

PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt / Egyptology

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE AHMADIYYA CALIPHATE AND SPREAD OF IDEOLOGY IN INDONESIA HISTORICAL REVIEW

*Kunto Sofianto*¹, *Nina Herlina*², *Miftahul Falah*³

^{1,2,3} Department of History and Philology, Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Padjadjaran
University, Indonesia

E-Mail: ¹kunto.sofianto@unpad.ac.id, ²nina.herlina@unpad.ac.id,
³miftahul.falah@unpad.ac.id

Kunto Sofianto, Nina Herlina, Miftahul Falah. Establishment Of The Ahmadiyya Caliphate And Spread Of Ideology In Indonesia Historical Review-- Palarch's Journal Of Archaeology Of Egypt/Egyptology 17(5), 136-157. ISSN 1567-214x

Keywords: Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, Ahmadiyya, Caliphate, Indonesia, And Mui.

ABSTRACT

This study discusses the emergence of the Ahmadiyya Caliphate after the death of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in 1908. The main problem of the study was how to unravel the emergence of the Ahmadiyya caliphate so that his teachings spread to Indonesia. To answer this problem is used the historical method consists of four stages, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography. The results of this study indicate that the emergence of the Ahmadiyya caliphate was due to a message from Mirza Ghulam Ghulam Ahmad before his death in 1908. Before his death, Ghulam wrote a book called *Al-Wassiyat*, in which it stated that after his death there would appear a "second sign" called the Khalifah . The caliph, called the *Khalifatul Masih*, will continue Ghulam Ahmad's mission to spread Islam throughout the world. The number of his followers now around 150 million people are spread in almost 200 countries led by Khalifatul Masih V, Mirza Masroor Ahmad. He presided over Ahmadiyya community around the world from the Central Headquarters in London, England. The spread of Ahmadiyya teachings also succeeded to reach Indonesia in 1925 despite the pros and cons reactions from the community. Although Ahmadiyya Community in Indonesia considered astray and infidel but Ahmadiyya Community continues to survive.

INTRODUCTION

Khilafah (Caliphate) is a concept in Islam that accompanies the history of Muslims from the beginning until now. Besides being a system that is inseparable from the historical reality of the Islamic religion, it also becomes the thinking of Muslims today. Talks about the *Khilafah* are still relevant because the bearers of this idea always emerge among muslims who secretly believe in it or those who openly fight for it, including the Islamic State of Iraq

and Syria (ISIS), Hizb ut-Tahrir, and Ahmadiyya (Faiz, 2019: 3). One of the wishes of some Muslims in Indonesia today is the presence of the caliphate system again. These ideals are motivated by a sense of nostalgia that sees the success of the Khilafah system which once united the Islamic world in the classical and middle ages. Islamic organizations in Indonesia that carry the idea of the caliphate, especially Hizbut Tahrir Indonesia and the Indonesian Islamic State (NII). They assume that the caliphate is the best idea to solve the problems of Muslims (Rahmatullah, 2019: 135). Generally the conception of the Caliphate is limited to public discourse. In addition, groups that continue to struggle to make it happen are often hindered or rejected by the policies of every country that disagrees. On the other hand, the Caliphate carried by the Ahmadiyya has existed for 111 years, from 1908 until now. According to the Ahmadiyya belief that the Ahmadiyya Caliphate will last until the end of time (Cheema, 1999: 13 -14) or it is eternal and its chain will not be broken up to the Day of Judgment (Ahmad, 2006: 34)

After Ghulam Ahmad died in 1908, the leadership of the Ahmadiyya community was continued by the *Imams* of the Ahmadiyya Community called *Khalifatul Masih*. Khalifatul Masih I was Hakim Nuruddin who died in 1914, Khalifatul Masih II was Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad who died in 1965, Khalifatul Masih III was Mirza Nasir Ahmad M.A. who died in 1982, Khalifatul Masih IV was Mirza Tahir Ahmad who died in 2003, and Khalifatul Masih V was Mirza Masroor Ahmad who now heads the Ahmadiyya Community worldwide and his current headquarters is in London, England (Suryawan, 2006: 3). When the other caliphate system broke up, the Ahmadiyya caliphate continued to exist by assisting the community in the field of humanity internationally (Faiz, 2019: 21).

An interesting and important thing about the issue of the Ahmadiyya Caliphate is that the Ahmadiyya Caliphate does not carry political ideas so that it can be accepted in various countries in the world. The Ahmadiyya Caliphate is unique because although other Islamic groups do not recognize Ahmadiyya as Islam, but the people, especially in Europe, America and Africa, recognizes that Ahmadiyya and its caliphate are Islamic religions that have guided humans spiritually, assisted in the humanitarian field, and assisted in the field of socio-economic. The existence of the Ahmadiyya Caliphate needs to be known historically because by knowing it, it can be understood its spread to reach Indonesia. The caliphate in Ahmadiyya is called *the Khalifatul Masih* because it is a continuation of the ideology of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as the Promised Messiah, Imam Mahdi, and also prophet. Ghulam Ahmad regards prophethood as a continuous historical process thus enabling himself to assert his own claim (Ahmad and Grunebaum, 1970: 77). Another Ahmadiyya ideology is also important, namely the death of the Prophet Jesus (Allahdin, 1922: 82-101), about revelation, and prophethood (Madsen, 1986: 10-57).

Nowadays, the center of the Ahmadiyya (Qadian) is in London England, while the Ahmadiyya Lahore is in Lahore, India. In Indonesia, the Lahore Ahmadiyya center is in Yogyakarta with the name of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Movement (*Gerakan Ahmadiyah Indonesia*), while the Qadian

Ahmadiyya Center is located in Parung, Bogor. In this article only discusses the Ahmadiyya Qadian known internationally as the Muslim Ahmadiyya and in Indonesia known as the Ahmadiyya Community of Indonesia (*Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia*).

The problem formulation in this research is:

1. When and how was the establishment of the Ahmadiyya caliphate?
2. Why is the Ahmadiyya caliphate acceptable in all countries?
3. How can the Ahmadiyah ideology be accepted in Indonesia?

The research objectives are:

1. To find out about the establishment of the Ahmadiyya caliphate.
2. To find out the purpose of establishing the Ahmadiyya Caliphate
3. To find out the spread of Ahmadiyah ideology to Indonesia.

RESEARCH METHOD

The research method used in this study is the historical method which consists of four steps, namely heuristics, criticism, interpretation, and historiography (Notosusanto, 1978: 10-12). In the heuristic step, the writer collects two kinds of sources, namely written sources and objects. Written sources consisting of books, articles in journals, and other scientific papers. The source of objects, especially pictures or photographs relating to the problem being studied. In the criticism step, the writer processes and tests the sources collected gradually through external criticism and internal criticism to determine whether the information contained in the source is reliable (trustworthy) as historical data or not. In the interpretation step, the data that has been collected is interpreted in terms of the context of the study problem so as to produce the historical facts needed to reconstruct the problem being studied. The facts that have been systematically compiled are then analyzed qualitatively using approaches and assistance from the social sciences that are closely related to historical science, especially political science, sociology, and anthropology.

In the historiography step, the results of the analysis of the facts were then arranged in the form of writing in accordance with the title made, namely "Establishment of The Ahmadiyya Caliphate and Spread of Ideology in Indonesia: Historical Review".

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The Ahmadiyya Community is an international Islamic organization founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad in Ludhiana, India in 1889. He was born on February 13, 1835 in Qadian India, and died in the city of Lahore India on May 26, 1908. At the end of 1890, Ghulam Ahmad declared himself as Imam Mahdi and Al-Masih promised by the Prophet Muhammad SAW to revive the religion of Islam and establish Islamic *syariat* (law) in the end of times. The recognition of Ghulam Ahmad as Al-Masih, Al-Mahdi (Imam Mahdi) is a revelation which he claimed was received from God, also as a prophet (for the Qadian sect) and *mujaddid* (for the Lahore sect) is a core ideology for Ahmadiyya (Cheema, 1994: 5 - 44). According to the Ahmadiyya Lahore, the Ahmadiyya Community was founded in 1888 after Ghulam Ahmad received God's command to accept *bai'at* (statement of promise or oath) from his

followers, while according to the Ahmadiyya Qadian, the Ahmadiyya Community was founded in 1889 after Ghulam Ahmad carried out *bai'at* for the first time. The pledge (*bai'at*) was done at Mia Ahmad Jaan's home in Ludhiana, India on March 23, 1889 (Zulkarnain, 2005: 64-65).



Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908)

Founder of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at

The Promised Messiah and Imam Mahdi

Source: Al Islam. 2020 in <https://www.alislam.org/images/pm.html>

In 1905 when Ghulam Ahmad thought he would die then he wrote a book called *Al-Wasiyat*. In the book, which is intended for the Ahmadiyya followers, he assures that Allah the Almighty will reveal "the second sacred" when he dies. In this case that the Ahmadiyya Community will be brought together in a bond of leadership from a caliph who will continue the mission of Ghulam Ahmad. In *Al-Wasiyat*, among which he wrote as follows:

"Therefore, brothers! Because in the past this was the *sunnatullah* that Allah Ta'ala showed his two sacred ways so that he could show how to remove the two joys from the enemy, now it is not possible for God to leave his unchanging *sunnah*. Then Do not be sad because of my gifts that I explained in your face. Do not let your heart become disheveled because for you it is also necessary to see the second *kudrat*. His coming to you is good because He will forever be with you and until the end of the lineage will not falter. The second *kudrat* could not come before I left; but if I go then God will send the second *kudrat* to you who will stay with you forever" (Ahmad, 2004: 14-15).

After the death of Ghulam Ahmad on May 26, 1908 the Caliph of the Messiah (*Khalifatul Masih*) of Ahmadiyya Community was established, in which Hakim Nuruddin was elected as *Khalifatul Masih* I. This caliphate was 'ala

minhaj an-nubuwwah (based on prophetic patterns) because the Ahmadiyya Caliphate continued the work of Ghulam Ahmad as *Masih Mau'ud* and Imam Mahdi who are prophets. The difference between the caliphate during the time of the prophet Muhammad SAW and after the death of Ghulam Ahmad is that the caliphate during the time of the prophet Muhammad SAW has two functions, namely the caliph of the prophet Muhammad SAW as a spiritual leader and government, while the caliphate in Ahmadiyya is only as a spiritual leader to spread Islamic *da'wah* (preaching) throughout the world (Kurniawan, 2006: 74-81). The Ahmadiyya Caliphate strives to "combat" ignorance, disease, hunger and immoral affairs (Ahmad, 2019. *Khilafat and Caliphate* in <http://www.alislam.org/library/link/html>).



(1841-1914)

Hakim Nuruddin

Khalifatul Masih I (1908-1914)

First Successor to the Promised Messiah

Source: Al Islam. 2020) in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-hakeem-nooruddin/>

With the ideology above, the followers of the Ahmadiyya are getting stronger and convinced that the teachings of the Ahmadiyya have proceeded according to God's direction. Therefore, Ahmadiyya followers consider that the various obstacles that prevented them were a trial from God to further strengthen his faith and belief. It has been proven that the teachings of Ahmadiyya have spread throughout the world because of the struggle of Ahmadiyya preachers. They have succeeded in spreading his teachings despite severe obstacles.

Hakim Nuruddin, first successor to Ghulam Ahmad as the Promised Messiah, was the most devoted to Ghulam Ahmad, scholar and physician who had devoted his life for the service of the Promised Messiah and his community (Chaudhry, 1996: 228) . He was born in the village of Bhera, Punjab India in 1841. He had lived for four years in the cities of Mecca and Medina to study

Islam and he had also been a royal doctor for Maharaja Jammu and Kashmir for many years because of his expertise in medicine (Sumadi, 2007: 32).

The contribution of Caliph I for the Ahmadiyya Community, among others, are: He laid the foundation for the institution of caliphate. English translation of the Holy Quran.

1. He sent for the first time missionary abroad to England.
2. He carried out extensions to Masjid Aqsa and Talimul Islam High School and Boarding house buildings.
3. He inaugurated Noor Hospital and Masjid Noor.
4. He published a number of publications to broaden the propagation activities of the Jamaat, among others are, the "Al Fazal", and "Noor" from Qadian, "Al Haque" from Delhi and "Paigham-e-Sulha" from Lahore (Khadim, 2019. Hazrat Hakeem Maulana Nooruddin in <https://www.alislam.org/articles/hazrat-hakeem-maulana-nooruddin> and Sumadi, 2007: 33).

Hakim Nuruddin as Caliph I died on March 13, 1914 at the age of 73 years. Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad was elected as the caliph II at the age of 25 years. He was the "Promised Son" about whom the Promised Messiah had been given good news by revelation from God. Bashiruddin Mahmud was born on Monday, January 12, 1889 in Qadian, India. He is the son of Ghulam Ahmad (founder of the Ahmadiyya Community) from his wife named Sayyidah Nusrat Jahan Begum. In childhood, he was sick, especially eye pain for a long time. Of course, this situation is an obstacle in learning.

His teacher often came to Bashiruddin Mahmud's father, Ghulam Ahmad to report on his son's condition at school. However, Ghulam Ahmad always told his teacher that he should not force his son to study. Let him learn according to his will. Ghulam Ahmad said that because he was sure that the one who would teach his son was Allah SWT. It turns out that indeed later on, even though he did not have a formal high school education background, but thanks to God's help and guidance alone, he was able to master the knowledge of physically and spirituality. His writings which have high quality, among others are interpretations of the Koran, Invitation to Ahmadiyyat, Ahmadiyyat or the True Islam, and The Holy Quran Tafsir Qabir. In addition, speeches or sermons that reflect the depth of knowledge. During his caliphate, the Ahmadiyya Community became a truly international organization. Bashiruddin Mahmud as Khalifatul Masih II died in November 1965 after a period of caliphate lasting 51 years (Chaudhry, 1996: 229).



(1889-1965)

Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad
Khalifatul Masih II (1914-1965)

Source: Al Islam. 2020 in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-bashiruddin-mahmud-ahmad/>

The contribution of Caliph II for the Ahmadiyya Community, among others are:

1. Tours abroad to spread Islam throughout the world
2. Translation and Publication of the Holy Quran in Various Languages.
3. Establishment of bodies in the Ahmadiyya Organization (Among others: the *Ansaarullah* Agency for men over the age of 40, the Ahmadiyya *Khuddamul* Agency for young people under the age of 40, the *Atfalul* Ahmadiyya Agency for boys under the age of 15, and *Lajna Imaullah* Agency for women aged 15-40 years).
4. Establishment of Mosques in foreign countries
5. He affirmed the Divine System of Khilafat on solid foundations and Khilafat is a source and beacon of Divine Light. So hold on firmly to Khilafat.
6. Migration of Ahmadiyya Community from India to Rabwah in Pakistan in 1947.
7. Mobilisation of Ahmadiyya Community for Sacrifices(Dehlavi. 2019. *Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad* in <https://www.alislam.org/articles/hazrat-mirza-bashiruddin-mahmud-ahmad/>).

After Caliph II (Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad) died on November 8, 1965, Mirza Nasir Ahmad, the eldest son of the caliph II from his mother Sayyidah Mahmudah Begum, was elected as Caliph III. At the age of 13th, he was able to memorize the koran and obtain the title *hafiz*. In 1929, he obtained an Honor of Arabic (H.A) from Punjab University, in 1934 obtained a Bachelor of Art (BA) from Government College Lahore, and in 1938, he obtained a Master of Art (MA) from Oxford University, England. He had a long career as an educator and held many other high offices in the organization of the

Ahmadiyya Community prior to his election. During his caliphate, the Ahmadiyya Community continued to progress. He started the *Nusrat Jehan* scheme to serve West Africa in the field of health care and education. This scheme has been a great success which can be judged by the statistics given earlier. He guided the Ahmadiyya Community during the crisis in 1974 when the Bhutto government of Pakistan declared Ahmadi Muslims to be "non-Muslims". On June 19, 1982 at the age of 73rd, Khalifa III died of heart disease (Sumadi, 2007: 44).

The contribution of Caliph III for the Ahmadiyya Community, among others are:

1. Founded Fazal Umar Foundation to commemorate the services of Khalifatul Masih II towards Islam. The aim of this foundation is to encourage the implementation of various ideas that were initiated by Khalifatul Masih II, namely the development of science by completing library facilities and library buildings in Rabwah.
2. In April and May 1970, he toured West African countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Gambia and Sierra Leone to review the activities carried out by the Ahmadiyya mission in these countries and increase them (Khan, 1978: 141). As a part of the trip, he announced a plan to establish schools and hospitals which were badly needed by people in West African countries. The plan was given the name Nusrat Jehan Scheme. Of course the plan requires a lot of costs for teachers, doctors, and various facilities needed. This plan received a positive response looking for members of Ahmadiyya, as evidenced by the large number of volunteers consisting of teachers and doctors registering themselves, as well as the funds collected. In 1972, there were 16 hospitals and 13 junior high schools. The successes achieved have attracted the attention of governments in these countries. Schools become superior and favorite schools, so to register must take a selection. In October 1976, he toured European countries, America and Canada.
3. In 1973 the Jalsa Salana (annual meeting) was held in Rabwah, where on that occasion Khalifatul Masih III launched an important idea, namely in the context of the Ahmadiyya Tasyakur which will be commemorated on March 23, 1989 he mentioned a number of projects including the establishment of mosques in various parts of the world, translating the Koran in French, Russian, Italian, Spanish and other languages, publishing a book by the Founder of the Ahmadiyya Community entitled "Philosophy of Islamic Teachings" in one hundred languages, and opening new centers in various languages. Country (Sumadi, 2007: 42).
4. Defending Ahmadiyya from the negative accusations of the Government of Pakistan. During the time of Caliph III, the Pakistan People's Consultative Assembly issued a decree declaring the Ahmadiyya Community to be classified as a non-Muslim minority. The Caliph III was called to be present at the Pakistan People's Consultative Assembly to deal with questions from members of Pakistan People's Consultative Assembly. The Caliph gave answers that amazed the audience. However, Pakistan People's Consultative Assembly issued a decree that Ahmadiyya is not Islam. In the midst of the

crisis, people in Pakistan are even more interested in joining Ahmadiyya He declares motto “Love for all, hatred for none” (Chaudhry, 1996: 229).



1909-1982)

Mirza Nasir Ahmad

Khalifatul Masih III (1965-1982)

Source: Al Islam. 2020 in in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-nasir-ahmad/>

On June 19, 1982, when Mirza `Nasir Ahmad as Caliph III died, Mirza Tahir Ahmad was elected in 1982 as Caliph IV. He is a grandson of the Promised Messiah, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (Chaudhry, 1996: 229). He is the son of Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud (Caliph II) from his wife named Sayyidah Maryam Begum and he was the half-brother of Mirza Nazir Ahmad (the Caliph III). Tahir Ahmad was born in Qadian, India on December 18, 1928.

He graduated from Jamia Ahmadiyya (Theological Academy) and went on to the University of Punjab, Lahore until earning a bachelor's degree in Arabic. In 1955, he continued his studies at the University of London School of Oriental and African Studies in London, England. During his stay in London, he deepened English and visited Ireland, Scotland, and Wales to observe the socio-cultural conditions of people in Europe. This is a good step to develop Ahmadiyya in the future throughout Europe. In 1957, he returned to Pakistan and was appointed vice-president of the newly established *Waqf-e-Jadid* Foundation. Its main task is to educate members of the Ahmadiyya community who live in rural areas of Pakistan.



1928-2003

Mirza Tahir Ahmad

Khalifatul Masih IV (1982-2003)

Source: Al Islam. 2020 in in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-nasir-ahmad/>



1950 -

Mirza Masroor Ahmad

Khalifatul Masih V (2003 -)

Source: <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-masroor-ahmad/>

Since being elected as Caliph V, he has called on the world to deliver a peaceful message of Islam, both through print and digital media. Under his leadership, the national branches of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in various countries have implemented the teachings of true and peaceful Islam.

Ahmadi Muslims around the world have a role to play in spreading peace to Muslims or non-Muslims. Ahmadiyya organizations often hold peace symposiums between religions and hold Qur'anic exhibitions that present messages of their noble and essential teachings. The various campaign efforts have received media coverage throughout the world and show that Islam is always fighting for peace, loyalty to the country and the service of fellow human beings. In his various sermons, Caliph V always reminded to worship Allah SWT and serve humans. In addition, he always encourages peace and harmony between religious communities so as to realize the upholding of universal human rights and a just and prosperous society. He also always reminded to separate religious interests and political interests (Al Islam, 2019, *Hazrat Mirza Masroor Ahmad* in [https://www. Aliislam .org /profile/hazrat-mirza-masroor-ahmad/](https://www.Aliislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-masroor-ahmad/)).

Masroor Ahmad has traveled all over the world to broadcast and facilitate matters relating to the humanitarian movement. He regularly meets with presidents, prime ministers, heads of state, members of parliament and state ambassadors. Masroor Ahmad pays special attention to alleviating suffering in developing countries, by helping them improve their farming systems, facilities to get food, clean water and electricity. Masroor Ahmad also supports the work of Humanity First, a non-profit international charity that focuses on the field and disaster management and development, as well as other similar activities. In the era of the leadership of Caliph V, the emphasis on the field of education, especially the family, ta'limul Quran, the new Ahmadi were improved, in addition to the spread of Ahmadiyah continued. Under his leadership, the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community has established many schools and hospitals with first-class facilities in remote areas of the world. Through various plans of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community, he has funded the school fees and education of underprivileged students throughout the world, regardless of their religious background (Al Islam, 2019, *Hazrat Mirza Masroor Ahmad* in [https://www. Aliislam .org /profile/hazrat-mirza-masroor-ahmad/](https://www.Aliislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-masroor-ahmad/)). Of course the visit of Caliph V to various countries brought positive developments for Ahmadiyya Community in the world.

Spreading ahmadiyah ideology to Indonesia

Initially, students from Indonesia who were studying in Qadian invited Caliph II, Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud to visit Indonesia. However, because Caliph II was not yet ready, he sent his *mubaligh* M. Rahmat Ali to spread the teachings of Ahmadiyah to Indonesia (Sumayya, 2000: 75). The students who were studying in Qadian, among others, were Abubakar Ayyub, H. Mahmud, Ilyas, Moh. Idris, and Abdul Samik from Padang Panjang, Ahmad Nuruddin and Zaini Dahlan from Minangkabau, Abdul Qayyum and Muhammad Samin from Tapaktuan, Samsudin and Hajiudin from Rengat, Samsudin Rao-rao from Batusangkar, Moh. Jusyak from Sampur, Moh. Abdul Azis Shareef from Padang, and Mohammad Nur from Lubukbasung (Ahmad, et al., 2000: 13).



Caliphate III (Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad) and Indonesian students in Qadian, India (1927)

Source: Ahmad Anwar. (1994). "Pohon Ahmadiyah Tumbuh di Persada Indonesia" in Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia. (1994). *Suvenir Peringatan Seabad Bulan & Gerhana Matahari Ramadhan 1894-1994*. Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, page: 66.



Source: <http://warta-ahmadiyah.org/ajaran-ahmadiyah-masuk-ke-aceh-selatan.html>

2 Oktober 1925; ajaran Ahmadiyah masuk ke Aceh Selatan
Accessed on February 9, 2020

The beginning of the entry of Ahmadiyya into Indonesia occurred when M. Rahmat Ali H.A.O.T. arrived in Tapaktuan, Aceh on October 2nd 1925 (Ahmad, 2000: 34-35). He could be accepted by the Tapaktuan community because before his arrival students from Tapaktuan who were studying in Qadian gave information to his family in Tapaktuan. He then stayed at the house of Mohammad Samin who had studied at Qadian (Wahid, 1995: 1).

Although M. Rahmat Ali has not been able to master the local language and customs, thanks to his friendliness, sociability, knowledge, and courage in expressing opinions, he is easily accepted by the local community. In spreading Ahmadiyya in Tapaktuan, he was assisted by a local resident named Abdul Wahid who was fluent in Arabic. Thanks to this effort, there were a number of people who converted to Ahmadiyya, including Sulaeman, Muhammad Syam, Mahdi's Teacher, and Abdul Wahid (Wahid, 1995: 2). The arrival of Ahmadiyya in Tapaktuan caused pros and cons reactions from the community, especially with regard to the concept of Ahmadiyya teachings, namely about the death of the Prophet Jesus, prophethood without *sharia*, prophetic of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad, and the Promised Messiah (Mukhayat MS, 2000: 3). Because of strong opposition from people who are anti-Ahmadiyya, he went to Padang, West Sumatra in 1926 (Mukhayat, 2000: 3).

This area was actually M. Rahmat Ali's initial destination because in this area most Indonesian students in Qadian came from West Sumatra. In Padang, M. Rahmat Ali lived in Pasarmiskin with the family of Abdul Azis Shareef, a young Padang man who was studying in Qadian (Bureau voor de Volkslectuur en Aanverwante Aangelenheden Afdeeling Pers, Zaterdag, 5 Mei 1928, No. 18: 200)

Similarly, after being in West Sumatra, he tried to spread Ahmadiyya in Padang, Padang Panjang and Bukit Tinggi. After getting people who were sympathetic to Ahmadiyya, Rahmat Ali was assisted by Moh. Taher Sutan Marajo, Daud Bangsa Dirajo, Pakih Isa, Bagindo Zakaria, Marah Simun, Husin Hasan Sutan, M. Marah Wahab, Bagindo Syarief, Abubakar Bagindo Marajo, and Abdul Jalil Mara Bungsu founded the Ahmadiyya Community in Padang in 1926 (Murtolo, 1976: 14-15). However, as happened in Tapaktuan Aceh, besides there are people who agree with the teachings of Ahmadiyya, there are also many people who oppose it (Hamka, 1982: 140).

However, M. Rahmat Ali and his followers were not discouraged, they continued to preach (*tabligh*) to various regions in West Sumatra and often had debates with the scholars (Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia, 1987 in *Surat Edaran Khusus*, No. 5/1987: 14-16). Rahmat Ali's efforts in spreading Ahmadiyah in Sumatra, not only in Aceh and West Sumatra Tapaktuan, but also he did preaching to South Sumatra, namely Palembang, Lahat, and Lubuk Linggau. Thanks to the efforts made by M. Rahmat Ali, in those areas there were followers of the Ahmadiyya Community (Ahmad, 2000: 49-51).

The arrival of M. Rahmat Ali who brought Ahmadiyya teachings to the Sumatra region in 1925 was an important phase in Ahmadiyya history in Indonesia. Since that time, Ahmadiyya began to be known by the people and gradually began to get followers. Although there are people who accept Ahmadiyya, but from the very beginning of its entry in Indonesia, this teaching has been rejected by most Muslims. The strong rejection was mainly due to the Ahmadiyya propagating a new ideology, namely the recognition of Ghulam Ahmad as the Messiah, the Mahdi promised by the Prophet Muhammad, and even as a prophet. This recognition is very difficult to be accepted by other Muslim communities who are still waiting for the arrival of Al-Mahdi and Al-Masih, and believe the Prophet Muhammad as the last prophet. However, the harsh rejection did not make Ahmadiyah disappear, but continued to grow and develop.

M. Rahmat Ali lived in Padang for four years. He returned to Qadian in 1930 to take a leave for approximately one year. At the end of that year he returned to Padang with a young mubaligh named M. Moh. Sadiq, H.A. bin Barakatullah. After being in Padang for about three months, M. Rahmat Ali left Padang to move to Betawi (Jakarta). The efforts of Ahmadiyya spreading in Padang were continued by Moh. Sadiq bin Barakatullah, Ahmad Nuruddin, and Zaini Dahlan who returned from Qadian to their hometown in 1929 (Sumayya, 2000: 65).

As was done previously in Tapaktuan, Aceh and West Sumatra, M. Rahmat Ali also tried to conduct preaching activities in Jakarta. The method used by M. Rahmat Ali to approach the community is by respecting local culture and using Indonesian. With the strategy he applied, there were people who came to his residence to ask various questions about Ahmadiyya. At first he did not immediately preach about Ahmadiyya, but he tried to make an approach by giving Arabic courses at his home. This method succeeded in attracting people to attend courses that he held. Participants in the course were attended among others by a migrant from Garut named Soemarna, R.O. Hidayat, R. Moh. Anwar, R. Moh. Tohamihardja, and Undun Abdullah. Then, from Padang named Abdul Djalil and Tahar St. Marajo, and also Hasan Delais from Palembang. In addition, there also came Th. Dengah from Manado and his wife named R. Soekarsih from Sukabumi, and Simon (Sirati) Kohongia. Ahmadiyya teaching brought by M. Rahmat Ali soon spread among the people so that many people came to the residence of M. Rahmat Ali to get an explanation about the ideology of Ahmadiyah (Ahmad, 2000: 52). Because there was a good response from some people towards the Ahmadiyya, M. Rahmat Ali and members of the Ahmadiyya Community agreed to establish the Ahmadiyya Community in 1932 by inaugurating Abd. Razak as chief, Simon Sirait Kohongia as secretary, Th. Dengah, Ahmad Jupri, and Murdan as Commissioners, and the number of members are 27 people (Murtolo, 1976: 17). After successfully establishing the management of the Ahmadiyya Community in Jakarta, M. Rahmat Ali also tried to spread the Ahmadiyya so that the followers and territory of the Ahmadiyya Community were wider. After several times M. Rahmat Ali conducted preaching, in November 1932 the Ahmadiyah congregation in Bogor and surrounding areas was established.

From Bogor, then the teachings of Ahmadiyya spread throughout West Java, Central Java and East Java. Aside from Java, Ahmadiyya teachings also spread throughout the Indonesian island (Ahmad, et al., 2000: 172-180).

Census calculation of members of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community is very difficult to do precisely because every time there is a member of Ahmadiyya Community who dies, moves house, or does not report to the local branch. However, we can see an increase in the number of members from the beginning. The addition of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community in the early days was very easy to do because the small number of its members had been recorded. That number from 1925 to 1939, namely Tapaktuan, Aceh (1925) numbered 100 people, Padang (1926) numbered 600 people spread to five regions, and Batavia/Jakarta (1931) numbered 1,677 people. The census data as reported in the Album Showing Progress of Ahmadiyya Community, Qadian, was published by *Tahrik Jadid* in 1939. The number of members of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community in Garut area until the end of 1939 was 400, in Bandung by 10 people, Singaparna by four people, Sukapura, Tasikmalaya by five people, and Bogor by eight people (Murtolo, 1976: 10-32). The total number is 2,377 people. By using an estimated one-fold increase in one year, the increase from 1940 - 1980 was 95,080 people. Then, in Wanasigra the number of Ahmadiyah members in 1952 totaled 50 people and in the 1980s it had reached around 500 people (Setiarso, 2005: 196). The increase from 1980 to 1990 is estimated to increase tenfold on the grounds of the addition of family members of the Ahmadiyya Jama'at and also those who took allegiance to the Ahmadiyya Jama'at. So that number is 950,800 people. Based on the record number of people who comforted to Ahmadiyya during 1990-2004, that is 14,956. That number in Indonesia until 2005 was estimated at 1,100,386 people registered as members of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community which were divided into 298 branches (Ahmad, 2008: 4 - 5).

The most important event in the history of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community was the arrival of Caliph IV (Mirza Tahir Ahmad) to Indonesia. The trip to Indonesia was the first time for Caliph, even though the invitation for it had been delivered seventy-five years earlier (in 1925) by Indonesian students in the Ahmadiyya Madrasah, Qadian, to Caliph II (Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud). After waiting 75 years, finally on June 20, 2000, Caliph IV arrived in Indonesia. Caliph IV's visit in Indonesia lasted for 22 days, and returned to London, England on July 11, 2000. While in Indonesia, especially in West Java, Caliph IV visited members of the Ahmadiyya Community who had gathered at the designated places, including in Jakarta, Bogor, Cirebon, Manislor, Wanasigra Tasikmalaya, Garut, and Bandung. He also visited other places outside West Java, namely Yogyakarta, Padang, West Sumatra, and Bali. On that occasion, he met specifically with the pioneer family of the Ahmadiyya Community and the missionary family.

While in Indonesia, Caliph IV, in addition to being a keynote speaker at the International Seminar at UGM Yogyakarta, also spoke and had dialogues with Islamic scholars and intellectuals in Indonesia, such as Islamic expert dialogue in Jakarta, with Islamic scholars in Padang, Homoepati Seminar in Jakarta .

He also met with the Chairman of the Indonesian People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), Amin Rais and had a warm dialogue. In addition, the then President of the Republic of Indonesia, KH Abdurrahman Wahid, received a visit from Caliph IV and his entourage at the State Palace and had various dialogues with him. In Indonesia, Caliph IV delivered Friday sermons three times which were broadcast live on MTA television to the entire world, as well as dialogue with members of the Ahmadiyya Community in several places. In addition, Caliph IV also gave a speech at the *Jalsa Salana* (annual meeting) of the Indonesian Ahmadiyya Community and accepted the pledge of some community groups (Anwar, 2000: 16-64).

Since the entry of the Ahmadiyya into Indonesia, in addition to being positively welcomed, also most other Muslim communities have welcomed negatively. Teachings that are considered contrary to the Muslims generally are mainly regarding the concepts of Al-Masih and Al-Mahdi, revelation and prophethood. From time to time, efforts to spread slander, criminal acts, killings, destruction of mosques and homes of members of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia have been carried out by various parties who hate Ahmadiyya in various regions. The negative response was carried out, both officially from religious organizations, the government and from the general public who were indeed opposed to Ahmadiyah. Negative responses include physical torture, murder, destruction of the mosque, threats, and insults (Mukhayat, 2000: 335-337).

Although from the beginning of his arrival in Indonesia until 1980 many opponents of the teachings of Ahmadiyya from various parties, however the Ahmadiyya can develop its teachings freely because there are no official restrictions. After a *fatwa* from the Indonesian Ulema Council in 1980 which stated that Ahmadiyya was a heresy, the Ahmadiyya held a *tabligh* on the community in secret. This strategy was carried out so as not to cause a negative reaction from those who were anti-Ahmadiyah (Interview with Rakhmat Syukur, member of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia on November, 19th 2019 in Garut).

Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) is indeed a religious power which threatens the existence of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia (Mukhayat, 2000: 10-13). At the National Conference of the Second Indonesian Ulema Council (MUI) on May 26 - June 1, 1980 in Jakarta, the MUI issued a *fatwa* that Ahmadiyya is a Jamaah outside of Islam, heretical and misleading. The *fatwa* was issued after the MUI reviewed nine books about Ahmadiyya.

The MUI's decision to issue a *fatwa* could be understood because of the MUI's function, which is to provide *fatwa* and advice on religious and social issues to the government and Muslims in general. However, it is unfortunate that the MUI never mentioned nine books that were used as the basis for issuing the *fatwa*. The MUI *fatwa* on Ahmadiyya was reaffirmed on July 28, 2005 which banned Ahmadiyya and stated that Ahmadiyya was a heretical and non-Islamic congregation (<http://mui.or.id/wp-content/uploads/files/fatwa/13.-Aliran-Ahmadiyah.-pdf>).

Even on June 9, 2008, the government of the Republic of Indonesia issued a Joint Decree of three Ministers signed by the Minister of Religion, Attorney General, and the Minister of Home Affairs (<https://advokasi.elsam.or.id/assets/2015/09/20080000-SKB-2008-Ahmadiyah-.pdf>) which mainly states that the Ahmadiyya Community is prohibited from spreading its teachings to the public and people who do not agree with the Ahmadiyya may not commit acts of violence against members of the Ahmadiyya Community. Due to the heretical *fatwa* from the Indonesian Ulema Council against Ahmadiyah, even the Joint Ministerial Decree of the three Ministers, members of the Ahmadiyya Jama'at still often get criminal acts from people who are indeed anti-Ahmadiyah.

Among these criminal acts occurred in 1984, namely damaging the mosque in the Ciamis branch by unknown persons and in the Maparah sub-branch, North Ciamis area, as many as 27 members of the Ahmadiyya Community were persecuted by the local community; in the Kalipucang Ciamis branch since the establishment of the Ahmadiyya in 1985, often received unfair treatment. These problems, including the Office of Religious Affairs (KUA), do not want to record the marriage process of members of the Ahmadiyya Community, complicate the process of burying the bodies of members of the Ahmadiyya Community, and often damage the building of the Ahmadiyya mosque; in 1985 the mosque in the Pamagang village and the sub-branch mosque in Parigi, Pangandaran were destroyed by people who were anti-Ahmadiyah; in 1996 destroyed mosques and houses of members of the Ahmadiyya Community in Pangauban, Garut by people who were against the Ahmadiyya Community; and in 2000 two mosques in Maniskidul, Kuningan Regency were burned by people against the Ahmadiyya Community (Setiarso, 2005: 143, 145, 150, 160, and 270). Even in Cikeusik, Pandeglang Banten in 2011 three members of the Ahmadiyya Community were killed persecuted by a group of people who were against the Ahmadiyah (<https://nasional.tempo.co/read/311441/kronologi-penyerangan-jamaah-ahmadiyah-dicikeu-sik>). Persecution actions against Ahmadiyya also occurred outside Java, including in Sintang, West Kalimantan (2005), the Ahmadiyah mosque was destroyed by the masses, in Bengkalis, Riau (in 2007) the Ahmadiyya Mosque was sealed and the house of one of its members was destroyed, in Bangka (2007), the houses of Ahmadiyyamubaligh were sealed by the masses, and in 2018 Ahmadiyya members' homes were destroyed and they were driven out by the masses from their own villages, in Grepek Hamlet, Greneng Village, Sakra Timur District, East Lombok (Setiawan, 2018. in <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/21/17525751/soal-konflik-wargad-an-ahmadiyah-lombok-timur-diminta-belajar-dari-wonosobo>). Facing the problem of this criminal act, members of the Ahmadiyya Community are always patient and have no intention of taking revenge. They usually only report the case to the local security forces where they are for legal proceedings.

Various criminal acts against the Ahmadiyya Community occurred because of the inability of government officials to be impartial and look at the facts sociologically. In this case, the government apparatus is unable to distinguish its function as a government apparatus and its position as a follower of a

particular religion. the inability to distinguish between the two cases has made them fail in carrying out their duties as government officials to uphold public security and order (Patty, 2006: 184).

CONCLUSION

After Ghulam Ahmad's death in 1908, his opponents thought that the Ahmadiyah movement would be finished. But this is not true, as Ghulam Ahmad wrote in *Al-Wasiyat* before he died that this movement would give birth to a "second sign", namely the emergence of a khilafat institution on May 27th 1908. Caliph I as the successor to Ghulam Ahmad's mission was Hakim Nuruddin (1908-1914), Caliph II Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad (1914-1965), Caliph III Mirza Nasir Ahmad (1965-1982), Caliph IV Mirza Tahir Ahmad (1982-2003), and now Caliph V Mirza Masroor Ahmad (2003-). Ahmadiyya Caliphate does not carry political ideas so that it can be accepted in various countries in the world. The caliphate carried by the Ahmadiyya has existed for 111 years, from 1908 until now. According to the Ahmadiyya belief that the Ahmadiyya caliphate will last until the end of time.

Ahmadiyya is unique because it carries a new ideology. New ideology, especially related to the death of Prophet Jesus a.s., prophecy, and revelation. In general, Muslim communities everywhere believe that the Prophet Isa a.s. has been lifted up to heaven by God and is still alive. But Ghulam Ahmad stated that the prophet Isa a.s. not lifted up to heaven, but has died as humans generally do and is buried in Shrinagar, Kashmir. About the prophetic "door" and revelation, according to Ahmadiyah, it is still open to anyone because the closed "door" of prophecy and revelation is the prophetic revelation of the Shari'a which was revealed to the Prophet Muhammad. As for al-Masih and al-Mahdi, Muslims in general believe that someday the prophet Isa a.s. (al-Masih) will return with Imam Mahdi who will establish Islamic law in the world. According to Ghulam Ahmad that al-Masih and al-Mahdi had come down to earth in one form to Ghulam Ahmad who was tasked to kill *Dajjal* at the end of time.

With this new ideology, the presence of Ahmadiyya in Indonesia has been welcomed positively and negatively. A positive reception because Ahmadiyya offered a new ideology that was in accordance with their belief, namely about the life of the Prophet Isa a.s. (Jesus) as al-Masih and al-Mahdi, prophethood and revelation. They accept the teachings of Ahmadiyya with two reasons, namely rationally and mythically. In rational perspective, they believe in the teachings of Ahmadiyya which states that the Prophet Isa a.s. have died, and not live in the sky, like the beliefs of most other Muslims. In addition, the "door" of prophecy and revelation is still open because rationally it does not replace Muhammad's prophethood as the last prophet who brought the shari'a. In myth perspective, most people believe that Imam Mahdi has come to Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. Because Imam Mahdi has come, according to the will of the ancestors, he must be followed.

The negative reception were mainly a *fatwa* from the MUI stating that the Ahmadiyya Community was heretical and out of Islam because Ghulam Ahmad had claimed to be al-Masih, al-Mahdi, even as a prophet. Even though

people who are against Ahmadiyya consider Ahmadiyya as heretical and out of Islam, Ahmadiyya still exists in Indonesia. The existence of the Ahmadiyya, mainly supported by the leadership of the caliph, a healthy organization from the international, national, regional and local levels, solid among the members of the Ahmadiyya, it has its own fund called *chanda*, it does not practice politics, it provides social assistance to the people regardless of ethnic and religious background, including in the form of natural disaster assistance, blood donors, and eye donors. The most important thing of all is that there is psychological comfort, namely that they feel comfortable living in Ahmadiyya Community to carry out worship according to their beliefs so that any trials, including persecution from those who are against Ahmadiyya, members of the Ahmadiyya are not shaken. They believe that the Islam carried by the Ahmadiyya Community is the true Islam that spreads Islam peacefully throughout the world.

REFERENCES

- Ahmad, Azis and Grunebaum, G.E.Von. (1970). *Muslim Self-Statement in India and Pakistan 1857-1968*. Otto Harrassowitz – Wiesbaden.
- Ahmad, Munawar; Mufid, Ahmad; Budiastuti, Ariani Ratna, and Assaf, Muhammad Yus (eds). (2000). *Bunga Rampai Sejarah Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia (1925-2000)*. Bandung: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Ahmad, Mubasher. (2019). *Khilafat and Caliphate*. [Http://www.alislam.org/library/link/html](http://www.alislam.org/library/link/html). Accessed on September 29th 2019.
- Ahmad, Maulana Basyiruddin. (2000). *Riwayat Hidup Rahmat Ali H.A.O.T*. Bogor: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Ahmad, Mirza Ghulam. (2004). *Al-Wasiyat*, Translated from Urdu into Indonesian by A. Wahid. Bogor: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia. Bogor: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Ahmad, Maulana Sheikh Mubarak. (2006). “Second Speech Khilafat-e-Ahmadiyah and the Pledge of Allegiance to Khilafat”, in *Viewpoints of the Ahmadiyah Muslim Jama'at and the Ahmadiyah Anjuman-e-Isha'at-e-Islam on Nubuwwat & Khilafat (Prophethood & its Successorship)*. Four Speeches Delivered on June 10, 1966 Under the Chairmanship of Hadrat Mirza Nasir Ahmad, Khalifatul Masih III at Masjid Mubarak Rabwah, Pakistan. Translated from Urdu into English by: Munawar Ahmed Sa'eed. The United Kingdom: Islam International Publications Ltd.
- Ahmad. Munawar. (2008). *Tekanan Struktur Terhadap Ahmadiyah di Indonesia: Selayang Pandang Dari 1925-2006*. Working Paper presented in Sekolah Tinggi Hukum Garut, May 18th 2008.
- Ahmadiyah. (2014). “Terjemah Al Quran kedalam 114 Bahasa Dunia oleh Ahmadiyah” in <https://islamireligius.blogspot.com/2010/01/terjemah-al-quran-kedalam-114-bahasa.html>. Accessed on October 9th 2019.
- Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat International. (2019). MTA is the official television network of the Ahmadiyya Muslim Community in <https://www.amjinternational.org/activities/mta/>. Accessed on November 9th 2019.

- Al Islam. (2019). Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad—An Introduction in <https://www.alislam.org/articles/hazrat-mirza-tahir-ahmad-an-introduction>. Accessed on October 9th 2019.
- Al Islam. (2019). Hazrat Mirza Masroor Ahmad in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-masroor-ahmad/>. Accessed on October 9th 2019.
- Al Islam. (2020). Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Image in <https://www.alislam.org/images/pm.html>. Accessed on February 9th 2020.
- Al Islam. (2020). Hakim Nuruddin Image in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-hakeem-nooruddin/>. Accessed on February 9th 2020
- Al Islam. (2020). Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-bashiruddin-mahmud-ahmad/>. Accessed on February 9th 2020.
- Al Islam. (2020) Mirza Nasir Ahmad in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-nasir-ahmad/>. Accessed on February 9th 2020.
- Al Islam. (2020). Mirza Tahir Ahmad in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-tahir-ahmad/>. Accessed on February 9th 2020.
- Al Islam. (2020). Mirza Masroor Ahmad in <https://www.alislam.org/profile/hazrat-mirza-masroor-ahmad/>. Accessed on February 9th 2020
- Allahdin, Abdullah (ed.). (1922). Claims and Teachings Ahmad: The Promised Messiah and Mahdi (from His Own Writings and Sayings). Fourth Edition. Secunderabad, India: D. Narayanreddy and Co at the Universal Press.
- Anwar, Ahmad. (2000). Historical Journey to the East in Reminiscences of Hazrat Aqdas Khalifatul Masih's Visit to Indonesia 29th June 2000 – 11th July 2000. Bogor: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Anwar, Ahmad. (1994). "Pohon Ahmadiyah Tumbuh di Persada Indonesia" in Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia. (1994). Suvenir Peringatan Seabad Bulan & Gerhana Matahari Ramadhan 1894-1994. Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Bureau voor de Volkslectuur en Aanverwante Aangelenheden Afdeeling Pers, Zaterdag, 5 Mei 1928, No. 18. Overzicht van De Inlandsche en Maleisch-Chineesche Pers.
- Chaudhry, Aziz Ahmad. (1996). The Promised Promesiah and MahdiI. Tilford, Surey GU10 2AQ, UK: Islam International Publication Ltd.
- Cheema, Ahmad. (1999). Khilafat Telah Berdiri. Bogor: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Cheema, Mahmud Ahmad. (1994). Tiga Masalah Penting: Wafatnya nabi Isa a.s., Masalah Kenabian, Kebenaran Imam Mahdi a.s. Jakarta: Jema'at Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Dehlavi, Moulvi Bashir Ahmad.(2019). Hazrat Mirza Bashiruddin Mahmud Ahmad in <https://www.alislam.org/articles/hazrat-mirza-bashiruddin-mahmud-ahmad/>. Accessed on September 19th 2019.

- Faiz, Abdul Azis. (2019). *Khilafah Ahmadiyah, Spiritualitas, dan Nasionalisme Berketuhanan*, in Faiz, Abd. Azis; Rohmawati, Wiwin Siti Aminah; Hammad, Nur and Kusuma, Bayu Mitra A. (Eds). 2019. *Khilafah Ahmadiyah dan Nation State*. Yogyakarta: Cantrik Pustaka.
- Fatwa Majelis Ulama Indonesia (Fatwa of Indonesian Ulema Council) nomor: 11/MunasVII/MUI/15/2005 tentang aliran Ahmadiyah in <http://mui.or.id/wp-content/uploads/files/fatwa/13.-Aliran-Ahmadiyah.-pdf>. Accessed on December 19th 2019.
- Hamka.(1982). *Ayahku: Riwayat Hidup Dr. H. Abdul Karim Amrullah dan Perjuangan Kaum Agama di Sumatera*. Jakarta: Uminda.
- Hussain, H.I., Haider, J., Qayyum, A., Kamarulzaman, R., Anwar, N.A.M (2020) An Investigation of an Adaptive Neuro-Fuzzy Inference System to Model the Relationship among Natural Resources, Islamicity and Financial Development, *Revista Argentina de Clínica Psicológica*, 29 (4), 524 – 540. doi: 10.24205/03276716.2020.859
- Hussain, H.I., Anwar, N.A.M. & Razimi, M.S.A. (2020) A Generalised Regression Neural Network Model of Financing Imbalance: Shari'ah Compliant versus Non-Compliant Firms, *Journal of Intelligent and Fuzzy Systems*, 39 (4), 5387-5395. doi: 10.3233/JIFS-189023.
- Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.(1987). Surat Edaran Khusus, No. 5/1987.
- Keputusan Bersama Menteri Agama, Jaksa Agung, dan Menteri Dalam Negeri Republik Indonesia in <https://advokasi.elsam.or.id/assets/2015/09/20080000-SKB-2008-Ahmadiyah.-pdf>. Accessed on December 9th 2019.
- Khadim, Maulvi Munir Ahmad.(2019).Hazrat Hakeem Maulana Nooruddin in <https://www.alislam.org/articles/hazrat-hakeem-maulana-nooruddin>. Accessed on September 9th 2019.
- Khan, Muhammad Zafrulla. (1978). *Ahmadiyyat The Renaissance of Islam*. Great Britain: Tabshir Publication.
- Kurniawan, AF. (2006). *Teologi Kenabian Ahmadiyah*. Jakarta: RMBOOKS.
- Lewis, Paul. (2003). No Headline The New York Time in <https://www.nytimes.com/2003/05/07/world/no-headline-583880.html>. Accessed on November 19th 2019.
- Madsen, Abdus Salam. (1986). *Teologi Ahmadiyah*. Jakarta: Sinar Islam.
- Mukhayat, Ali. (2000).*SejarahPertablighanJemaatAhmadiyah Indonesia 1925-1994*.Tasikmalaya: EBK.
- Murtolo. (1976). Sejarah Singkat Perkembangan Jema'at Ahmadiyah di Indonesia selama 50 tahun, in Nomor Yubileum Sinar Islam 50th Jema'at Ahmadiyah. Jakarta: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Notosusanto, Nugroho. (1978). *Masalah Penelitian Sejarah Kontemporer (Suatu Pengalaman)*. Jakarta: Yayasan Idayu.
- Patty, Albertus. (2006). “Ahmadiyah, Pemerintah dan Pluralisme Keagamaan”, in Suaedy, Ahmad; Gazali, Abd Moqsih; Rumadi; Azhari , Muhammad Subhi. (eds)., *Kala Fatwa Jadi Penjara*. 2006. Jakarta, The Wahid Institute.
- Rahmatullah, Lufti. (2019). “Dinamika Manifestasi Khilafah Ahmadiyah Indoensia”, in Faiz, Abd. Azis; Rohmawati, Wiwin Siti Aminah; Hammad, Nur and Kusuma, Bayu Mitra A. (Eds). 2019. Yogyakarta: Cantrik Pustaka.

- Setiarso, Chadidjah Haris. (2005). *Lajnah Imaillah Indonesia dalam Lintasan Waktu 1983-2004*. Bogor: Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Setiawan, SRD. (2018). "Soal Konflik Warga dan Ahmadiyah, Lombok Timur Diminta Belajar dari Wonosobo" in <https://nasional.kompas.com/read/2018/05/21/17525751/soal-konflik-warga-dan-ahmadiyah-lombok-timur-diminta-belajar-dari-wonosobo>. Accessed on October 9th 2019. Accessed on November 9th 2019.
- Sumadi, Rafiq Ahmad. (2007). *Setitik Masalah Nizam Khilafat*. Bandung: Anggota Majelis Ansharullah Bandung Wetan.
- Sumayya. (2000). *Riwayat Hidup Tiga Serangkai: 1. Mln. M. Abubakar Ayyub HA., 2. Mln. Zaini Dahlan, 3. Mln. Ahmad Nuruddin*. Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia.
- Suryawan, MA. (2006). *Bukan Sekedar Hitam Putih Kontroversi Pemahaman Ahmadiyah*. Tangerang: Azzahra Publishing.
- Tempo.co, 2011. "Kronologi Penyerangan Jamaah Ahmadiyah di Cikeusik" in <https://nasional.tempo.co/read/311441/kronologi-penyerangan-jamaah-ahmadiyah-dicikeu-sik>. Accessed on October 29th 2019.
- The Tahir Foundation. (2019). *Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad Khalifatul Masih IV 1928-2003* in <https://www.ahmadiyya-islam.org/tahirfoundation>. Accessed on October 9th 2019.
- Wahid, Tajlimah A. (1995). *Mubaligh Markazi Pertama Haji Abdul Wahid H.A*. Bogor: Pusdik Mubarrak Parung.
- Warta Ahmadiyah. (2013-2020). Rahmat Ali in <http://warta-ahmadiyah.org/ajaran-ahmadiyah-masuk-ke-aceh-selatan.html> 2 Oktober 1925; ajaran Ahmadiyah masuk ke Aceh Selatan. Accessed on December 19th 2019.
- Zulkarnain, Iskandar. (2005). *Gerakan Ahmadiyah di Indonesia*. Yogyakarta: LKIS.

INTERVIEW

Interview with Rakhmat Syukur (66 years old), member of Jemaat Ahmadiyah Indonesia on November 19th 2019 in Garut.