he used to be flogged. All this was because of the controversy regarding whether the Quran was ‘uncreated’ or ‘created’.

Imam Malik: A resident of Madina, he too was imprisoned and flogged.

Bukhari [Collector of Hadith]: He was exiled and died in 256 A.H. [circa 871 C.E.].

Nasa’i [Collector of Hadith]: He was disgraced and beaten in a mosque so much that he died.

Abdul Qadir Jilani [Saint of Baghdad, d. 1166 C.E.] was called *kafir* by the jurists.

Muhyud-Din Ibn Arabi [great philosopher and saint, d. 1240 C.E.]: The *Ulama* issued a *fatwa* against him saying: "His unbelief is greater than that of Jews and Christians". All his followers were declared *kafir*, so much so that those who doubted his unbelief were called *kafir*.

Rumi, Jami and Attar [now world famous Muslim saints and writers of Persia] were called *kafir*, and anyone not calling them *kafir* was also called *kafir*.

Imam Ghazali [philosopher and *mujaddid*, d. 1111 C.E.] was called *kafir*, and burning his books and cursing him was declared a good deed.

Ibn Taimiyya [Muslim philosopher and *mujaddid*, d. 1327 C.E.]: The King of Egypt asked for a *fatwa* to put him to death.

Hafiz ibn Qayyim: imprisoned and exiled.

Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind [d. 1624 C.E., *mujaddid* in India]: called *kafir*.

Shah Wali-ullah [d. 1763 C.E., *mujaddid* in India]: called inventor of new beliefs and misguided.

Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi [d. 1831 C.E., *mujaddid* and military leader in India]: called *kafir*.

Shah Ismail Shaheed [deputy of above *mujaddid*]: *Fatwas* of heresy against him obtained from Makka.

END OF QUOTATION

FATWAS AGAINST PERVEZ

Ghulam Ahmad Pervez, founder of the movement which publishes *Tulu'-i-Islam*, from which the above extract has been taken, was himself the subject of *fatwas* such as those quoted below:

1. "Ghulam Ahmad Pervez is a *kafir* according to Islamic Shari'ah, and excluded from the pale of Islam. No Muslim woman can remain married to him, nor can a Muslim woman enter into marriage with him. His funeral prayers cannot be said, nor is it permissible to bury him in a Muslim grave-yard. This applies not only to Pervez, but to every *kafir*. It also applies to any person who is a follower of his in these heretic beliefs. As he has become an

apostate (*murtadd*), it is not permitted by the Shari'ah to have any kind of Islamic relations with him.”

“Signed: Wali Hasan Tonki, Mufti and teacher,

“Muhammad Yusuf Banori, *Shaikh al-Hadith*,

“*Madrassa Arabiyya Islamiyya*, New Town, Karachi.”

2. An organ of Maudoodi's *Jama'at-i Islami* gave the following *fatwa* about Pervez's followers:

“If they say that Shari'ah is only that which is contained in the Quran, and all that is besides this is not Shari'ah, then this is clear heresy. It is the same kind of heresy as the heresy of the Qadianis. In fact it is worse and more extreme than that.”

(article by Maulana Amin Ahsan Islahi, in the daily *Tasneem*, Lahore, 15 August 1952, p. 12)

Section 19

Attitude towards other Muslims

Compiler's Note. It is alleged that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has separated his community from the rest of the Muslims by forbidding his followers from saying funeral prayers for deceased non-Ahmadi Muslims, and from joining any prayer service if the imam is not an Ahmadi. This issue did arise in the context of the court case, but only to a minor extent. Therefore, the short note given below was submitted in evidence.

19.1: Funeral Prayers for other Muslims

As regards those people who do not call Hazrat Mirza as *kafir*, nor abuse and curse him, he did not instruct his followers to refrain from holding funeral prayers for them. He said:

1. "It is permissible to say funeral prayers for an opponent if he did not abuse us."
(Letter dated 12 May 1907 to one Mian Ghulam Qadir of Jeonjal, district Gujrat; facsimile of original available.)
2. "If the deceased did not call us *kafir* and liar, his funeral prayers may be said. There is nothing wrong with that, for only God knows hidden matters."
(Statement made on 18 April 1902. Newspaper *Al-Hakam*, 30 April 1902; see also *Fatawa Ahmadiyya*, vol. i, p. 118)

19.2: Saying prayers behind other Muslims

We do not pray behind any person who calls those reciting the *Kalima* as *kafir*, whoever that person might be. Our separation of prayers is not due to our being Ahmadi, but because of being called *kafir* by others. If a person dissociates himself from those who call us *kafir*, we are prepared to pray behind him, to whatever sect he may belong.

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad never instructed his followers to refrain from praying behind those Muslims who do not accept his claims. He

wrote:

“As the maulavis of this country, due to their bigotry, have generally declared us *kafir*, and have written *fatwas*, and the rest of the people are their followers, so if there are any persons who, to clear their own position, make an announcement that they do not follow these maulavis who make others *kafir*, then it would be allowable [for Ahmadis] to say prayers with them. Otherwise, the man who calls a Muslim as *kafir*, becomes a *kafir* himself. So how can we pray behind him? The Shari‘ah does not permit it.”
(Letter printed in newspaper *Badr*, 24–31 December 1908, p. 5)

Other Muslim groups have issued *fatwas* against each other, declaring prayers behind the others to be prohibited. For instance:

1. Non-conformists (*ghair muqallid*) say about conformists (*muqallid*):
“Undoubtedly, prayers behind such conformists are not permissible because their beliefs and practices are opposed to those who follow the *Sunna*.”
2. Regarding the Deobandis, a *fatwa* says:
“To say nothing of praying behind them, you should not even allow them to pray behind you, or allow them to enter mosques.”

Section 20

Tributes to

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad

Compiler's Note. It is alleged by our opponents that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has been universally considered by all Muslims to be a *kafir* and outside the fold of Islam. This is a totally false assertion. It is only the petty-minded mosque preachers, the ignorant mullas, and political aspirants seeking to exploit the ignorance of the masses, who have condemned Hazrat Mirza as *kafir*. Eminent Muslim religious scholars and leaders, especially those who were his contemporaries, have not only regarded Hazrat Mirza as a Muslim but have proclaimed him to be a great servant and champion of Islam. In this Section we present tributes to Hazrat Mirza by prominent Muslims of his time and after. Many of these reviews are his obituaries which appeared in well-known Muslim journals of the day.

1. Mirza Hairat of Delhi

He was editor of the *Curzon Gazette*. In his obituary of Hazrat Mirza, he wrote:

“The services of the deceased, which he rendered to Islam in confrontation with the Christians and the Arya Samajists, deserve the highest praise. He completely changed the flow of the debate, and laid the foundations of a new literature in India.

“We admit, not because of our being Muslims but being seekers after truth, that the top most Arya Samaj leader or Christian missionary could not dare open his mouth to confront the late Mirza sahib. The incomparable books which he wrote in refutation of the Arya Samaj and Christian creeds, and the shattering replies he gave to the opponents of Islam, we have not seen any rational refutation of these except that the Aryas have been hurling abuse at the Founder and the teachings of Islam in an uncouth manner, without being able to give a sensible reply. Although the deceased was a Punjabi, yet his pen was so powerful that today in the whole of the Punjab, even in the whole of India, there is no author of such power. . . . and it is true that, on reading some of his writings, one

goes into a state of ecstasy. Although he did not receive any regular education in Arabic language, literature or grammar, he gained such a proficiency in Arabic by his God-given intellect and nature that he could write it quite naturally. . . .

“His followers are not only common and unlearned people, but include able and bright graduates, viz., B.A., M.A., and very learned Ulama. It is a matter of no small pride for a religious leader of this day that persons educated on traditional lines as well as persons educated on modern lines, both types, should become his followers. Surviving the heat of predictions of his death, opposition, and criticism, he cleared his way to reach the highest pinnacle of progress.”

(*Curzon Gazette*, Delhi, 1st June 1908)

2. Maulavi Bashir-ud-Din

The editor of *Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*, Rewari (U.P., India), wrote as follows in his obituary:

“As Mirza sahib, with his forceful speeches and magnificent writings, shattered the foul criticism of the opponents of Islam, silencing them forever and proving that truth is after all the truth, and as he left no stone unturned in the service of Islam by championing its cause to the full, justice requires that one should condole the sudden and untimely death of such a resolute defender of Islam, helper of the Muslims, and an eminent and irreplaceable scholar.”

(*Sadiq-ul-Akhbar*, May 1908)

3. Maulavi Sayyid Waheed-ud-Din

The editor of *Aligarh Institute Gazette* wrote:

“The deceased was an acknowledged author and founder of the Ahmadiyya Sect. . . . He has left eighty writings, twenty of which are in Arabic. Undoubtedly, the deceased was a great fighter for Islam.”

(*Aligarh Institute Gazette*, June 1908)

4. ‘Lahore Municipal Gazette’

The editor wrote:

“The Mirza sahib was specially renowned for his knowledge and scholarship. His writings were also eloquent. In any case, we are grieved by his death for the reason that he was a Muslim. We

believe that a scholar has been taken from the world.”
 (*Municipal Gazette*, Lahore, 1908)

5. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad

He was a very famous Islamic scholar, author and journalist in India this century. He was also President of the Indian National Congress before independence, and after the independence of India he held high posts in the federal cabinet of the Indian Republic. At the time of the death of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, he was acting as the editor of a well-known Muslim newspaper, the *Wakeel* of Amritsar. We give below extracts from the lengthy obituary of Hazrat Mirza that Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote in it:

“That man, that very great man, whose pen was a magic wand and whose tongue spell-binding; that man whose brain was a complex of wonders, whose eye could revive the dying and whose call aroused those in the graves, whose fingers held the wires of revolution and whose fists were electrical batteries; that man who for thirty years was an earth-quake and typhoon for the religious world, who, like the trumpet of Doomsday, awakened those lost in the slumber of life, he has left the world empty-handed. This bitter death, this cup of poison, which entrusted the deceased to dust, will remain on thousands, nay millions of tongues, as words of bitter disappointment and regret. The stroke of death which slaughtered, along with one who was very much alive, the hopes and longings of many, and the wails it raises of lament, will remain in memories for a long time to come.

“The demise of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sahib of Qadian is not such an event that a lesson should not be learnt from it, nor should it be consigned to the passage of time to efface. Such people who produce a religious or intellectual revolution are not born often. These sons of history, in whom it rightly takes pride, appear but rarely on the world scene, and when they do they bring about a revolution for all to see.

“In spite of our strong differences with Mirza sahib in respect of some of his claims and beliefs, his separation for ever has convinced the educated and enlightened Muslims that one of their very great personages has left them. And with him the mighty defence of Islam against its opponents, which was linked with his person, has come to an end. His special characteristic, that he acted against the

enemies of Islam as a victorious general, compels us to express openly our feeling that the grand movement which for so long defeated and trod over our opponents should be continued in the future also.

“Mirza sahib appeared in the front line of devotees who, for the cause of Islam, accepted the dedication to sacrifice their time from the cradle, through the springs and autumns, to their graves in fulfilling the pledge of loyalty to their beautiful beloved Islam. . . .

“The literature produced by Mirza sahib in his confrontation with the Christians and the Aryas has received the seal of general approval, and for this distinction he needs no introduction. We have to acknowledge the value and greatness of this literature from the bottom of our hearts, now that it has done its work. This is because that time cannot be forgotten nor effaced from the mind when Islam was besieged by attacks on all sides, and the Muslims, who had been entrusted with the defence of Islam by the Real Defender, as the means of defence in this world of causes and means, were lying flat sobbing in the aftermath of their shortcomings, doing nothing for Islam or not being able to do anything for it.

. . .

“Then began that counter-attack from the side of the Muslims in which Mirza sahib had a part. That defence not only shattered to bits the initial influence of Christianity, which it really had due to support from the government, and saved thousands, nay millions, of Muslims from this dangerous attack which would have succeeded, but the talisman of Christianity itself was blown away like smoke. . . .

“So, this service rendered by Mirza sahib will place the coming generations under a debt of gratitude, in that he fulfilled his duty of the defence of Islam by joining the front rank of those engaged in the *jihad* by the pen, and he left behind him as a memorial such literature as will last so long as Muslims have blood flowing in their veins and the urge to support Islam remains their prominent national characteristic. Besides this, Mirza sahib performed a very special service for Islam by crushing the poisonous fangs of the Arya Samaj. . . . His writings against the Arya Samaj shed clear light on the claim that, however much the scope of our defence may be widened in the future, it is impossible that these writings could

ever be overlooked.

“Natural intelligence, application and dexterity, and continuous debates, had lent Mirza sahib a special splendour. He had vast knowledge, not only of his own religion, but also of other religions. And he was able to use his vast knowledge with great finesse. In the art of preaching and teaching, he had acquired the accomplishment that the person whom he addressed, of whatever understanding or religion, was thrown into deep thought by his spontaneous reply. India today is an exhibition house of religions, and the number of great and small faiths found here, along with their mutual struggles which announce their existence, cannot be matched anywhere else in the world. Mirza sahib’s claim was that he was the arbiter and judge for them all, but there is no doubt that he possessed a special talent to make Islam pre-eminent among all these religions. This was due to his natural ability, taste for study, and hard work. It is not likely that a man of this grandeur will be born again in the religious world of the Indian sub-continent, who would devote his highest desires in this way to the study of religions.”

(*Wakeel*, Amritsar)

6. Maulana Abdullah Al-Imadi

He was the permanent editor of *Wakeel*, and he added his own tribute a few days later as follows:

“Although Mirza sahib had not received systematic education in current knowledge and theology, yet an assessment of his life shows that he had a unique nature not granted to everyone: by the aid of his own study and his upright nature, he had attained sufficient mastery over religious literature. In about 1877, when he was 35 or 36 years old, we find him charged with unusual religious fervour. He is leading the life of a true and pious Muslim. His heart is unimpressed by worldly attractions. He is as happy in solitude as if he were in congenial company, and when in company he is enjoying the bliss of solitude. We find him restless, and it appears as if he is in search of a lost thing, no trace of which can be found in the mortal world. Islam has so overwhelmed him that he holds debates with the Aryas, and writes voluminous books in support of Islam. His debates in Hoshiarpur in 1886 were so delightful that the feeling of enjoyment has still not been forgotten. . . .

“The state of ecstasy created by reading his invaluable books which were written to counter other religions and to uphold Islam, still has not faded. His *Barahin Ahmadiyya* overawed the non-Muslims and raised the spirits of the Muslims. He presented to the world a captivating picture of the religion [of Islam], cleansed of the blots and dust that had collected upon it as a result of the superstition and natural weaknesses of the ignorant. In short, this book raised a loud echo in the world, at least within India, which is still reverberating in our ears. Though some Muslim religious leaders may now pass an adverse verdict on *Barahin Ahmadiyya*, . . . the best time to pass judgment was 1880 when it was published. At that time, however, Muslims unanimously decided in favour of Mirza sahib.

“As to his character, there is not the slightest trace of a blot on it. He lived a virtuous life, the life of a righteous, God-fearing person. To conclude, the first fifty years of his life, in terms of high morals and commendable habits, and in terms of services to the religion, raised him to an enviable position of distinction and honour among the Muslims of India.”

(*Wakeel*, Amritsar, 30 May 1908)

7. Maulavi Siraj-ud-Din

Maulavi Siraj-ud-Din was the editor of the leading Muslim Urdu daily paper, the *Zamindar* of Lahore, at the time of Hazrat Mirza's death. He was the father of the well-known Maulavi Zafar Ali Khan, who himself later became editor of *Zamindar*. In his obituary of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad published in *Zamindar*, Maulavi Siraj-ud-Din wrote:

“Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sahib was a clerk near the district of Sialkot in about 1860 or 1861. He would be about 22 or 23 years of age at the time. We can say from personal experience that, even in his youth, he was a very virtuous and righteous person. After work all his time was spent in religious studies. He did not much meet people. In 1877 we had the honour of his hospitality at his home in Qadian for one night. In those days too, he was so engrossed in worship and devotion that he conversed little, even with guests. . . . We have often said, and we again say, that even if his claims were the result of mental pre-occupation, he was innocent of pretence or fabrication. . . . Scholarly figures such as Maulavi Nur-ud-Din and Maulavi Muhammad Ahsan, and products of modern education

such as Khawaja Jamal-ud-Din, B.A., Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din, B.A., and Maulavi Muhammad Ali, M.A., are among his followers. Though we personally did not have the honour of believing in his claims or revelations, nonetheless we consider him to be a perfect Muslim.”
(*Zamindar*, 8 June 1908)

8. Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi

He was a leader of the Ahl-i-Hadith sect, and editor of a journal *Isha'at as-Sunna*, who later became a chief opponent of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Earlier, he wrote a comprehensive review on Hazrat Mirza's book *Barahin Ahmadiyya* when it appeared in 1884, highly praising the work. Given below are some extracts:

- i. “In our opinion this book, at this time and in view of the present circumstances, is such that the like of it has not appeared in Islam up to now, while nothing can be said about the future. Its author too has been so constant in the service of Islam, with his money, life, pen and tongue, and personal experience, that very few parallels can be found in the Muslims. If anyone considers our words to be an Asian exaggeration, let him show us at least one such book which so vigorously fights all the opponents of Islam, especially the Arya and Brahmo Samaj, and let him name two or three persons who have supported Islam, not only with their wealth, lives, pen and tongue, but also by personal spiritual experience, and who have boldly thrown the challenge to all the opponents of Islam and the deniers of Divine revelation, that whoever doubts the truth of God speaking to man, he may come and observe it for himself, thus giving other religions a taste of this experience.”
(*Isha'at as-Sunna*, vol. vii, no. 6, June to August 1884, pp. 169–170)
- ii. “According to the experience and observation of friend and foe alike, the author of *Barahin Ahmadiyya* lives by the Shari'ah of Islam, is God-fearing and truthful by habit.”
(*ibid.*, p. 284)
- iii. “The excellence of this book, and the benefit accruing to Islam from it, will not remain hidden to those who read it with a fair mind, or to the readers of this review. Therefore, in accordance with the Divine command, ‘Is not the reward for good but good’, all the followers of Islam, be they Ahl-i Hadith, Hanafi, Shiah or

Sunni, are obliged to support this book and its printing. The author of *Barahin Ahmadiyya* has saved the honour of the Muslims. He has challenged the opponents of Islam throughout the world that anyone who doubts the truth of Islam should come to him and see for himself its truth by logical arguments drawn from the Quran, and by miracles of the Prophethood of Muhammad, by which he means the revelations and signs granted to the author of *Barahin*.” (ibid., p. 348)

9. Maulana Muhammad Shareef

The editor *Akhbar Manshoor Muhammadi*, Bangalore, in his review of *Barahin Ahmadiyya* at the time of the book’s publication, wrote as follows:

“The hypocrites and the enemies are directing all their attacks against Islam. Atheism is attacking here, irreligion has a hold there, and somewhere else the Brahamo Samaj is wanting to prove its superiority over Islam through philosophical discourses. As for our Christian friends, all their energies are being spent on uprooting Islam, and they are confident that as long as the sun of Islam keeps on casting its bright rays on the world, all the exertions of Christianity will remain futile and the trinity unsuccessful. In short, all religions and their followers want somehow or other to burn out the lamp of Islam. . . .

“It was our long-cherished wish that someone among the Muslim Ulama, whom God had granted strength to serve and aid the cause of the faith, should write a book meeting the needs of the present age, containing rational arguments and factual evidence to prove that the Holy Quran is the word of God and the Holy Prophet Muhammad’s prophethood is true. Thank God that this wish has been fulfilled. This is the very book the preparation of which had been desired for so long: *Barahin Ahmadiyya*, the full title of which is: *The Ahmadiyya Arguments on the truth of the Book of God the Holy Quran, and the Prophethood of Muhammad*. In it the author, may God increase his worth, has proved the truth of the Quran and the prophethood of the Holy Prophet Muhammad with three hundred logical arguments. The book is written by that greatest of the Ulama, the illustrious general, pride of the followers of Islam in India, the accepted one of God, Maulavi Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, the great chief of Qadian, District Gurdaspur, Punjab. Glory be to

God! What a marvellous book, every word of which proved the True Faith and shows the truth of the Quran and the prophethood. With what grandeur have the strong arguments been conveyed to the opponents.”

(*Manshoor Muhammadi*, Bangalore, 25 Rajab, 1300 A.H., p. 214)

In a later issue, he wrote:

“It is impossible to praise this book too highly. The fact is that the deep research with which this book has proved the argument for Islam upon the opponents of the faith, needs no praise or eulogy. But we cannot refrain from saying that the book is without parallel. The arguments have been put forward strongly and vigorously. The author has also disclosed his visions and revelations to the opponents of Islam. If anyone has doubt, he can attain certainty of observation with regard to these Divine revelations, which are a gift of God, by staying in the company of the author.”

(*ibid.*, 5 *Jamadi al-Awwal*, 1301 A.H.)

10. Calcutta newspaper

Editor of *General wa Guhar Asafi* of Calcutta commented on a speech written by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad on the teachings of Islam, which was presented in a multi-religious congress held in Lahore in December 1896, as follows:

“If the paper by Mirza sahib had not been there, the Muslims would have faced degradation and shame at the hands of the other religions. But the powerful hand of God saved holy Islam from defeat, and through that paper granted it such a triumph that, let alone its adherents, even the opponents cried out spontaneously, *This paper is the best of all! this paper is the best of all!*”

(*Asafi*, 24 January 1897)

11. Hazrat Sayyid Ashhad-ud-Din ‘Jhanday walay’

This saint of Hyderabad (Sind, Pakistan) was a contemporary of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. He wrote a letter to Hazrat Mirza as follows:

“I saw the Holy Prophet Muhammad in a vision. I entreated him, O Messenger of God, is this man who claims to be the Promised Messiah, a liar and imposter, or truthful? The Holy Prophet replied, ‘He is truthful and has come from God.’ So I then understood that you are right. After this, we shall not have any doubts concerning you.”

(Reproduced by Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in his book *Zameema Anjam Atham*, p. 40)

12. Hazrat Khawaja Ghulam Farid of Chachran

The Khawaja was also a contemporary of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, and is today a famous Muslim saint of Pakistan. He told his followers:

“Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani is also right, and he is right and truthful in his affair. Day and night he is engrossed in the service of God Almighty. He has given his life for the progress of Islam and raising aloft the cause of the Faith. I can see nothing wrong or bad in him at all. If he has claimed to be the Mahdi and Messiah, that too is among the things which are permissible.”

(*Isharat-i Faridi*, compilation of the talks of Khawaja Ghulam Farid, by his son, p. 179)

13. Maulavi Irshad Ali of Nagpur

Joining Islam again after repenting from his conversion to Christianity, he wrote the following in reply to a Christian missionary:

“The Christian missionary Safdur Ali has challenged me to a debate with him on the truth of Islam and Christianity. . . . But I can ask him that if he is so confident about his arguments and the truth of Christianity, where was he when Maulavi Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani stood in the field of debate like a brave lion and challenged him. This challenge had such an effect on you people that no Christian missionary dare confront him [Mirza Ghulam Ahmad].”

(Magazine *Dastkari*, Amritsar, 18 June 1899)

14. Allama Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938)

The renowned Muslim philosopher and poet of the Indian sub-continent published a paper in 1900 in *The Indian Antiquary*, a learned journal of oriental research, entitled *The Doctrine of Absolute Unity as expounded by Abdul Karim Jilani*. The paper deals with the metaphysical thought of this saint (d. circa 1408 C.E.) as expounded in his classic work *Al-Insan al-Kamil*. While commenting on Jilani’s philosophy, Iqbal writes:

“It will appear at once how strikingly the author has anticipated the chief phase of the Hegelian Dialectic and how greatly he has emphasised the Doctrine of the Logos — a doctrine which has always found favour with almost all the profound thinkers of Islam, and in recent times has been readvocated by **M. Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian**, probably the profoundest theologian among modern

Indian Muhammadans.”

(*The Indian Antiquary*, vol. xxix, September 1900, p. 239. The reference is quoted above in the original English; text given in bold is bold in the original. Journal published from Bombay and London; in London by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co.)

15. Aslam Khan Baloch

When the famous Muslim journalist Mr Muhammad Aslam Khan Baloch, editor of *Mu'in-ul-Muslimeen* of Amritsar, visited Qadian in 1913 during the time of Hazrat Maulana Nur-ud-Din (Head of the Ahmadiyya Movement after the Founder's death), he recorded his impressions as follows:

“The great catastrophies befalling the world of Islam compelled me to go to Qadian to see whether the Ahmadi Jama'at, which for so long has been claiming that it shall conquer the world for Islam by means of a literary and missionary struggle, is actually capable of doing so. . . . What I saw in Ahmadi Qadian was pure and sincere service of the One God, and wherever one's sight turned there was the Quran. In short, I found the Ahmadi Jama'at of Qadian in a practical sense to be true to a very great extent in its claim that it can spread Islam in the world in a peaceful way by means of preaching and propagation, and that it is a Jama'at which in today's world is a true follower of the Quran, purely for the sake of God, and a lover of Islam. If all the Muslims of the world, especially India, help them practically in the propagation of Islam in Europe, then certainly the European continent would light up with the rays of the sun of Islam, and this blood-thirsty Christianity, which, to satisfy the appetites of its materialistic disciples, is bent upon destroying Muslim countries and effacing Islam from the world, would face manifest defeat by this means.”

(From Ahmadiyya newspaper *Badr*, 13 March 1913)

16. Khawaja Hasan Nizami of Delhi:

“Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sahib was a very great venerable scholar of his time. We have to acknowledge his scholarship and accomplishments.”

(Newspaper *Munadi*, Delhi, India, 27 February–4 March 1930)

17. 'Shamsul Ulama' Maulana Sayyid Mumtaz Ali

He was editor of the famous magazine *Tehzib-e-Niswan*, Lahore. He wrote:

“The late Mirza sahib was a very saintly and exalted personage. And he had such spiritual power born of virtue that it could enslave the hardest of hearts. He was a very knowledgeable scholar, a reformer of great determination, and an exemplar of the most virtuous life. Although we do not believe him to be the Promised Messiah, his guidance and teaching was indeed messianic for the spiritually dead.”

18. ‘Shamsul Ulama’ Maulana Sayyid Mir Hasan

He was a teacher of Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal. In an interview, he gave the following evaluation of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad:

“Sadly, we did not appreciate him. I just cannot describe his spiritual accomplishments. His life was not that of ordinary men, nay, he was one of those persons who are the chosen servants of God and who appear but rarely.”
(Reported in *Al-Hakam*, 7 April 1934)

19. Allama Niyaz Fatehpuri:

- i. “Mirza Ghulam Ahmad sahib came to the defence of Islam at a time when even the greatest scholar of the Faith could not dare to confront the opponents.”
(Monthly *Nigar*, Lucknow, India, October 1960)
- ii. “What I have studied so far of the founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, and not only me but anyone who studies his life and character sincerely and truthfully, will have to concede that he was a lover of the Holy Prophet, in the true sense, and had within him a sincere urge for the cause of Islam.”
(*ibid.*, July 1960)
- iii. In a subsequent issue of the same monthly, the following comment appears about Hazrat Mirza:
“I found him to be a believer in the finality of prophethood, and a lover of the Holy Prophet in the true sense. When I studied the life of Mirza sahib, I found that he was certainly a very active, resolute and determined man. Having understood the true spirit of religion, he presented the same practical teachings of Islam as are to be found in the time of the Holy Prophet and the early *Khalifas*.”
(*ibid.*, November 1961)

CONCLUSION

The opinions cited above are those of Muslim journalists, theologians and religious leaders whose scholarship is universally recognised in the Islamic world till this day. Included among them are contemporaries of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, who had observed him from close at hand. They had direct, first-hand knowledge of him. Despite differing with him in certain matters of belief, but remembering the Divine command, 'Fear not the censure of any censurer', they showed great sincerity, honesty and broadmindedness in making fair comment on his scholarship, virtue, righteousness and service to Islam. They gave true testimony which is preserved in the pages of history to this day.

As against this learned opinion, we have certain newspaper columnists, writers and politicians of the present day who have no requisite knowledge of the Holy Quran and Hadith, no familiarity with Islamic literature, and who have neither read any of Hazrat Mirza's books, nor do they know anything about the Ahmadiyya Movement. They are not aware of those times or the conditions prevailing then, when, according to Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Hazrat Mirza carried out a magnificent defence of Islam by conducting a *jihad* with the pen from the front-line, and not only defeated the opponents of Islam but went further to establish a Jama'at whose objectives are to make Islam predominate in the world, propagate and prove the truth of the Holy Quran, and reform the condition of the Muslims themselves. Thus was this grand Movement born. The opponents of the Ahmadiyya Movement, having read only the adverse propaganda literature produced against the Movement, level all sorts of false accusations against the Imam of the Age, the Reformer of the 14th century *Hijra*, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, may God have mercy on him. For the sake of their material and political ends, they are fanning the flames of hostility and ripping the unity of Muslims to shreds.

Section 21

Tributes to the Lahore Ahmadiyya

Compiler's Note. The defendants asserted that Ahmadis are condemned as *kafir* by unanimous Muslim opinion around the world. This is entirely false. Distinguished Muslim religious thinkers, intellectuals, and leaders of the community, have not only regarded Lahore Ahmadis as Muslims, but have paid tributes to the work of Islamic propagation and revival done by this movement and, in particular, by its great leader Hazrat Maulana Muhammad Ali (d. 1951). Section 21.1 presents such tributes from the pens of prominent Muslims who are held in high public esteem. Section 21.2 refers to the work of the Working Muslim Mission (England) under various eminent Ahmadi imams, showing that leading Muslim figures and the general Muslim public supported the activities of this Mission.

21.1: Tributes to Muhammad Ali and Lahore Ahmadiyya

1. Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938)

This renowned poet-philosopher of Muslim India, regarded as the 'ideological' founder of Pakistan, made the following comments which may be read today in published collections of his speeches and letters:

- i. In a speech made at the famous Aligarh College in 1910, he said:
"In the Punjab, a pure example of Islamic life has appeared in the form of the community which is called the Qadiani sect."
(*Millat-e Baiza per ayk Imrani Nazar*, published by Aeenah Adab, Lahore, 1970, p. 84)

(Note: As the speech was made before the split, "Qadiani" refers to the whole Ahmadiyya Movement.)

- ii. In a letter dated 7 April 1932, he wrote:
"As for the Ahmadiyya Movement, I believe that there are many members of the Lahore Jama'at whom I regard as honourable Muslims, and I sympathise with their efforts to propagate Islam."
(*Makatib Iqbal*, Part II, collection of letters of Iqbal, published by Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1951, p. 232)

2. Mohamed Ali

He was a famous Indian Muslim political leader from the first world war

till his death in the 1930s. In his well-known English autobiography, he writes:

“It was about this time that a kind friend sent to us a gift than which nothing could be more acceptable, a copy of the Quran. . . . This was the work of my learned namesake Maulavi Muhammad Ali of Lahore, leader of a fairly numerous religious community, some of whose members were doing missionary work in England. . . . This beautiful book acted like the maddening music of the Sarod, according to the Persian proverb, on the mentally deranged, and in the frame of mind in which I then was I wrote back to my friend who had sent these copies of the Quran that nothing would please me better than to go to Europe as soon as I could get out of the ‘bounds’ prescribed by my internment and preach to these war maniacs from every park and at every street corner.”

(*My Life — A Fragment*, edited by Afzal Iqbal, published by Muhammad Ashraf, Lahore, 1966, p. 115; extract above is quoted in original English.)

3. Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi (d. 1977)

He was a well-known Muslim theologian of India, and a recognised leader of orthodox opinion.

- i. In a book about his contemporaries, he includes a section on Maulana Muhammad Ali, in which he writes:

“It was 1909. . . . Through reading English books written by agnostics, I had turned from a good believer to a heretic. . . . My apostasy continued till 1918. . . . At that time, I read the English Quran commentary by Muhammad Ali of Lahore. It convinced me that the Quran is no collection of hearsay stories, but a collection of deep and sublime truths, and if it was not ‘heavenly’, it was almost heavenly.”

(*Mu’asareen*, Lucknow, India, 1979, p. 43)

- ii. In his autobiography, he wrote:

“When I finished reading this English Quran [translation and commentary by Maulana Muhammad Ali], on searching my soul I found myself to be a Muslim. I had recited the *Kalima* unhesitatingly, without deceiving my conscience. May Allah grant this Muhammad Ali paradise! I am not concerned with the question whether his belief about Mirza sahib was right or wrong. What should I do about my personal experience? He was the one who put

the last nail in the coffin of my unbelief and apostasy.”
 (*Aap Beti*, Shadab Book Centre, Lahore, 1979, pp. 254–255)

iii. Reviewing Maulana Muhammad Ali’s English translation of the Holy Quran in the newspaper *Such* of Lucknow, which he edited, Abdul Majid Daryabadi wrote:

“To deny the excellence of Maulana Muhammad Ali’s translation, the influence it has exercised and its proselytising utility, would be to deny the light of the sun. The translation certainly helped in bringing thousands of non-Muslims to the Muslim fold and hundreds of thousands of unbelievers much nearer Islam. Speaking of my own self, I gladly admit that this translation was one of the few books which brought me towards Islam fifteen or sixteen years ago when I was groping in darkness, atheism and scepticism. Even Maulana Mohamed Ali of the *Comrade* [see ref. 2 above] was greatly enthralled by this translation and had nothing but praise for it.”

(*Such*, Lucknow, 25 June 1943)

4. Marmaduke Pickthall

He was a famous British Muslim whose English rendering of the Quran is one of the best known and most popular translations today. Shortly before his death, he wrote a review of Maulana Muhammad Ali’s book *Religion of Islam* as follows:

“Probably no man living has done longer or more valuable service for the cause of Islamic revival than Maulana Muhammad Ali of Lahore. His literary works, with those of the late Khwaja Kamalud-Din, have given fame and distinction to the Ahmadiyya Movement. In our opinion the present volume is his finest work . . .

“Such a book is greatly needed at the present day when in many Muslim countries we see persons eager for the reformation and revival of Islam making mistakes through lack of just this knowledge. . . .

“We do not always agree with Maulana Muhammad Ali’s conclusions upon minor points — sometimes they appear to us eccentric — but his premises are always sound, we are always conscious of his deep sincerity; and his reverence for the holy Quran is sufficient in itself to guarantee his work in all essentials. There are some, no doubt, who will disagree with his general findings, but they will not be those from whom Al-Islam has anything to hope in the future.”

(*Islamic Culture*, quarterly review published from Hyderabad Decan, India, October 1936, pp. 659–660; extract above is quoted in original English.)

5. Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar

Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar produced an English translation of the Quran in 1929. In the introduction to this work, he gave the following evaluation of the earlier translation by Maulana Muhammad Ali:

“The English translation of the Holy Quran is not the only book he has written, but it is the one by which he will perhaps become an immortal amongst those who have written about the Holy Quran. . . . The English of the Preface and the notes is unimpeachable, and Maulavi Muhammad Ali has corrected the mistakes of the previous translators in scores of passages; and wherever he differs from them his rendering is either the correct and most authoritative one or has at the back of it full support to be found in the standard dictionaries of Arabic. . . .

“There is no other translation or commentary of the Holy Quran in the English language to compete with Maulavi Muhammad Ali’s masterpiece. . . . It was reprinted in 1920, and both editions have had phenomenal success and popularity amongst all classes of Muslims.”

(*Translation of the Holy Quran*, by Hafiz Ghulam Sarwar, second edition, National Book Foundation, Pakistan, 1973, pp. xxxvi–xxxvii; extract above is quoted in original English.)

6. Shaikh Muhammad Ikram

He is the author of a well-known triplet of books on the history of Islam in the Indian subcontinent. In *Mauj-i Kausar*, covering the period from 1800 to 1947, he writes about the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement:

“An important work which this [Lahore Ahmadiyya] Jama‘at is doing is the propagation of the Quran, especially among English-reading Muslims and also non-Muslims. The translation and commentary of the Quran by Muhammad Ali, head of the Ahmadiyya Jama‘at, was the first translation in the English language done by a Muslim. . . .

“Besides translations of the Holy Quran, the [Lahore] Ahmadiyya Jama‘at is also producing books on Hadith and Islamic history. . . . Some time ago, the Anjuman issued a very high standard quarterly,

The Muslim Revival, in English from Lahore, containing very valuable articles on literary, political and religious issues. Allama Iqbal wrote so many articles for it. . . .

“Another most important work done by the Lahore Ahmadiyya Jama‘at is the propagation of Islam in foreign countries. . . .

“The missionary efforts of the Ahmadiyya Jama‘at are not limited to only England, but they have missionary centres in many other countries as well. Among all the Muslims of the world, the Ahmadis and the Qadianis were the first to realise that, although this is the age of the political decline of Islam, yet the freedom of preaching under Christian governments gives Muslims an opportunity from which full advantage should be taken.”

(*Mauj-i Kausar*, Idara Saqafat Islamia, Lahore, 1979, pp. 181–187)

7. Dr Israr Ahmad

He is one of Pakistan’s leading theologians today. In his book on the *Jama‘at-i Islami*, the prominent political and religious party of that country, he comments as follows regarding this organisation’s stand on the Ahmadiyya issue in the 1950’s:

“In the initial stages, the leaders of the Jama‘at-i Islami, when asked about their view of [the conflict between] the Qadianis and the Ahrar movement against them, gave the following answers in private meetings: . . .

‘4. Even if the question of the Qadianis is clear, the question of the Lahore Ahmadis is not so clear. As they accept Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as only a Mujaddid, it is not right from any aspect to call them kafir.’

“The meaning is that ‘Qadianism’ is itself not worthy of being made an issue. . . . However, in 1952, when the leaders of the Ahrar did make it an issue, and provoked the passions of the masses, principle and courage demanded that the above should be said publicly, and the people be told that they were needlessly being incited, and that the issue was not so important, nor was the solution that which was being proposed. . . .

“Sacrificing its principles, the Jama‘at-i Islami added as the ninth point to its eight point demand, that Qadianis should be declared as a non-Muslim minority.”

(*Tahrik Jama'at Islami*, Darul Isha'at Islamia, Lahore, 1966, pp. 189–190)

8. Ja'far Khan

In a critical analysis of the whole Ahmadiyya Movement, Muhammad Ja'far Khan, a Pakistani advocate, writes about the Lahore Ahmadis:

“We consider the Lahore Group in a sense to be victims of injustice. As compared to the Qadianis, they are much fewer in number, but they have done much more solid work for the propagation of Islam than the Qadianis. In this connection, the names of Maulana Muhammad Ali and Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din are specially worthy of mention. The Maulana has translated the Holy Quran into English, and written a three-volume Urdu commentary on the Quran as well. The English translation was very important at that time because, probably, only non-Muslims had translated the Quran into English up to that time. The Maulana's decision to bring out another edition of the English translation without the Arabic text is also praise-worthy, because we consider this to be necessary in translating and spreading the Quran in other languages. Besides these books the Maulana has also translated the *Sahih Bukhari* into Urdu. This two-volume book also has useful explanatory notes. Although the manner of deduction in many of his explanatory notes will not be acceptable to many people, it will be conceded by everyone that these books have been written after great labour and full research, and are a useful and thought-provoking addition to Islamic literature. The Maulana has also written some other books such as *Collection of the Holy Quran*, and *Position of Hadith*. Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din has written countless books and pamphlets on a diverse range of religious subjects in Urdu and English. His English books, especially, have proved valuable in the propagation of Islam in Europe.”

(*Ahmadiyya Tahrik*, Sind Sagar Academy, Lahore, 1958, pp. 312–313)

9. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi

In a private letter dated 23 *Muharram* 1357 A.H. (about 1937), Abul Ala Maudoodi wrote:

“From among the followers of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, I also do not consider Qadianis and Ahmadis to be in the same category. I consider the Qadiani group to be excluded from Islam. However, the

Ahmadi group is included in Islam. . . . We cannot issue a valid verdict of the Shari'ah against them because they deny the prophethood of Mirza.”

(A photocopy of the original, hand-written letter was available for submission to the court, should the defendants have so required.)

21.2: Woking Mission under Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement

The Woking Muslim Mission in Woking, Surrey, England, was founded by Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din (d. 1932), a prominent follower of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and a founder-member of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement. (This Mission was run by the Lahore Ahmadiyya till about 1965.)

Shaikh Muhammad Ikram, in his well-known history of Indian Muslims, *Mauj-i Kausar*, writes as follows about the period covered by his book:

“In European languages, Islam was best represented by Sayyid Ameer Ali. And in Western lands, our most successful missionary Khawaja Kamal-un-Din was engaged in his work during this era.”
(p. ii)

The Pakistani writer Ashiq Husain Batalvi, in his Urdu book *Some memories, some impressions*, has an entire chapter on the Woking Muslim Mission:

“The name of the Woking Muslim Mission has reached more or less every part of the world. It has done so much work of propagation of Islam in Europe that no other body has probably done as much. . . .

“In 1912 the late Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din came to England. He was a successful lawyer in Lahore, but he had a tremendous love for Islam. Leaving his practice, he devoted his life for the propagation of Islam and came to England for this purpose. . . .

“Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din created a trust for the running of the mosque which initially had three members: Sayyid Ameer Ali, Mirza Sir Abbas Ali Baig, and Sir Thomas Arnold who was Iqbal's teacher. This trust appointed the Khawaja as the Imam, and since that time the Woking Mosque has been the biggest centre of Islamic propagation in England. . . .

“Through his efforts the English translation of the Quran by Muhammad Ali was published from Woking in 1917. This was without doubt a great achievement because before that no Muslim of the world had translated the Divine Word into English. . . .

“Apart from the Khawaja, other people who served as Imams of the Woking mosque included Maulana Sadr-ud-Din, Maulana Muhammad Yaqub Khan, Maulavi Mustafa Khan, Dr Muhammad Abdullah and Maulavi Aftab-ud-Din, whose names deserve honour and respect. . . .

“Besides propagation work, the Woking Mission is the centre of those hundreds of thousands of Muslims who live in England. They include Muslims of every country from Morocco to China. On Eid occasions, the scene at Woking is worthy of view. There are Muslims gathered from Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Malaya, Indonesia, Pakistan, India, Arabia, Nigeria, Algeria, in short, every race, colour and nation. There are also many English converts to Islam. . . .

“The Imam of the Woking mosque is especially busy. Many societies and organisations in Britain often hold meetings at which representatives of different faiths are invited to speak. The Imam of Woking, usually and often, has the honour to represent Islam at these functions.”

(*Chand Yadain, Chand Tasirat*, published by Aeenah Adab, Lahore, 1969, pp. 399–405)

Note: All the Imams referred to in the above extract were prominent members of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Jama‘at.

MUSLIMS SUPPORT WOKING MISSION

Given below, by way of example, are some instances of gatherings at the Woking Muslim Mission under Lahore Ahmadi Imams, attended and addressed by prominent, world-famous Muslims of various sects and nationalities. The reports are taken from the Mission’s organ, *The Islamic Review*, of the time.

1. Meeting in London on 6 October 1916 chaired by Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din. Participants included Mr. Pickthall and Allama Abdullah Yusuf Ali, both of whom published English translations of the Quran some years later. Yusuf Ali also addressed the meeting.

Muslims from India, Egypt and Iraq were also present.

(*The Islamic Review*, November 1916, pp. 512–525)

2. Eid-ul-Fitr prayers at Woking, 9 February 1932, led by Maulavi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. Among those attending were the Egyptian Charge d’Affairs and the Persian ambassador. The report also says: “Mr. M.A. Jinnah, the renowned Indian-Muslim politician, also spoke in appreciation of the Mosque and its work.”
(*The Islamic Review*, April 1932, pp. 101–103)
3. Eid-ul-Fitr prayers at Woking, 15 December 1936, led by Maulavi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. Among those attending were the Saudi Arabian and Iraqi ambassadors, and Ameer Adel Arsalan. Report contains photograph showing the Imam giving the sermon, and the dignitaries in the congregation.
(*The Islamic Review*, February 1937, pp. 42–44)
4. Holy Prophet Muhammad’s birthday celebration in London, 22 May 1937, led by Maulavi Aftab-ud-Din Ahmad. Among those attending were: Crown Prince Saud of Saudi Arabia, princes and Sultans from the Muslim world, and various Arab ambassadors. A list of some of their names is printed.
(*The Islamic Review*, July 1937, pp. 242–245)

In March 1926, Khawaja Kamal-ud-Din visited South Africa. He was welcomed by the entire Muslim community of Durban. Meetings were held in honour of the Khawaja and Lord Headley, a British Muslim, and they delivered speeches in the Town Hall. Reports from the South African Press (*The Latest of Durban*, 20 March 1926, *Natal Witness*, 27 March 1926, and *Natal Mercury*, 22 March 1926) are printed in the *Islamic Review*, June 1926, pp. 206–214.

— **END OF THE EVIDENCE** —

Appendix

In this Appendix, we give further information on some of the issues dealt with in the Evidence, which will be of great interest and benefit to our readers. Each division of this Appendix (A, B, etc.) refers to a particular Section of the Evidence.

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A. Who is a Muslim?

In addition to the references in Section 1, from prominent Muslims of the present times, the following may also be given.

1. Sayyid Abul Ala Maudoodi

A reference from Maudoodi's *Khutbat* has been given in Section 1.3 (no. 22i, pp. 74–75). Very recently, the Islamic Foundation of Leicester, England, has published an English translation of this book, under the title *Let us be Muslims*. We quote below our earlier reference from this translation, followed by some of its continuation.

“Brothers in Islam! You become Muslims by reciting a few words called the Kalimah:

La ilaha illa 'llah Muhammadu 'r-rasulu 'llah

There is no god but Allah; Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah.

“On pronouncing these words a man is supposed to have radically changed. He was a Kafir, now he is a Muslim; he was impure, now he is pure. . . .

“On a more concrete level, in social life, this Kalimah becomes the basis for differentiating one man from another. Those who recite it constitute one nation, while those who reject it form another. . . . if a total stranger recites the Kalimah and marries into a Muslim family, he and his children become eligible for inheritance [from the Muslim relatives].”

(*Let us be Muslims*, Islamic Foundation, England, 1985, p. 69)

Another relevant extract from this translation is given below:

“One person may understand the injunctions of the Shari'ah in one way and another person in another way, and both may follow them according to their particular understanding. However widely they may differ, both will be able to call themselves servants. For both will be acting in the consciousness that they are doing their Master's bidding.

“In such a case, what right has one servant to say that he alone is the genuine servant while the other is not? The most he can argue is that he has understood the correct meaning of his Master's order while the other has not. But this does not give him the authority to expel the latter from the fold of servants, that is, call him a Kafir. Anyone who does display such temerity assumes, as it were, the status of the Master. . . .

“For this very reason the Prophet, blessings and peace be on him, said: ‘Whosoever unjustly brands a Muslim as Kafir, his verdict will rebound on him’ (*Bukhari, Muslim*). For, God has made the submission to *His* guidance the test of whether or not one is a Muslim. A person who insists

upon such submission to his own interpretation and judgement and assumes such powers of dismissal for himself, irrespective of whether God Himself dismisses someone or not, is in fact saying that God alone is not God but that he himself is also a small god. Anyone who makes such a presumptuous assertion runs the danger of becoming a Kafir, irrespective of whether or not the other Muslim has in fact acted as a Kafir.” (ibid., pp. 130–131; italics as in original.)

2. Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi

He is an internationally-known Indian Muslim theologian, historian and author, who has written much against the Ahmadiyya Movement. In a speech delivered during a tour of the U.S.A. in 1977 he said:

“A friend of mine once said to an educated Hindu gentleman, ‘My brother, if a Muslim is asked who is a Muslim, he unhesitatingly replies that whoever recites and believes in the holy *Kalima* — *La ilaha illallah, Muhammad rasulullah*, is a Muslim. This affirmation sums up the whole of Islam. Now, what would your answer be if the same question was put to you concerning a Hindu?’ ”

(*Muslims in the West*, collection of speeches of Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi in the West, edited by Khurram Murad, Islamic Foundation, England, 1983, pp. 137–138)

3. Justice Muhammad Munir in *From Jinnah to Zia*

In 1979 Justice Muhammad Munir, a distinguished Chief Justice of Pakistan, wrote an English book of the above title on the political history of Pakistan. In this book he refers extensively to the report of a famous government enquiry in Pakistan, held in 1953–1954, over which he had presided. The enquiry was set up to investigate the causes of public disturbances instigated by some religious leaders who demanded that the government declare Ahmadis as non-Muslims. Commenting on the scope of his enquiry, Justice Munir writes in this book:

“The question *Who is a Muslim* was one of the fundamental questions before us for the simple reason that if, according to the Ulama, the Ahmadis were not Muslims, the Ulama were supposed to know who a Muslim is, and what the grounds are on which they were asking the Ahmadis to be outside the pale of Islam. The question was vital to the inquiry and had not arisen for the first time. There were several authoritative judgements on the points, including a judgement by the eminent Muslim judge Mr Justice Mahmud, another by Sir Abdur-Rashid, the author of Family Laws Ordinance, several judgements by English judges including the Privy Council in which the board had ruled that what has to be seen if a person claims to be a Muslim is whether he professes to believe

in the Kalima, *la ilaha ill-Allah, Muhammad-ur rasul-Allah*, and not whether he actually believes it or not. This was in accordance with what the Quran itself says in ch. 4:49: 'Say not to anyone who offers you salutation, thou art not a believer'. Though this verse relates to a specific occasion, but in its application is general. One of these precedents related to Ahmadis themselves who were held to be Muslims because of their belief in the Kalima. . . .

"We were not called upon to declare the Ahmadis as Muslim or non-Muslim. This was beyond our terms of reference, and we had to ask the definition of a Muslim from the Ulama because if they could not give any definition which excluded the Ahmadis from Islam, they had no occasion for the agitation which had resulted in many deaths and destruction of property . . . The term *Muslim* remained undoubtedly undefined by the Ulama who appeared before us."

(*From Jinnah to Zia*, Vanguard Books Ltd., Lahore, 1980, pp. 69, 70 and 72)

Regarding the Pakistan constitutional amendment of 1974 which classified Ahmadis as non-Muslims, and Prime Minister Bhutto's motive in having it passed, Justice Munir makes the following comments:

- i. "By an amendment of the Constitution he declared Ahmadis to be a non-Muslim minority. All this was done with a political motive — to gain support from or to be popular with the people." (p. xix)
- ii. "And we know that some twenty years later no less a person than Mr. Bhutto took up the baby in his lap and by a constitutional amendment declared the Ahmadis non-Muslims. But even he could not define a Muslim and discarded the simple definition which before the partition [of India] eminent Muslim Judges of different High Courts and the Privy Council had given." (p. 45)
- iii. "Near the end of his regime Mr. Bhutto to please the Muslims made some insignificant changes in the Constitution and the legal system for political ends. By a constitutional amendment he declared the Ahmadis to be non-Muslims without saying who was a Muslim . . ." (p. 96)

4. Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto

Mr Bhutto was overthrown from power by General Zia-ul-Haq in 1977, and subsequently tried for conspiracy to murder a political opponent. Being found guilty, he was executed in April 1979. During the course of his trial, the prosecution at one stage questioned his sincerity in being a Muslim. Mr Bhutto defended himself as follows:

“He said that it was an acknowledged principle that the person who recites the *Kalima* is a Muslim, and no one has the right to call him a non-Muslim. Citing an instance, chairman [of the People’s Party] Bhutto said that Abu Sufyan, a great enemy of the Holy Prophet, was brought to him. He claimed to have recited the *Kalima*, but the Holy Prophet’s Companions argued that he had not done it with his heart, and they wanted to kill him. But the Holy Prophet said that as he had recited the *Kalima*, he was now a Muslim, and could not be harmed.”

(Urdu Daily *Masawat*, Lahore, Wednesday 20 December 1978, front page, column 1)

B. Issue of *Khatam an-nabiyyin*

In addition to the references from Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad given in Section 3.2, the following may also be quoted to show the meaning he gave to the term *Khatam an-nabiyyin*:

1. “It does not befit God that He should send a prophet after the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, or that He should re-start the system of prophethood after having terminated it.” (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 377)
2. “In brief, God by naming the Holy Prophet Muhammad as *Khatam an-nabiyyin* in the Quran, and the Holy Prophet himself by saying ‘*There is to be no prophet after me*’ in Hadith, had settled the point that no prophet can come after the Holy Prophet, in terms of the real meaning of prophethood.” (*Kitab al-Barriyya*, p. 185)
3. “God says: ‘*He is the Messenger of God and the Khatam an-nabiyyin.*’ And it is in the Hadith: ‘*There is to be no prophet after me.*’ . . . If another prophet were to come, whether new or old, how could our Holy Prophet be the *Khatam al-anbiya.*” (*Ayyam as-Sulh*, p. 74)
4. “The Holy Quran, in the verses ‘*This day I have perfected for you your religion*’, and ‘*he is the Messenger of God and the Khatam an-nabiyyin*’, has ended prophethood with the Holy Prophet Muhammad. And it has said in plain words that the Holy Prophet is *Khatam al-anbiya.*” (*Tuhfa Golarwiya*, p. 83)
5. “Allah is the Being Who . . . made Adam and sent messengers and scriptures, and last of all sent Muhammad — may peace and the blessings of Allah be upon him — who is the *Khatam al-anbiya* and the best of messengers.” (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, p. 141)

6. "It should be believed from the bottom of the heart that prophethood has terminated with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, as God Almighty says: '*He is the Messenger of God and the Khatam an-nabiyyin*'. To deny this verse, or to belittle it, is in fact to separate oneself from Islam." (Letter dated 17 August 1899, published in *Al-Hakam*, August 1899, vol. iii, no. 29)

We may also quote the following statements, further to those given in Section 3.3, in which Hazrat Mirza has denied claiming to be a prophet:

1. "I have heard that some leading Ulama of this city Delhi are giving publicity to the allegation against me, that this person lays claim to prophethood. . . . So to make the truth known, I respectfully state to all venerable gentlemen, the high as well as the low, that these allegations are an entire fabrication. I do not make a claim to prophethood. . . . After our leader and master Muhammad, peace be upon him, the last of the messengers, I consider anyone who claims prophethood and messengership to be a liar and *kafir*." (Statement issued in Delhi, 2 October 1891, p. 1. See *Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. ii, p. 230)
2. "Other allegations made against me are that this man denies the *Lailat al-Qadr* and miracles and the *Mi'raj*, and further that he makes a claim to prophethood and denies the finality of prophethood. All these allegations are entirely untrue and false. . . . Now I make a clear and plain affirmation of the following matters before Muslims in this house of God: I believe in the finality of prophethood of the *Khatam al-anbiya*, peace be upon him, and I consider the person who denies the finality of prophethood as being without faith and outside the pale of Islam." (Speech in Delhi Central mosque, 23 October 1891; *Din al-Haq*, p. 29)
3. "Let it be clear to them that I too curse the person who claims prophethood. I hold that there is no god but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger, and I believe in the finality of prophethood of the Holy Prophet. . . . So there is no claim of prophethood on my part either." (*Majmu'a Ishtiharat*, vol. iii, p. 224)
4. "*Question:* In the booklet *Fath-i Islam* a claim to prophethood has been made.
"*Answer:* There is no claim of prophethood. On the contrary, the claim is of sainthood (*muhaddasiyyat*) which has been advanced by the command of God." (*Izala Auham*, pp. 421-422)
5. "One of the objections of those who call me *kafir* is that they say: This man claims prophethood and says that I am one of the prophets. The answer is that you should know, O brother, that I have not claimed prophethood, nor have I said to them that I am a prophet. But they were hasty and made a mistake in understanding my statement. . . . It does not befit me that I should claim prophethood. . . . How could I claim prophethood when I am

- a Muslim.” (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 79; new edition pp. 281–283)
6. “Look how far this is from a claim to prophethood. O brother, do not think that what I have said contains even the aroma of a claim to prophethood. . . . God forbid that I should claim prophethood after God has made our Prophet and master Muhammad, peace be upon him, as the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*.” (ibid., p. 83; new edition pp. 293–294)
 7. “If the objection is that I have made a claim to prophethood, and such a thing is heresy, what else can I say except that *may the curse of God be upon liars and fabricators*.” (*Anwar al-Islam*, p. 34)
 8. “I do not claim prophethood. . . . I firmly believe that our Holy Prophet Muhammad is the *Khatam al-anbiya*, and after him no prophet shall come for this nation (*umma*), neither new nor old.” (*Nishan Asmani*, p. 28)
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C. Revelation in Islam

The following further references, in addition to those in Section 4, also show that, according to Muslim theologians, revelation is still continuing.

1. Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi

In his glowing review of Hazrat Mirza’s *Barahin Ahmadiyya*, he replied to some Muslims who had criticised Hazrat Mirza for including his revelations in the book. Batalvi explained:

“In this way, it is not only intended to support the revelations of the author of *Barahin Ahmadiyya*, and of other saints, but the revelation of prophets is also supported, and that is the real aim. For, a denial altogether of the concept of revelation to non-prophets is a prelude to denial of revelation to prophets, and draws one to that position, because the nature and essence of both revelations is the same. In fact, the two are rivers from the same source, so that if one is denied, there remains no reason to accept the other, and the denial of the existence of one implies the risk of denial of the other. For this reason, the scholars of spiritual experience have said that the person who denies the inward grace and Divine knowledge bestowed upon the saints, risks a bad end. Eventually, the denial of the Divine knowledge and revelation of prophets will find place in his heart.” (*Isha’at as-Sunna*, vol. vii, no. 7, June to November 1884, p. 194)

2. Maulana Sana-Ullah of Amritsar (d. 1949)

He was a well-known opponent of the Ahmadiyya Movement during and after the time of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Commenting on the Quranic verse 42:51, which speaks of three modes of Divine revelation to man, he wrote:

“This means that it is the practice of God that when He speaks to a mortal it is by *wahy*, the first kind, or from behind a veil, the second kind, or by sending an angel to the apostle, the third kind, and revealing what He wishes. These three kinds of revelation are known as *ilham shar‘i* [revelation as recognised in Islamic theology]. . . . Prophets can have revelation of all the three kinds, but saints, who are perfect followers and heirs of the prophets, have a share of the first two kinds, but not the third.”

(*Nuqoosh Abul Wafa*, by Maulana Abu Yahya Imam Khan of Noshera, pp. 81–83, Islami Academy, Lahore)

3. Deoband School founded under revelation

Tarikh Darul-‘ulum Deoband is the official history of the first hundred years of the theological school at Deoband (India), founded in 1867, and has been written by Maulana Muhammad Tayyib, Principal of the school. In the introduction, referring to the original meeting at which the founding fathers gathered to discuss the establishment of the school, the author writes:

“The persons who girded up their loins for these aims [of the school] were not typical leaders, but godly holy men and saints of the age. And their mutual discussion was not the customary sort of consultation or exchange of views, but it was an exchange of revelation. As I heard from Maulana Habib-ur-Rahman Usmani, the sixth Principal of the school, that the hearts of all these saints of the time received revelation to the effect that the sole means of the defence and preservation of Islam and the Muslims in India was to set up a school. So it was that, at this consultative meeting, one said that he had seen in a dream that, for the defence of the faith and the Muslims, a school should be set up; a second said that he had seen a vision that a school must be set up; a third said that it had entered his heart that the founding of a school was essential; and yet another said in clear words: I have received revelation from God that in these circumstances it is essential to set up a school for religious teaching.”

(*Tarikh Darul-‘ulum Deoband*, published by Darul Isha‘at, Karachi, pp. 12–13)

D. *Muhaddas* and Hazrat Mirza's claim

Further to Section 5, we deal here first with the concept of *muhaddas* according to Islamic teachings, and then show that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed in those terms to be a *muhaddas*.

1. Concept of *Muhaddas* in Islam

The Holy Prophet Muhammad said to his followers:

“Among the Israelites before you, there used to be men who were spoken to by God, though they were not prophets, and if there is such a one among my people it is Umar.”

(*Bukhari*, book: *Qualities of the Companions of the Holy Prophet*, ch. *Umar*; 62:6)

In another version of this hadith in the same source, instead of the words *rijal-un yukallamuna* (“men spoken to by God”) the word *muhaddas* (lit. *one to whom something is told*) is used.

“Among the nations before you there used to be *muhaddases*, and if there is one of them in my nation it is Umar.”

(*ibid.*; see also *Sahih Muslim, Kitab al-Faza'il*, ch. *Virtues of Umar*; vol. vi, p. 91 of the edition with Urdu translation published by Khalid Ihsan Publishers, Lahore, 1981. The hadith in *Bukhari* is related by Abu Huraira, while that in *Muslim* is related by Aishah.)

This establishes the concept and definition of *muhaddas* in Islam — a non-prophet who receives revelation. (This revelation is, of course, of the type open to saints, i.e. *wahy wilayat*, and not *wahy nubuwwat*, as discussed in Sections 4 and 5 of the Evidence.) Classical and modern authorities in Islam have explained what is meant by a *muhaddas* as follows:

1. Classical Commentary on *Bukhari*

“By *muhaddas* are meant persons to whom God speaks, without them being prophets.”

(*Aini*, Commentary on *Bukhari*, vol. vii, p. 614)

2. *Ruh al-Ma'ani*

Commenting on the verse of the Quran which describes three modes of revelation (42:51), this famous commentary of the Quran says:

“In this verse, God has referred to people in general, and not prophets as such, because revelation is not confined to prophets. In previous times, there is the example of Mary and the mother of Moses, who were not prophets but God spoke to them. In our religion, that will be the position of *muhaddases* of the nation. They will receive revelation.”

(See *Ruh al-Ma'ani* under verse 42:51)

3. Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind:

“Know, O truthful brother, that the speaking of God with man is sometimes face-to-face. This is for the prophets, and is also for some of their perfect followers due to obedience and as inheritance. When a follower receives Divine speech abundantly and frequently in this manner, he is called a *muhaddas*, as was Umar, the chief of the Muslims.”

(*Maktubat*, vol. iii, part vii, p. 2, letter no. 51)

4. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed:

“The quality of Umar mentioned in the hadith, ‘*If there had been a prophet after me, it would have been Umar*’, has been explained by the Holy Prophet as the rank of *muhaddas*. This is because, after the finality of prophethood, it would not be correct to ascribe prophethood and apostleship to anyone. Similarly, regarding the position of Ali mentioned in the well-known hadith, ‘*You stand in the same relation to me as that in which Aaron stood to Moses, except that there is no prophet after me*’, it is said that this is also the rank of *muhaddas*. Also, in the hadith, ‘*The Ulama of my nation are like the prophets of Israel*’, by *ulama* are meant the people known as *muhaddas*.”

(*Abqaat*, p. 403, Urdu translation by Ahsan Gilani)

5. Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi:

“The rank of *muhaddas* is such that when a *muhaddas* arises, he does not have to follow conclusions derived by human reasoning, just as the sun eliminates the need for ordinary lamps. For he comes with revelation and the knowledge given to prophets.”

(*Tafhimat*, p. 136)

6. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad:

“The most exalted group consists of those exclusively select, purified souls who are chosen by the Grantor of Divine grace and favour for momentous tasks. Their light of knowledge and action is derived from the fountain of prophethood, and they follow in the path of prophethood. These special persons are referred to in the hadith of Bukhari by the term *muhaddas*.”

(*Tazkira*, p. 93)

2. Hazrat Mirza's claim

We now give extracts from Hazrat Mirza's writings to show that he clearly claimed to be a *muhaddas*, as distinct from a prophet:

1. "There is no doubt that this humble one has come from God as a *muhaddas* for the Muslim nation." (*Tauzih Maram*, p. 18)
2. "There is no claim of prophethood; on the contrary, the claim is of *muhaddasiyyat* [being a *muhaddas*] which has been advanced by the command of God." (*Izala Auham*, p. 421)
3. "O brothers, I have been sent as a *muhaddas* from God, to you and to all those on earth." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 367)
4. "I am not a prophet but a *muhaddas* from God, and a recipient of Divine revelation so that I may re-vitalise the religion of the Holy Prophet." (*ibid.*, p. 383)
5. ". . . I have not claimed prophethood, nor have I said to them that I am a prophet. . . . I did not say anything to the people except what I wrote in my books, namely, that I am a *muhaddas* and God speaks to me as He speaks to *muhaddases*." (*Hamamat al-Bushra*, p. 79; new edition pp. 281–282)
6. "I firmly believe that our Holy Prophet Muhammad is the Last of the Prophets (*Khatam al-anbiya*), and after him no prophet shall come for this nation (*umma*), neither new nor old. Not a jot or tittle of the Holy Quran shall be abrogated. Of course, *muhaddases* will come who will be spoken to by God . . . I am one of these." (*Nishan Asmani*, p. 28)
7. "As our Leader and Messenger [Holy Prophet Muhammad] is the Last of the Prophets (*Khatam al-anbiya*), and no prophet can come after him, for this reason *muhaddases* have been substituted for prophets in this Shari'ah." (*Shahadat al-Quran*, p. 24)

Hazrat Mirza, therefore, claimed to be a *muhaddas* in the technical sense of this term. See Section 5 of the Evidence for his definition of the technical meaning of *muhaddas*. See also Section 10.3, dealing with his statement in *Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala* about the *root* meaning of the word *muhaddas*. Never did Hazrat Mirza say that he had progressed from the position of a *muhaddas* to the higher position of a prophet.

E. Use of *Nabi* and *Rasul* for non-prophets

Further to the explanations given in Section 6, regarding the use of the terms *nabi* (prophet) and *rasul* (messenger, apostle) in Islamic literature for those who are not prophets, additional material is given below.

1. Earlier Islamic Authorities

1. The Holy Quran

i. In the story of Joseph, it is recorded: "And the king said: Bring him [Joseph] to me. So when the messenger (*rasul*) came to him . . ." (12:50). Here the word *rasul* is applied to a king's messenger.

ii. In ch. 36, verses 13–21, there is mention of three 'apostles' (Arabic: *mursalun*, pl. of *mursal*) being sent by God to a town: "When We sent to them two, they rejected them both; then We strengthened [the two] with a third, so they said: Surely we are apostles to you" (36:14). Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed says that they were *muhaddases* who are being termed *mursal* (i.e. *rasul*) here. He writes:

"In this verse, what is the meaning of the claim made by these three: 'We are apostles to you.'? . . . bearing in mind the relationship between *muhaddasiyyat* and *risalat*, it should be accepted that a *muhaddas* is also called a *rasul*."

(*Abqaat*, pp. 401–402)

iii. A verse in the Quran says: "We sent before you [O Muhammad] *no messenger and no prophet* but when he desired, the devil made a suggestion respecting his desire; but God annuls what the devil casts, then does God establish His Messages" (22:52). Ibn Abbas, a Companion of the Holy Prophet and an illustrious commentator of the Holy Quran, has explained this verse by saying, "and no *muhaddas*", i.e. the Quranic words "no messenger (*rasul*) and no prophet (*nabi*)" here also include a *muhaddas*. The following authorities record these words of Ibn Abbas:

1. *Sahih al-Bukhari* (Book: Qualities of the Companions, ch. Umar; 62:6).
2. *'umdat al-Qari*, a commentary on Bukhari, ch. Qualities of Umar.
3. Shah Wali-ullah of Delhi. See *Al-Khair al-Kasir*, Fifth *Khizana* (see p. 97 of its English translation, published by Ashraf, Lahore, 1974).
4. Sayyid Muhammad Ismail Shaheed. He writes: "The reason why

apostleship (*risalat*) is sometimes ascribed to those who are *muhaddas* is that the Quranic verse, 'We sent before you no messenger and no prophet', is reported in a reading from Ibn Abbas with the words 'and no *muhaddas*' added" (*Abqaat*, p. 401).

5. Imam Jalal-ud-Din Suyuti. See the Urdu book *Ahmadiyya Tahrik*, by Malik Muhammad Ja'far Khan, p. 25, Sindh Sagar Academy, Lahore.

2. The Hadith

i. In Sahih Bukhari, we read: "Then the *rasul* of the *rasul* of God came to him" (*Kitab al-Maghazi*, ch. 81).

ii. In the collection of Abu Dawud it is recorded: "The Holy Prophet said: Praise be to Allah Who granted the *rasul* of His *rasul* that which pleases him" (Part 27, ch. 71).

In these two extracts, the Holy Prophet is called the *rasul* of God, and the messenger sent by him to someone is called "*rasul* of the *rasul* of God".

iii. In a well-known hadith, the Holy Prophet Muhammad is reported to have said that as many as 124,000 prophets had appeared in the world. Two eminent scholars write:

"Know that the hadith which mentions a very large number of prophets includes *muhaddases* in its count. And the word *mursal* in it is synonymous with *nabi*."

(Shah Wali-ullah in *Al-Khair al-Kasir*, The fifth *Khizana*, p. 246; See also p. 97 of its English translation cited above.)

"Some scholars of Hadith have said that in the report quoted from the Holy Prophet about the number of prophets, the word *prophets* refers not only to *nabi* but also to *muhaddas*."

(Ismail Shaheed in *Abqaat*, pp. 401-402)

3. Hazrat Abu Bakr and Umar — prophets

Shaikh Ahmad of Sirhind writes:

"What can these people gain from the qualities of the *Shaikhain* [i.e. Abu Bakr and Umar]? These two exalted men, on account of their eminence and greatness, are counted among the prophets and have their qualities." (*Maktubat*, *Daftar* I, part iv, letter no. 251, p. 64)

4. Muhiyud-Din Ibn Arabi

"Sainthood is general prophethood, and the prophethood which brings with it a law (*shari'ah*) is special prophethood."

(*Fatuhah Makkiyya*, part ii, p. 24)

Regarding his views and the terms he has used, modern theologians comment as follows:

- i. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi writes:
 “The prophethood and apostleship which he terms ‘general’ is also meant in the root sense, i.e., receiving news of the unseen and preaching [Islam]. It is not meant in the real sense, for which the Shaikh uses the term *law-bearing prophethood*. Hence, commenting on a hadith which speaks of the *granting of prophethood to one who has memorised the Quran*, he interprets it in the root sense and explains the difference between such a person and a prophet.”
 (*Al-Tanbiyya al-Tarbi fi Tanziyya Ibn Arabi*, p. 99)
- ii. Mufti Muhammad Shafi of Deoband writes:
 “The Shaikh has referred to qualities of prophethood, *mubashshirat* [revelation of non-prophets], and sainthood as being prophethood without a religious law.”
 (*Khatm Nubuwwat*, part iii, p. 31)

5. Jalal-ud-Din Rumi

He has used the word *nabi* in his poetry to refer to perfect believers among the Muslims. Present-day theologians comment on this as follows:

- i. Maulana Abdul Majid Daryabadi wrote in his newspaper:
 “Till now what I have found most disturbing about the Qadiani claims is that, in whatever sense it may be, how could a claim to prophethood be made by a Muslim? But recently, by co-incidence, I found an example of it in the poetry of Maulana Rumi. . . .”
 For the rest of the quotation, see Section 8 of the Evidence, p. 150, no. 27.
- ii. Allama Khalid Mahmud, an opponent of the Ahmadiyya Movement, quotes another verse from Rumi and explains it as follows:
 “*In the path of virtue be anxious to serve humanity, so that you may attain prophethood within the Muslim nation.*”
 “This does not refer to the attainment of the rank of prophethood, but the attainment of qualities of prophethood. If there is brevity here, it should be interpreted in the light of Maulana Rumi’s belief about the finality of prophethood given earlier. To interpret a writing contrary to the intent of the author is utterly against the rules of knowledge and integrity. In this respect, the Maulana refers to every spiritual guide who follows the *Sunna* as metaphorically a prophet: ‘*O disciple, he is the prophet of his time, for he shows the light of the Prophet.*’”
 (*Aqidat al-Umma fi Ma’ni Khatam an-Nubuwwat*, p. 112)

- iii. In an introduction to Rumi's *Masnawi*, Maulana Sajjad Ahmad writes: "Usually the word *nabi* is used in a specialised sense, but Rumi applies *nabi* to reformers of a high rank, as in the verse: '*In the path of virtue be anxious to serve humanity, so that you may attain prophethood within the Muslim nation*.'" (Muqaddama *Masnawi Rumi*, p. 23)

6. Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi

He quotes the classical theologian Sayyid Abdul Wahhab Shi'rani and then gives his own comment:

"When the Holy Prophet Muhammad realised that some people among his followers would take the termination of revelation with dislike, he proposed a part of apostleship (*risalat*) for the specially-chosen ones of his nation. He instructed those who were present at his preaching to convey the teachings to those who were absent. Hence he commanded them to deliver the message, so that the word *rusul* [pl. of *rasul*] may apply to them.'

"Now look, in this text he has referred to mere preaching as apostleship." (*Al-Tanbiyya al-Tarbi fi Tanziyya Ibn Arabi*, pp. 100–101)

7. Maulana Abdur Rashid, head, Ahl-i Hadith school, Lahore:

"The meaning of the Sufis is clear from these quotations. They refer to the prophets as 'prophets with a law', and call the saints of this nation as 'prophets without a law'. This is the terminology of the Sufis, and it is an accepted principle that 'there cannot be any argument as regards [use of different] terminology, and each has the right to use his own terms'." (*Khatm-i Nubuwwat aur Nuzul-i Masih*, p. 74)

2. Hazrat Mirza's stand

1. Clearest Public Statement

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad once made a public declaration which makes absolutely clear the issue of the use of the word *nabi* for one who is actually a *muhaddas*. In February 1892, he ended a debate with a Muslim theologian in Lahore by issuing the following written statement:

"Be it known to all the Muslims that all such words as occur in my writings *Fath Islam*, *Tauzih Maram* and *Izala Auham*, to the effect that the *muhaddas* is in one sense a prophet, or that being a *muhaddas* is partial prophethood or imperfect prophethood, are not to be taken in their real sense, but have been used according to their root meaning in a straight-forward way;

otherwise, I lay no claim whatever to actual prophethood. On the other hand, as I have written in my book *Izala Auham*, page 137, my belief is that our leader and master Muhammad *mustafa* — may peace and the blessings of God be upon him — is the last of the Prophets.

“So I wish to make it clear to all Muslim brothers that, if they are displeased with these words and if these words give injury to their feelings, they may regard all such words as amended, and instead consider me to have used the word *muhaddas*. For I do not like to create dissension and discord among the Muslims.

“From the beginning, as God knows best, my intention has never been to use this word *nabi* as meaning actually a prophet, but only as signifying *muhaddas*, which the Holy Prophet has explained as meaning *one who is spoken to by God*. Of the *muhaddas* it is stated in a saying of the Holy Prophet: ‘Among the Israelites who were before you, there used to be men who were spoken to by God, though they were not prophets, and if there is one among my followers, it is Umar.’

“Therefore, I have not the least hesitation in stating my meaning in another form for the conciliation of my Muslim brethren, and that other form is that in every place instead of the word *nabi* the word *muhaddas* should be understood, and the word *nabi* should be regarded as having been deleted.”

(*Majmu‘a Ishiharat*, vol. i, p. 313)

This writing was drawn up in the form of an agreement and signed by eight witnesses.

2. A published letter

In August 1899, Hazrat Mirza wrote a letter to someone, explaining the use of the words *nabi* and *rasul* about him. This letter, which was also published at that time in the Ahmadiyya newspaper *Al-Hakam*, is reproduced below:

“The situation is that, although for twenty years I have been constantly receiving Divine revelation, often the word *rasul* or *nabi* has occurred in it. . . . There are many such revelations in which the word *nabi* or *rasul* has occurred regarding myself. However, that person is mistaken who thinks that by this prophethood and messengership is meant real prophethood and messengership, by which the man concerned is called a ‘law giver’. In fact, by the word *rasul* is only meant *one sent by God*, and by the word *nabi* is only meant *one who makes prophecies*, having received intimation from God, or one who discloses hidden matters.

“As these words, which are only in a metaphorical sense, cause trouble in Islam, leading to very bad consequences, these terms should not be used in

our community's common talk and everyday language. It should be believed from the bottom of the heart that prophethood has terminated with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, may peace and the blessings of God be upon him, as God Almighty says: 'He is the Messenger of God and the last of the Prophets'. To deny this verse, or to belittle it, is in fact to separate oneself from Islam. The person who exceeds the limit in rejection is in the same dangerous condition as the one who, like the Shiahs, exceeds the limit in acceptance. It should be known that God has ended all His prophethoods and messengerships with the Holy Quran and the Holy Prophet. I have come into the world, and have been sent into it, merely as a servant of the religion of Islam, and not to discard Islam and create some other religion. One must always protect oneself from being waylaid by the devil, and have true love for Islam, and must never forget the greatness of the Holy Prophet Muhammad.

"I am a servant of Islam, and this is the real reason for my coming. The words *nabi* and *rasul* are figurative and metaphorical. *Risalat* in the Arabic language is applied to 'being sent', and *nubuwwat* is to expound hidden truths and matters upon receiving knowledge from God. So, bearing in mind a significance of this extent, it is not blame-worthy to believe in the heart in accordance with this meaning.

"However, in the terminology of Islam, *nabi* and *rasul* mean those who bring an entirely new Law (*shari'ah*), or those who abrogate some aspects of the previous law, or those who are not called followers of a previous prophet, having a direct connection with God without benefit from a prophet. Therefore, one should be vigilant to see that the same meaning is not taken here, because we have no Book but the Holy Quran, and no religion but Islam. We believe that our Prophet, peace and the blessings of God be upon him, is the last of the Prophets, and the Holy Quran is the last of the Books. Religion should not be made into a children's game, and it should be remembered that I make no claim contrary to that of being a servant of Islam. The person who ascribes to me the contrary is making a fabrication against me. We receive grace and blessings through our Holy Prophet, and receive the benefit of knowledge from the Quran.

"It is, therefore, pertinent that no person should entertain anything in his heart contrary to this direction; or else he shall be answerable for it before God. If we are not servants of Islam, then all our work is in vain and rejected, and shall be called to account."

(Letter dated 17 August 1899, published in *Al-Hakam*, vol. iii, no. 29, August 1899)

3. Followers of Hazrat Mirza

An objection is sometimes raised that Hazrat Maulana Muhammad Ali, the great leader of the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement, in his writings during the life of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad and until the Split in 1914, has referred to him as 'prophet' and 'messenger'. In clarification, the Maulana has pointed out that he used these terms about Hazrat Mirza *in the same senses as those explained by Hazrat Mirza himself*, which have been dealt with above, i.e., in a root or metaphorical sense, meaning only a saint. In fact, in those days many followers of Hazrat Mirza gave the same explanation of the use of these terms about him. Such instances are recorded of even those who, after the Split in 1914, joined Mirza Bashirud-Din Mahmud Ahmad's group (the 'Qadianis'). Below we give some published statements from prominent Qadianis, in which they held that no prophet could come after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and that the word *nabi* applied to Hazrat Mirza only in a root or partial sense; and importantly, that it applied to him *only in the sense in which it could be applied to any saint in Islam*.

1. Mufti Muhammad Sadiq

He was the chief missionary of the Qadianis, and editor of *Badr*. In 1910 he related an account of his meeting with the famous Muslim scholar Maulana Shibli as follows:

"Shibli asked if we believe Mirza sahib to be a prophet. I replied that our belief in this respect was the same as that of other Muslims, viz., that the Holy Prophet Muhammad is the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*. After him, no other prophet can come, neither new nor old. However, the phenomenon of Divine revelation still continues, but even that is through the agency of the Holy Prophet. By receiving spiritual benefit from him, there have been men among the Muslims who had the privilege of Divine revelation, and in future too there shall be such. As Hazrat Mirza sahib was also privileged with Divine revelation, and in his revelations God gave him many news of the future as prophecies, which were fulfilled, for this reason Mirza sahib was one who made prophecies. Such a one is called *nabi* in Arabic lexicology."

(*Badr*, 27 October 1910)

2. Maulavi Sayyid Sarwar Shah

He was the top most theologian of the Qadianis. In 1911, replying to a critic who objected to the use of the word 'prophet', he wrote a reply which was published in the paper under the title 'Word *nabi* or *mujaddid*'.

He wrote:

“The word *nabi*, according to its origins, has two meanings: firstly, one who receives news of matters unseen from God; secondly, a man of a high status, to whom God grants the distinction of abundant revelation, and informs him of news of the unseen, he is a *nabi*. In this sense I believe that all the previous *mujaddids* were prophets of various grades.”

(*Badr*, 16 February 1911)

3. Mir Muhammad Saeed

He was head of the Qadianis in Hyderabad, Deccan. In a book written in 1904 as a reply to a critic, he said:

i. “Hazrat Mirza sahib has claimed to be a *muhaddas*, and the definition of *muhaddas* which is established from the hadith in *Sahih Bukhari* etc. is that of a kind of partial prophethood which is in the sense of *zill* and through another’s agency, and is granted to every *muhaddas* among the Muslim people.”

(*Anwaar-ullah*, p. 263)

ii. “To sum up, Hazrat Mirza sahib has only claimed to be a *muhaddas* — and not an actual prophet which negatives the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, and is against [the hadith] ‘There is no prophet after me’.” (ibid., p. 269)

4. Mirza Bashir-ud-Din Mahmud Ahmad (d. 1965)

He was the well-known first leader of the Qadianis. In 1910 he wrote an article entitled *Najaat* (Salvation) which appeared in the monthly *Tashhiz al-azhan*, of which he himself was the editor. In this article, he explained the meaning of the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* verse of the Quran (33:40) as follows:

“In this verse God has said that the Holy Prophet is the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*, and none shall come after him who may be raised to the status of prophethood, and who may abrogate his teachings and establish a new law. Nay, however many saints (*wali*) there are, and righteous and pious persons, they will get all that they get through service to him. Thus God has said that the Holy Prophet’s prophethood was meant not only for his times, but that in future too no prophet would come. . . .

“Another point must be remembered here, viz., that in this verse God says: ‘God is ever Knower of all things’. This does not appear to have an obvious connection here because it was not necessary to say, regarding the things God has explained, that He is the Knower of everything. The fact is that the Holy Prophet’s being the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* contains a prophecy. This is that before the Holy Prophet Muhammad there arose hundreds of prophets in the world who had great success. In fact, there does

not appear to be a century in which no claimant to prophethood could be found. So Krishna, Ramachandra, Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Moses and Jesus are those whose followers still exist in the world, and are energetically doing their work, each group putting forward the claim of its truth. But thirteen hundred years have now passed since the Holy Prophet's claim, and no one has ever attained success by claiming prophethood. After all, prior to his time people used to claim prophethood, and many of them were successful, whom we believe to be true. But why has this arrangement stopped with his advent? Obviously because of the prophecy that he is the *Khatam an-nabiyyin*. Now we ask the opponents of Islam, what greater sign can there be than the fact that, after the Holy Prophet, no person who claimed prophethood was successful. It is this which is referred to in the words: 'God is ever Knower of all things'. That is to say, We have made him *Khatam an-nabiyyin* and We know that no prophet would come after him, and any liar making such a claim would be destroyed. This, therefore, is a historical prophecy which no one can possibly refute."

(*Tashhiz al-azhan*, April 1910, vol. v, no. 4, pp. 151-152)

Here the significance of *Khatam an-nabiyyin* has been clearly explained to be that no prophet can come after the Holy Prophet Muhammad, nor can the status of prophethood be attained after him. The highest anyone among the Muslims can rise to, as indicated in the second sentence of the above extract, is the position of *wali* or saint.

F. *Ummati wa Nabi* — Follower and Prophet

Further to the references given in Section 9.5 from the writings of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, showing that he defined this term as being synonymous with *saint*, we deal with this point in more detail here. According to Hazrat Mirza, the terms 'follower' (*ummati*) and 'prophet' or 'messenger' (*nabi, rasul*) are opposite in meaning, and therefore, properly speaking, no person can be both a follower and a prophet. Hazrat Mirza defines an *ummati* as below:

"An *ummati* is he who, without following the Holy Prophet Muhammad and the Holy Quran, was merely deficient, misguided and faithless. And then by following the Holy Prophet he attained faith and perfection." (*Barahin Ahmadiyya Part V*, pp. 192-193)

On the other hand, a prophet or messenger learns faith directly from God through revelation:

“According to the explanation of the Holy Quran, *rasul* is he who receives the commandments and beliefs of the faith through the angel Gabriel.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 534)

Hazrat Mirza explains clearly that *ummati* and *rasul* (or *nabi*) have opposite meanings:

1. “The possessor of full prophethood can never be a follower (*ummati*), and it is absolutely prohibited by the Quran and Hadith that the man who is called messenger (*rasul*) of God in the fullest sense could be a complete sub-ordinate and disciple of another prophet. Almighty God says [in the Holy Quran]: ‘We did not send any messenger but that he should be obeyed by God’s permission.’ That is, every messenger is sent to be a master and leader, not to be a disciple and sub-ordinate of someone else.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 569)
2. “No messenger comes into the world as a disciple and sub-ordinate. Rather, he is a leader, and follows only his revelation which descends on him through angel Gabriel.” (*ibid.*, p. 576)
3. “The meanings of *rasul* [messenger] and *ummati* [follower] are opposite to each other.” (*ibid.*, p. 575)
4. “These two concepts [discipleship and prophethood] are opposite to each other.” (*Review Mubahasa*, p. 8)

Hazrat Mirza has used the expressions “follower and prophet” and “a prophet from one aspect and a follower from another”, and he has clearly explained the significance of these terms:

1. “A *muhaddas*, who is a ‘sent one’, is a follower and also, in an imperfect sense, a prophet. He is a follower because he fully follows the Shari’ah of the Holy Prophet Muhammad and receives benefit from the light of his [the Holy Prophet’s] prophethood. And he is a prophet because God makes his affairs like those of prophets. God has made the position of *muhaddas* as an intermediate one between prophets and followers. Although he is a follower in the fullest sense, he is also a prophet in one sense. And a *muhaddas* must be the like of some prophet, and receive from God the very name which is the name of that prophet.” (*Izala Auham*, p. 569)
2. “So the fact that he [the Messiah to come] has been called a follower as well as a prophet . . . ”

For the complete quotation, see Section 9.5 of the Evidence, p. 165.

This proves conclusively that by the term “follower and prophet” in the writings of Hazrat Mirza is meant a *muhaddas*, who is really a follower but has some characteristics in common with prophets. It does *not* mean a *prophet*, as Hazrat Mirza has clearly explained above.

‘Follower and prophet’ — a composite term

It may be noted that ‘follower and prophet’ is a composite term. One cannot refer to just the ‘prophet’ part of it, and take it as denoting a type of prophet. Hazrat Mirza writes that such a follower “cannot be just called *prophet*”. See extracts in Section 11 of the Evidence, no. 15 *ii* and *iii*, pp. 182–183.

In his writings, Hazrat Mirza has *nowhere* used the term *ummati nabi* (follower-prophet), which could possibly have implied the significance of a prophet among the Muslims, i.e. a type of prophet. He has always used expressions like ‘follower and prophet’ after having clearly elaborated and defined this concept as characterising a *muhaddas*.

‘Follower and prophet’ applies to many saints

According to Hazrat Mirza, it is not only him but *many saints in Islam* who attained the title ‘prophet and follower’. He writes:

1. “. . . the godly savants are on the one hand called followers, and on the other hand they are called the likes of prophets.”
For the complete quotation, see Section 11 of the Evidence, no. 15 *iv*, p. 183.
 2. “God bestowed the honour of His full, perfect, pure and holy, communication and revelation to some such persons as had reached the stage of *fana fir-rasul* to the highest degree, so that there remained no separation. The concept of *ummati* and the meaning of *following* was found in them to completion and perfection, so that their very being did not remain their own selves, but rather, the person of the Holy Prophet Muhammad was reflected in the mirror of their state of engrossment. On the other hand, they received Divine communication and revelation in the fullest and most perfect sense like prophets. So in this way, some persons, despite being *ummati* [followers], received the title of *nabi* [prophet].” (*Al-Wasiyyat*, pp. 29–30)
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G. Clarification of *Correction of an Error*

This is in connection with the subject of Section 10. In around 1915, shortly after the Split, the assertion was first made by the Qadianis that, in the pamphlet 'Correction of an error' (*Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala*) published in November 1901, Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad had announced that he claimed to be a prophet and that his previous denials of such a claim were now abrogated. To refute this assertion of *a change in Hazrat Mirza's position in November 1901*, seventy of his prominent followers who had taken the pledge into the Movement before that date, issued the following sworn public statement:

"We, the undersigned, declare on oath that when Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of Qadian, the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, announced in 1891, that the prophet Jesus was dead according to the Holy Quran, and that the 'son of Mary' whose advent among the Muslims was spoken of in Hadith was he [Hazrat Mirza] himself, he did not lay claim' to prophethood. However, the Maulavis misled the public, and issued a *fatwa* of *kufr* against him by alleging that he claimed prophethood. After this, the Promised Messiah declared time after time in plain words, as his writings show, that to ascribe to him a claim of prophethood was a fabrication against him, that he considered prophethood to have come to a close with the Holy Prophet Muhammad, and that he looked upon a claimant to prophethood, after the Holy Prophet, as a liar and a *kafir*. And that the words *mursal*, *rasul*, and *nabi* which had occurred in some of his revelations, or the word *nabi* which had been used about the coming Messiah in Hadith, do not denote a prophet in actual fact, but rather a metaphorical, partial or *zilli* prophet who is known as a *muhaddas*. After the *Khatam an-nabiyyin* the Holy Prophet Muhammad, no prophet can come, neither new nor old.

"We also declare on oath that we entered into the pledge of the Promised Messiah before November 1901, and that the statements of Mirza Mahmud Ahmad, the head of the Qadian section, that though in the beginning Hazrat Mirza Sahib did not claim prophethood, but that he changed his claim in November 1901, and laid claim to prophethood on that date, and that his previous writings of ten or eleven years denying prophethood are abrogated — all this is entirely wrong and absolutely opposed to facts. We do swear by Allah that the idea never even entered our minds that the Promised Messiah made a change in his claim in 1901 or that his previous writings, which are full of denials of a claim to prophethood, were ever abrogated; nor, to our knowledge, did we ever hear such words from the mouth of even a single person until Mirza Mahmud Ahmad made these

statements [in 1914/1915].”

No person was ever able to counter this statement by testifying on oath that as an Ahmadi he came to know in November 1901 that Hazrat Mirza, by publishing '*Ayk Ghalati Ka Izala*', was retracting or in some way modifying his previous statements, of the ten-year period 1891 to 1901, in which he had clearly denied claiming prophethood and, as against this denial, claimed to be a '*muhaddas*'.

Opening line of pamphlet

'Correction of an Error' opens with the following line:

“Some people among my followers who are not well-acquainted with my claim and its arguments, not having had the occasion to study the books carefully, nor having stayed in my company for a sufficient length of time to complete their knowledge, in some instances in response to an objection of the opponents give a reply which is against facts.”

Therefore it is the error of *some followers* that Hazrat Mirza is correcting, and not any error on his own part. Moreover, the said followers would not have committed these errors about his claims if they had *studied his previous books and statements* to gain knowledge of these matters. Therefore, Hazrat Mirza has not only confirmed here the validity of his previous writings and statements, but has instructed that these should be studied to get accurate information about his claims.

H. Muslims and British rule of India

Quotations have been cited in Section 17.5 which prove that Muslim leaders in India, just prior to and at the time of Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, had clearly announced that the teachings of Islam did not justify a *jihad* of physical war against British rule of India. We give here further evidence showing that Muslim leaders, including those whose admirers today accuse Hazrat Mirza of complicity with the British government, were actually greater supporters of the government than he was.

1. Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan

- i. He wrote as follows about the British government:
 "Muslims were living in peace under their government. In no way could they undertake jihad against the government."
 (*Asbab Baghawat-i Hind*, i.e. 'Causes of the Indian Mutiny', p. 105)
- ii. Regarding the famous Aligarh Muslim college (founded by Sir Sayyid) and those who were associated with it, it is noted in a history research work:
 "The British found Aligarh men easy to deal with. They granted the school substantial patronage for secular instruction and served as visitors, chief guests, patrons, and — most importantly — faculty members. Lord Lytton himself laid the foundation stone of the college in 1877, and guests of such stature were frequent at the school. They tended to see the school as the mark of the end of Muslim opposition to their rule, the end of obscurantism; . . ."
 (*Islamic Revival in British India*, by Dr Barbara Daly Metcalf, p. 328)

2. Deputy Nazir Ahmad (d. 1912)

He was a famous religious scholar, social reformer, and a pioneer of Urdu literature whose novels are today a basic part of the educational curriculum. Regarding his views, it is recorded:

"In that age of great tribulations, among the persons who interpreted jihad as abrogated and who declared the British to be the 'holders of authority' in terms of the Quranic verse 'Obey God and obey the Apostle and the holders of authority from among you', is included the name of the famous writer Deputy Nazir Ahmad. . . . In his translation of the Quran he was the first to proclaim the British to be 'holders of authority', and obedience to them to be implicit in the obedience of God and the Apostle. . . . See *Dastan-i Tarikh* in Urdu by Hamid Hasan Qadiri, page 98."
 (Book *Ata-ullah Shah Bukhari* by the well-known journalist Shorash Kashmiri, p. 135)

3. Maulana Sayyid Nazir Husain of Delhi

It is recorded in a journal of his Ahl-i Hadith sect, *Isha'at as-Sunna* edited by Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi, that when Maulavi Nazir Husain went to Makka for the Pilgrimage, he took with him a letter of introduction from the British commissioner of Delhi. The journal reproduced this letter in order to refute allegations against the Ahl-i Hadith of disloyalty to the British government. It is given below, as printed in English in the original journal:

"Maulavi Nazir Husain is a leading Maulavi in Delhi who in difficult times has proved his loyalty to the British government and in his pilgrimage to

Mecca I hope any British Officer whose help or protection he may need will afford it to him as he most fully deserves it.

(Signed) J.D. Tremlett, B.C.S.

Commissioner and Supdt. Delhi Division

August 10th 1883."

(*Isha'at as-Sunna*, vol. vi, no. 10, October 1883, p. 294)

4. Deobandi Leaders and theologians

The Deoband religious school, founded in 1867, represents a very different sectarian tendency within Sunni Islam from the Ahl-i Hadith referred to above (*muqallid* as opposed to *ghair muqallid*). The founders and early leaders of this movement too renounced jihad against British rule of India, and displayed loyalty to the government.

- i. Regarding Maulavi Sami-ullah Khan, a student and associate of Maulavi Mamluk Ali, it is written:
 "On 16 September 1884 Maulavi Sami-ullah Khan went on a political mission to Egypt to strengthen British interests in that country, and there he did harm to Jamal-ud-Din Afghani's Pan-Islamic movement. In recognition of his services, he received the title C.M.G."
 (The book *Maulana Muhammad Ahsan Nanotavi* by Muhammad Ayub Qadiri, p. 184. See weekly *Al-I'tisam*, 2 October 1970, p. 6)
- ii. Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, a very famous Deoband theologian, wrote:
 "As I have in fact been obedient to the government, the false accusation [of disloyalty] could not do me the slightest harm. But even if I were to be executed, the government is the master and can do what it likes."
 (*Tazkira Rashidiyya*, by Muhammad Ashiq Ilahi, vol. i, p. 80. See weekly *Al-I'tisam*, 2 October 1970, p. 7)

5. Anjuman Himayat-i Islam

This was a famous Muslim association of Lahore, founded in 1885, which represented a cross-section of Muslim opinion. It announced in an official statement:

"In return for the bounties of the government, it is our duty to remain loyal subjects of the government forever. The Muslims have a double advantage in this. They fulfil their obligations as subjects, and they have Divine reward for it as well because God has taught us in the Quran: 'Obey God and the holders of authority from among you'. May God long preserve such a government over us, in whose shade we had so much rest, and may He always keep us obedient to it."

(Published report of the Anjuman Himayat-i-Islam, 1903)

6. Muslim League

The All-India Muslim League was the Muslim nationalist political party which brought about the creation of Pakistan. Its first meeting was held on 30 December 1906 under the chairmanship of Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk. In his address, he stated that one of its objects was:

“To foster feelings of loyalty towards the British government in the hearts of the Indian Muslims, and to clear any misunderstanding in their minds regarding the actions of the government.”

(*Muslimanon Ka Roshan Mustaqbil*, p. 356)

7. The Nadwat-ul-Ulama, Lucknow

The Nadwah is a famous institution of Muslim theologians, founded in 1891. One of its best-known personalities today is its Rector and high official Sayyid Abul Hasan Ali Nadawi, an author of many books against the Ahmadiyya Movement which accuse Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad of being sponsored by the British government. Yet when we study the history of Nadwat-ul-Ulama itself, we learn:

“Nadwah also fostered relations with the [British] government, for, in a colonial society, any ambitious leadership required its support. After a period of intense suspicion because of their presumed Pan-Islamic sentiments, the government agreed to patronize secular learning at the school, contributed land for its fine building on the banks of the Gumti in Lucknow, and, in 1908, sent the lieutenant governor himself to lay the foundation stone.”

(*Islamic Revival in British India*, by Dr Barbara Daly Metcalf, p. 346)

The journal *An-Nadwah* itself recorded:

- i. “The honourable Lieutenant Governor [Sir John Hewitt] agreed to lay the foundation stone of the *Darul Uloom* [school] of Nadwat-ul-Ulama. This ceremony was held on 28 November 1908.”
(*An-Nadwah*, December 1908, vol. v, no. 10, pp. 1–2)
- ii. It also said regarding the British government:
“Although the Nadwah has nothing to do with politics, its real aim is to produce enlightened Ulama, and it is an essential duty of such Ulama to be familiar with the blessings of the government’s rule, and to spread feelings of loyalty in the country.”
(*An-Nadwah*, July 1908, p. 1)

In a speech made at that time, as reported in a Muslim newspaper, the President of the school of Nadwat-ul-Ulama said:

“In its short life, the Nadwah has not only made astonishing progress in attracting the Muslim population of India, but it has obtained a vote of confidence from the government as well.

“We Muslims, and especially the honourable Ulama, should give special thanks, with gratitude from our hearts, to Lieutenant Governor Sir John Hewitt, through whose care and kindness we obtained a plot of land for our school and the considerable sum of Rs 500. I think it advisable that the leaders of Islam, who have come here from all over India to attend this meeting, should make a petition, indeed it should now be our duty, that we should offer all possible assistance to the government in establishing peace in the country. It should be one of the duties of our Ulama to urge the Muslims, in sermons, to go along with the government. I believe that if we do this, we shall be acting on Islamic teachings, which are better known to many honourable persons in this meeting than to me.”

(Newspaper *Paisa*, Lahore, 30 May 1910)

I. Munir Report on *Fatwas* of *Kufr*

One of the most famous public documents in the history of Pakistan is known commonly as the *Munir Report*, its official title being: *Report of the Court of Inquiry constituted under Punjab Act II of 1954 to enquire into the Punjab Disturbances of 1953*. The disturbances referred to were instigated by a number of religious leaders (*ulama*) in pursuance of their demand that the government officially classify Ahmadis to be a non-Muslim minority community, and take certain other actions against members of this movement. The disturbances were eventually quelled by the authorities, and a public court of inquiry appointed with Justice Muhammad Munir as president and Justice Kayani as member to investigate the causes of the trouble. The inquiry went into the underlying issues behind the events, carrying out an incisive analysis of the *ulama's* concept of an Islamic state. Its 387-page Report, which soon became a historic document, was presented in April 1954.

Referring to the *ulama's* call for Pakistan to be run as an official ‘Islamic’ state, and to their demands against Ahmadis, the Report says:

“The question, therefore, whether a person is or is not a Muslim will be of fundamental importance, and it was for this reason that we asked most of

the leading *ulama* to give their definition of a Muslim, the point being that if the *ulama* of the various sects believed the Ahmadis to be *kafirs*, they must have been quite clear in their minds not only about the grounds of such belief but also about the definition of a Muslim because the claim that a certain person or community is not within the pale of Islam implies on the part of the claimant an exact conception of what a Muslim is. The result of this part of the inquiry, however, has been anything but satisfactory, and if considerable confusion exists in the minds of our *ulama* on such a simple matter, one can easily imagine what the differences on more complicated matters will be. Below we reproduce the definition of a Muslim given by each *alim* in his own words." (p. 215)

There then follow in the Report the answers given by various *ulama* to the question, What is the definition of a Muslim. At the end of the answers, the Report draws the following conclusion:

"Keeping in view the several definitions given by the *ulama*, need we make any comment except that no two learned divines are agreed on this fundamental. If we attempt our own definition as each learned divine has done and that definition differs from that given by all others, we unanimously go out of the fold of Islam. And if we adopt the definition given by any one of the *ulama*, we remain Muslims according to the view of that *alim* but *kafirs* according to the definition of every one else." (p. 218)

After this, under the heading *Apostasy*, the Report refers to the belief held by the *ulama* that, in an Islamic state, a Muslim who becomes a *kafir* is subject to the death penalty. The Report says:

"According to this doctrine, Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan, if he has not inherited his present religious beliefs but has voluntarily elected to be an Ahmadi, must be put to death. And the same fate should befall Deobandis and Wahabis, including Maulana Muhammad Shafi Deobandi, Member, Board of Talimat-i-Islami attached to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, and Maulana Daud Ghaznavi, if Maulana Abul Hasanat Sayyad Muhammad Ahmad Qadri or Mirza Raza Ahmad Khan Bareilvi, or any one of the numerous *ulama* who are shown perched on every leaf of a beautiful tree in the *fatwa*, Ex. D.E. 14, were the head of such Islamic State. And if Maulana Muhammad Shafi Deobandi were the head of the State, he would exclude those who have pronounced Deobandis as *kafirs* from the pale of Islam and inflict on them the death penalty if they come within the definition of *murtadd*, namely, if they have changed and not inherited their religious views.

"The genuineness of the *fatwa*, Ex. D.E. 13, by the Deobandis which says that Asna Ashari Shias are *kafirs* and *murtadds*, was questioned in the

course of enquiry, but Maulana Muhammad Shafi made an inquiry on the subject from Deoband, and received from the records of that institution the copy of a *fatwa* signed by all the teachers of the Darul Uloom, including Maulana Muhammad Shafi himself which is to the effect that those who do not believe in the *sahabiyyat* of Hazrat Siddiq Akbar and who are *qazif* of Hazrat Aisha Siddiqah and have been guilty of *tehrif* of Quran are *kafirs*. This opinion is also supported by Mr Ibrahim Ali Chishti who has studied and knows his subject. He thinks the Shias are *kafirs* because they believe that Hazrat Ali shared the prophethood with our Holy Prophet. He refused to answer the question whether a person who being a Sunni changes his view and agrees with the Shia view would be guilty of *irtidad* so as to deserve the death penalty. According to the Shias all Sunnis are *kafirs*, and Ahl-i-Quran, namely, persons who consider *hadith* to be unreliable and therefore not binding, are unanimously *kafirs*, and so are all independent thinkers. The net result of all this is that neither Shias nor Sunnis nor Deobandis nor Ahl-i-Hadith nor Barelvis are Muslims and any change from one view to the other must be accompanied in an Islamic State with the penalty of death if the Government of the State is in the hands of the party which considers the other party to be *kafirs*. And it does not require much imagination to judge of the consequences of this doctrine when it is remembered that no two *ulama* have agreed before us as to the definition of a Muslim. If the constituents of each of the definitions given by the *ulama* are given effect to, and subjected to the rule of 'combination and permutation' and the form of charge in the Inquisition's sentence on Galileo is adopted *mutatis mutandis* as a model, the grounds on which a person may be indicted for apostasy will be too numerous to count." (p. 219)

Hence this extensive inquiry found that if the *fatwas* of the *ulama* are relied upon to determine whether a sect is Muslim or *kafir*, then *no sect* at all will be left which could be called Muslim.

J. Ahmadis and other Muslims

A very common misconception is that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad considered as *kafir* those Muslims who did not accept him. It is alleged that *on this basis* he forbade his followers from saying the funeral prayers of deceased Muslims who were not Ahmadis, and from praying in a

congregation led by an imam who was not an Ahmadi. As this allegation did not feature much in the court case, the only written submission made was the note given in Section 19 of the Evidence. However, much of this issue is covered in our book *True Facts about the Ahmadiyya Movement*, which had been submitted to the court for general information. For the sake of completion, we give here the treatment of this question from that book, with necessary editing and addition.

1. Hazrat Mirza did not call Muslims *kafir*

The first point to note is that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad strongly condemned the widely prevailing practice of *takfir* (i.e. one Muslim calling another *kafir* on grounds of some difference of religious belief or practice), which is a common pastime of religious leaders, as shown by the *fatwas* cited in the Evidence (Section 18) and Appendix I. He wrote:

1. "O Maulavis! will you not face death one day, that you are so bold and cunning as to declare a whole world [of Muslims] as *kafirs*. God says that if someone even uses the greeting *Assalamu Alaikum* for you, you should not consider him a *kafir* because he is a Muslim." (*Itmam-i Hujja*, p. 23)
2. "By the orders and rulings of the Maulavis, Muslims are expelled from the religion of Islam. Even if there are to be found in them a thousand characteristics of Islam, all these are ignored, and some non-sensical and trivial excuse is found to declare them to be such *kafirs* as surpass even the Hindus and Christians. . . . O Muslims! there are few enough Muslims already, do not reduce this small number even further." (*Izala Auham*, pp. 594–597)
3. "It is a matter of amazement that a person who recites the *Kalima*, faces the Qibla, believes in One God, believes in and truly loves God and His Messenger, and believes in the Quran, should on account of some secondary difference be declared a *kafir* on par with, nay even more than, Jews and Christians." (*Ainah Kamalat Islam*, p. 259)

Rejecting so completely the practice of *takfir*, and denouncing it so strongly, it is clear that Hazrat Mirza could not himself have pronounced other Muslims as *kafir* on grounds of difference in some beliefs.

When Hazrat Mirza's opponents branded him a *kafir*, and publicised *fatwas* far and wide to this effect, he issued repeated affirmations that he was a Muslim and adherent of Islam, as can be seen from his statements quoted in Section 2 (see pp. 88–95). However, they persisted in dubbing

him and his followers as *kafir* over a number of years, and so he was forced to point out to them that, according to the Holy Prophet Muhammad's Sayings and the Shari'ah of Islam, a Muslim who calls another Muslim as *kafir*, gets the same epithet reflected back on him. It is the Holy Prophet's ruling that such a person, who called a Muslim as *kafir*, is himself more deserving of being called *kafir* (though, of course, he is still a member of the Muslim nation). Regarding this position Hazrat Mirza wrote:

"These people first prepared a *fatwa* of *kufr* against me, and about 200 maulavis put their seals upon it, calling us *kafir*. In these *fatwas*, such hostility was shown that some Ulama even wrote that these people [Ahmadis] are worse in disbelief than Jews and Christians; and they broadcast *fatwas* saying that these people must not be buried in Muslim cemeteries, they must not be offered *salaam* and greetings, and it is not proper to say prayers behind them, because they are *kafir*. They must not be allowed to enter mosques because they would pollute them; if they do enter, the mosque must be washed. It is allowable to steal their property, and they may be killed . . .

"Now look at this falsehood, viz., that they accuse me of having declared 200 million Muslims and *Kalima*-professing people to be *kafir*. We did not take the initiative for branding people as *kafir*. Their own religious leaders issued *fatwas* of *kufr* against us, and raised a commotion throughout Punjab and India that we were *kafir*. These proclamations so alienated the ignorant people from us that they considered it a sin even to talk to us in a civil manner. Can any maulavi, or any other opponent, prove that we had declared them *kafir* first? If there is any paper, notice or booklet issued by us, prior to their *fatwas* of *kufr*, in which we had declared our Muslim opponents to be *kafir*, then they should bring that forward. If not, they should realise how dishonest it is that, while they are the ones who call us *kafir*, they accuse us of having declared all Muslims as *kafir*." (*Haqiqat al-Wahy*, pp. 119-120)

Hazrat Mirza regarded all Kalima-reciters as Muslims

In February 1899, a court case ended which had involved Hazrat Mirza and one of his chief adversaries, Maulavi Muhammad Husain Batalvi, who some years earlier had instigated the issuing of the *fatwa* which declared Hazrat Mirza to be a *kafir*. The magistrate got each of them to sign an affirmation to the effect that in future one would not call the other a *kafir* or anti-Christ. Commenting on this affirmation, and its signing by both of them, Hazrat Mirza wrote:

"If he [Muhammad Husain] had been honest in issuing his *fatwa*, he should have said to the judge: 'I certainly regard him as a *kafir*, and so I call him

a *kafir*'. . . .

“Considering that till now, till the last part of my life, by the grace and favour of God I still hold those beliefs which Muhammad Husain has declared as *kufir*, what sort of honesty is it that, out of fear of the judge, he destroyed all his *fatwas* and affirmed before the judge that he would never again call me *kafir*, or dub me anti-Christ and a liar. One should reflect as to what greater disgrace there could be than this, that this person with his own hands demolished his building. If this structure had been founded on honesty, it would not have been possible for Muhammad Husain to desist from his previous practice.

“It is true that I also signed this notice. But by this signing, no blame attaches to me in the eyes of God and the just people, nor does such signing reflect any disgrace on me, because my belief from the beginning has been that no person becomes a *kafir* or anti-Christ by denying my claim. Such a person would certainly be misguided and deviating from the right path, but I do not call him faithless. . . . I do not apply the term *kafir* to any person who professes the *Kalima*, unless he makes himself a *kafir* by calling me a *kafir* and a liar. In this matter, it has always been my opponents who took the first step by calling me a *kafir*, and prepared a *fatwa*. I did not take the lead in preparing a *fatwa* against them. And they themselves admit that if I am a Muslim in the eyes of God, then by calling me a *kafir* the ruling of the Holy Prophet Muhammad against them is that they are *kafir*. So I do not call them *kafir*; rather it is by calling me *kafir* that they come under the judgment of the Holy Prophet. Therefore, if I have affirmed before Mr Dowie [the judge] that I shall not call them *kafir*, it is in fact my creed that I do not consider any Muslim to be a *kafir*.”

(*Tiryaaq al-Qulub*, pp. 130–131)

He has made his position perfectly clear: **No one becomes a *kafir* by denying my claim** (i.e. by denying his claim to be mujaddid or Promised Messiah from God). He does not regard any self-professing Muslim as a *kafir*. As to those who call him *kafir*, their slander reflects back on them according to the ruling of the Holy Prophet which is accepted by them. In this connection, see the second extract from Maudoodi’s *Let us be Muslims*, reproduced in Appendix A (pp. 315–316), where he quotes this hadith and accepts it enthusiastically.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal’s testimony

Dr Sir Muhammad Iqbal (d. 1938), the famous Muslim poet, philosopher and exponent of the Muslim nationalist cause in the Indian sub-continent, who is a national hero of Pakistan, had seen and met Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Many years later, he told Maulana Muhammad Ali, head of

the Lahore Ahmadiyya Movement, of a meeting with Hazrat Mirza. It so happened that shortly afterwards Maulana Muhammad Ali had cause to write a booklet commenting on certain views Dr Iqbal had expressed about the Ahmadiyya Movement. In that English booklet he reminded Iqbal of his own personal evidence as follows:

“But I would refer Sir Muhammad Iqbal to an incident which he himself so recently related to me when I paid him a visit during his sickness in October 1934. The Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, he told me, was then in Sialkot — he did not remember the year, but it was the year 1904 as the facts related by him show. Mian (now Sir) Fazl-i Hussain was then practising as a lawyer in Sialkot, and one day while he (the Mian sahib) was going to see Hazrat Mirza sahib, he (Sir Muhammad Iqbal) met him in the way, and after inquiring whither he was going he also accompanied him. During the conversation that ensued with the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement, Mian Sir Fazl-i Hussain asked him if he looked upon those who did not believe in him as *kafirs*, and the Mirza sahib without a moment's hesitation replied that he did not. . . .

“At any rate, Sir Muhammad Iqbal is personally a witness of the fact that the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Movement was not guilty of calling other Muslims *kafir*. ”

(*Sir Muhammad Iqbal's Statement re The Qadianis*, pp. 6–8)

Dr Iqbal lived for about two years after the publication of this booklet directed at him. He did not make any denial of the reference cited above. In fact, in private letters and conversations he confirmed its accuracy and correctness.

2. Funeral Prayers for other Muslims

Hazrat Mirza never instructed his followers that they must refrain from saying the Islamic funeral prayers for a deceased Muslim who did not belong to the Ahmadiyya Movement. On the contrary, on all the occasions when this question was put to him, Hazrat Mirza clearly and unequivocally permitted his followers to hold funeral services for non-Ahmadi Muslims in general. This also constitutes conclusive proof that he regarded the general non-Ahmadi Muslim population as being Muslims and not *kafir*, because holding the Islamic funeral service for any person implies recognition of the deceased as a Muslim. And moreover, the proof is of a plain, practical and easy to understand nature.

Given below are three clear rulings of Hazrat Mirza on this issue:

1. “The question was raised as to whether it was permissible to say the funeral prayers for a man who was not in the Movement. The Promised Messiah said:

“ ‘If the deceased was an opponent of this Movement and spoke ill of us and regarded us as bad, do not say funeral prayers for him. If he did not speak against us, and was neutral, it is permissible to say his funeral prayers, provided the imam is one of you; otherwise there is no need. If the deceased did not call us *kafir* and liar, his funeral prayers may be said. There is nothing wrong with that, for only God knows hidden matters.’ ”

 (Statement made on 18 April 1902; newspaper *Al-Hakam*, 30 April 1902)
2. About a year before his death, Hazrat Mirza received a letter from a follower, Ghulam Qadir of Jeonjal (district Gujrat), asking for guidance on some points, one of which related to saying funeral prayers for non-Ahmadi Muslims. Hazrat Mirza instructed one of his assistants, Mufti Muhammad Sadiq, to write the following reply:

“It is permissible to say funeral prayers for an opponent if he did not abuse us. The imam [of the service] must be an Ahmadi.”

 (Letter dated 12 May 1907; facsimile of original available.)
3. In 1908, Ahmadis and other Muslims in a place called Bhudiyar, in the district of Amritsar, made an agreement in which one clause proposed by the Ahmadis was as follows: “We will say funeral prayers for those non-Ahmadi relatives who are neutral” (i.e. not opponents of the Ahmadiyya Movement). Hazrat Mirza wrote the following note on it in his own hand:

“What has been written is very good and blessed.”

 (See newspaper *Badr*, dated 13 May 1909)

3. Saying prayers behind non-Ahmadi Imam

Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad never instructed his followers to refrain from praying in a congregation led by an imam who is a non-Ahmadi. Hazrat Mirza himself used to join prayer-services led by non-Ahmadi imams, even after his claim to be the Promised Messiah and the subsequent controversy, and so did his followers. However, the Maulavis became more and more bitter in denouncing him and his followers as

kafir, and began to expel Ahmadis from prayer congregations in mosques. Ahmadis were attacked, maltreated and humiliated if they dared enter a mosque. It was when such situations began to arise that Hazrat Mirza prohibited his followers from praying behind any imam who called them *kafir* and abused them.

Below we give some remarks by a maulavi opposed to the Ahmadis, which show how the maulavis were boastful of having expelled Ahmadis from mosques, and how they scornfully rejected Hazrat Mirza's efforts at reconciliation. In 1901, when Hazrat Mirza wrote a booklet entitled *Al-Sulh Al-Khair* (A Reconciliation), in which he appealed to the maulavis for peace between fellow-Muslims, Maulavi Abdul Wahid Janpuri retorted:

“Let it not be concealed that the reason for this conciliatory note is that after the Mirza'i [Ahmadi] group in Amritsar were subjected to disgrace, expelled from Friday and congregational prayers, humiliatingly thrown out of the mosque in which they used to pray, and barred from the park where they held their Friday prayers, they asked Mirza Qadiani for permission to build a new mosque. Mirza told them that they should wait, while he tried to make peace with the people, for in that case there would be no need to build a mosque. They [the Ahmadis] had to bear much humiliation. Their social relations with Muslims were stopped, their wives were taken away from them, their dead had to be thrown into pits without burial garments or funeral rites, etc. It was then that the Qadiani liar issued this conciliatory note.”

(*Ishtihar Mukhadat Musailimah Qadiani*, p. 2)

This shows that not only were Ahmadis maltreated and debarred from congregations and mosques, but the maulavis who instigated this persecution were openly proud of doing it. How unjust it is, given these circumstances, to accuse the Ahmadis of separating themselves from the rest of the Muslims!

In reply to a letter on this subject which he received in March 1908, near the end of his life, Hazrat Mirza wrote:

“As the maulavis of this country, due to their bigotry, have generally declared us *kafir*, and have written *fatwas*, and the rest of the people are their followers, so if there are any persons who, to clear their own position, make an announcement that they do not follow these maulavis who make others *kafir*, then it would be allowable [for Ahmadis] to say prayers with them. Otherwise, the man who calls a Muslim as *kafir*, becomes a *kafir* himself. So how can we pray behind him? The holy Shari'ah does not permit it.”

(Letter printed in newspaper *Badr*, 24–31 December 1908)

It should also be remembered that, according to all Muslim authorities, there are certain conditions a person must fulfil in order to act as prayer imam, and these are laid down variously by each sect and sub-sect. Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has required the condition that an imam, behind whom Ahmadis can pray, must be a person who does not call Muslims as *kafir*, and does not side with those maulavis who call Ahmadis as *kafir*. Never did Hazrat Mirza instruct his followers to abstain from praying behind an imam for the mere reason that he is a non-Ahmadi.

Finally, it must be noted that members of various sects and groups say prayers only behind an imam of their own persuasion. See *fatwas* quoted in Section 18 of the Evidence.

HAZRAT MIRZA ON MAJORITY OF MUSLIMS

It has been noted above that Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad has drawn a clear distinction between those Muslims who abused him and called him *kafir*, and those Muslims who did not do so. As regards the latter, he showed them perfect tolerance, and treated them as his Muslim brothers. In fact, he considered the *majority* of Muslims to be in the latter category, as shown by his observation quoted below:

“There are three kinds of people [i.e. Muslims] at this time. Firstly, those who are burning with hatred and malice, and are bent upon opposition because of stubbornness and bigotry. Their number is very small. Secondly, those who are inclined towards us. Their number is on the increase. Thirdly, those who are silent, neither belonging to one side nor to the other. They are the majority. They are not under the influence of the maulavis, nor do they join them in abusing us. Therefore, they fall in our own category.”

(*Al-Hakam*, 17 February 1904)

Index I

This is primarily an index of the sources and authorities from whom excerpts have been quoted in the Evidence and the Appendix. The numbers after each entry refer to the pages where the name of the source appears. The actual quotation, in many cases, may continue on to the following page, or be continued from the preceding page. The index has also some references to pages where the entry-name has merely occurred in the text, without an associated quotation, but such references are very selective.

In arranging Muslim oriental names in alphabetical order, we have used the following convention: if a person's last name is a recognisable 'surname', the entry is listed under that (e.g. *Barelvi*, *Sayyid Ahmad*, or *Pervez*, *Ghulam Ahmad*); otherwise the full name, excluding any titles, is used (e.g. *Muhammad Ali*, *Maulana*, or *Ja'far Khan*, *Malik*). But the reader is advised in any case to check for alternative possible entries, if a name is not found in the expected position.

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POSTSCRIPT

The reason advanced by the defendants for withdrawing from the case was that, in their view, a non-Muslim court cannot give a ruling based on Islamic law (see *History of the Case*, pp. 7-26). Since this book went to press the following news has come to light. The famous daily *Jang* newspaper held a forum in November 1986, at which one issue discussed was the proposal to set up a superior court in Pakistan with the function of determining whether laws made by parliament fall in line with the Quran and Hadith. Dr. Israr Ahmad, Pakistan's most famous religious scholar, expressed the following views at this seminar:

Jang: What will be the qualifications for judges appointed to this court?

Dr. Israr Ahmad: That is up to you. A judge could be appointed just as High Court judges are appointed. We do not ask that there should be a separate panel of theologians. That would be theocracy. The objection is correct that if these powers are given to religious leaders then it would negate democracy, and make a theocracy. THE real issue is that of setting up a court. We are not even mentioning religious leaders. Good examples of this were given: in the speech by Mian Tufail Muhammad [head of the *Jama' at Islami*, Pakistan's main orthodox Islamic party] at the Shariat Convention examples were given, namely, that under the British the courts used to settle many matters of personal law according to Islamic law, and in those courts Hindu judges gave rulings.

"It makes no difference who the judge is. It is not necessary to have a scholar of religion as judge. In court there are always two counsel, and they make it very precisely clear as to what [in the view of each] is in the Quran, and what is in the Hadith. This court will decide that what is in the Quran and Sunna is the last word. The last word is not the view of the people nor the view of the religious leaders. If we speak of religious leaders, the question of qualification will also arise, as to whose seal of approval a religious scholar should possess. In this matter we say that a court must be set up, even if the judge is a non-Muslim.

Jang: Can a non-Muslim be its judge?

Dr. Israr Ahmad: He can be. Justice Cornelius [renowned Christian Chief Justice in Pakistan] can determine that a certain thing conforms to Islamic law and another thing does not. Any person who is an expert can decide as to what is right or wrong according to the American constitution, or what is right or wrong according to British traditions. In the same way, the Quran and Sunna is not a complicated thing. There is the book of God, and there is the Sunna of the Holy Prophet, and this system has been carrying on for thirteen centuries."

(Daily *Jang*, weekly magazine section, Rawalpindi edition, 14-20 November 1986, page 2. Headline: "A non-Muslim can be a judge of the Shariat Court—Dr. Israr Ahmad.")

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