

**ROLE OF *ULAMA* IN THE
ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE OF INDIA-
A CASE STUDY OF MALABAR**

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Thesis submitted to the University
of Calicut in History for the
award of Doctor of Philosophy

**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT**

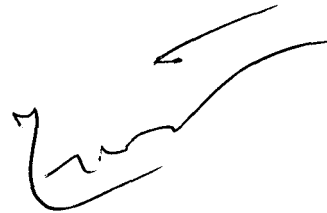
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DECLARATION

I, **Mayankutty Ottappilakkool**, do hereby declare that this thesis entitled '**Role of Ulama in the Anti-Colonial Struggle of India- A Case Study of Malabar**' is a bonafide record of the research work done by me under the guidance of **Prof. (Dr.) E. K. G. Nambiar**, former Head of K. M. Centre for West Asian Studies and Indian Ocean Studies, University of Calicut. I further declare that this thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar title of recognition.

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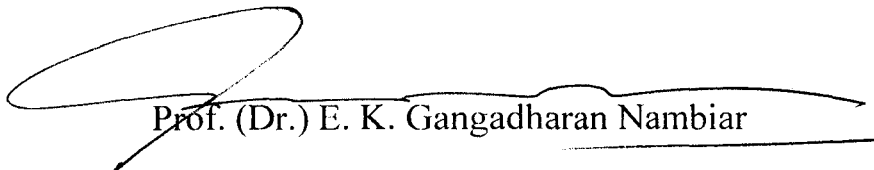
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CERTIFICATE

Certified that this thesis, '**Role of *Ulama* in the Anti-Colonial Struggle of India-A Case Study of Malabar**' is a bonafide record of the research work carried out by **Mr. Mayankutty Ottappilakkool** under my supervision and guidance. No part of this has been submitted earlier for any other purpose.

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Prof. (Dr.) E. K. Gangadharan Nambiar

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ABBREVIATIONS

Ara.	Arabic
Ara. Mal.	Arabi-Malayalam
BRC	Board of Revenue Consultation
CMO	Correspondence of Moplah Outrages
FNR	Fortnightly Report
G.O	Government Order
HFM	History of Freedom Movement
JAS	Journal of Asian Studies
JKS	Journal of Kerala studies
JP	Judicial Proceedings
KSA	Kerala State Archives
Mal.	Malayalam
MAS	Modern Asian Studies
MDR	Malabar District Records
MJCR	Malabar Joint Commission Report
MNNR	Madras Native Newspaper Report
n.d.	Non-dated
NAI	National Archives of India
RAK	Regional Archives Kozhikode
RC	Revenue Consultation
SI	Sub Inspector
TNA	Tamil Nadu Archives
Trans.	Translation

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

History of India is a history of different civilizations. At different stages of history, she has accommodated people of different origins like Aryans, Sakas, Kushans, Arabs, Afghans, and Mongols. Though they came to India as conquerors, in course of time most of them adopted with Indian culture and traditions. Indians on the other hand adopted a policy of co-existence. They ruled the country in collaboration with the natives, though there were instances of conflicts on account of various socio-economic and cultural reasons. Adopting Indian culture, they also maintained their cultural identity and lived here on the basis of the principles of give and take. However, whatever be the nature of existence of these peoples, they all adopted India as their homeland.

The Europeans were the last of the foreigners to come to India. They were here to write a different chapter in the history of the country. The aims of the Europeans right from the Portuguese were the total exploitation of the wealth of the colonies and India was not an exception. They realized this objective through colonialism and imperialism. The age of colonialism began with the dawn of the 16th century following the geographical discoveries. Having discovered new areas in Asia and Africa, the Europeans tried to establish their hegemony over the region.

Colonialism is a specific form of economic and cultural exploitation that developed with the expansion of Europe. The colonialism has found five distinct phases of developments as commercial colonialism, Industrial colonialism, new imperialism, neo-colonialism and globalization. The objectives of the colonialist undergo changes from stage to stage. In the early phase of commercial colonialism, roughly between 1500-1800, it was closely linked with the commercial revolution and merchant capitalism. The central aspect of commercial colonialism was trade. The Europeans aimed to establish trade monopoly over the newly discovered lands. For the purpose, the European countries engaged themselves in competition to obtain spices, gold, silver, slaves, etc. They even resorted to plunder and piracy to obtain the required quantity of the merchandise from the locals.

In order to achieve the objectives, the Europeans engineered several programmes including occupying territories, establishing white settler colonies, setting up of trade posts and forts and applying military strength to wrest as much world trade as possible.

The Portuguese spearheaded the western advance into Asia and Africa. Economic and religious motivations led them to the east with a deep animus against the Muslims, an offshoot of the long rivalry between Muslims and the Christians in the Iberian Peninsula and of the Crusades in the 11th and 12th

centuries.¹ The Pope granted the king of Portugal the right to conquer the countries of Pagans. In this colonial and territorial retention in Afro-Asian lands they found the Muslims as the most formidable obstacle.

The main effort of the Portuguese in India was to dislodge the Muslims from their prominent positions in trade and commerce and to establish their sway over the Eastern trade. They considered the Muslims as their natural enemies and went about achieving their objective of colonization by resorting to extreme cruelty. The attempt of the Portuguese to realize their motives opened the era of resistance against the newcomers.

The history of anti-colonial movement in India can be broadly divided in to three phases. The first was the phase when the Portuguese were successfully checked by the locals. The second phase started with the coming of the British. But the resistance of the natives against the British could not record any remarkable triumph. However it culminated in the First War of Independence in 1857. The third phase started soon after and continued till the independence of India in 1947. All sections of the society had actively involved in the struggle.

Malabar² was internationally renowned as an emporium of trade. Many foreign traders had been attracted to the rich resources of this area from time

¹ Parcival Spear, *India A Modern History*, Michigan, 1961, p. 162.

² The ancient Malabar was a very vast geographical expression. Some consider it the entire Malayalam territory and some between Sidhapur and Kollam. It also occasionally

immemorial. In the ancient period, people like Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese and others came to Malabar at different stages of her history. They all came to Malabar as traders and not as conquerors. During the middle ages, the Arabs dominated the trade with Malabar. Calicut was the nerve centre of the Malabar trade. Its rulers, the Zamorins, were at the helm while trade with the Arabs was flourishing. In 1498, the Portuguese under the leadership of Vasco da Gama came to Malabar. Subsequently, everything turned upside down. In order to get trade monopoly with Malabar, the Portuguese played crooked politics. It brought the people face to face with the Portuguese. Finding it difficult to strike root in trade, the Portuguese made alliance with the enemies of the Zamorin. The new alliance and their activities disturbed the Arab safety and domination over the trade.

The Portuguese attempts in Malabar would tell the long story of colonial endeavor in the land. The main aim of their intrusion was commercial and exploitation of the vast and rich economic potential of Malabar. As a consequence of the Portuguese intrusion, the trade, settlements, agriculture, cultural life and even the political stability of the region were adversely affected. They tried to impose their culture, faith and oceanic domination over the people of Malabar. Their introduction of *Cartaz* in maritime trade proves

applied to the whole of South India. During the British rule it covers an area of 5787. 45 square miles with seven Taluks of Calicut, Chirakkal, Ernad, Kurumbranad, Palghat, Ponnani, Kottayam, Walluvanad and Wynad. Arabian Sea, North Canara, princely states of Cochin and Western Ghats as its four borders, west, north, south and east respectively. The present study treats the area of Malabar as in the British time.

their colonial aim beyond doubt. Similarly the occupation of Goa and the establishment of their rule stand witness to their imperialistic aim in India. It is in this perspective that the present study treats the activities of the Portuguese in Malabar within the framework of a colonial set up.

At the outset, the Portuguese tried to achieve their economic interest at the expense of the Arabs who had trade with the country on an equal footing with the locals. When the Portuguese tried to exert their interests through political stratagem, the Muslims came forward to pay them in the same coin. The result was that Malabar became a battleground between the patriotic and the colonialist forces.

The sea route to India was safe and secure to all seafarers till the arrival of the Portuguese on the coast of Malabar. The Nair army with Mappila navy, the backbone of the Zamorin's strength put up their historic fight against the intruders. For nearly a century, the navy of the Zamorin, manned by the Muslims, resisted the Portuguese and prevented them from establishing themselves on the Malabar coast. As long as the unity among different communities lasted, no foreigner could establish their domination over Malabar.

Thus colonialism and the anti-colonial resistance in India had its first appearance in Malabar. The entry of the Portuguese to Malabar marked the

end of the era of peace and prosperity, amity and religious harmony of the region. Then, there started a saga of aggression and resistance.

When the Portuguese were eventually repulsed, there came the Dutch and the French. But their activities and influence were not predominant in Malabar except for a few pockets. The British came with more sophisticated stratagem than that of their predecessors. They compromised with the landlords and the influential strata of the society. Together they exploited the people. The British rule benefited only a micro-section of the society and thus the resistance forces became very active in the 19th and 20th centuries in Malabar.

The unique feature of India's struggle for freedom was the participation of all types of people irrespective of their status and positions in the society. The long struggles of anti-colonial struggles in Malabar stand witness to the presence of the different groups like rural, urban, labours, capitalists, rich, poor, high castes, low castes, tribals etc. Large number of studies has undertaken the role of the different groups in the anti-colonial struggle.

The ideological foundation of the anti-colonial struggle in Malabar can be traced to different sources. Islam contributed such an ideological foundation to the Muslims in their struggle against colonial and imperialist powers. The *ulama*, who constitute the steering class among the Muslims, interpreted the holy scriptures to the general public. The scholars like Sheikh

Zainudhin Makhdums of Ponnani, Sayyid Alawi Tangal and Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal of Mamburam were world-renowned scholars. They had strong popular support both on the basis of the commands of religion and due to their scholarship. The *ulama* in Malabar enjoyed a privileged position in the community as well as in the society. Their status and influences were recognized by the political heads who tried to woo them for their benefit.

Clergymen giving leadership to mass movements of political nature is not a rare spectacle in history. The role of *ulama* in the struggle for freedom and unity of the country was very salutary. Considering the position of the *ulama*, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru complimented, "The dust under the feet of these *ulama* is like corrylium for my eyes and kissing their feet would be a matter of great pride for me."³ The purpose of the study is to bring out the role of the *ulama* in the anti-colonial struggle and its impact on the course of the history of the Malabar region.

Many studies have been made on the advent of the Europeans in Malabar and the role that different sections of the society played in organizing resistance movements. As far as the Muslims were concerned their resistance was the outcome of the preachings and teachings of the religious leadership, the *ulama*. Yet, no serious work has so far been undertaken to investigate into the role of *ulama* in the anti-colonial struggle in Malabar. It is in this

³ Cf. Asghar Ali Engineer, *Role of Minorities in the Freedom Struggle*, New Delhi, 1986, P. 1.

background that the present study focuses on the anti-imperialist consciousness of the *ulama* of Malabar who initiated the ideological battle against the western colonial intrusion.

The study attempts to bring out the *ulama* tradition of Malabar from the very establishment of Islam in the region. In order to have a look into the condition of the society, an attempt has also been made to trace the problems of the Mappilas during the colonial period. Attempt has been made to analyze the role of the *ulama* during the Portuguese and the British periods separately.

Primary Sources

The study is mainly based on materials collected from the primary sources in Arabic, Arabi-Malayalam, Malayalam, English and the Portuguese. The important Arabic sources include *Tahrid Ahlil Iman ala jihadi Abadathi Ssulban* (The induction to the believers for holy war against the cross worshippers) of Sheikh Zainudhin Makhdum the Senior, *Tuhfat ul Mujahidin Fi Bahli Akhbaril Burtughaliyyin* (Gift to the holy warriors in respect of some information of the Portuguese) of Sheikh Zainudhin Makhdum the Junior, *Al Fathul Mubin Lissamiriyyi lladi Yuhibbul Muslimeen* (The manifest victory to the Zamorin who loves the Muslims) of Qazi Muhammad, *Assaiful Battar ala man Yuvaril Kuffar wa ya Khudum min Dunillahi wa Rasulih wal Mu'minin wal Ansar* (The sharp sword on the supporters of Infidels and those serving against Allah, His Messenger and the helping Believers.) of Sayyid Alawi

Tangal, *Uddat ul Umara wal Hukkam li ihananati wal Kafaratil Asnam* (Preparation to Judges and leaders to undermine the idolaters and unbelief) of Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal, letters and poems of Umar Qazi, and *Da'wat ul Haq* (Call to the Truth) of Moidu Mawlawi.

The Arabi-Malayalam sources include *Muhimmat ul Muminineen* (Duties of the Believers) of Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musaliar, *Mahakkul Khilafa ala Ismail Khilafah* (Erasing the Khilafat on the name of Khilafah) by Mammad Kutty Musaliar, and *Nadil Masmooi ila Ma'nal Khilafa Kama Hiyal Mashhuri* (Instigating people against the famous Khilafah) by K M Ahmad Kutty Musaliar. Besides a number of *Malas* like, *Kunhu Marakkar Mala*, *Mohiyidhin Mala*, *Madha Mohini Kunhami Mala* etc., *Padappattus* like, *Cherur Padappatt*, *Omara Padappatt*, *Malappuram Padappatt* etc., *Quissappattus* like, *Umar Quissappatt*, *Yusuf Quissappatt*, *Kairala Quissappatt* etc., *Moulids* like *Mamburam Moulid*, *Yahoo Waliyullah I Moulid* and *Qasidas* like *Qasidat ul Qutubiyyah* are also at wide use.

Sources in the form of autobiographies and biographies in the Malayalam language are also found useful to the study. It consists of the works of E. Moidu Maulawi (*Maulawiyude Atmakadha*, Kottayam, 1981.), K. P. Kesava Menon (*Kazhingakalam*, Calicut, 1969.), Moyarath Sankaran (*Ente Jeevitha Kadha*, Calicut, 1965), S. Ramachandran (*Kattilasseri Muhammad*

Musaliarum Desiya Prastanavum, Tiruvananthapuram, 2003.), P. P. Ummer Koya (*Dheeratmakal*, Calicut, 1975) etc.

The Malayalam works of contemporary writers gives first-hand information to the investigator. Muzhikunnath Brahmadattan Namboodirippad (*Khilafat Smaranakal*, Calicut, 1965.), K. Koyatti Maulawi (*1921 le Mappila Lahala*, Tirurangadi 1963.), K. Madhavan Nair (*Malabar Kalapam*, Manjeri, 1971.), M.P.S. Menon (*M P Narayana Menonum Sahapravarthakarum*), S.K. Pottakkad *et al* (*Muhammad Abdu Rahiman*, Calicut, 1978), E. Moidu Maulawi (*Ormakal*, Calicut, 1960., *Ente Kootukaran*, Calicut, 1964., *Charitra Chintakal*, Calicut, 1981.), and the English work of C. Gopalan Nair (*The Moplah Rebellion. 1921*, Calicut, 1923) etc. shed light on different aspects of the role of *ulama*.

Besides the Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam sources, we have ample collection of European accounts. The most important amongst them are the accounts of Duarte Barbosa (*Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the 16th century*), Francis Buchanan (*A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, 3 volumes), Lu do Vico de Varthama (*Travels of Ludovico de Varthama*) Gasper Correa (*The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*), H. Gundert. (*Keralolpathi*), William Logan (*Malabar Manual*, 2 volumes), Innes and Evans (*The Malabar Gazetteer*), R. H. Hitchcock (*Peasant Revolt in Malabar*

A History of the Malabar Rebellion) G. R. F. Tottenham (*The Mappila Rebellion 1921-1922*) etc. These authors give a European version of the developments in Malabar that they witnessed or took part in one way or other. Their accounts are mostly official in character and need not be impartial and unprejudiced.

A lot of archival sources are also available to the study. The sources are scattered in different archives like National Archives of Delhi, Tamil Nadu Archives of Chennai, Kerala State Regional Archives of Tiruvananthapuram and Calicut. The sources are in the form of Correspondence, Revenue Records, Jail Records, Fortnightly Reports, Newspaper Reports, History of Freedom Movement File, Madras Legislative Assembly Files etc. The press reports of Bombay Chronicle, Al-Ameen, Mathrubhumi etc. have also been used for the study.

Apart from this, some memorials and souvenirs in Malayalam are found very useful to the present writer. *Veliyancode Umar Qazi: Jeeva Charitram Kritikalum 1767-1857*, published by Veliyancode Mahallu Committee, 1999, *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum* by Ponnani Juma Masjid Paripalana committee, *Wagon Tragedy Smaranika* by Wagon Tragedy 60th anniversary celebration committee Tirur, 1981, *Malabar Kalapam 1921: Smaranakalum Padanangalum* by Malabar Kalapam 1921, 60th anniversary Celebration Committee volume, Tirurangadi, 1981, are noteworthy.

Moreover as part of tapping the oral resources the interviews with persons like M. Abdul Rasheed, son of Moidu Mawlawi, A. P. Muhammadali Musaliar, grandson of Ali Musaliar, T. K. Muhiyidhin Umari, son of K. M. Mawlawi, Monutty, the present head of Umar Qazi's family, C. Hamza, the translator of *Tuhfat ul Mujahidin* Mankada Abdul Aziz Mawlawi, the translator of *Fath ul Mubin* and S. V. Ahmad Koya, Qazi of Calicut and large number of aged persons from Tirurangadi and surrounding areas have contributed to this venture.

Secondary Works

A number of works have been published both in India and abroad, which would be highly useful for the present study. K. M. Panikkar (*Malabar and the Portuguese*, Bombay, 1929) made an extensive study on the Portuguese period. He even coined the term 'the Gama Epoch' in history.⁴ A work by R. P. Das (*Portuguese Rule in India*, Bombay, 1963) attempts to study the Portuguese system of administration in India. Stephen H. Morse has published a monograph on Albuquerque, (*Ruling of India, Albuquerque*, oxford, 1982) for which he has widely used the Portuguese accounts. A recent work by K. M. Mathew (*History of Portuguese Navigation in India, 1498-1600*, Delhi, 1988) has attempted to give an account of the nature and character of Portuguese occupation in India. The latest works of Sanjay Subramanyan

⁴ K M Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Bombay, 1929.

(*The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*, Cambridge, 1997) extensively based on European sources and brought out a monograph on Vasco da Gama.

Many scholars have undertaken studies on the economic aspects of the Portuguese expansion. M.N. Pearson (*Merchants and Rulers in Gujarat, the Response of the Portuguese in the Sixteenth Century*, London, 1976), K.S Mathew (*Portuguese Trade with India in Sixteenth Century*, Delhi, 1983) and Sanjay Subramanian (*A Political Economy of Commerce in South India, 1500-1650*, Cambridge, 1990) belonged to this group. Sanjay Subramanian has brought out the depth of economic disaster caused by the Portuguese.

Though the Dutch and French tried to establish their foothold in Malabar, it does not contribute an epoch making period in her history. However scholars have undertaken in-depth study on the British rule in Malabar with special reference to mass resistance against it. V. Raghu Das identified nearly 79 major outbreaks that took place in different parts of Malabar during 1778-1967. E. K. G Nambiar (ed.), (*Agrarian India Problems and Perspectives*, University of Calicut, 1999), and D. N Dhanagre (*Peasant Movement in India (1920-1950)*, Delhi, 1983), in their studies on peasant problems and outbreaks of Malabar, Bardoli, and Telunghana proved to be caused by the colonial disturbances. Ranajit Guha (*Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in the Colonial India*), A. R. Desai (ed.) (*Peasant Struggles in India*), P. Radhakrishnan (*Peasant Struggle, Land Reforms and*

Social Changes in Malabar 1836-1982), K. K. N. Kurup (*William Logan, A study in Agrarian Relations of Malabar*) and K. N. Panikkar (*Against Lord and State Religion and Peasant Uprisings in Malabar 1836-1921*) also made similar studies on peasant insurgencies in Malabar.

A number of papers by Indian and foreign scholars have been published on the history of Malabar. Its land and people, its unique social organizations, family system, political ups and downs, trade and commerce etc. have become the subject matter of their studies.

The work of Stephen Fredrick Dale, *Mappilas of Malabar, 1498-1922 Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier*, New York, 1980., is a deep study on the basis of frontier theory developed by him. The theme of the work is the conflict between the Mappilas and the foreigners. Besides being a treasure house of information on the condition of the Mappilas during the Portuguese and British periods, it describes the cultural relations of the Mappilas with the Hindus. It examines the arrival of the Portuguese and its impact on the history of the region. Mr. Dale may be considered as the first historian to highlight the role of *ulama* in the struggle against the colonial powers in Malabar. As his analysis was mainly based on official records, we do not get a clear-cut picture of the *ulama* from his work.

A. P. Ibrahim Kunhu, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: Their History and Culture*, Tiruvananthapuram, 1989., made a documentary study on the history

and culture of Mappila Muslims of Kerala. He gives a vivid description of the vicissitudes that the community faced in the course of her history. He brings out a special chapter on the celebrities of Kerala. The chapter attempts to give a pen picture of some great men including a few *ulama*. But as a general study, it does not focus on their status in the society and their role in the struggle against the colonialists.

The work of Ronald E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A study in Islamic Trends*, Madras, 1976., gives some sketches of socio-political and cultural life of the Mappila society. When the work of Ibrahim Kunhu presents a general history of Mappilas from their very origin to the present time, the work of Miller is an attempt to bring out the cultural identity of the Muslims. Though both the works are useful, they do not go deep into the role of *ulama* in shaping the history of the community. S. M. Muhammad Koya, also contributed to this field through his work '*The Mappilas of Malabar*, Calicut, 1983. It brings out some peculiar customs of Mappilas but pays little attention to the role of *ulama* in the anti-colonial struggle in Malabar.

A good collection of Malayalam works has also been published. They are of immense use to any investigator who ventures on the role of *ulama* in the history of Malabar. C. Gopalan Nair (*Malayalathile Mappilamar*, Mangalore.), K. Muhammad (*Mappilamar Engot*, Trichur, 1956.), K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem (*1921 le Khilafat Lahalayum Ali Musaliarum*,

Tirurangadi, 1968., *Hazrat Mamburam Sayyid Alawi Tangal*, Tirurangadi, 1970., *KM Maulawi Sahib*, Tirurangadi, 1985.), M. Gangadharan (*Mappila Padanangal*, Calicut, 2004.), K. Hussain (*Mappila Malabar*, Calicut, 2005.), Muhammad Ali Musaliar (*Malayalathile Maharadhanmar*, Calicut, 1997), P. A. Sayyid Muhammad (*Kerala Muslim Charitram*, Calicut, 1996), P. P. Muhammad Koya (*Kozhikkotte Muslimkalude Charitram*, Calicut, 1994.) and M. Ali Kunhi (*Malabar Kalapam Oru Padanam*) are important contributors in Malayalam.

Besides the above writers, two monumental works in Malayalam have been published in the form of directories, one by C. N. Ahmad Maulawi and K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mahathaya Mappila Sahitya Parambaryam*, Calicut, 1978, and the other by C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, (3 volumes), Cochin, 1960. The former includes a comprehensive study of Mappila literary figures and the latter brings out a detailed directory of the personalities and gives a statistical survey of the Muslims of Kerala.

Besides these works, a large number of articles written by different scholars are also of great importance for the present study. Among these, the papers of F. Fawcett ('A popular Mappila Song' *Indian Antiquary*, XXVII, 1899, and 'War Songs of the Mappilas of Malabar' *Indian Antiquary*' XXX, 1901), M. Gangadhara Menon ('The Yaqub Hasan Episode' *Journal of Kerala Studies* vol. 1-2.), E. K. G. Nambiar ('Colonialism Padinaram

Noottandil: Oru Avalokanam', Mal. *Vijnyana Kairali*, 30th vol.3rd March 1999) and A. P. Abdu Rahman ('Deportation of Sayyid Fazl', *Farook College 40th Anniversary Volume*) are of great use for the study.

Sources from the personal collections of A. P. Muhammadali Musaliar, Abdu Rahiman Mangad, Professor E. K. Ahmad Kutty and Mankada Abdul Aziz Maulawi, have also been used for the study. Manuscripts of important Arabic sources preserved in the mosque libraries of Kakkove, Valiya Kulangara and Tanur and Ahmad Koya Shaliyathi library of Chaliyam have been utilized for the study.

A few researches have been undertaken on the different aspects of the part played by the *ulama* in Malabar. The unpublished theses of the following scholars like K. Gopalan kutty, '*National Movement in Malabar*', Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1986., K. K. Mohammed Abdul Sathar, '*History of the Ba Alawis of Kerala*,' Calicut university, 2000., N. Padmanabhan, *The Role Mappilas in the freedom struggle*, Calicut university, 1992., K. T. Jaleel, *Kunhammad Haji and Ali Musaliar- A Role in the Malabar Rebellion.*, Kerala University, 2005 and Qazi Muhammad Jamshed, *Role of Jamiat ul Ulama in the Freedom Movement, 1937-47*, A. M. U. Aligarh, 1987 contain some very useful references to the subject. But these research studies do not give emphasis to the role of the *ulama* community in particular. Though a plenty of materials are available, no attempt has so far

been made to make a thorough use of them. Further they do not furnish a critical study on the role of the *ulama* in Malabar politics. Hence the present study is important as an attempt to investigate into the role played by them in the anti-colonial struggles in Malabar.

While abundant sources are available on certain personalities, there is paucity of materials about some others. As some *ulama* are also great authors, their works stand witness to their thoughts and actions. Access to the Arabic language and availability of Arabic sources have helped the investigator to go deep into the study when compared to those who are not adept in Arabic.

As far the methodology is concerned direct and systematic approach is adopted. In the footnotes the conventional system is followed such as the italicized '*Ibid.*' to indicate the book just referred before and italicized '*op.cit.*' for the work already cited anywhere in the pages before.

Organization of the study

The present study includes seven chapters. The first chapter is an introductory part that traces to delineate the major objectives of the study. It also includes a review of the earlier works and a critical study of the source materials. The methodology adopted for the study is also discussed in the chapter.

The second chapter, 'The position of *ulama* in the Muslim society' deals with the position, status and role of the *ulama* in the Muslim community. It attempts to sketch their activities in the Islamic world. The chapter also traces the role of *ulama* in the Indian subcontinent. In the chapter the *ulama* are being discussed in the colonial setting.

The third chapter entitled 'The *ulama* in Malabar' starts with the genesis of Islam in the region and the position of the Mappilas in the Malabar society. The *ulama* heritages of Malabar and their activities are examined. The different groups among the *ulama* with their distinct features are discussed in the chapter. Finally, it makes an attempt to explain the *jihadi* tradition of the *ulama*.

The fourth chapter is on the role of *ulama* in the Mappila-Portuguese conflict. As background of the chapter, an attempt also been made to bring out the condition of Malabar on the eve of the Portuguese colonialism. The chapter highlights the atrocities of the Portuguese in Malabar and the subsequent entry and part played by the *ulama* in the anti-colonial struggle.

The fifth chapter, 'the *ulama* in the Mappila-British conflict: early phase,' deals with the struggle of the Mappilas under the *ulama* leadership during the early British period. It makes an attempt to depict the agrarian problems in Malabar, which caused numerous outbreaks against the landlords. Special attention is paid to the role of Sayyid Alawi Tangal and Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal of Mamburam and Umar Qazi of Veliyancode.

The sixth chapter is on ‘the *Ulama* in the Mappila-British Conflict: Later Phase.’ It mainly discusses the role of *ulama* in the tenancy, Khilafat and non co-operation movements and their role in the revolt of 1921.

In the concluding chapter an attempt has been made to sum up the work with the important findings of the researcher. The findings are listed and presented along with the explanations and examinations of themes in the chapter.

Limitations

Since the topic covers a period of more than 500 years, the tapping of the sources became a Herculean task. Hence no claim is made about an exhaustive exploration of the sources. Some literary sources, including most of the Arabi-Malayalam works, lacking the period of composition were very cautiously used. The inaccessibility into the original Portuguese sources has put a great curb on the study. So also the detailed accounts on many *ulama* are lacking because they had not craved for name and fame, which tended to drop the events into obscurity.

There is immense of scope for further research in the allied topics like the role of pro-colonialist *ulama*, the *Qazis* of Calicut, the Tangals of Kondotty, Arabi-Malayalam literature etc.

CHAPTER II

POSITION OF *ULAMA* IN THE MUSLIM SOCIETY

The word '*ulama*' is the plural form of the Arabic term '*alim*', which means a religious scholar. Technically the word '*alim*' means, a Muslim scholar who has completed his education in a *Madrassa* (religious seminary) and has studied subjects such as *Tafsir*,¹ *Hadith*,² *Fiqh*³ and *Ilm -i Kalam*.⁴ The *ulama* as a class devote themselves to the study of the *Quran*, *Tafsir*, *Hadith*, and *Fiqh*.⁵ They are competent to issue *fatwas*.⁶ After acquiring *Ilm*⁷ they would remain in *Madrassa* as teachers or deliver sermons as *Khatib*⁸ or enter state service as *Qazis*⁹ or *Muftis*.¹⁰

¹ *Tafsir* means explanation and commentary of the *Quran*. It designates opinions, background informations and exegesis of the inner meaning of the *Quran*. See Cyril Glasse, *The Concise Encyclopedia of Islam*, revised, 2002, Singapore, p. 444.

² The Sayings of Prophet Muhammad. According to Islam *Hadith* is second only to the *Quran*.

³ The laws of Islamic Jurisprudence on the basis of *Quran* and *Hadith* prepared by the *ulama*. It states how to perform the Islamic duties, the requirements to fulfil them and those that nullify them.

⁴ *Ilm ul Kalam* means scholastic discussion on Islamic philosophy. See Mushir ul Haq, *Muslim Politics in Modern India (1857-1947)*, Meerut, 1970.

⁵ One may acquire knowledge of these subjects from a university or through some other means, but then he will not necessarily be considered an *alim*.

⁶ Verdicts or decisions on the basis of Islamic jurisprudence issued by an *alim*. It is a document prepared in conventional form and varies little over the centuries. It is headed by a pious invocation in Arabic, often written in a very involved and stylized manner. See Brill Leiden (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Volume IV, 1983, p. 867.

⁷ Literally it means Knowledge and technically means knowledge about Islamic theology.

⁸ Literally it means speaker, orator but technically means one who makes the speech before or after special occasions like Friday and Id congregational prayers.

⁹ Literally means judges, technically means the leader of Muslims who lead them in congregation, on occasions like marriage and funeral ceremonies. *Qazis* are also supposed to negotiate in settlements and pass judgments in cases of disputes in the Islamic society.

The implication of the term *ulama*, however, varies considerably from place to place and time to time. In South Asia the term *ulama* becomes *Maulawi* and in West Africa it is *Mallam*.¹¹ Other terms like *Imam*, *Mufti*, *Qazi*, *Mujtahid*,¹² express specific aspects of the clerical functions of the *ulama*. The word 'Imam' for example, is the word used for a religious leader of the community. The term 'Mufti' is applied to a respected member of the *ulama* who may give an opinion (*fatwa*) on some difficult legal or theological issue and sometimes may overrule the decisions of the *Imam*. The word 'Qazi' denotes the religious head who gives judgment on the basis of Islamic *Sharia*.¹³ In the *Shia*¹⁴ community there is a hierarchy of *ulama* like the *Mujtahid*, *Ayathullah*,¹⁵ *Imam*,¹⁶ *Faqih*¹⁷ and so on.¹⁸ The word 'Mujtahid' is used to designate a senior scholar who has the grace and authority to interpret the *Quran*. The term 'ulama' usually includes all religious teachers such as

¹⁰ Mufti means one who issues *fatwa* in times of crisis. A *Mufti* according to Islamic principle, should be, a scholarly and God fearing. See, Cyril Glasse, *op.cit.*, p. 319-20.

¹¹ In Turkey the word *ulama* denotes a political party led by the religious teachers.

¹² Literally means one who strives and technically, an authority that makes original decisions of canon law, rather than apply any precedents already established. For Sunnis, door of striving (*Ijtihad*) is closed according to general opinion. For *Shiates*, *Ijtihad* is possible and also necessary. (Brill Leiden, *op.cit.*, p. 327).

¹³ The sacred law for the Muslims. In an Islamic state decision would be taken on the basis of *Shariat* since it is framed on the basis of *Quran* and *Hadith*.

¹⁴ On the question of Khilafat a split took place in Islam. A group demanded to make Ali the Khalif. This group is known as the *Shias*.

¹⁵ *Ayathullah* is an honorific title for high-ranking *shiate* religious authorities in Iran. This grandiose title is an innovation of 20th century Shiaism. See, Brill Leiden, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

¹⁶ Imam means leader. One who leads the prayer in congregation. Among the *Shiates* there is a concept of *Imamat*.

¹⁷ One who is proficient in Islamic jurisprudence either by his own exegesis or by learning.

¹⁸ Mubarak. Ali, *The Ulema, Sufis and Intellectuals*, Lahore, 1996, p. 14.

*Imams, Muftis, Qazis and Maulawis.*¹⁹ They were usually known as members of the order of the *ulama*. Their main duty was to teach and guide the people in religious affairs and to give opinion on *Sharia* about matters relating to their day-to-day life activities.

For the spread of religious education, a large number of *Madrassas* were established throughout the Muslim world. The highly educated *ulama* assumed the role of *Qazi* and *Mufti* while the less educated got the posts of *Imam* and *Khatib*. Though no particular uniform is prescribed, certain prefixes and suffixes with their names helps to recognize their identity. Terms like *Maulawi, Maulana, Musaliar, and Mullah* are added like wise.

The *ulama* occupy a very dignified position in Islam. In many traditions of the Prophet, it is stated, “On the day of Resurrection the ink used by a scholar will be weighed with the blood shed by martyrs and the ink of the scholar will outweigh and turn the scales...the world thrives on the piety of the learned... If there had been no *Satan*,²⁰ the sons of Adam²¹ would not have suffered. If there had been no pious men, certainly the wicked would have been destroyed, if there had been no *ulama* certainly the people would have wandered about like beasts...” The prophet continues, “the best Kings

¹⁹ Thomas Patrick Hughes, *A dictionary of Islam*, Delhi, 1973, p.

²⁰ The Satan is the force to drag humanity towards the evil deeds. It was Satan who instigated Adam and Eve to eat the ‘forbidden fruit’ in the Heaven and they were subsequently caused to the wrath of God and sent out them to the earth.

²¹ According to the Bible and the *Quran* the first man is Adam.

and the best nobles are those who visit the doors of the *ulama* and the worst *ulama* are those who visit the doors of Kings and nobles... The *ulama* are much superior in dignity and status to others.”²²

The hallmark of the *alim* was his knowledge of religious scriptures. Mubarak Shah, a fourteenth century chronicler, at the Delhi court, observed, “All people know that after the apostles and prophets, rank the truthful persons (*siddiquin*) martyrs (*shahidin*) and scholars (*alimun*).”²³ The scholars are included in the category of *siddiquin* and the martyrs. The Prophet has said, “The *ulama* are the heirs of the Prophets.”²⁴ The world exists on account of the piety of the learned. The laws of *Sharia*... are enforced by them... and things illegal and not sanctioned by the *Sharia* are suppressed by them.”²⁵

According to Islam, Prophets have been sent to all communities and in all ages. But this practice came to an end with the coming of Prophet Mohammed. The Prophet has clearly declared, “After me there will not be Prophets, *ulama* are the heirs of the Prophets,”²⁶ He also said, “the *ulama* of my community (*Ummah*), are like the Prophets of the *Bani Israel*.”²⁷ All these

²² K. A. Nizami, *Some Aspects of Religion and Politics in India during the Thirteenth Century*, Delhi, 1974, p. 150.

²³ Quoted in *Ibid*, p. 152.

²⁴ Imam Tirmudhi, *Kitab ul Ilm*, Hadith No.2607. See Abu Dawud, *Hadith No. 3157*.

²⁵ K. A. Nizami, *op.cit.*, p. 150.

²⁶ Imam Bukhari, ‘Babu Ma Zukhira Al Bani Israel’ in *Kitab Ahadith ul Ambiya*, Hadith no: 4476, Cairo. n.d.

²⁷ Bani Israel conceptually means the earlier communities; literally the term means the Sons of Israel.

are clear indications of the *ulama's* decorum and responsibility in Islam. In the light of the traditions of the Prophet cited, the *ulama* are to guide and direct the people in the true path and they should have authority over all the affairs of the masses. In other words, people are bound to obey the directions and commands of the *ulama*. Whenever the need arises the *ulama* have to take the lead and shoulder the responsibility of the society and they could never be submissive in times of anarchy and misrule. The Prophet has already stated that the best *jihad* (struggle) is the expression of protest against a cruel ruler.²⁸

Emphasizing the great role of the *ulama*, the Prophet reminds, "If two sections of the society played their roles properly, the whole society will be in the right direction, if they are wrong in direction the whole society will suffer. These two sections are the *ulama* and the *umara*."²⁹ The *ulama* are the custodians of the *Sharia* and the bulwark of the Muslim community and its uniting force. Consequently they are held in high respect. The Prophet explains whoever does not respect the *ulama* is not one among us.³⁰ Though, the *ulama* are the protectors of *Sharia* and the leaders of the community, Islam never prescribe priesthood.³¹ It proclaims a strong principle of equality of all believers. The *ulama* in Islam are not a power head, but a protector and

²⁸ Nisai, Sunan ul Nisai-Kitab ul Bait, Hadith No. 3138.

²⁹ Ibn Abdul Birr, 'Al Jami', in *Imam Suyuti, Jami ul Sagheer* (Ara.), Hadith no: 184, Beirut, n.d. *Umara* means political leadership.

³⁰ CF Muhammad Abdul Qadir Maulawi, *Tablighinte Mahatwanganal* (Mal.), Tiruvananthapuram, 1997, pp. 44-45.

³¹ Imam Gazzali, *Ihya Ulum Udhin* (Ara.) Vol.I, Bombay, 1955, p.6.

guide in all walks of life. They are not middlemen to God as Islam teaches only direct contact with God. The *ulama* are only to give proper guidance in times of need.

The *ulama* are not only the religious heirs of the Prophets but also the heir of the Prophets in the political affairs of the Muslim community. In other words there is no separation of politics and religion in Islam. The Prophet was both religious and political head of the Muslim community, and so were all the Khalifs. Thus in the true spirit of Islam the *ulama* should also be the political leaders of the Muslim community. They have the responsibility of looking after the welfare of the people.

In the early days of Islam there was no class as *ulama*. The scholars well versed in the respective area of theology gave the needed advice. This explicit class of religious leaders is supposed to have emerged after the decline of the Abbasid Empire in the 10th century AD when power was often wielded by new converts to the faith. There were generally two kinds of religious specialists: the *sufis*,³² who engaged themselves in meditative disciplines and sought direct knowledge of religious truth; and the *ulama*, who knew the scholarly tradition of the faith and above all, the injunctions of the law. Both the *ulama* and the *sufis* acted as the foci of revolutionary

³² *Sufis* are Muslim mystics. The word *Sufi* is derived from *Suf* (wool), a reference to the woolen robe worn by the earliest *Sufis*. Some link the word Sufi with Sofia (purified), some relate it with their position as saff (first rankers) and so on. See O. P. Mayankutty, *Sufism: Some Landmarks in the Stream of Medieval History, South Indian History Congress Proceedings Volume*, Tiruchirapally, 2003.

movements, but more often gave their support to any ruler who maintained order and provided a stable framework for the continuation of Muslim social and religious life.³³

Among the *ulama* there is a hierarchy with respect to their positions and professions. In the circle of the *ulama* there are students and disciples. There were *ulama* who were known through their writings and publications of religious literature. Some others are reputed for their public preachings and debates. There were *ulama* who had no direct involvement in the propagation of Islam and defence of the faith against cultural and ideological onslaughts.

The day-to-day life of a Muslim is strongly linked with the *ulama*, the custodians of the *Sharia*. From birth to death a Muslim should live according to the *Sharia*. As soon as the newborn child is brought out to the relatives the *adhan*³⁴ is whispered into the ears of the child.³⁵ Circumcision is performed before the age of ten.³⁶ The marriage (*nikah*) would be conducted and the contract would be signed before a *Qazi*;³⁷ who seeks blessings for the couple at the ceremonial function. Friends and relatives offer prayers for the peace and well being of the departed soul in the hereafter. In an Islamic state the

³³ B. D. Metcalfe, *Islamic Revival in British India: Deoband (1860-1900)*, New Jersey, 1982, p. 17.

³⁴ The call for five times prayers.

³⁵ Sheikh Zainudhin Makhdoom, *Fath ul Mueen (Ara.)*, P. K. Kunhu Bava Musaliar (Trans. Mal.), *Fath ul Mueen Paribhasha*, Trichur, 1988, p. 150.

³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 611.

³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 457-458.

administration is supervised by the *ulama*.³⁸ Thus people turn towards the *ulama* for all their life activities and they seek their advice in cases of marriage, divorce, inheritance and such minor things as how to take bath, to eat and to drink etc. All rites and rituals are performed and special occasions celebrated in the presence of the *ulama*.

From childhood onwards a Muslim keeps contact with the *ulama*. As a young boy, he would be taught to recite the *Quran* and to read and write by an *alim* in the *Maktab*³⁹ or *Madrasa*. On Fridays, congregational prayers are led by the *ulama*. Here the *ulama* would come into contact with the rich and the poor, the educated and the illiterate, the landlord and the peasant, the town folk and the rural dwellers, the young and the old.

We have illustrious examples in history where the *ulama* had played a major role in solving serious crises in the course of the history of Islam. It was with the direction of the *ulama*,⁴⁰ that Hazrat Aboobakker; the first Khalif in Islam undertook the task of the compilation of the *Quran*. The *shura*,⁴¹ which was part and parcel of the Islamic Khilafat, was mainly constituted by the *ulama*.⁴²

³⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 631-632.

³⁹ Equivalent to the *Othupalli*.

⁴⁰ Though there was no particular *ulama* class, among the companions of the Prophet there were some more scholarly persons who could be call as *ulama*.

⁴¹ Means consultative body. The body is the supreme council in the Islamic administration as *Quran* mandates the constitution of such a body in Islamic society.

⁴² Sheikh ul Hadith Hazrat Moulana Muhammad Zakariyya Kandhalavi, *Tabligh-i Nisab*, (*Urdu*), *Arshad Said*, (Trans.Eng.), Teachings of Islam a Comprehensive Study of Islam, Delhi, 1985, pp. 124-126.

We also have a number of examples in history for the interference of the *ulama* in the day-to-day affairs of the administration. Quite often the rulers failed to get the support of the *ulama* for their vested interests and so used their power against many of them. Imam Hasan al Basari in the court of Yazid Ibn Abdul Malik, the Umayyad Khalif gave a *fatwa*, which invited the displeasure of the Khalif and got him arrested.⁴³ The authority imprisoned Imam Abu Hanifa and Imam Malik⁴⁴ as they pronounced *fatwas* in favour of Ibrahim's claim to the Khilafat.⁴⁵ Imam Abu Hanifa was also a victim of the displeasure of the Khalif when he refused to take up the office of *Qazi ul Quzat* (Chief Justice). Subsequently he was arrested and he died in prison on account of the corporal punishment inflicted upon him. Malik bin Anas, another great scholar, was flogged so badly that his shoulder blade was dislocated.⁴⁶ Imam Ahmad Ibn Hanbal⁴⁷ was imprisoned for twenty-eight months as he questioned the Khalif Al Mamun for his misdeeds.⁴⁸ Shah Ismail arrested Sheikh ul Islam, Izzu dhin Ibn Abdul Salam of Damascus for his refusal to issue a *fatwa*.

Ibn Thaimiya, a great Scholar of the 14th century held that the *ulama* were responsible for upholding the Law and giving advice to rulers on the

⁴³ Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Tarikh-i Da'wat- e- 'Azeemat*, (Urdu), Mohiuddin Ahmad (Trans.Eng.) *Saviours of Islamic Spirit*, volume I, Lucknow, 1976, p. 45.

⁴⁴ The two founders of the Islamic schools of Canon (*Fiqh*).

⁴⁵ Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, p. 61.

⁴⁷ The compiler of fourth canon of law.

⁴⁸ Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *op.cit.*, p. 84.

basis of *Quranic* injunctions: commanding the good and forbidding the evils (*Quran*, 31:17).⁴⁹ Quite often he directed the government towards the right path. If the authority did not heed his advice, he personally directed the people towards the path of righteousness. When, for instance, wine became a rampant social evil in the streets of Damascus, he warned the government against its fatal consequences. But finding no satisfactory steps being taken by the government, Ibn Thaimiya with his own companions launched a campaign against it and found success. So also he fought in person against the Mongol menace. Despite these services, the government took him as an enemy and incarcerated him many times and he had his last days in prison.⁵⁰

The *ulama*, being closer to the people and having known their sufferings due to colonial exploitations provided them effective leadership.⁵¹ The *ulama* of Algeria, Indonesia, Sumatra, Philippines, Sudan, Somaliland, Libya, Morocco, West Central Africa, Egypt, Palestine, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan etc. showed their valour against the colonial powers.

In Indonesia different factions of the *ulama* forgot their factional differences in their fight against the Dutch colonialists. Even the members of

⁴⁹ Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of the Islamic Societies*, Cambridge, 2002, p.147.

⁵⁰ Sarwat Soulath, *Millat e Islamiyya ki Mukhtasar Tareekh*, (Urdu), Abdul Rahiman Munnur (Trans. Mal.), *Islamika Samuham Charitra Sangraham*, vol.2, Calicut, 1999, pp. 82-84. See also Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *op. cit.*, p. 266.

⁵¹ Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Role of Minorities in the Freedom Struggle*, Delhi, 1986, p. 15.

a *Sufi tariqa*⁵² called the *Qadiriyyah*⁵³ provided organizational framework for the revolutionary protest movement that resulted in the Tjilegon risings of 1888.⁵⁴ An anti-colonial literature entitled '*Hikayat Parang Sabi*' declared that the murder of a Dutch man would enable them to gain admission to paradise.⁵⁵ In 1926 an *ulama* organization called *Nahdat ul Ulama* was founded for the liberation of Indonesia. Imam Bunugool, one of the *ulama*, declared *jihad* against the Dutch colonialism.⁵⁶ The *ulama* like Dipunigorb and Tiku Umar also led *jihadi* movements against colonialism.⁵⁷

In the 1930's, the Algerian *ulama* took up arms against the French colonization.⁵⁸ Abdul Hamid Ibn Badis led them to wage holy war against the foreign aggressors. In Sudan, Mahdi led an anti-colonial movement against the British colonialists. Mahdi Sudani worked against the foreign intruders. He advised his followers to be ready to sacrifice themselves for the cause of their nation.⁵⁹ When Somaliland was divided between the British and Italian

⁵² Literally means a path. Technically a generic term referring to the doctrines and methods of mystics (*Sufi*) union and became synonym of the term *tasawwuf* (mysticism). A school of Sufi after the name of a master (sheikh) becomes renowned and known after him as *Tariqa*. Thus 100's of such *Tariqa* grew up. At the same time Islam is partitioned between *Sharia* (exoteric) and *Tariqa* (esoteric) paths.

⁵³ The first *Tariqa* emerged was *Qadiriyyah* by the name of Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad. It has followers through out the world.

⁵⁴ G. H. Jansen, *Militant Islam*, Oxford, 1979, p. 97, quoted in Maxinore Rodinson, *Marxism and Muslim World*, New Delhi, 1979, p. 15.

⁵⁵ S. F. Dale, *The Mappilas of Malabar 1498-1922 Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 56-57.

⁵⁶ T. K. Abdullah (ed.), *Islamika Vijnyanakosam*, Vol. II, 1996, Calicut, p.903.

⁵⁷ Sarwat Soulath, *op.cit.*, Vol. 3, Calicut, 1996, p. 29.

⁵⁸ Maxinore Rodinson, *op.cit.*, pp. 24-25.

⁵⁹ Sarwat Soulath, *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, Calicut, 2001, pp. 27-28.

colonialists, a strong anti-colonial struggle was undertaken there under Mullah Ibn Abdullah Hasan. The British jokingly called him 'Mad Mullah' on account of his unrelenting fighting spirits.⁶⁰

Mufti al-Haj Amin ul Hussain was strong in resisting the British colonialism in Palestine. He founded the Supreme Muslim Council to resist the British domination.⁶¹ Muhammad Abdu, Rashid Ridha and Hasan ul Banna were the *ulama* of Egypt who offered uncompromising resistance against the colonialists. Hasan ul Bannah also founded '*Ikhwanul Muslimoon*' with the aim of fighting against the Europeans.⁶²

The name of Jamaludhin Afghani was a nightmare to the colonialists. His career was not confined to Afghanistan. He launched many campaigns against the colonial threat in many Muslim countries. With this mission, he travelled widely in countries like Egypt, Iran, Russia, and Turkey, mobilizing people through classes and training sessions. He also wrote a number of articles in periodicals criticizing the colonial enslavement. He aimed at the formation of a pan-Islamic world against the European aggression. For this purpose he brought out a newspaper called '*Al Urwat ul Wuthqa*', but it was banned after a few issues. The rise of his fame and popularity frightened even the Muslim rulers. He actively participated in the Iranian politics when the

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, Vol. 2, Calicut, 1996, p. 519.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, Vol. 3, *op.cit.*, p. 210.

⁶² *Ibid*, Vol. 4, *op.cit.*, pp. 88-89

British monopolized the tobacco. He rose in revolt against it, contacted *Shia alim*, Sheikh Mujtahidin Mirza Hasan Shirazi about the matter and got a *fatwa* issued against the consumption of tobacco. Consequently the monopoly was repealed.⁶³

Eritrea of North West Africa was under Italian colonial exploitation. The Muslims were deprived of their religious freedom. Thus an *alim* named Hamid Idris Awati started a liberation movement. There followed a long drawn out struggle that left him a martyr to the cause.⁶⁴ In Libya, the Sanusi Movement was founded with the objective of resisting colonialism. Sayyid Muhammad Ibn Ali, Sayyid Muhammad Idris and Sheikh Siddi Umar Mukhtar were the leaders of the movement who stood rock firm against the French.⁶⁵

The Russian conquest of Merv in 1834, the French occupation of Tunisia in 1871, the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, and the Italian seizure of Tripoli in 1911 and the Balkan war of 1912-13 etc. were all directed and controlled by the *ulama*. The great Ottomans successfully absorbed the *ulama* into the structure of the state administration⁶⁶ and transformed them into a religious bureaucracy bound inextricably to the interests of the ruling class.⁶⁷

⁶³ T. K. Abdullah (ed.), *Islamika Vijnyanakosam*, Vol. I, Calicut, 1995, pp. 395-97.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, Vol. 2, *op.cit.*, p. 469.

⁶⁵ Sarwat Soulath, *op.cit.*, Vol. 4, pp. 154-156.

⁶⁶ Denial Brown, *A New Introduction to Islam*, UK, 2004, p. 193.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 196.

In recent times the *ulama* are very active in the Islamic world: The Iranian Revolution of 1979 presented to the world a dynamic group of *ulama* who succeeded in throwing out the regime of Shah Pahlavi and establishing a theocratic state.⁶⁸ The Revolution proved the assertiveness of the *ulama* in the socio-political domain during the past few decades. The doctrinal innovations of Ayathullah Ruhullah Khomeni altered the common opinions about the role of the clergy. Khomeni in his book 'The Mandate of the Jurists' argues that the clergy is entitled to rule. This revolutionary statement meant that clergymen (*ulama*) should not rest content with merely giving advice to the rulers, a position with which he had publicly identified himself in his book *Kashf ul Asrar* (Revealing the secrets).⁶⁹

The *ulama* of Afghanistan were vigilant against the colonialists. When Russia occupied Afghanistan, the various *ulama* groups like *Jamiat-e Islami*, *Hisbe-i Islami*, *Harkath-e Inquilab e Islami*, etc. joined together and worked for the common cause. The conference was attended by 300 *ulama*, which constituted a *shura* of 60 members. But after the withdrawal of the Soviet forces, the unity of the *ulama* vanished and they started internal warfare, which further led to the rise of the *Taliban* (students) under the leadership of Maulana Umar (popularly known as Mullah Umar). They were basically the students of *Sharia* colleges of *Jamiat ul Ulama-i Islami* and *Madrassa-i*

⁶⁸ John L. Esposito, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Vol. IV, New York, 1995, p. 261.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 263.

Hadaniyya.⁷⁰ The *ulama* have also played a very crucial role in the recent US-Afghan war of 2001. Famous *alim* like Imam Qardavi often reminded America against going anarchic in Iraq.⁷¹

Thus the *ulama* of the Muslim society were the fountainhead of the community as ordained by the Islamic law. They were in the forefront of the community in their joys and sorrows, birth and death, peace and violence and so on. So long as the community was in peace and stability, the *ulama* cared for the cultural and educational growth of the community. As soon as the community entered in any sort of crisis or threat from inside or outside the community, the *ulama* interfered in it with their capacity of scholarship. The most powerful weapons with them were the *fatwas* and the *jihad*. Both these weapons were executed only at the right time and proper place. As a clear testimony to the prowess of *ulama*, a large number of movements and anti-colonial struggles were recorded from many Muslim countries under the leadership of the *ulama* who thus acted the role of the Prophets both in temporal and religious spheres.

The *ulama* in Indian Politics

In medieval India, during the Sultanate period, there were two broad divisions among the officials, *Ahl-i Saif* (men of the sword) and *Ahl-i Qalam*

⁷⁰T. K. Abdullah (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 409- 410.

⁷¹ *Madhyamam Daily*, 3rd June 2006.

(men of the pen). The most important section among the *Ahl-i Qalam* was the *ulama*. They practically monopolized the judicial, ecclesiastical and educational services of the state.⁷² They also established matrimonial alliances with the ruling houses, purchased property and emulated the nobles in leading a luxurious life. Traditions have thus classified them as *Ulama-i Dunia* and *Ulama-i Akhira*; *Ulama-i Dunia* lived for worldly gains while the latter devoted themselves to religious services and God's pleasure.⁷³

During the medieval times the *ulama* were indispensable allies of the Sultans of Delhi. Positions and powers were granted to them. Muslim rulers appointed them *Qazis*, *Muftis*, and *Sadrs*.⁷⁴ They were well versed in Arabic language. Thus they became the custodians of religious knowledge. They exercised the right to proclaim *fatwa* on every issue and interpret *Tafsir* and *Hadith*.⁷⁵ They also held high posts like *Sadr-i Jahan* or *Sadr-us Sudur*,⁷⁶ *Qazil Quzat*⁷⁷ etc. They discharge their duties without fear or favour and even dared to question the Sultans in power. When Iltutmish ascended the throne, a group of *ulama* led by *Qazi Wajih ud din Kashani* approached him to ascertain whether he had been properly manumitted. Understanding the

⁷² D. N. Jha, *Aristocracy in Medieval India*, Delhi, 1993, p. 42.

⁷³ K. A. Nizami, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

⁷⁴ Head of the department of theology.

⁷⁵ Mubarak Ali, *op.cit.*, 1996, p. 14.

⁷⁶ Chief officer in charge of religious endowments and charities.

⁷⁷ The post of chief justice in Islam.

purpose of their visit Iltutmish placed the letter of manumission before them.⁷⁸

There were instances of independent *ulama* and sufis criticizing the rulers for their excesses or actions contrary to the *Sharia*. There were also *ulama* who issued *fatwa* in favour of Sultans for fear of loss of position in the government. The *ulama* also enjoyed high positions during the Mughals as under the Sultans of Delhi. They constituted a powerful segment of the bureaucracy.⁷⁹ In the Mughal period the *ulama* were more dominant than the Sufis. Both Akbar and Aurenghezeb tried to win their support to raise their royal status.⁸⁰

After the establishment of the British rule in India the *ulama* did not feel the changes for long and made no protest. They were in fact friendly to the British and to the changes that they had brought about. They encouraged the Muslims, to learn English language, to have social intercourse with the Christians and even to wear western dress.

This moderate stand of the *ulama* might have been due to the non-interference policy followed by the British. An analytical study of the stand of the *ulama* would bring out the fact that the *ulama* had been slow to react to the British rule. It was, perhaps, because the East India Company had only

⁷⁸ 'Ajaibul Afsar' Volume II, p. 52, quoted in K. A. Nizami *op.cit.*, p. 152.

⁷⁹ B. D. Metcalfe, *op.cit.*, p. 18

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 22.

very gradually departed from the medieval *modus vivendi* between the religious and political establishment. Regulation II of 1772 provided that in all suits regarding inheritance, succession, marriage, caste and other customs and institutions of Muslims, the law of the *Quran* would be invariably adhered to. Until 1790 penal justice in Bengal continued to be dispensed according to the revised *Sharia* norms of Aurengzeb's time. But in the last decade of the 18th century and in the first decade of the 19th century, the East India Company began legislation to substitute its own rules of evidence, definitions of offences and penalties for those of the *Sharia*. The leading Delhi scholar Shah Abdul Aziz (1746-1824), son of Shah Waliyullah, protested against this interference with the substantive content of the Islamic Holy Law. He issued a *fatwa* declaring those areas of Northern India under British supremacy, to be *Dar ul Harb*⁸¹ (the abode of war).⁸² In the *fatwa* he stated, "In this city (Delhi), the Imam ul Muslimin wields no authority. The real power rests with Christian officers."⁸³

The British educational reforms, reorganizations of the law courts, growth of local governments, the spread of secular ideas and above all the separation of religion from government weakened the power of the *ulama* and

⁸¹ Abode of war.

⁸² Shah Abdul Aziz, *Fatwa i Azizi*, part I, Delhi, 1311/ 1893 – 4, p. 17, quoted in P. Hardy, *The Muslims of British India*, Cambridge, 1972, pp. 50-51.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

steadily reduced their influence on the Muslim society.⁸⁴ In his address to the first congress of *Nadwat ul Ulama* in April 1895 Maulana Shibli lamented, “Gentlemen, in the days of the Muslim rule the worldly as well as the religious affairs of the Muslims were in the hands of the *ulama*. The reins of the affairs of the community relating to both this and the next world were in the hands of the *ulama*. Now those things have changed and worldly affairs have come under the authority of the (British) government.”⁸⁵

The *ulama* were of the opinion that the Christian missionaries with the help of the British Government were bent upon destroying Islam. There were none but *ulama* to defend Islam at this juncture. But, they too were weak. They were not well organized. So they had to put up religious seminaries and Madrassa as bastions of defence. Thus was started the Madrassa Movement, which also helped in the intellectual awakening of the Muslim community.⁸⁶

Another important reason for the *ulama*’s wrath against the British was sociological. During the Muslim regime they enjoyed high status and privileges. They also controlled the judiciary. With the British occupation, they lost both the social and political status and suffered a great economic setback. The centres of trade and crafts were ruined. They became ardent enemies of the British enbloc and came to the forefront of the freedom

⁸⁴ Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India*, New Delhi, 1985, p. 21.

⁸⁵ Francis Robinson, *Separatism Among Indian Muslims; The Politics of the United Provinces Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge, 1924, p. 354.

⁸⁶ Maqbool Ahmad, ‘Madrassa System of Education and Indian Muslim Society’ in S T Lokhand Walla (ed.), *India in the Contemporary Islam*, Simla, 1971 pp. 25-36.

struggle. In the struggle for independence no other group could rival the proud role played by the *ulama*.⁸⁷ A number of *ulama* groups like *Faraizis*, *Taaiyunis*, *Ahl-I Hadith* and *Tariqa-i Mohammadiyyah* took the lead in the early phase of the struggle.⁸⁸

Maulawi Pir Shariatullah of Faridpur and his son Muhammad Muhsin alias Dadu Mian led the *Faraizi Movement* in Eastern Bengal while Nasir Ali alias Titu Mir put up fight in the Western part of Bengal.⁸⁹ Pir Shariatullah who stayed in Makkah for 20 years preached revolutionary doctrines against the British. On his arrival he found that India had become *Dar ul Harb* (a land of war) where a Muslim could not live. He declared, "As long as his country was under non-Muslim rule, it was to be considered a *Dar ul Harb* and that the congregational prayers such as those offered on occasions like *Jumu'ath* and *Id* remaining prohibited there."⁹⁰ Thus he implicitly called upon the Muslims to participate in *jihad* and said that congregational prayers could be held only after India had been converted to *Dar ul Islam*.⁹¹ Hence it was a *farz*

⁸⁷ Hakim al Islam Hazrat Maulana Qari Muhammad Tayyib, Sayyid Mahboob Rizwi (trans. Eng.), *History of Dar ul Uloom, Deoband- The Great Religious Achievements of the Muslims of the Subcontinent*, Volume I, 1980, Deoband, p. 243. Speech delivered by Vice Chancellor of Deoband Dar ul Uloom, on the night of 14th August 1947 appended in the last. No: I.

⁸⁸ Kenneth W. Jones, *New Cambridge History of India Volume-III, Socio Religious Movements in British India*, Cambridge, 1994, p. 24.

⁸⁹ Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 12.

⁹⁰ P. Hardy, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

⁹¹ *Pakistan Historical Conference Proceedings*, Lahore, 1955, pp. 175-77 [AMU Collections].

(obligatory duty) upon the Muslims to oust the British.⁹² The movement was as much directed against exploitation by landlords as against impure encumbrances. Its leader Dadu Mian came into conflict with both Hindu and Muslim landlords. With the object of fighting the British, he led many peasant uprisings in 1833, 1841, 1844 and 1846.

The Delhi *ulama* being followers of Shah Waliyullah, played a militant anti-colonial role and thus it is important to note that despite fierce opposition from separatist elements from amongst their co-religionists, they continued to support the nationalist movement led by the Indian National Congress.

There were strong methods to popularize the *Wahabi movement*. Sayyid Ahmed of Bareilly formed a central body consisting of Maulana Rafiudhin, Maulana Abdul Qadir, Maulana Abdul Ghani, Maulana Ismail Shahid, Maulana Mohammed Ishaq and Maulana Abdul Hai of Delhi. The liberation of India from British control and converting it into *Dar ul Islam* from *Dar ul Harb* had become their immediate goal.⁹³

Maulawi Ahmedullah Shah of Faizabad, popularly known as Dunka Shah, was an uncompromising patriot who mobilized the people against the British in his own way. For this purpose he toured widely through Patna, Calcutta, Delhi, Meerut, Lucknow, Kalpi, Banda, and Bareilly. He gathered

⁹² Thus it assumed the name *Faraizi Movement*. Shan Muhammad, *Muslims and India's Freedom Movement*, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 5-6.

⁹³ Hussain Ahmad Madani, *Naqsha-i Hayat* (Urdu), Deoband, 1954, p. 71.

the people by distributing *chapattis* and preached the need of waging war against the British.⁹⁴

On 16th April 1816, Mufti Muhammed Iwaz led a movement against the heavy taxes imposed by the British on the peasants. When the authorities came to his house for collecting tax, a large number of his followers gathered near his house and intercepted the tax collectors. To overcome this hurdle, the Magistrate Dumpleton ordered to fire at the crowd, which resulted in the killing of several people. Thereafter, the Mufti led the people to a garden, Hussainy Bagh and declared *jihad*.

Thus, prior to the revolt of 1857 a line of *ulama* realized the ulterior aims of the British and prepared the people against their rule. Most of them asserted the need of *jihad* against the British, since the British posed a threat to the existence of their religion. Sayyid Ahmad Bareily and Shah Ismail even compared Muslim position in British India to that of Jews under the Pharaohs of Egypt.⁹⁵

Revolt of 1857

By the mid of the 19th century *jihad* became synonymous with national war against alien rule. The call for *jihad* issued by the *ulama* thus overcame all religious barriers during 1857. From religious point of view it was not

⁹⁴ Maulawi Ahmedullah Shah of Faizabad, *Indian History Congress 64th session Bareily, Souvenir*, p. 38.

⁹⁵ *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XI, 1964, p. 356.

binding upon the Hindus or the *Shias* to join the *jihad* proclaimed by the *Sunni ulama*, but their cultural and national affiliation was so strong that they responded to the call whole heartedly.⁹⁶

During the revolt of 1857, the *ulama* took an active role in mobilizing the people against the British authorities. Maulana Fasl-e Haq Khairabadi addressed a congregation of Mussalman in Jama Masjid, Delhi and called upon them to fight against the British. He, along with Maulawi Abdul Qadir, Qazi Fayiz Ahmed Badayuni, Dr. Wazir Akbarabadi, Maulawi Mubarak Ali Ranpuri and Mufti Sadruddin issued a *fatwa*. It inspired the people to join the movement in large numbers and consequently Delhi became mutinous. Ninety thousand people assembled in Delhi to fight against the British. In the fight, that ensued, Sayyid Nabi Baksh Saharenpuri, Qazi Wazir Ali, Sayyid Karam Ali Akbarabadi, Maulawi Faiz Ahmed Usmani Badayuni, Sayyid Mubarak Ali Ranpuri, Sayyid Gulam Ali Amrohi and others⁹⁷ who led the revolt were done to death.⁹⁸ According to Kamaludhin Hyder about 27,000 Muslims were sentenced to death.⁹⁹ The sufferings that followed were indescribable. Lord Elphinston wrote to Sir John Lawrence that, after the siege was over, the outrages committed by our army are simply disheartening. A wholesale

⁹⁶ Mujeeb Ashraf, *Muslim Attitude Towards British Rule and Western Culture in India*, Delhi, 1982, p. 176.

⁹⁷ Shan Mohammed, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 22-23.

⁹⁹ P. C. Joshi, '1857 in Our History' in P.C. Joshi (ed.), *Rebellion of 1857-A symposium*, Delhi, 1986, pp. 163-164.

vengeance is being taken without distinction of friend or foe.¹⁰⁰ During this time, the *ulama* issued another proclamation that friendship with the Christians is heresy. It states, "He who has friendship with a Christian is by no means a Mussalman. Hence it is the duty of all Mussalmans to make themselves inveterate foes of these Christians."¹⁰¹ The Proclamation was translated into Hindi and Urdu and was pasted on all the principal walls of the city inviting the citizens to unite and exterminate all Europeans. Consequently the Muslim population assembled in large numbers at all the mosques and afterwards staged an anti-British demonstration in the city, calling upon all good Mussalmans and Hindus to rise in revolt against the British.¹⁰²

Maulawi Ahmedullah and Begum Hazrat Mahal of Awadh were staunch supporters of the national cause. Maulawi Ahmedullah appeared in Lucknow and openly declared a holy war against the English. He had resolved to fight the English who were uprooting the very foundation of Islam in India. In association with Mufti Inamullah he constituted a body of *ulama*, consisting of Maulana Gulam Imam Shahid, Maulawi Sheikh Aeytiqad Ali Beg, Maulawi Imam Buksh Sahbai, Maulawi Kwaja Turab Ali, Maulawi Noorul Hasan, Sayyid Masatib Ali, Maulana Gulam Gilani, Maulawi Tufail Ahmed Khairabadi, Maulana Mohamed Qasim Danapuri, Maulawi Fazl

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 23.

¹⁰¹ Kamta Choubey, *Muslims and Freedom Movement in India*, Allahabad, 1960, p. 2.

¹⁰² Freedom Struggle in Uttar Pradesh (Source Material), Vol. II Awadh, 1857-59, pp. 7-8, quoted in *Ibid*, p. 25.

Ahmed Badayuni, Dr. Wazir Khan and Maulawi Karimullah Shah for the purpose.¹⁰³ Under Ahmedullah's inspiring personality, thousands of Hindus and Muslims vowed to sacrifice their lives to emancipate the country from the British. He left for Faizabad with an army of *Mujahids* but was incidentally caught by the British. The revolt of 1857 being suppressed, the other leaders like Qazi Sarfaraz Ali Jaunpuri, Maulana Fazl-e-Haq Khairabadi, Maulawi Inayat Ali Kakori, Maulawi Karimullah, Sayyid Akbar Zaman Akbarabadi, Munshi Ismail Hasan, Muneer Shikohabadi and Mirza Wilayet Hussain of Banda and others were arrested and either hanged or exiled to Andaman.¹⁰⁴ In the post revolt period several prominent *ulama* and hundreds of their supporters were blown to pieces by cannon, while others were deported to the penal settlement at the Andamans. Among the first batch of prisoners to arrive at Andaman include such well-known *ulama* leaders of the revolt like Mufti Mazhar Karim of Delhi and Munshi Inayat Ahmed of Lucknow. Later hundreds of *Maulawis* followed them. Maulawi Fazal-e Haq Khairabadi wrote *Risala-e Ghaddariyyah* during his imprisonment in Andaman.¹⁰⁵ The work discloses the cruelties suffered by the *ulama* during the revolt.

In spite of all these suppressions, the *ulama* made isolated protests against the British. Several conspiracies were hatched up against the British. Despite being kept in top secrecy, the British intelligence unearthed their

¹⁰³ Shan Muhammad, *op cit.*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 25-27.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 23.

conspiracy. Many of them were arrested and tried at Ambala (1864) and Patna (1865) and they were punished under section 121 of the Penal Code. In these trials more than a dozen *ulama*, prominent being Maulawi Yahya Ali, Maulawi Muhammad Jafer, Maulawi Abdul Rahim, Maulawi Muhammad Shafi, Maulawi Abdul Karim, Maulawi Amirudhin, Maulawi Abdul Gaffar, Qazi Mian Jan, Maulawi Ahmedullah and Elahi Bux were either sentenced to death or transported for life to the Andaman.¹⁰⁶

After the revolt of 1857, Muslims were largely alienated from the government. Moreover, some acts of the Hindu leaders strengthened Muslim hatred towards the British. Though both Muslims and Hindus participated in the revolt jointly and sincerely, its effects were bitterer to the Muslims than to the Hindus. It was because of the fact that the British generally held the Muslims responsible for instigating the anti-British movement and made them special targets of their vengeance.¹⁰⁷

Dayananda Saraswathy, the founder of Arya Samaj in his work '*Satyarth Prakash*' condemned and attacked Islam.¹⁰⁸ Editions after editions of the work were sold out in the country. It increased bitterness among different religious groups, particularly between Hindus and Muslims.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁷ P. Hardy, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

¹⁰⁸ Kenneth W. Jones, *op.cit.*, p. 97.

¹⁰⁹ Mushirul Haq, 'The *Ulema* and the Indian Politics', *Islam and Modern Age*, (Quarterly), Vol. X, No. 4. November, 1979, Delhi, p. 77.

Besides, he published *Gokarunanidhi* on the theme of cow protection Association.¹¹⁰ These works of Dayananda Saraswathy instilled a strong sense of hatred in the Muslim minds. The Muslims sensed the British instigation behind such works and became suspicious of both the Hindus and the British.¹¹¹

Dar ul Uloom Deoband

The *ulama* by and large were silent for a short while due to the inhuman atrocities they faced after the revolt. Meanwhile realizing their strength and silence the British officials made attempts to appease them by appointing some *ulama* in high posts. Despite the British attempt to woo the *ulama*, they remained irreconcilable to imperialism. They were quite cognizant of the harm the British caused to the Muslims. They considered it their duty to protect them and the country from imminent danger.

Moreover, modern education and the modern educated reduced the chances of the traditionally educated *ulama* to government posts. During the early British period, both religious and secular educations were provided under the same roof. With the starting of non-Madrassa type of schools by the government, the graduates of the Madrassa found it difficult to get any important position in the government. Moreover, the British government

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 78.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 79.

showed no interest in supporting the old Muslim educational system. All these led to the establishment of *Dar ul Uloom* in Deoband in 1865.¹¹²

Besides, *Dar ul Uloom* had a strong political background. Following the 1857debacle, Maulana Imdadullah at Shamili¹¹³ of Muzaffer Nagar, started a *jihadi* movement against the British. He was the *Imam* or the *Amin* of the movement. Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanutavi and Maulana Rashid Ahmed Gangohi acted as the commander and the *Qazi* of the movement respectively.¹¹⁴ The authorities hunted them down. Imdadullah fled to Makkah and led the movement there.

According to Ubaidullah Sindhi, Imdadullah at Makkah was guiding the Indian branch of *Waliyullah- i Movement*, the goal of which was to establish an *adil* (just) government in India.¹¹⁵ Though Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanutavi managed to escape from arrest, Rashid Ahmad Gangohi was arrested and jailed. He was released after six months since the government failed to prove the charges levelled against him. After release Rashid Ahmad and others out of the rising nationalist fervour decided to found a religious seminary, which became *Dar ul Uloom* of Deoband in 1865. Later it

¹¹² Lik Arifin Mansurnoor, 'Ulama in the Changing Society: A Re- examination of the Deoband Movement,' *Islamic Culture* (quarterly) Vol. LXIV, October 1990, pp. 83-101.

¹¹³ A place in U P with its large number of *ulama* and religious institutions, as Ponnani in Malabar.

¹¹⁴ Ziaul Hasan Farouqi, *The Deoband School and the Demand for Pakistan*, Bombay, 1963, p. 21.

¹¹⁵ Mushirul Haq, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

developed into a movement, which had direct contact with the pan-Islamic view of Jamaludhin Afghani. Rashid Ahmed Ganghohi's *fatwa* entitled *Nusrat-ul Ahrar* called upon the Muslims to support the Congress and to declare *jihad* against the illegitimate rule of the Britishers.¹¹⁶

Dar ul Uloom had a great role in moulding the Muslim politics of India. Its objectives were the following:

- Exalt the words of God.
- Extend contact with the Muslims in order to organize them for leading their life according to the original Islamic principles.
- Non-co-operation with the government.
- Strictly follow the teachings of Shah Waliyullah.
- Avoid aristocratic and despotic ways and to work through co-operation and mutual consultation.¹¹⁷

Deoband *ulama* were vehemently against English education, Western culture and their domination over Eastern land. They longed to liberate the Asian countries in order to bring about the moral and religious regeneration of the Muslim community. The *Deobandis*¹¹⁸ even in times of great communal

¹¹⁶ Hussain Ahmad Madani, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

¹¹⁷ Mushirul Haq, *op.cit.*, p.15.

¹¹⁸ Deoband *ulama* hereafter called as Deobandis.

dissentions upheld the cause of National Solidarity and Independence.¹¹⁹ Soon Deoband developed as a channeling centre of Indian *ulama* against the British domination. The leading *Deobandi*, Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan, established close contact with the *ulama* of the North West Frontier. His plan was to spread a network of campaign against the English from Afghanistan to India.¹²⁰ Ubaidullah Sindhi, a nationalist *alim* started a universal Islamic movement against the British in India among the graduates of Deoband. Thus the *Deobandis* had always been not only in the forefront of the freedom struggle but also as Qari Muhammad Tayyib put it, were the pioneers, who initiated this very idea of Indian Independence.¹²¹

Though the *ulama* were in the forefront of the movement, their aim was never an Islamic government but an *adil* government. Discussing the nature of such a government, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani said, "The *ulama* of India, after the disintegration of the Mughal power, were only interested in a just (*adil*) ruler, whether he was a Muslim or a non-Muslim. They only wanted to liberate their country (*watan*) from the British---. We are the inhabitants of India; so far as we are Indians, we have one thing in

¹¹⁹ Tarachand, *History of the Freedom Movement in India*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1961, pp.382-383.

¹²⁰ Hakim al Islam Hazrat Maulana Qari Muhammad Tayyib, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, 1981, p. 136.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, Vol. I, p. 390. Khan Abdul Gaffar *Khan*, during his visit to India in 1969, addressing the students of *Dar ul Uloom* said, "Sitting here with Sheikh ul Hind Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan, we used to make plans for the independence movement as to how we might drive away the English from this country and how we could make India free from the yoke of slavery of the English.

common i.e. our Indianness.”¹²² The *ulama* wished to see India independent from the British rule and were of the opinion that it could be possible only if the Hindus and the Muslims were united. Ubaidullah and his companions had even chalked out a plan for a provisional government at the dissolution of the British government. According to this plan Mahendra Pratap¹²³ was to be the President and Barkathullah to be the Prime minister.¹²⁴

The Khilafat Movement

In 1913, Maulana Muhammad Ali organized a movement called *Anjuman Khuddam-i ka'aba*¹²⁵ for the safety of Khilafat. The objectives of the organization were to defend the holy places from non-Muslim aggression, to prepare its members ready to sacrifice their lives and property for this objective.¹²⁶ The *ulama* used the Khilafat issue to turn the whole society against the British authorities. Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi wrote to Abdul Bari that if Muslims wanted to liberate *Ka'aba* they would have to liberate India first. The political emancipation of India was a religious duty.¹²⁷

¹²² Mushirul Haq, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

¹²³ Raja Mahendra Pratap was the local Chieftain of Muthra District and in 1914 he went to Europe and made moves with the enemies of Britain. When the *ulama* went ahead with the plan of a provisional government, Mahendra Pratap was projected as its president, which also shows the secular fabric of the *ulama* in the Indian politics.

¹²⁴ Hakim al Islam Hazrat Maulana Qari Muhammad Tayyib, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 138.

¹²⁵ Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 133. See also P.C. Bamford, *Historians of Khilafat and Non-Co-Operation Movements*, Delhi, 1985, p. 113.

¹²⁶ P.C. Bamford, *op.cit.*, p. 113.

¹²⁷ Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 30.

In 1913, Maulana Shibli Numani started a new movement known as *Dar-ul Musannifin*. Its objective was the propagation of Khilafat ideas through the publication and translation of historical, religious and scientific works. But like many other Muslim institutions, it also used to foster Pan-Islamism thanks to the influence of Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi.¹²⁸ A large number of works were published, translated and made available to the masses through which it imparted the spirit of Islam and the need for fighting against the British.

When the Ottoman Khilafat was shaken during the First World War, Muslim community rose up and started large-scale mass movements the world over. The *ulama* convinced the people that the Khalif was the viceroy of the Prophet of Islam and he was both the spiritual and the temporal head.¹²⁹ The shock of the dissolution of Khilafat even tempted the leaders like Maulana Muhammad Ali to think of committing suicide.¹³⁰ To fight for the Khilafat an All India Khilafat Committee was formed in November 1919.¹³¹ Maulana Abdul Bari, Maulana Muhammad Ali, Maulana Shoukat Ali, Maulana Hazrat Mohani, Maulana Tanaullah Amritsari, Maulana Abul Kalam

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹³⁰ Muhammad Ali, 'My life a Fragment' pp. 37-38.

¹³¹ K. Hussain, *Swathanthryam Vibhajanathil* (Mal.), Calicut, 1986, p. 198.

Azad, Maulana Kifayatullah, Sayyid Hasan, Maulana Fakhir Ilahabadi and Maulana Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi were the leaders of the committee.¹³²

Maulawi Kifayatullah, one of the Central Khilafat Committee members declared that in Islam, religion and politics are not two separate entities. The *ulama* should take up the reins of politics also.¹³³ Thus with the inspiration of the *ulama*, Muslims throughout India observed 17th October 1919 as the Khilafat day. In February 1920, Central Khilafat Committee at Bombay called upon the Muslims to observe fasting on 19th March 1920.¹³⁴

During this time Gandhiji was attracted towards Khilafat movement, which got integrated into the Non-co-operation movement. Accepting Gandhiji's leadership, Maulana Shoukat Ali declared, "I tell you that to kill and be killed in the way of God are both *Satyagraha*."¹³⁵ It shows his loyalty towards and acceptability of Gandhiji's teachings on the one hand and the spirit for Islamic armed *jihad* on the other. This was a high mark of Hindu-Muslim co-operation in the Indian National Movement.

The call for *jihad* sounded the death knell of British rule in India. The Governor of Bengal nervously reported to the Governor General of India that

¹³² P. Hardy, *op.cit.*, p. 193.

¹³³ Qazi Abdul Ghaffar, '*Hayat-i Ajmal*', Aligarh, 1950, p. 91, quoted in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 28.

¹³⁴ Notice is appended in the last. No: II.

¹³⁵ Speech at Shahjahanpur, May 5 1920, Quoted by G. Krishna, "The Khilafat Movement," *JRAS*, 1968, p. 49.

the Muslim divines (*ulama*) were busy traveling all over Eastern Bengal enjoining the faithful to perform *jihad*.¹³⁶ The leaders of the *Majlis-ul Ulama* of Madras toured the entire presidency to ignite Muslim emotions on the Khilafat issue. In May 1920, the *ulama* Association of United Provinces sent students to preach *jihad* in the mofussils. The Khilafatist *ulama* urged the believers to wage *jihad* against the government and to boycott foreign goods. Supporting the call for *jihad* they issued *fatwa* freely quoting from the *Quran* and *Hadith*.¹³⁷ Maulana Abdul Bari issued a *fatwa* on Non co-operation and declared that to support the British government was *haram* (forbidden) to a Muslim.¹³⁸ Responding to the call a large number of Muslim lawyers gave up their legal practice and boycotted foreign goods because the theory of Non co-operation was presented before them as a religious dictum.¹³⁹

A group of *ulama* under Hazrat Mohani took a more militant view. They declared that if martial law was imposed, Muslims would have to abandon Non co-operation and to face bullets and bayonets.¹⁴⁰ On the failure of Muhammed Ali's delegations to Britain, the *ulama* took stronger steps against the British. Muslims were asked by the nationalist *ulama* to sacrifice themselves for the cause of religion. It is noteworthy that *ulama* took the

¹³⁶ Diary of Earl of Ronald Shay, 16 May 1919, Ronald Shay papers, MSS EUR.D 609[1] IOL Quoted in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 29.

¹³⁷ Mushirul Hasan, *Ibid*.

¹³⁸ Afsal Iqbal, *Life and Times of Maulana Muhammad Ali*, Lahore-1978, pp. 240-41.

¹³⁹ Mushirul Haq, 'The Authority of Religion in Indian Muslim Politics' in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 420.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 32

initiative for communal amity. When a group of the *ulama* objected to Gandhiji's leadership, Abdul Bari strongly argued for a multi-religious movement with Gandhiji as its leader. He even went to the extent of supporting the move against cow slaughter.¹⁴¹

Some *Deobandis* thought to seek support from their counterparts in Turkey. Maulana Mahmud ul Hasan of Deoband went to Hijaz and met Ghalib Pasha, the Turkish Governor and Anwar Pasha, Turkey's Minister of war and prepared a plan of action for the liberation India. Sherif Hussain, the ruler of Makkah who had been watching them keenly, at the instance of the British officials caught Mahmud ul Hasan and handed him over to the British. The British interned him at Malta¹⁴² for over four years from 1917-1920.¹⁴³ As soon as he returned to India, he joined the Khilafat movement and issued a *fatwa*-supporting Non co-operation against the British government, which engendered great agitation in the country.¹⁴⁴

Hijrat Movement

The Allahabad session of *Khilafat-Ulama* Conference (June 1920) declared British India a *Dar ul Harb* and proposed *hijrat* (migration) to Afghanistan. Maulana Abdul Bari gave a ruling that if anyone felt that he

¹⁴¹ Prabha Dixit, 'Political Objectives of Khilafat Movement', in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Ibid*, p. 67.

¹⁴² During his internship he wrote *Asir-i Malta* describing the hardships he suffered in the jail.

¹⁴³ Gail Minault, *The Khilafat Movement, Religious Symbolism and Political Mobilization in India*, Delhi, 1999, p.104.

¹⁴⁴ Hakim al Islam Hazrat Maulana Qari Muhammad Tayyib, *op.cit.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

could not discharge his religious duties freely under a non-Muslim government, he should migrate to a Muslim country. He also stated that in certain cases migration was even *wajib* (incumbent) on Muslims.¹⁴⁵ Maulana Azad also issued a *fatwa* to the same effect.¹⁴⁶ Thus the *Hijrat* movement started. Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi went to Afghanistan and worked with German and Turkish agents to stir up tribesmen against the British in the North West Frontier Province.¹⁴⁷ It was estimated that about 20,000 persons sold their lands and properties at throw away prices and migrated to Afghanistan.¹⁴⁸ Having neither property nor employment, their rehabilitation was difficult. Among the early emigrants only a few persons with special skills were absorbed. Meanwhile the *Amir* of Afghanistan, at the instigation of the British, turned against the emigrants and ordered them to retreat. When they reached their native places they found themselves totally ruined.¹⁴⁹ But they bore all sufferings in the cause of their faith.

Jam'iyyat ul Ulama -i Hind

In November 1919, *ulama* from *Deoband* and *Frangi Mahal*¹⁵⁰ founded the *Jam'iyyat-ul Ulama-i Hind* (society of *ulama* in India). Mufti

¹⁴⁵ Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi- *Ulema in Politics, A Study Relating to the Political Activities of the Ulema in the South Asian Sub Continent from 1556-1947*, Delhi, 1998, p. 265.

¹⁴⁶ Gail Minault, *op.cit.*, p. 106.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 107.

¹⁴⁸ Ishtiaq Hussain Qureshi, *op.cit.*, p. 267.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ For details Iqbal Hussain, 'From Traditional Roots to Nationalism-a History of the Frangi Mahal Family', *Islamic Culture Quarterly*, Vol. LXXIV July 2000. pp. 1-32.

Kifayatullah and Maulana Ahmad Said were elected the President and the Secretary of the *Jam'iyat* respectively.¹⁵¹ The *Jam'iyat* was to act as a link between the Khilafat Committee and the *ulama*.¹⁵² It was the time when Gandhiji was elevated to the leadership of the Indian National Congress. The advent of Gandhiji to the leadership held out hopes to the *ulama*.¹⁵³ The aims of the *Jam'iyat* were the following

- Religiously train the Muslims both in politics and non-political affairs.
- Protect Islam, its centres, rituals and Islamic identity according to *Sharia*.
- Obtain and protect political and religious rights of Muslims.
- Bring the *ulama* to the public life.
- Organize the Muslims on moral basis.
- Establish harmony with the non-Muslims.
- Fight for the liberation of faith and nation on religious line.
- Solve the problems of the community by establishing *Sharia* courts etc.¹⁵⁴

They also had a leading role in the Khilafat issue. Under the auspices of *Jam'iyat*, Maulana Abdul Bari managed to secure a unanimous *fatwa* on

¹⁵¹ Sayyid Muhammad Miyan, *Jam'iyat ul Ulama Kya Hai*, (Urdu), U P Public Division, n.d. pp. 9-10. See also, Minault Gail, *op.cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁵² Minault Gail, *op.cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁵³ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra Chintakal*, (Mal.) Calicut, 1981, p. 23.

¹⁵⁴ Sayyid Muhammad Miyan, *op.cit.*, p. 37, quoted in K. Hussain, *op.cit.*, p. 211-12.

the Khilafat question. The Khilafat *fatwa* stated that the Khalif need not be a *Qurayshi*¹⁵⁵ and that if anyone, *Quraysh* or not (such as Sherif Hussain) revolts against the recognized Khalif or tries to replace him, it is the duty of all Muslims to put down that rebel.¹⁵⁶

The *Jam'iyat-ul Ulama* became a guiding force both to the common mass and to the political leaders. On 24th June 1920 in its meeting of 500 *ulama* at Allahabad, the *Jam'iyat* took strong steps to which even Gandhiji objected owing to its extreme nature. The *fatwa* proposed four stages for Non-co operation.

1. Resignation of titles and honorary posts,
2. Resignation from civil services,
3. Resignation from police and army and
4. Refusal to pay taxes.¹⁵⁷

Responding to the *fatwa* of the *Jam'iyat* a large number of Muslims gave up their government posts and lawyers stopped their legal practices.¹⁵⁸ The *Jam'iyat* held that it was because of their supremacy over Muslim countries in the Middle East that the imperial England was keeping its hold

¹⁵⁵ A member from the family of the Prophet and the custodian of Holy Ka'aba at Makkah.

¹⁵⁶ Qazi Muhammad Jamshed, *Role of Jam'iyat ul Ulama in the Freedom Movement 1937-47*, unpublished Doctoral Thesis submitted in Political Science Department, A.M.U. Aligarh, 1987, p. 7.

¹⁵⁷ P.C. Bamford, *op.cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁵⁸ Mushirul Haq, 'The Authority of Religion in Indian Muslim Politics,' in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 420.

over India. Thus *Jam'iyyat* thought it to be its religious as well as national duty to fight against the British Imperialism.

In November 1920, a meeting of the *Jam'iyyat-ul Ulama* at Delhi issued a *Muttafiqa fatwa*,¹⁵⁹ signed by 900 prominent *ulama*,¹⁶⁰ which took the following historic decisions:

- It is unlawful to be member of the government council.
- It is unlawful to occupy judicial posts in government courts.
- It is unlawful to get education from the government schools or colleges aided by the government.
- It is unlawful to remain in honorary magistracy and to accept honorary ranks and titles conferred by the government.
- All government services and services with government help are *haram* (forbidden).
- Serving in the army and the police is a serious sin as they may be duty-bound to shoot their brothers about which God says in *Holy Quran Surah Nisa'*,¹⁶¹ "Whoever will intentionally kill a fellow Muslim will

¹⁵⁹ Means unanimous verdict.

¹⁶⁰ *1921 Movement, Reminiscences*, Government of India, Delhi, 1971, p.21.

¹⁶¹ *Quran*, 4: 93.

be punished in hell for ever.” The Prophet has said, “Whoever raises weapon against a Muslim will cease to be a Muslim”.¹⁶²

This *fatwa* carries the insignia of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mufti Muhammed Kifayatullah of Delhi, Maulawi Azad Subhani of Kanpur, Maulawi Muhammed Dawud of Ghazni, Maulawi Abdul Bari of Lucknow, Maulawi Sanaula of Amritsari, Maulawi Aziz-ul Rahiman Mufti of Deoband School and Shah Sulaiman Phulvari, a leading Sufi of Bihar and all the followers of Abdul Bari of *Frangi Mahal* School and many other great learned men of India.¹⁶³ The response of those concerned towards the *fatwa* was quick and phenomenal. Thirty-one policemen from Uttar Pradesh, forty from Bengal and seventeen from Bombay resigned from service and joined the Khilafat Movement.¹⁶⁴

The rising power and influence of the *Jam'iyyat-ul Ulama*, made the government take harsh measures. Many of its leaders were arrested and executed. The *fatwa* was confiscated and its sources were checked. *Jam'iyyat* could not even meet for many years after its Karachi session of 1931.¹⁶⁵ Even after five years the British authorities were not ready to let off the *Jam'iyyat*

¹⁶² Confidential Report on Non Co-operation and Khilafat Movement by Deputy Director of Intelligence Bureau, Government of India, pp.162-163. Quoted in Qazi Muhammad Jamshed, *op.cit.*, p.39. See also, *The pioneer* 30th July 1921.

¹⁶³ CID list of names of Maulawis signed the *Fatwa*, March 15, 1919 Home (pol.), A 415-26 August 1919. Qazi Muhammad Jamshed, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁴ Qazi Muhammad Jamshed, *op.cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁶⁵ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra... op.cit.*, p. 18.

leaders. On 25th December 1936 Maulawi Samiulla, an active worker of *Jam'iyyat ul Ulama* was ordered by the authorities to vacate Delhi within 24 hours under the Punjab Criminal Act.¹⁶⁶

The *Jam'iyyat* always supported the Congress. Many of its annual conferences declared its unconditional support to the Congress.¹⁶⁷ In many respects it served as the beacon light to the Congress and the national leaders. Years before the Congress adopted the resolution of total independence, the *Jam'iyyat* under the Presidentship of Maulana Sulaiman Nadwi (in 1920) had passed '*Azad i Hind*' (India Independence Resolution). The Congress took the step of Purna Swaraj only in the Lahore session of 1929.¹⁶⁸

The *Jam'iyyat* and Pakistan

It would be interesting to note that the *Jam'iyyat ul Ulama* could not be won over by the Indian Muslim League for supporting its demand for partition.¹⁶⁹ The *Jam'iyyat* leaders devoted their indefatigable energy to oppose the partition. They dreamt of a United India, which could have best solved the Hindu Muslim problems.¹⁷⁰ Thus the Muslim League treated *Jam'iyyat* as a rival group, both for its anti-partition attitude and pro-Congress approach. To the Muslim League, the members of the *Jam'iyyat ul*

¹⁶⁶ *Al-Ameen* (News paper), Book 2, Vol. 130, Calicut, 7th May 1936.

¹⁶⁷ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra...* *op.cit.*, p. 13.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 23.

¹⁶⁹ Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁷⁰ Qazi Muhammad Jamshed, *op.cit.*, p. 7. Ziaul Hasan Farouqi, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

Ulama were traitors to Islam and the mercenary agents of the Hindus.¹⁷¹ The *Al Ahrar* (literally free people) led by Maulana Ataullah Shah Bukhari of the Punjab actively opposed the Muslim League and condemned it as the party of capitalists.¹⁷²

Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani, the leading *ulama* of the *Jam'iyyat*, criticized the Pakistan demand of the Muslim League.¹⁷³ He said, "This is a time when the movement for Pakistan is gathering strength and the very basis of the movement is religious nationalism."¹⁷⁴ Because of his stand against Pakistan demand, the League vehemently attacked Maulana who paid for it in the same coin.¹⁷⁵ About Pakistan he said, "These days the Pakistan movement is in everyone's lips. If it means Islamic government, the one established by the Prophet to be formed in the Muslim majority provinces, then it is a very appreciable scheme. No Muslim would oppose it. And if its purpose is to establish some government under the British control which may be called Islamic government, then this scheme is mean and cowardly which provides the British an opportunity to divide and rule. Turkey was divided in this manner. Arabia was broken into pieces like this and the same process is manifesting itself in India too.... It is a poisonous powder for communal war

¹⁷¹ Muhammad Numan, *Muslim India Rise and Growth of All India Muslim League*, Allahabad, 1942, pp.213-214.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, p. 7.

¹⁷³ In one of his speeches at Delhi in December 1937.

¹⁷⁴ Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Miyan Sahib, *Asir- e Malta* (Urdu), Delhi, 1976, p. 7.

¹⁷⁵ Presidential address of *Jam'iyyat-ul Ulama* Session of 1940 in Jaunpur.

and it is deadly poison for peace and prosperity in India and it is a death warrant for the Muslim minority provinces.”¹⁷⁶

The *ulama* considered the opposition of and fight against the British as their religious obligation for which the co-operation of the Hindus was essential. Addressing the last session of the *Jam'iyat- ul Ulama* conference in 1920 Maulana Mahmud Hasan said, “there is no doubt that Allah (Haq Ta'ala) has made your fellow country men, the Hindu people who are greater in number in some way or the other (your) supporters in achieving such pious objective (freedom) and I consider unity and solidarity between these two communities are very beneficial and fruitful and considering the delicacy of the situation I have high regards for the leaders of the two communities (i.e. unity). Because I know that if conditions are contrary to this it would make achievement of freedom for India impossible.”¹⁷⁷

The *alim* like Maulana Abdul Bari of *Frangi Mahal* School supported Gandhiji in the Rowlat Satyagraha and submitted to his leadership. In 1919, during the Khilafat agitation, he wrote to Gandhiji, “Thanks are due to your kind special attention for the success of Hindu Muslim unity. Your personality and behaviour are deeply affecting the Muslims in general and religious sections in particular. A group of *ulama* have written to me specially

¹⁷⁶ Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Miyan Sahib, *Ulama-e Haq*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1948, p. 113-14, quoted in Asghar Ali Engineer, *Role of Minorities op.cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁷⁷ Maulana Sayyid Muhammad Miyan Saheb, *Asir-e Malta*, Delhi, 1976, p. 59, quoted in Asghar Ali Engineer, *Role of Minorities op.cit.*, pp. 4 -5.

to pay their homage to you.”¹⁷⁸ Maulana also declared in November 1920, “I have accepted his (Gandhiji’s) support in getting our aims fulfilled for that purpose. I think it is necessary to follow his advice.... I know that the strength of Islam lies in association with him.”¹⁷⁹

The cordial relation with Gandhiji did not last long. When Gandhiji suspended the Civil Disobedience Movement following the incident of Chauri Chaura, the *Jam’iyyat* leaders became disappointed and criticized him bitterly. The immediate result of this was the disappearance of the *ulama* from the national scene.¹⁸⁰

On the eve of independence, some leading *ulama* founded the *Jam’iyyat-ul Ulama i Islam* in collaboration with the Muslim League. Maulana Shabbier Ahmad Usmani of Deoband was its president. Thus both the Congress and the League had their own separate *Jam’iyyat* groups in India. Both of them justified their cause on the basis of *Sharia*. Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani tried to prove the theory of one nation with the help of *Quran* and *Hadith*. He wrote in his work, ‘*Hamara Hindustan our uske fazail*’ (Our India and her greatness) that it was in India that Adam had

¹⁷⁸ Abdul Bari to Gandhiji, n.d. Frangi Mahal Papers [F.M], Lucknow, quoted in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 33.

¹⁸⁰ *Jam’iyyat* was divided with its headquarters one at Bedaun and another at Kanpur. Tabligh and Tansim movements were also started. For details see, Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, *Hamara Hindusthan our Uske Fazail*, Delhi, 1941.

descended from the heaven.¹⁸¹ During the general election of 1945, the nationalist *ulama* made a frantic appeal to the other group of Muslim voters not to cast their vote in favour of Pakistan. At the same time the pro-partition group tried to canvass among the Muslims, in favour of Pakistan.

In short the *ulama* of India in general were *par excellence* with their counterpart in the world. As they enjoyed high posts and powers during the Muslim rule, they concerned the welfare of the community their prime duty. At the rise of British rule, they took vigilant steps and organized many movements and outbreaks at different places. The revolt of 1857, thus, was marked with the presence of a large number of *ulama* in the warfront. Thus the *ulama* were the group that suffered most in the post revolt period. Despite all the persecutions, they continued their campaign with different institutions such as the *Deoband* and the *Frangi Mahal* schools of learning. It was the *ulama* of India who stood in the forefront¹⁸² of the Khilafat movement and worked hard to make it an international issue. They ardently declared the *ahimsa*, Non co-operation and boycott preached by Gandhiji as the only means to achieve success. Besides, an organization was founded to boost the activities of the Indian National Congress. It also emphatically declared its stand of a unified and united independent India.

¹⁸¹ Maulana Hussain Ahmed Madani, *op.cit.*, quoted in Qazi Muhammad Jamshed, *op.cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁸² To the spirit of the *ulama* paid to the freedom of the country. See Speech of the Vice Chancellor of Deoband. Appendix, No: I.

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CHAPTER III

THE *ULAMA* IN MALABAR

Contact between India and the Arab world got established in the wake of Arab trade.¹ The earliest reference to the Arab trade with Malabar goes to the period of King Solomon. It is mentioned in the Book of Kings that the sailors of King Solomon used to reach Port Ophir,² which is identified as Beypore of Kozhikode district.³ The Arabs called this land as *Malaibar*. The works of pre-Islamic poets like Imrul Qays and Tarafa refers to the land of spices and its products. Imrul Qays has compared the excreta of a deer with seeds of pepper.⁴ Tarafa writes “a double edged dagger made in the Indian style would be found hanging in my waist.”⁵ Arab geographer, Baladhuri also testifies to the fact that the Prophet, his wives, and companions used many Indian goods like camphor, ginger and swords.⁶ Abu Huraira, a close disciple of the Prophet reports that, an Indian King presented a jar of pickles to the Prophet; he served it among his companions in pieces; I too tasted a piece from it.⁷

¹ S. Maqbool Ahmad, ‘Commercial Relations of India With the Arab world’ in *Islamic Culture*, (Quarterly), Volume 36, 1964, p. 132.

² *Holy Bible*, 1 Kings 9:26- 28.

³ Some scholars identified it the Puvar of Tiruvananthapuram district. See G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*, Princeton, 1951, p. 25.

⁴ Mankada Abdul Aziz Maulawi, *Chandrika Weekly* 9th September 1995, p. 2.

⁵ Imam Bukhari, *Sahihul Bukhari* (Ara.), C. N. Ahmad Maulawi, (Trans. Mal.), Calicut, 1970, p. 21.

⁶ Qazi Athar Mubarakpuri, *Al Iqdu ssamin* (Ara.), Bombay, n.d. p. 18.

⁷ Imam Hakim, in Volume IV, *Al Musthadrak*, p. 135.

Foundation of Baghdad as the capital of the Abbasid Empire helped to promote the Indo-Arab trade.⁸ In this trading activity, Malabar coastal emporia played a major role. The rulers of the land warmly welcomed the Arab traders and the Arab settlements, which emerged in the coastal areas.⁹ It is noteworthy that the references to South India in the Arab literature are larger in number than those to North India.¹⁰ It was in the wake of this active trade that Islam was introduced to the Malabar.

By the middle of the 7th century AD almost all people of Arabia embraced Islam. Naturally the Arab traders who came to Malabar in the 7th century would probably be the followers of this faith. Thus from them Islam would have spread in this part of the country. Francis Day also assumes that the first settlement of the Muslims on the western coast took place sometime in the 7th century AD.¹¹

The Dutch records also attests to the fact that, the Moors¹² (Muslims) have been settled here for a long time; at any rate it is known that the Arabs

⁸ G. F. Hourani, *op.cit.*, p. 71.

⁹ S. M. H. Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge on Southern India, Madras, 1942*, pp. 162-164. See also, Sulaiman Nadwi, *Muslim Colonies in India Before the Muslim Conquest*, 'Islamic Culture' (Quarterly), Volume, 9, 1935.

¹⁰ S. Maqbool Ahmad, 'Arabic Source Material on Indo Arabs Relations' *Medieval India Quarterly*, Volume, 8, 1957, p. 107.

¹¹ Francis Day, *The Land of Perumals*, Madras, 1863, p. 315.

¹² Mouros or Moors, According to the Portuguese writers Muslims of Arabia and Persian origin and those born in India out of the relations with the Arabs and Persians are the Mouros or Moors

began to come here for trade and to propagate Islam as far back as 8th century AD.¹³

The Tarisapally copper plate inscription of Sthanu Ravi Varma very well establishes the influential status of Muslims in Malabar between the 7th and 9th centuries AD. The names of Maimun, son of Ibrahim, Muhammad, son of Mani, Uthman son of Al Marziban, Muhammad son of Yahya, Amr son of Ibrahim, Ibrahim son of Al-tay, Belhr son of Mansur, Al- Kasim son of Isa and Ismael, son of Yaqub¹⁴ are found in this document. The reference to a lot of Muslims as witnesses in such an important royal grant clearly proves the influence and high position of Muslims in the society. It would prove that by this time the Muslims had become a dominant group of the area. Moreover, it also supports the view that Islam had probably been introduced to Malabar during the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad himself.

Rawlindson¹⁵ and K. N. Panikkar¹⁶ assert that Arab Muslims first settled in the Malabar coast about the end of the 7th century AD. There are affinities between the place names and the family names of Malabar with those of South Arabia. Many scholarly families like *Aidid*, *Shihabudhin* and *Jamalullail* migrated to the Malabar coast and settled specifically in the

¹³ The collection from the records of the Madras government, Dutch Records, No: 13. Quoted in Leth L.C.S. *et al*, *Dutch in Malabar*, New Delhi, 1984, p. 199.

¹⁴ Ronald E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, Madras, 1976, p. 43. See also Elamkulam Kunhan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1970, p. 370.

¹⁵ Rawlindson, *Tuhfat- ul Mujahidhin* (preface).

¹⁶ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord and State Religion and Peasant Uprisings in Malabar, 1831-1921*, Delhi, 1992, p. 50.

surroundings of Calicut emporium under the patronage of the Zamorins.¹⁷ During the rule of Khalif Uthman, a group of Arabs under Mughirath Ibn Shua'ba arrived and settled in Calicut. Later on, in honour of Mughirath, the place was called *Mughira Dar* (House of Mughira). In course of time it became *Mukhadar*. Also a large number of Arabian families like *Qadar*, *Musawi*, *Hibshi*, *Saqafi*, *Hisbi*, *Aidrus*, *Ba' Alawi*, *Ba'at Sayyid*, *Jifri* etc. followed them to the coast.¹⁸

Tarachand is of the opinion that in Indian Ocean, the fleet of the Muslims had appeared in 636 AD.¹⁹ Though we lack direct epigraphical and literary evidence to prove the appearance of Islam in Malabar during the time of Prophet Muhammad, the numismatic evidence of the available Umayyad gold coins (736 AD) found in Poonjar near Kothamangalam indirectly supports the view that Islam spread in Malabar during the late 7th century AD.²⁰

Yet some scholars have tried to link the spread of Islam in Kerala with the conversion of King Cheraman Perumal, the ruler of Kodungallur. He is said to have adopted the name Tajudhin and died in Makkah in 624 AD.²¹

¹⁷ P. P. Mammad Koya, Parappil, *Kozhikkotte Muslimkalude Charitram (Mal.)*, Calicut, 1997, p. 90.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ C. F. Institute of Mappila studies, '*Mappilamarum Keralavum (Mal.)*, Trichur, p. 216.

²⁰ *Ibid.*

²¹ Shiekh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat ul Mujahidhin (Ara.)*, trans. English, Muhammad Hussain Nainar, Madras, 1942, p. 39. The English translation of Muhammad Hussain Nainar is

Logan rejects the theory of the conversion of Cheraman Perumal during the Prophet's period on two grounds, the event is not recorded anywhere in the *Hadith* of the Prophet and the name like 'Tajudhin' was not prevalent during the 7th century.²²

Whatever may be the available material proof, logically the Arabs having trade links with Malabar coast would have brought their faith with them to the region during the lifetime of the Prophet or immediately after his death in 632AD.

The Mappilas of Malabar

The Muslims of the Malabar coast are called Mappilas. Al Biruni (1051) Al Idrisi (1053) and Ibn Batuta (1342) clarified that Mappilas were strong in Malabar between the 11th and 14th centuries.²³ Though different explanations are given regarding the origin of the word 'Mappila'. Francis Buchanan, a 19th century traveller reported that Ponnani *Tangal*, the spiritual leader of the Mappilas had told him that "Mappilas are called *Moplaymar* in Malabar, and *Labbaymar* at Madras; but among themselves they acknowledge

used for this work after comparing with the original text of *Tuhfat* and wherever any mistake was found, the translation of C. Hamza in Malayalam is utilized and if again found the translation unsatisfactory, the original text from Arabic script itself is quoted. Hereinafter the *Tuhfat ul Mujahidin* is referred as *Tuhfat Nainar*, *Tuhfat Hamza*, *Tuhfat MS* and like wise.

²² William Logan, *Malabar*, (2 Vols.) Vol. I, Tiruvananthapuram, 1981, p. 225.

²³ M. Gangadhara Menon (Mal.) 'Mahamardhanathinte Kalam' in '*Wagon Tragedy Smaranika*', Wagon Tragedy 60th Anniversary Supplement, Tirur, 1981, p. 48.

no other name than that of *Mussalman*.”²⁴ In the interior of South India they are also found in some parts of Karnataka State, particularly Coorg, but their number is not appreciable as compared with the non-Mappila population. Everywhere, the Mappilas speak Malayalam language but with variations in dialects from place to place.²⁵

How the nomenclature ‘Mappila’ came into being is a matter of dispute. Some scholars argue that it is an honorific term applied by the natives to respect the visitors and immigrants from abroad. They called this group *Maha Pilla* or great child in Malayalam.²⁶ In another version one of the terms for bridegroom in Malayalam is ‘Mappila’. So the honorific title applied to those who married from the native families was Mappila.²⁷ Yet, another group states that the word ‘Mappila’ is derived from the Malayalam words *Matavu + Pilla*. The meaning of the word then is ‘mother child,’²⁸ as it denotes the offsprings of foreign husbands and native wives.²⁹ Some argue that it is derived from any of the term such as *Mahfil* meaning gathering place, *Muflih* meaning successor, or *Ma-falah* meaning people not engaged in agriculture.³⁰

²⁴ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, London, 1870, II, p. 421.

²⁵ Imtiaz Ahmad (ed.), *Caste and Social Stratification Among the Muslims*, Delhi, 1973, p. 46.

²⁶ C. A. Innes and F.B. Evans (ed.), *Malabar Gazetteer*, Vol. 1, Tiruvananthapuram, 1997, p. 185.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, (Mal.), *Sayyid Alawi Tangal*, Tirurangadi, 1970, p.61.

²⁹ Francis Day, *op.cit.*, Madras, 1863, p. 317.

³⁰ K. B. K. Muhammad, *Mappilamar Engot* (Mal.), Trichur, 1956, p. 4.

Mappilas of Malabar might be either the descendants of Arab traders or of Hindu converts to Islam.³¹ According to P. R. G. Mathur, an eminent anthropologist, Mappilas of the coastal regions are mostly converts from the *Mukkuvans* or fishermen caste.³² It is also a fact that in Malabar there was no restriction on conversions. It was because of this situation that Abdul Razak, the Persian Ambassador came with the mission of Timurid Shahrukh Behadur inviting the Zamorin to convert to Islam.³³ As a consequence of this favourable situation, "Many heathens became Moors to such an extent that there were more Moors than the natives."³⁴

There was rapid growth in the population of Muslims on the coast of Malabar prior to the advent of the Portuguese. The patronage of the rulers, caste rigidities of the Hindus, job possibilities in the new faith and the peaceful condition of Malabar were some of the favourable factors that helped the growth of Islam in the coast. The Zamorins of Calicut not only promoted conversions but also provided assistance to the converts. He issued orders that in every fisherman family one or more male member should be brought up as

³¹ Conrad Wood, *The Moplah Rebellion and its Genesis*, Delhi, 1987, p. 3.

³² P. R. G. Mathur, *The Mappila Fisher Folk of Kerala*, Tiruvananthapuram, 1978, p. 13. See also, M. G. S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Tiruvananthapuram, 1972.

³³ H. A. R. Gibb, *Ibn Batuta, Travels in Asia and Africa*, London, 1929, p. 231, quoted in Ronald E. Miller, *op.cit.*, p. 57.

³⁴ Correa, Gaspar, *The Three Voyages of Vasco da Gama*, trans. Eng. Henry E. J. Stanley, London, 1869, p. 156. See also, Duarte Barbosa, *Description of the Coast of East Africa and Malabar in the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, trans. Eng. Henry E. J. Stanley, Delhi, 1995, p. 146.

Muslim.³⁵ This action might have been for the maritime and military development of the country.³⁶ Mappilas were enjoying maximum religious liberty under the king Zamorin who was their friend and benefactor. Such an attitude of the rulers helped the Muslims to increase their population and promote their trade.³⁷ Moreover, the converted Muslims, irrespective of their former caste lineage were treated equivalent to other Muslims.³⁸ It is interesting to note that Hindus did not object to the conversion to Islam.³⁹

The Mappilas were so highly honoured and held in such high respect that Barbosa expresses his anxiety that the land would have had a Moorish King if the King of Portugal hadn't discovered India.⁴⁰ Sheikh Zainudhin⁴¹ also certifies that the Mappilas enjoyed great comfort and peace in the Malabar society. The Mappilas were so numerous and powerful in the city of Calicut that the gentiles didn't venture to dispute with them.⁴²

William Logan in his investigations has found the Mappilas industrious, skillful and rigid in the observance of the *Quranic*

³⁵ C. A. Inns and F. B. Ivans (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 136.

³⁶ Kerala Historical Association, *Kerala Charitram* (Mal.), Eranakulam, 1973, p. 1120.

³⁷ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 5.

³⁸ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, C. Hamza (trans. Mal.), Calicut, 2003, p. 61.

³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 61.

⁴⁰ Duarte Barbosa, *op.cit.*, p. 146. Similar statement he made about the city of Cannanore also.

⁴¹ An alim of 16th century. Detailed study is made in the succeeding chapter.

⁴² *Ibid*, p. 147.

injunctions.⁴³ Social distinction in the customs and traditions of the two religions of Hinduism and Islam remained still they lived in apparent peace and co-operation for eight centuries.⁴⁴

Ibn Batuta and Barbossa assert that growth of Islam in Kerala up to the 16th century was peaceful and steady. The relation between the Muslims and the ruling authority was friendly. Though the Muslims struggled for trade and commercial monopoly, they never strove for any political advantage.⁴⁵

Al Biruni, Ibn Batuta, Ibn Kurdabih, Abu Sa'd, and Ibn Haql⁴⁶ speak elaborately about Muslim settlements and institutions all along the coasts of Kerala. Ibn Batuta who visited almost all parts of Kerala in the 14th century refers to the flourishing Muslim centres in the coast. He noticed Muslim settlements in all the important centres between Sainthapur and Kollam.

Malabar, being famous for its honesty, generosity⁴⁷ and freedom of belief⁴⁸ had attracted traders from distant countries from time immemorial. When the followers of Islam from different places settled together in Kozhikode, 'the power of *Samoothiri* began to spread far and wide among the

⁴³ William Logan, *op.cit.*, Volume, I, p. 238.

⁴⁴ Ronald E. Miller, *op.cit.*, p. 59.

⁴⁵ Maqbool Ahmad, 'Commercial relations...*op.cit.*, p. 7. See also, C. K. Kareem (ed.), *Kerala Muslim Directory*, Volume, I, Cochin, 1997, p. 154.

⁴⁶ Mahdi Hussain (ed.), *The Rihla of Ibn Batuta*, Baroda, 1953, pp. 186-188.

⁴⁷ See Logan's narration of the story of Muscat Koya, Vol. 1, *op.cit.*, pp. 319-20.

⁴⁸ Pyrrard D. Laval, *Voyage to the East Indies*, Volume I, London, 1885, quoted in C. K. Kareem, *op.cit.*, p.157.

kings of Malayalam country.⁴⁹ This harmonious character also further spread the name and fame of the Zamorin to Europe.⁵⁰

The large-scale settlement of Muslim merchants made Calicut a big metropolis. A number of Muslim colonies sprang up around Calicut and it became a great port on the West Coast of India. Barbosa records that the Zamorin gave each Moorish merchant a Nair to guard and serve him, a chetty scribe as his accountant and a broker for his trade.⁵¹ The close relationship of the Zamorins with Muslims even caused the conversion of a Zamorin to Islam in the 9th century AD⁵² and he presented a robe of honour (*Qil'a*) to *Ka'aba*⁵³

The rulers were also interested in the religious observances of Muslims like Friday prayers and *Id* celebrations. The Zamorin did not allow a Muslim to neglect the Friday prayers. Whosoever neglected it was punished or made to pay a fine.⁵⁴ Qazi Muhammad observes that, the Zamorin had approved the imposition of *Sharia* on the Muslims and sanctioned the recitation of Friday *Khutuba* in the name of Turkish Khalifa.⁵⁵ They fixed the allowances of *Qazis* and *Mudarris* and entrusted the *ulama* to carry out the *Sharia*.

⁴⁹ *Kerala Varthamanam* quoted in K. K. N. Kurup (ed.), *India's Naval Traditions-The Role of Kunhali Marakkars*, Calicut, 1997, p. 96.

⁵⁰ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, University of Calicut, 1999, p. 52.

⁵¹ Duarte Barbosa, *op.cit.*, p. 148.

⁵² Ferishta IV, p. 531-33, quoted in Gopala Krishnan, '*Keralathinte Samskarika Charitram*', Kerala Bhasha Institute, Tiruvananthapuram, 1987, p. 302.

⁵³ P. S. M. Burhanudhin, '*Hazrat Ubaidullah Madaniyum Arabikkadalile Pavizha Dweepukalum*' (Mal.), 1976, p. 25.

⁵⁴ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, trans. Nainar, p. 51.

⁵⁵ Qazi Muhammad, *Qasidat ul Fath ul Mubin* (Ara.), compiled by Mankada Abdul Aziz, Calicut, 1996, verse. 18, p. 4.

The relation between the *Qazis* and the Zamorin was proverbial. This close association attracted many saintly families to Calicut and thus the city became the centre of Muslim scholars and saints. Sheikh Sayyid Jifri, a prominent sufi of Hadarmouth of South Arabia came and settled in Calicut. He was given an extensive land grant and exempted from all taxes.⁵⁶ Subsequently Hasan Jifri, Sheikh Ali Barami and others came to Malabar and played their role in shaping the history of the region.⁵⁷

The Zamorin enjoyed great admiration of Muslim writers. Qazi Muhammad of Calicut compiled his poetical work, *Fathul Mubin* in which he prays for the prosperity of the Zamorin's kingdom and asks the Muslims to pray for his success.⁵⁸

Besides, the Muslims were highly privileged under the Zamorin's rule. A Muslim, irrespective of his former social status, was permitted to sit beside a *Nambootiri*, whereas a Nair was not permitted to do so. *Tangal*, the leader of Muslims had the right to travel with the Zamorin in a *Pallanquin*.⁵⁹ The *Qazis* of Chaliyam and Calicut had special seat in the court of the Zamorins.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, pp. 90-91.

⁵⁷ V. Kunhali, *Sufism in Kerala*, Calicut University, 2004, pp. 75-85.

⁵⁸ Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verses. 48-52, p.5.

⁵⁹ Tarachand, *Influence of Islam on Indian Culture*, p.35.

⁶⁰ P. K. Muhammad Kunhi, *Muslimkalum Kerala Samskaravum*, Trichur, 1982, p. 77.

Ibn Batuta states that Zamorin had some Arab officers in his administration,⁶¹ and his envoys to distant countries were Muslims.⁶²

The Koya of Kozhikode was conferred with the title of *Shahbander Koya*. He enjoyed many powers and privileges including a prestigious position in the festival of Mamankam.⁶³ He had special powers and privileges similar to those of a Nair chief and an exclusive right to check the Muslim bazaars. He had also the right to accept small gifts from certain communities. Besides, he was honoured with the right of standing on the left side of the Zamorin on the Vakayur platform on the last day of the festival.⁶⁴ Sheikh Zainudhin attributes that these privileges were due to their status in the society and the increase in the number of cities in Malabar was because of the presence of Muslims.⁶⁵ The Muslims were not only satisfied with the guardianship of the Zamorin, but also joined hands with him in protecting the honour of the kingdom, for to them Zamorin's realm was not *Dar ul Harb*⁶⁶ but *Dar ul Islam*.⁶⁷

⁶¹ Ibn Batuta, *Kitab ul Rihla* (Ara.), trans. Eng. Mahdi Hussain (ed.), Baroda, 1953, pp. 188-89.

⁶² C. K. Kareem, *op.cit.*, Volume I, p. 157.

⁶³ N. M. Nambootiri, *Samootiri Charitrathile Kanappurangal* (Mal.), Shukapuram, 1987, p. XIV.

⁶⁴ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, pp. 99-100.

⁶⁵ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 51.

⁶⁶ Abode of war.

⁶⁷ Abode of Islam.

We have inscriptional evidences to show the official patronage of Islam and its institutions.⁶⁸ The bilingual stone inscription of Muccunti mosque at Calicut registers one *Nali* (a measurement) of rice for the maintenance of the mosque and land grants set apart for it in Kunnamangalam and Pallikal villages of Calicut.⁶⁹ The famous Malappuram mosque was built in the land donated by Para Nambi, a chieftain of Zamorin's family, as a reward to the Muslims who had assisted the Nambi in the battle against the Raja of Kottakkal.⁷⁰

Thus Barbosa comments, "they (the Muslims) continued to thrive until the Portuguese came to India."⁷¹ According to him, they have big houses and servants and are very luxurious in eating, drinking and sleeping and in this manner they prospered.⁷² Despite their material affluence, they were found very backward in education. They were almost illiterate. The number of Mappilas who could read and write English was few and far between. In matters of education "there was no more backward class in India than the Moplahs."⁷³

⁶⁸ M. Vijaya Lakshmi, 'Towards understanding the Islamic Diaspora in Pre-colonial Kerala', V. Kunjali (ed.), *Kerala Society Historical Perception*, Department of History, Calicut University, 2002, p. 29.

⁶⁹ M. G. S. Narayanan, *Cultural... op.cit.*, pp. 38-42.

⁷⁰ P. A. Nainankutty, '*Malappuram Rakthasakshikal*', Ernakulam, 1952, pp. 32-33.

⁷¹ Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, trans. Eng. N. H. Dames, 2 vols. p. 78.

⁷² *Ibid*, p. 148.

⁷³ Logan Volume I, *op.cit.*, p. 228. See also F. Fawcett, "A Popular Moplah Song," *Indian Antiquary* volume XXVIII, March 1899, p. 64.

The *Ulama* in Malabar

The *ulama* had a decisive and dominant role in the Mappila society of Malabar. Even before the advent of the Europeans, they were powerful and had played an active part in moulding the society of Malabar. The earliest known figure of this group, Ali Kufi who is believed to have arrived in the 9th century AD, propagated Islam in north Malabar. His centre of activity was Kanakamala in Peringathoor near Thalasseri.⁷⁴ At Ezhimala Sheikh Olakkal Abdul Latheef and at Valapattanam Sayyid Aboobacker and *Qazi* Mohammed and at Madayi Malik Ibn Abdul Rahiman *et al.* were the early divines who gave leadership to the people.

The earliest literary reference to the *ulama* of Malabar is found in the travelogues of Ibn Batuta,⁷⁵ who visited the region during the early decades of the 14th century. In his journey he witnessed a large number of *Durus*⁷⁶ flourishing in north and south Malabar. He records the functions of the *Durus*, its *Mudarris*,⁷⁷ maintenance, pupils, etc. From his references we find scholars from distant countries running *Durus* in different parts of Malabar. At Ezhimala he met a scholar named Sa'd from Mogadishu. Similarly at Dharmadom he met a scholar named Qasim Sarsar from Baghdad.

⁷⁴ Sayyid Moideen Shah, *Islam in Kerala*, Trichur, 1975, p. 12.

⁷⁵ See Ibn Batuta, *Rihla... op.cit.*, pp.210-12.

⁷⁶ *Durus* means Mosque seminaries. Singular of it is *Dars*. For details, see Kamal Pasha, 'Muslim Religious Education', in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Kerala Muslims- A Historical Perspective*, Delhi, 1985, pp.132-36.

⁷⁷ One who teaches in the *Dars* is a *Mudarris*.

Fakhrudhin Usman, the *Qazi* of Calicut had disciples from China, Ceylon, Iran and Yemen.⁷⁸ He also informs us that the ruler of Calicut maintained a monastery for the residence of the *ulama*. Sheikh Shihabudhin Gazeruni was the head of the monastery. Here the expenditure was met from the offerings made in the name of Sheikh Abu Ishaq Gazeruni.⁷⁹

The *ulama* in Malabar have been very powerful from the earliest times. They played a dominant role in the life of the Mappila society. The Zamorins of Calicut had great veneration and respect to the *ulama* because of their status and influence as a guiding force of the Mappilas. He always sought their advice and suggestions in administration. He also took keen interest in the selection, appointment and payment of the *Qazis*, and other religious authorities.⁸⁰ However, we have scanty information about the political role of the *ulama* in Malabar till the coming of the *Makhdums*⁸¹ in the 16th century.

The *ulama* tradition of Malabar coast is quite different from that of the north. In the north, the *ulama* constituted a part of the ruling class during the

⁷⁸ Ibn Batuta, *Tuhfat ul Nidhar fi Orayabil Ansar wa Ajaib ul Absar*, quoted in P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, pp. 104-05.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, Abu Ishaq Gazeruni belonged to Shiraz in Persia and died at Gazerun. The *Sufi* orders called *Gazeruniyya* was started in his name. People believed that the offerings in his name were effective safeguard against the perils in sea travel to India and China. A monastery in China at Zaitun was also maintained in his name. See Trimmingham Spencer, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford, 1971, p. 236.

⁸⁰ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, C. Hamza, p. 61.

⁸¹ It is an Arabic word, means one who is to be served. The family of Sheikh Zainudhin bin Ali accepted this title. He reached Ponnani from Kochi and became the leader of the family. He established a religious seminary, which made Ponnani, 'The Makkah of Malabar'. See, C. Gopalan Nair, '*Malayalathile Mappilamar*', Mangalore, 1917, p. 78.

medieval period and had no active role in the problems of the people. But in Malabar there was no such Muslim political authority. So the *ulama* were at the beck and call of the community and their problems. Whoever might be at the political leadership, the religious leaders acted as guides and guardians of the Muslim community. In a territory where political authority was absent, the *ulama* held the exclusive leadership. This was the case of Malabar where, in the absence of a Muslim political authority, the leadership of the community was entirely in the hands of the *ulama*.

The *ulama* of Malabar are more related to the Arabs while north Indian *ulama* had a Persianized tradition. The *ulama* of Malabar were mainly from two sources—the *Yamanis*⁸² and the *Hijazis*.⁸³ The *Qazis* of Calicut belonged to the *Hijazi* line and the *Makhdums* of Ponnani were of Yamani origin.⁸⁴ During the time of the Zamorins, many *ulama* groups like *Idid*, *Shihabudhin*, *Jamalullail*, *Qard*, *Musawa*, *Hibshi*, *Saqaf*, *Hisbi*, *Haidarus*, *Ba'Alawis*, *Ba'ath*, and *Sayyid Jifri* etc. entered Malabar.⁸⁵

Ponnani was a great centre of learning from the very beginning of Islam. Many world-renowned *ulama* came out from this centre and Ponnani

⁸² Most of the *ulama* of Malabar belonged to this group. The dress and culture of this group are similar to the *ulama* of Yemen.

⁸³ The *ulama* belonging to the group of Hijaz is known as *Hijazis*. They were by nature and culture related to the *ulama* of Hijaz.

⁸⁴ K. Hussain, '*Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*', Ponnani Juma Masjid committee, 1998, p.62. Hereafter referred *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*.

⁸⁵ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, p.90.

came to be known as the 'Makkah of Malabar'.⁸⁶ The *ulama* of *Makhdum* line were world renowned and widely respected. Their words had great appeal and works were widely taught.⁸⁷ Scholars like Ibn Hajarul Haithami, a world famous *alim* and writer of Makkah had association and correspondence with the *Makhdums* of Ponnani.⁸⁸

The *ulama* of Malabar always drew their inspiration from the mosque of Ponnani. The convocation ceremony of the mosque was historically important. The outgoing students of the mosque had to sit near a lantern to be personally instructed by the *Makhdum* for sometime before their departure to carry on religious propagation and teaching. Those who were bestowed the title of *Musalier* from Ponnani were treated with great respect and honour in the society.⁸⁹

The *ulama* of Malabar consisted of different groups viz. *Tangals*,⁹⁰ *Musaliers*,⁹¹ *Maulawis*,⁹² *Mullahs*,⁹³ and *Muallims*.⁹⁴ The *Tangals* are mostly

⁸⁶ K. V. Abdu Rahiman, 'Mappila Charitrasakalangaal', Ponnani, 1998, pp.13-22.

⁸⁷ Abdu Rahiman Mangad, a scholar on Mappila history and Islamic theology told to this writer that *Fath ul Muin* of Sheikh Zainudhin Makhdum is the most reliable and recognized *Fiqh* compilation taught in different Arab universities.

⁸⁸ One of his letters to Zainudhin Makhdum is preserved in the library of Ahmad Koya Shaliyathi library at Chaliyam.

⁸⁹ V. Kunhali, *Sufism in Kerala*, *op.cit.*, p.18.

⁹⁰ Descendants of Prophet Muhammad known as *Sayyids* or the family of *Ahl Bait*.

⁹¹ *Musalier* is an Arabic word derived from the Arabic Malayalam word *Musalli* (one who performs prayer) and the Malayalam honorific suffix 'you'. Some think that it is derived from *Muslih* meaning, the one who reform. Originally '*Musalier*' was the name of the degree awarded from Ponnani religious seminary and later it came to be used to all those performing religious duties.

⁹² The term used for the scholar as synonym to *Musalier*.

the immigrants from Yaman and Hadarmouth. The word '*Tangal*', equivalent to *Sayyids* might have been derived from the Malayalam term '*Thankal*.' It means the honorific 'you' in plural. Even a child in that house is respected and called *Tangal*. A large number of *Tangal* families like *Shihab*, *Jifri*, *Hyderus*, *Bafaqih*, *Ba'Alawi*, *Jamalullail*, *Alubarumi*, *Aidid*, *Muqaibil*, *Musawa*, *Mashhur*, *Alushill*, *Alussathiri*, *Alu Maulaqaila*, *Aluhabshi*, *Haddad*, *Saqaf*, and *Alu Hadi* were from Hadarmouth (Republic of Yaman),⁹⁵ whereas the *Bukharis* came from Bukhara in Russia.⁹⁶

The *Musaliars* and *Maulawis* were less prominent than the *Tangals*. The former were religiously educated and served as *Mudarris* of *Dars*, *Khatib* (one who deliver *Juma'a* or Friday speech) *Imams* and *Waidhs*.⁹⁷ The *Mullah* performed household ceremonies and had better rapport with the lower strata of the people. They could read and understand Arabic and therefore could interpret the Quran. They also teach in the primary religious institutions or *Othupallis*. *Muallims* are more educated and perform the same duties as *Mullahs*.

⁹³ *Mullah* is originally a Persian word meaning teachers. Being the reader of the *Quran*, he is also known as *Mukri*, from *Muqri* meaning one who recites.

⁹⁴ *Muallim* is an Arabic word meaning one who teaches the people (teachers) in a *Madrassa* or *Othupalli*. See, S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 111

⁹⁵ Mujeeb Tangal, *Rajyathile Pravachaka Kudumbangal Ulbhavacharitam* (Mal.), Calicut, 2004, p. 33.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p.31. Generally the *Tangals* were brought up in the scholarly atmosphere, still there are persons in the family who were not taught theology and hence cannot be consider an *Alim*.

⁹⁷ Means orator, technically one who gives public religious advice to the mass.

There was a steep rise of Muslim population in Malabar through the influence of the *ulama* and the divines. The rulers owing to the influence and importance of the Muslims accorded them all possible assistance. Available proofs would show that along with traders a number of *ulama* reached and settled on the Western coast. These *ulama* groups did hard work for the well-being of the society and constructed mosques and educational centres.⁹⁸ In such a peaceful and cordial atmosphere the *ulama* had no explicit role in the political life of the Mappila society. But with the coming of the Portuguese the whole scenario changed.

The *ulama* of Malabar had close contact with the *ulama* of the Islamic world. Many of them were educated from holy places like Makkah and Madina. Sheikh Zainudhin, Sayyid Alawi, Sayyid Fazl, Ali Musliar and so on were the products of these centres. Sheikh Zainudhin, Sayyid Fazl, Umar Qazi, Marakkarakath Awukkoya Musliar, Sayyid Muhammad Fakhrudhin *et al* were prolific writers of the period. The *Vaitulyam* of Sayyid Muhammad Fakhrudhin is a comprehensive guide to Shafi Jurisprudence.⁹⁹ They also had works on subjects like politics, sociology, astronomy, mathematics and medicine to their credit in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam languages. They also

⁹⁸ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, pp.51-52.

⁹⁹ C. N. Ahmad Maulawi and K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, '*Mahathaya Mappila Sahitya Parambaryam*' (Mal.), Calicut, 1978, p.214.

composed a large number of spiritual poems like *Malas*¹⁰⁰, *Maulids*,¹⁰¹ *Padappattus*,¹⁰² *Qasidas*¹⁰³ and *Quissappattus*.¹⁰⁴ For the purpose of exhorting the people *Dhikr Halqas*,¹⁰⁵ *Ratib*,¹⁰⁶ *Khutubiyyat*,¹⁰⁷ *Haddad*,¹⁰⁸ *Maulid* and *Mankus*¹⁰⁹ recitations, were conducted publicly. They also arranged platforms for the public recitation of *Malas*, *Padappattus*, *Qasidas* and *Quissappattus*. The *Malappuram Pada*¹¹⁰ and *Cherur Pada*¹¹¹ deal with local fights whereas

¹⁰⁰ It describes the important episodes in the life of saintly persons. It praises them. Important amongst the *Malas* are *Muhyiddheen Mala*, *Rifai Mala*, *Manjakulam Mala* etc. They were sung during illness and calamities. Ibrahim Kunhu, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, Tiruvananthapuram, 1989, p.199.

¹⁰¹ Birth celebration of great persons. The first *Maulid* written in the name of the Prophet Muhammad and celebrated on 1291 AD under Sultan Abu Yakub of Morocco. Later it was multiplied and hundreds of them were written worldwide on different personalities and events like *Mamburam Moulid*, *Veliyancode Moulid* etc. (See 333 *Waka Moulud Kitab*, C. H. Muhammad sons, Tirurangadi, 1992.

¹⁰² Very important group of devotional songs praising the martyrs and heroes. Important among them were *Badr Padappattu*, *Uhdu Padappattu*, *Makkam Fath Padappattu*, *Cherur Padappattu*, *Malappuram Padappattu* etc. During the time of Mappila encounter with the British, this *Padappattus* had a tremendous role in mobilizing Mappila sentiments against the British in the 19th century. Many of them are found dedicated to *Mamburam Tangal*. During the outbreaks, the British authorities realized the danger of this literature and took steps to proscribe them. Thus these literatures were searched out and destroyed. From this it is clear that the authorities feared this sort of works as these literatures brought out the concept that the rebels would be the winners in both cases of fight. If they succeeded in the revolt they would be saved from the tortures and exploits of landlords or else they would enter the Bliss of Paradise as *shahid*.

¹⁰³ Collection of songs in honour of great persons sung in congregation.

¹⁰⁴ Story songs on great persons in Islam.

¹⁰⁵ Centre where people assembled to recite *Dikr* (remembrance of God) in congregation. These sorts of groups were common in the *Sufi* centres.

¹⁰⁶ Collection of *Dikr* prescribed by *Sufi Sheikhs* to his disciples.

¹⁰⁷ It is a collection of poems praising Abdul Qadir Jilani, the founder of *Qadiri* order of *Sufism* seeking his intercession. It is believed by some groups that the reading of it would rescue them from evils and diseases.

¹⁰⁸ A collection of selected *Dikrs* compiled by Abdullah bin Alawi al Haddad. According to some group of Muslims, recitation of this once a day in congregation would solve the problem of both worlds.

¹⁰⁹ It is the extract portion *Moulid* recited in short time.

¹¹⁰ Work describing the heroic fight of Mappilas with forces of *Paranambi* probably in 1728. See M. Gangadharan, *Mappila Padanangal* (Mal.), Calicut, 2004, pp. 21-22.

the *Padappattus* of *Badr*,¹¹² *Uhd*¹¹³ and *Kharbala*¹¹⁴ celebrate the great battles fought in the Islamic world. Besides, the celebration of *Nerchas*¹¹⁵ in the name of heroes and martyrs provided occasions for the meeting together of the *jihadis*. The *ulama* used these occasions to convey the messages of solidarity and *jihad* against the colonialists in Malabar.

The *fatwas* of the *ulama* had a commanding effect on the Mappila community. The *ulama* of Malabar were far ahead in realizing the needs of the time and urged the community to support the Zamorin and to question the legality of European interlude. They not only issued *fatwa* to carry out *jihad* but also led them to the forefront of the struggle.

Keen on bringing the Mappilas closer to religion, the *ulama* never allowed any kind of deviation from Islam. They closely observed the day-to-day activities of the community and were with them to share their joys and sorrows. It is with the blessing and guidance of the *ulama* that every function of the household in the Mappila community was fixed and conducted. In a

¹¹¹ One of the Mappila uprisings of 19th century, which caused to the murder of Kaprat Panikkar, followed by the fight with British forces and killed seven Mappilas. On this issue Muhammad kutty and Mohideen of Cherur compiled a *Padappattu* and C. M. Muhammad Maulawi wrote '*Britainta Parajayam Athava Cherur Chinth*'. Both of these were proscribed due to the fear of British authorities.

¹¹² The first battle fought by the Prophet with the enemies of Makkah near Madinah. The success of the battle becomes decisive for the coming years of Islam.

¹¹³ Second battle in the history of the Prophet in Islam.

¹¹⁴ A place in Iraq where a furious battle was fought during the Umayyads in which Prophet's grandson, Hussain was murdered.

¹¹⁵ Celebration of the death anniversary of divines to commemorate their heroic deeds, M. Gangadharan, *op.cit.*, pp. 114 -139.

land like Malabar where the Muslims and non-Muslims mixed freely, the *ulama* took every step to avoid any kind of religious influence from the indigenous beliefs. At the same time they had no objection in adapting to the life styles of the native people. It was because of this attitude a sort of synthesis developed between the Islamic and indigenous cultures in Malabar.

On the advent of the Europeans the responsibility of the *ulama* increased. In the face of European onslaught, the *ulama* were the only hope of the community for direction. They directed the community through teachings, preachings, sermons, *fatwas* etc. The *fatwas* had a mobilizing effect in the religiously conscious Muslims.¹¹⁶

***Jihadi* Tradition in Malabar**

Islam provided an ideological basis to the anti-colonial struggle of Malabar and the *ulama* took a leading role in it. On the basis of the scriptures they described the anti-colonial struggle as *jihad*.¹¹⁷ The *Quran* and *Hadith* are replete with references to *jihad* and *shahid*.¹¹⁸ The *Quran* reminds, "Fight in the way of Allah against those who fight you, but, transgress not the limits.

¹¹⁶ B. D. Metcalfe, *op.cit.*, p. 51.

¹¹⁷ The word *jihad* came from the Arabic word '*Jahada*' means one who struggle, technically '*Struggle in the Holy war*' to defend Islam from danger and to extend Islam into the *Dar ul Harb* if religious life is not allowed. It also signifies that a person strove, laboured or toiled; exerted himself or his power, or effort, or endeavour or ability employed himself vigorously, diligently, studiously, earnestly or with energy etc to live on the principles of Islam. (Maulawi Chirag Ali, *A critical Exposition of Popular Jihad*, Delhi, 1984, pp. 164 -72).

¹¹⁸ One who sacrifice life for the cause of Islam.

Truly, Allah likes not the transgressors.¹¹⁹” The *Quran* also ordains the believers to fight in the way of Allah regardless of personal interests.¹²⁰ Islam offers great rewards for those who become *shahid*. The *Quran* asserts, “Think not of those who are killed in the way of Allah as dead. Nay they are alive, with their Lord.”¹²¹

In the Islamic framework, there are four forms of *jihad-jihad* through purification of conscience, *jihad* through speech, *jihad* through the use of pen and *jihad* through swords.¹²² Islam permits the armed *jihad* as only the last resort to achieve the objective. As often misinterpreted, *jihad* doesn't mean aggression against non-Muslims for the purpose of proselytization or exacting tribute.¹²³

The way the Prophet pictures the luck of a *shahid* is illuminating. He said, “Verily, the souls of martyrs are kept in the body of certain green birds whose nests are attached to the Divine throne. They fly joyously in the heaven and take rest in their nests. Then God appears before them and asks! ‘Do you have any more desire?’ They will reply: Oh! Lord what more we want than this? God will repeat the question three times. Then the souls will say, oh,

¹¹⁹ *Quran*, 2:190.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 2:216.

¹²¹ *Ibid*, 3:169.

¹²² *Jihadun Bil Qalb, Jihadun Billisan, Jihadun bil Yad and Jihadun bil Saif* quoted in Mujeeb Ashraf:, *Muslim Attitude Towards British Rule and Western Culture in India*, Delhi, 1982, p. 125.

¹²³ For details see, Abdul Razak O. Kilani, ‘*Jihad A Misunderstood Aspect of Islam*’, *Islamic Culture Quarterly LXI*, 10:11 July 1996, pp. 35- 46.

lord please put our souls back in our body so that we may get another chance of fighting unto death and become martyrs!”¹²⁴

Before the coming of the Portuguese, the Mappilas were in utmost amity and harmony with the locals. But the advent of the Portuguese turned the conditions upside down. The ways and attitude of Portuguese made life miserable and atrocious in Malabar. Thus the *ulama* thought of an effective way of mobilizing people to resist the intruders. They imbibed the *jihadi* spirit from religious scriptures and transmitted it to the ordinary Mappilas through the resistance literature and folk literary pieces. Sheikh Zainudhin Makhdum¹²⁵ in the beginning of the 16th century wrote two important works in the name of holy fighters, which presents the precarious condition of Mappilas and the rewards that await those who fight the intruders.

The *ulama* also wrote a large number of ballads and folk songs in the Mappila popular language of Arabi-Malayalam, which acquired wide currency throughout Malabar. Those literatures include *Malas*, *Maulids*, *Padappattus* and *Quissappattus*. The Mappilas sang these verses with veneration in solo and in groups, on both joyous and grievous occasions, in poor as well as rich households. The *ulama* also took night classes for days together to impart the spirit and sense of sacrifice. Singing and hearing the

¹²⁴ Al Hafiz Abi Abdullah Muhammad Ibn Yazid Al Khazwini, *Sunan Ibn Maja Fi Kithab ul Jihad*, Vol: II, Beirut, 272 A H, pp. 936- 37.

¹²⁵ For details see in the 5th chapter, Makhdums of Ponnani.

heroism of the historic persons celebrated in these works, the Mappila drew inspiration and set out for *jihad*. It was this background, which prepared a sort of *chaver* (self-sacrificing band) in Malabar in the 19th century.

The cult of *shahadath* (become *shahid*) was considered glorious. Many scholars were astonished to see the way the Mappila was prepared to become martyrs. An analytical study of the Mappila quest for *shahadath* would bring out some amazing findings.¹²⁶ One such amazing observation made by Fawcett was that the Mappilas fought to die and those who go out to die in *jihad* and returned alive is never forgiven, and his life would not be safe for a moment among his own people. “Why did this would be *shahid* not die”? Was the response of a family member left out in the outbreak¹²⁷ Fawcett presents a living instance of the revolt of 1894 when thirty two fanatics were shot, of whom but two survived, one a convert shot through the spleen, and a boy of 15 wounded in the leg. The mother of one of the survivors was heard to say indignantly: “If I were a man, I would not come back wounded!”¹²⁸ Thus, it proves the longing for *shahadath* and achieving the heavenly bliss was the spirit behind *jihad*. Before such a spirited community all the worldly pleasures and joys are insubstantial.

¹²⁶ V. Kunhali, ‘Ideology and peasant uprisings, A Case Study of 19th Century South Malabar’ E. K. G. Nambiar (ed.), *Agrarian Problems and Perspectives*, Calicut University, 1999, p. 40.

¹²⁷ Fawcett, *op.cit.*, p. 500.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

The *ulama* of Malabar produced large number literatures containing such heroic events. In one of such works, *Kottuppalli Mala* or *Mahatbhuta Mala*, a youth named Mannath Veettil Kunhi Marakkar of Ponnani went out of his marriage function and rescued a girl from the Portuguese ship where she had been kept arrested. Though she was rescued, the hero was cut into pieces and thrown into the deep sea. The pieces of the body drifted ashore at seven places i.e. Mannath, Kalat, Tanur, Beypore, Calicut, Badagara, and Kottummal.¹²⁹ The pieces were buried in the respective places. These places later became the centres of annual *Nerchas*, which commemorate the heroism of the youth. The *Nerchas* thus acted as the moving spirit to the *jihadi* traditions in Malabar. The author of the work in the introduction recommends that everybody should read the book and acquire lessons from it.¹³⁰

In north Malabar, Vanimel near Nadapuram in a folk song, entitled '*Madha Mohini Kunhami Mala*,' speaks about the conversion of a low caste woman, Cheeru to Islam who accepted the name 'Kunhami' and married a Muslim youth. She was later reverted to the Hinduism and kept in custody with the compulsion of a landlord. After sometime she escaped from custody and took shelter in the house of P. V. Kunhahmed Haji, a local leader. The event led to the verge of an open conflict between the communities but was compromised with the negotiations of the Haji. This event was compiled in

¹²⁹ Imbichi Koya Vaidyar, '*Kottuppalli Kunhi Marakkar Shahid Quissa*', Tirurangadi, 1971.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 1.

the form of a *Mala* and sung by the people of north Malabar to get inspired to fight against injustice.¹³¹

These kinds of works were invogue as *Malas*, *Padappattus* and *Quissappattus*. The spirit and soul of all these works were to inspire and exhort the community towards *jihad*. Thus a number of audacious ‘*shahid*’ bands were kept alive in popular songs composed in their honour.¹³² When a man decides for *jihad* he also determines to become *shahid* and in most cases completes a series of rituals like wearing the white cloths of the martyr, divorcing his wives, clearing all the obligations with fellow beings and visiting tombs and saints for their blessings and offering prayers at mosques for the success of their great undertaking.¹³³

The spirited hero before proceeding to *jihad* performs *Nercha* and *Moulid* in honour of the Prophet or some deceased persons.¹³⁴ There are records of such preparations and recruitments of *jihadis* from mosques,¹³⁵ *chandas*,¹³⁶ (weekly markets) places of annual *Nerchas*¹³⁷ and so on.

¹³¹ Edavalan Moideen, *Madha Mohini Kunhami Mala*, Tirurangadi, n.d.

¹³² Conrad Wood, *op.cit.*, p. 25.

¹³³ S. F. Dale, *The Islamic Frontier in South Asia*, ‘The Shahid as a Cultural Ideal of Malabar’, *MA S*, XI I, 1977, pp. 41-55.

¹³⁴ Conrad Wood, *op.cit.*, pp. 45-46.

¹³⁵

- A report of J. Twigg, Acting Special Assistant Collector, Malabar 9 July 1884, *MJP No S: 2776-81*, 1 November 1881, p. 3.
- P. Karunakara Menon, Deputy Magistrate, Southern Division to Logan, 1 July 1885, *MJP, No: 2725*, 8 October 1885, p. 6.

Moinkutty Vaidyar,¹³⁸ in his works, *Malappuram Padappattu* depicts the preparation of a Mappila for sacrificing his life for the safety of the mosque. Through his *Padappattus*, he exhorts the Mappila to lay down their lives for their noble cause of waging against the enemies. He presents, “The soul in our body is in the hands of God, can we live for ever in this world? Must we not die once? Everything will die, but God alone will not. Such being the commandments of God, we will have no excuse when we are brought before Him after death; so determine earnestly to fight and die, if we die fighting with the wicked man who attempt forcibly to burn this holy mosque, which is the house of God, we shall obtain complete salvation. The occasion to fight and die for the faith is like unto embarking in a vessel which has come to bear the believers to the shores of Bliss...”¹³⁹

Motivating the fighters with the blessings of heaven and its splendours, he continues, “Our most venerable Prophet has said that those who die in battle can see the *houris* (heavenly damsels) who will come to witness the

• W. Logan, Magistrate to Chief Secretary, 7 February 1885, *MJP*, No: S 1169-74, 2 May 1885, p. 10.

• H. Bradely, Acting Malabar Magistrate to Chief Secretary, 14th June 1894, *MJP*, No: S 2186-92, September. 1894, p. 126.

¹³⁶ Report of H. M. Winterbotham 5 May 1896, *MJP*, No: 1567, 30 September 1896, p. 53.

¹³⁷ R. H. Hitchcock, Superintendent of Police, South Malabar Report on the Mappila Outbreaks of 1915, *MJP*, No: S 2080-84, 3 September 1915.

¹³⁸ A well-known poet who composed a number of works in the 19th century. He was born in Kondotty as son of an Arya Vaidya Physician, Unni Mammad. He brought innovations in Mappila songs. Large number of works like Badr Padappattu, Uhd Padappattu, Malappuram Padappattu, Vettilappattu, Kilathippattu, Kurathippattu, Hijrappattu (His last work) etc were written.

¹³⁹ CF. Fawcett, *op.cit.*, Volume XXX, November 1901, p. 507.

fight. There is nothing in this world to compare with the beauty of the *houris*. The splendour of the sun, of the moon and of the lightening is darkness compared with the beauty of their hair, which hangs over their shoulders. Their cheeks, eyes, face, eyebrows, forehead and head are incomparatively lovely. Their lips are like corals; their teeth like the seeds of *thalimathalam*; their breasts like cups of gold, the pomegranate or like beautiful flowers... If they wash in the sea, the salt becomes like honey, and as fragrant as *attar*. If they were to come down to earth and smile, the sun, moon and stars would be eclipsed. Mortals would die if they but heard the music of their voice... If a human being were to see their beauty, their smile or their dance, he would die (with longing) on the spot.”¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, he also warns those lagging in the fight. He states that he incurs the wrath of God. He will be written down a renegade in the Book of God. His prayers will be in vain. He will die a sinner and be thrown into Hell where all kinds of torture will be his due. In Hell there are countless myriad of scorpions, snakes and frightful dragons. It is a pit of everlasting fire.¹⁴¹ It was the motivations and warnings made the Mappilas uncompromising to the colonial exploiters.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.* p. 508. See also Abu Isa Mohammad Ibn Isa Ibn Soura, *Al Jamiul Sahih Sunan ul Tirmudhi*, Vol. IV, Beirut, 290 A H, p. 187.

¹⁴¹ Fawcett, *op.cit.*, Volume XXX, November 1901, p. 508.

Thus it is clear that, the *ulama* of Malabar have a long tradition, extending over a period of eight centuries prior to the advent of the Portuguese. Malabar had served as a meeting place of *ulama* from different countries. They had contributed in shaping the history and culture of the country in general and that of the Muslims in particular. Though the sufis and the *ulama* played a different role in North India, in Malabar they worked together and there was no disparity between them in their role both in the uplift of the people and in their struggle against colonial powers. Both the *ulama* of the North and the South used *fatwa* and resistance literature as instruments to mobilize people towards the desired goal. A number of anti-colonial literatures were brought to light in prose, poetry and folklore to impart the lessons of fighting against the enemies. Thus a *jihadi* tradition was created in Malabar under the guidance of the *ulama*. The spirit of *jihad* and thirst for *shahadath* kindled by the *ulama* were alive all through the colonial struggle in Malabar.

CHAPTER IV

Ulama and the Mappila - Portuguese Conflict

Colonial intervention in the Indian subcontinent started with the coming of the Portuguese in 1498. They came with a well-drawn religio-economic agenda. The *ulama* of Malabar were perhaps the first to realize the ulterior aims of the colonialists. In the absence of a Muslim ruling authority, the *ulama* were destined to give the leadership to the Mappilas in their struggle against the political domination of the foreign powers. In turn, the Mappilas complied with their directions.

In order to understand the depth and extent of the role of the *ulama* in the anti-colonial struggle, the socio-political and economic structure of pre-colonial Malabar, is to be investigated. The colonial conflicts and its nature are also to be analyzed. A close observation of the pre-colonial structure, trade, and inter religious relationship of the region would also be required.

Trade in Malabar before the Portuguese

Malabar, the land of spices had attracted foreigners from time immemorial. The western coast that comprises Malabar was known to have maintained a regular contact with Sumer, Akkad, and Oman Peninsula.¹ The

¹ Shireen Ratnagar, *Encounter The Westerly Trade of the Harappan Civilization*, Delhi, 1981, pp. 157-58.

Greeks and Romans had also continued the trade contact. Genviere Bouchen and Denys Lombard, the two European travellers of the 15th century, wrote that trading communities of Calicut included the people from Arabia, Persia, Syria, Egypt, Maghreb, Sumatra, Pegu, and China.² Ludovico de Varthama states that, merchants from different parts of the world flocked to the kingdom of the Zamorin.³ Thus towards the close of the 15th century, economically Malabar acquired an unparalleled position.

Ibn Batuta who travelled extensively on the West coast of India describes, "Calicut is one of the chief ports of Malabar coast and one of the largest harbours in the world. It is visited by men from China, Sumatra, Ceylon, Maldives, Yemen and Fers and it gathers merchants from all quarters."⁴ Oriental commodities flowed from the coast to all parts of the world through different routes. It is seen from Arab and Chinese accounts that spices, coconut and arecnut were exported from the ports of Malabar.⁵

Nicolo Conti (1419-1441) describes Calicut as a maritime trade centre, a notable emporium for trade in pepper, lac, ginger, cinnamon, myrabalance

² Ashin Das Gupta and M. N. Pearson (ed.), *India and the Indian Ocean (1500-1800)*, Calcutta, 1977, p. 59. See also, C. Balan (ed.), *Reflections on Malabar's Society, Institutions and Culture*, PG Department of History, NAS College, Kanjangadu, 2000, p. 2.

³ Ludovico De Varthama, *Travels of Ludovico De Varthama*, London, 1863, p. 151.

⁴ HAR Gibb, Ibn Batuta, *Travels in Asia and Africa 1325-54*, London, 1929, pp. 234-38.

⁵ M. R. Raghava Varyar, 'The Rise and Growth of Calicut,' *South Indian History Congress Souvenir*, Calicut University, 1991, p. 25.

and zedoary.⁶ Kolathunad (Cannanore) was also a good trading centre. It was an important seaport through which horses from Persia were imported and carried to the Kingdoms like Vijayanagar.⁷ Barbosa states that every year about 200 ships from different places came to this port to carry pepper, ginger, cardamom, myrabalance, canafistula, zerumbha and zedoary.⁸

Since the decline of Roman Empire, trade in Malabar products was mainly in the hands of the Arab merchants and it may safely be concluded that after the retirement of the Chinese, the power and influence of the 'Mohammedans was on the increase.'⁹ Trade in Malabar flourished with the Arabs and there was no record of any conflict between the Arab traders and the local communities before the advent of the Portuguese.¹⁰

Contemporary travel accounts enable us to get an insight into the nature and extent of Malabar trade with foreigners during the 15th century.¹¹ Abdurrazak, a traveller from Persia wrote in 1442 about the predominance of

⁶ R. H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century*, London, pp. 17-20.

⁷ Ludovico De Varthama, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

⁸ Duarte Barbosa, *op.cit.*, p. 83. See also, Ludovico De Varthama, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

⁹ William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol.1, *op.cit.*, p. 294.

¹⁰ Jamal Mohammed, 'Muslims on the Malabar Coast – A Study of the Nature and Activities of the Society (1600-1800)' in K. S Mathew, Teotonio R. de Souza, Pius Malekandathil (ed.), *The Portuguese and the Socio-Cultural Changes in India, 1500-1800*, Tellichery, 2001, p. 274.

¹¹ R. H. Major (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 13.

Malabar trade in Arab countries and the dominant role played by the Arab communities in it.¹²

The character of the trade during the medieval period was peaceful.¹³ Barbosa writes that, there were Moors in Calicut whom they called *pardesis* (foreigners). The *pardesi* Moors consisted of the Arabs, Persians, Gujratis, Khurasenys and the Decanis. During Mamluk rule, the *Karimi* merchants of Cairo established trade contact with Calicut.¹⁴ They possessed wives and children in Malabar. They also had fleets of trading ships sailing to different parts of the world. They had among them a Moorish governor to rule over them.¹⁵

On the arrival of the Portuguese at Calicut, they found that the entire trade of the country was in the hands of the Moors. Ludovico de Varthama, writing in 1503-08, observed, it must be known that the pagans do not navigate much but it is the Moors that carry the merchandise. In Calicut there were at least 15,000 Moors.¹⁶ Correa even overestimated that in Malabar there were more Moors than the natives.¹⁷ Ma Huan, the Chinese traveller states

¹² *Ibid*, pp. 13- 14.

¹³ Ashin Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Cambridge, 1967, p. 7.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 5.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 11.

¹⁶ Badger Percy, *Travels of Ludovico de Varthama*, quoted in A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, 'Mappilas of Malabar,' *Silver Jubilee Souvenir of Farook College*, Calicut, 1974, p. 48.

¹⁷ Correa Gasper, *The Three Voyages*, *op.cit.*, p. 156.

that the majority of the people in the Zamorin's kingdom were Muslims.¹⁸ Sanjay Subramanyan in his illuminative work '*The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama*' observes that, the overseas trade was purely in the hands of Muslims and this marked the formation of a 'Muslim lake' or an Islamic world economy in the Indian Ocean.¹⁹

Mappilas of Cannanore, as they appear in the Portuguese documents, had acquired so much authority that Tom Pires warned the Raja of Kolathunad about them, "If the power of your highness did not extend to this Kingdom, it would already be in the hands of the Moors, because a certain Mammali Marakkar has become all powerful here."²⁰

K. M. Panikkar observes that Malabar was leading comparatively a happy though politically isolated life; in many ways her organization was primitive. Different trading communities lived here together without friction, and in absolute religious toleration.²¹ Each of these groups had their settlements, institutions, factories and trade organizations in Malabar.²² He also states that Zamorin encouraged and patronized the trade, and thereby the

¹⁸ S. F. Dale, *The Mappilas of Malabar, 1498- 1922 Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier*, Oxford, 1980, p. 27.

¹⁹ Sanjay Subramanyan, *The Career and Legend of Vasco Da Gama*, Cambridge, 1997, p. 95.

²⁰ Genviere Bouchen, *Regent of the Sea, Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528*, Delhi, 1988, p. 11.

²¹ K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Portuguese*, Bombay, 1929, p. 24.

²² K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in Sixteenth Century*, 1983, New Delhi, pp. 16-17.

merchants, especially Muslims, from different parts of the world in large numbers reached Malabar for trade.²³ Sheikh Zainudhin praises the liberal policy of the Zamorin in trade. He states, "the rulers took from them only a tenth part of the income of their trade, and also realized the penalties, whenever they do any thing calling for a penalty. They do not levy tax on those who possess lands of fruit gardens although they are of vast extent."²⁴

As mentioned earlier Arab trade prospered in the peaceful and steadiest atmosphere for centuries. Both the rulers and the traders benefited from the trade. The empowerment of the Zamorin was due to two factors- absence of incursion from the domineering powers of the subcontinent²⁵ and his coalition with Mappilas and the Arab traders. Thus, economically the coalition had beneficial results for both the parties. K S Mathew even observes that, people from all over the world interested in trade had their share in the trade of the Malabar coast and nobody claimed or fought for any sort of monopoly over it. Every merchant had the freedom to frequent the ports of his choice on the Malabar coast and conduct trade. The participation in trade was not in the name of any government and they did business in their individual or collective capacity.²⁶



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²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 52.

²⁵ K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar, op.cit.*, p. 11.

²⁶ K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade, op.cit.*, p. 16.

Dar ul Islam

Before the arrival of the Portuguese the Muslims of Malabar had never suffered any kind of ill treatment from their rulers.²⁷ In the words of Sheikh Zainudhin, the Muslims prospered due to the special regard shown to them by the rulers. They respected the customs and practices of Muslims and were friendly with them except on rare occasions.²⁸ Qazi Muhammad in his *Fath ul Mubin* also praises the rulers and their bountiful benevolence towards the Muslims.²⁹

The Zamorins took keen interest in the religious observances of the Muslims. Friday prayers and *Eid* celebrations were made compulsory.³⁰ *Qazis* and *Muazzins*³¹ were paid from the state exchequer. Qazi Muhammad admires Zamorins not only as the helpers of Muslims but also as protector of the *Shariat*. The Zamorin also prescribed that the reading of Friday *Qutuba* was to be in the name of Turkish Khalif.³²

It was in this context that the Muslims considered Malabar as *Dar ul Islam*.³³ Sheikh Zainudhin considers Adil Shah as the upholder of Allah's

²⁷ Shiekh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Hamza, p. 34.

²⁸ *Ibid*, Nainar, p. 51.

²⁹ Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verses, 510-524, p. 31.

³⁰ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, C. Hamza, p. 61.

³¹ One who makes call for the five times prayers from the mosque.

³² Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verse 18, p. 4. See also, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 51. These facts are repeated here due to the unavoidable nature of the proofs.

³³ There have been debates about *Dar ul Islam*. The theologians prescribe three options as requirement of a state to become *Dar ul Islam*, either to be under Muslim rule or under

words who endeavors to root out the heretics and to extirpate the wrong doers,³⁴ indicating that the Zamorin and his state is abode of Islam and believers; and by fighting with the Portuguese Ali Adil Shah upheld the words of God. It is also to be noted that, when Sheikh Zainudhin and Qazi Muhammad were eloquent of the fight against the foreign infidels, they emphasized the need to strengthen the rule of Zamorin. They never suggested a rule of the Muslims.

Advent of the Portuguese

At the end of the 15th century, Portugal,³⁵ a tiny state, emerged as an important sea-faring nation. A long relentless endeavour to explore a sea route to India became historic with its triumph on 20th May 1498. The exploration was not solely motivated by the trade profit but also the propagation of Christianity in the Eastern world. When enquired of the purpose of his visit,

the rule supporting Islamic observances or a state where Islamic systems and practices are permitted to observe. During the British period three *Muftis* from Makkah cleared the problem by their *fatwa*. Full texts of the *fatwas* are produced in W. W. Hunter, *The Indian Mussalman*, Calcutta, 1945, pp. 207-08.

³⁴ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 14.

³⁵ Portugal was founded in 1140 after defeating the Muslim (Moor) forces of Iberian Peninsula; Christian princes on the Peninsula took up the cause of expelling the Moors from Europe (The Iberian conquests). Young aristocrats from all over the Europe went to Iberia to battle with the Christian Kings and won hereditary titles and land grants for themselves. Henry was such a Duke who fought for the cause and titled as *Count Portugal* in the 12th century and his son Afonso Heuriques (1128-1185) won from the Pope the title of King of Portugal.

Gama replied, "We have come in search of Christians and spices."³⁶ The response of Gama explains the purpose of the voyage unambiguously.³⁷

The capture of the Oceanic highway of Asia itself was considered a maritime extension of the Crusades. Fired with the zeal of the Crusaders,³⁸ they aimed to suppress the growing power of Islam and subjugate them to Christian faith. The Portuguese planned to attack the Muslim world from the rear by naval operation. They, thereby, hoped to blockade Red Sea and to corner the spice trade for their own advantage.³⁹ The objective of the Portuguese was not only conquest but also conversion. The missionaries accompanying them were sent to "conquer the lands for the king of Portugal and win the souls for the King of Heaven".⁴⁰

Hundreds of battles were fought with the Moors from the 10th to 15th century, which made the Portuguese the sworn enemies of the Muslims.⁴¹ According to Sheikh Zainudhin, the Portuguese were hostile only to the Muslims and their faith and not Nairs and other non Muslims of Malabar.⁴² They propagated the theory that Pope had the authority on all kingdoms on

³⁶ Cf. S. F. Dale, *The Mappilas of Malabar*, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

³⁷ C. R. Boxer quotes four motives behind the Portuguese attempt in the East. 1, Crusading zeal against the Muslims, 2, the desire for Guinea gold, 3, The Quest for Prestor John, 4, the search for oriental spices. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire (1415-1825)*, London, 1969, p. 18.

³⁸ Sanjay Subramanyan, *The Career*, *op.cit.*, p. 33.

³⁹ Claude Markovits (ed), *A History of Modern India, 1480-1950*, London, 1994, p. 61.

⁴⁰ J. J. A. Combos, *History of Portuguese in Bengal*, Calcutta, 1919, p. 100.

⁴¹ Stephen H. Morse, *Portugal: Story of Nations*, New York, 1891, p. 67.

⁴² Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 62.

the earth and Portugal had the authority to conquer all the Mohammedan and pagan kingdoms. This Charter called *Padroado*, made it obligatory on the Portuguese to propagate the Catholic religion in all the new lands discovered by her.⁴³

Thus one of the aims of the Portuguese was to cut off the roots of Islam.⁴⁴ The explorations of da Gama were also inspired by acquisition of wealth and the dream of freeing Jerusalem from the infidels and to extend the bounds of Christendom.⁴⁵

In realizing these aims, the Portuguese were not hesitant to go to any extent of barbarity. E.K.G. Nambiar cites an instance of a dreadful elimination of a society by the colonial heads of the 15th and 16th centuries. Columbus after his voyage instigated Ferdinand and Isabella, the ruling heads of Spain, to plunder the discovered regions. It culminated in the massive butchering of thousands of natives. Before the advent of Europeans, at Hispaniola, there were more than one lakh people. Sixteen years after their occupation it was reduced to 70,000 and by 1517 it was further reduced to 1112.⁴⁶

⁴³ F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India* (2vol), Vol. I, London, 1894, p. XXXVI.

⁴⁴ K. M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, London, 1955, p. 31.

⁴⁵ Louis Philippe F.R. Thomaz, 'De Cauta a Timor, Linde Valha', 1994, p. 189, quoted in K V Suji, *Cochin and the Portuguese, A Study on the Colonial Impact*, unpublished doctoral thesis, Calicut University, 2000.

⁴⁶ E.K.G. Nambiar, 'Colonialism Padinaram Noottandil –Oru Avalokanam' (*Mal.*), *Vinjanakairali*, Vol. 30, 3rd March 1999, p. 167.

On the morning of 8th July 1497, Gama and 160 men in three ships⁴⁷ sailed to India. He crossed the Indian Ocean with the help of a Moor named 'Ibn Majid'. Finally Gama landed at Kapad near Calicut on 20th May 1498. A Moor from Tunis named Bontaybo⁴⁸ introduced him to the Zamorin.⁴⁹ Vasco da Gama was well satisfied with the unexpected degree of reception he received at Zamorin's court.⁵⁰ On 8th Sept. 1499, he returned to Lisbon. He was given the title of the 'Lord of Conquest.'⁵¹ The value of the cargo he brought home was sixty times the expenses of the voyage.⁵² Thus the expedition was evaluated a grand success.

On account of the triumph of the first mission, the king of Portugal decided to establish lasting commercial relations with the subcontinent of India. Thus, a second voyage was arranged under Pedro Alvarez Cabral. He was instructed to make alliance with the Zamorin, if he was friendly, or with his enemies if he was hostile.⁵³ Cabral landed at Calicut with a large fleet. He had carried letters of recommendations addressed to various rulers on the Malabar coast. He signed a contract with the Zamorins of Calicut and established a Portuguese factory there. But the Zamorin refused to show any

⁴⁷ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 53.

⁴⁸ Portuguese accounts call him Moncaide. F. P. Marjay, *Portugal Romantico*, Bertand L da, Lisbon, p. 195.

⁴⁹ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 124.

⁵⁰ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 53.

⁵¹ K. K. N. Kurup and K. M. Mathew, *Native Resistance Against the Portuguese- The Saga of Kunjali Marakkars*, Calicut University, 2000, p. 47.

⁵² K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 136. See also, Ronald E Miller, *op.cit.*, p. 64.

⁵³ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 136.

extraordinary sympathy to the Portuguese over the Muslim merchants of Calicut.

Anticipating the demand, pepper had been hoarded by some agencies. Hence, Cabral could not get even half of the expected pepper from Calicut. So Cabral requested the king to give permission to search it out. The king then allowed them to search the ships in the beach. On the pretext of searching, the Muslim vessels in the harbour were attacked and seized. In retaliation the Muslims attacked the Portuguese factory; killed its leaders, Aires Correa and 53 men.⁵⁴ The Portuguese factory at Calicut was razed to the ground.⁵⁵ The rest fled from the town; got into their ships and fired continuously at the people on the shore. They also seized ten Muslim ships. Six hundred Moors were slain and sank several ships.⁵⁶ Thus ended the peace that existed on the Malabar coast.⁵⁷

Vasco da Gama, on his second arrival, was determined to put the Portuguese power on a firmer footing. Now Gama was not a messenger as he was in his first voyage, but an avenger.⁵⁸ He avenged upon the Moors in the most atrocious way. He demanded to expel all the merchants of Makkah and other Muslim merchants from Calicut as a precondition to start negotiation

⁵⁴ Ronald E. Miller, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

⁵⁵ K. S. Mathew, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

⁵⁶ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 146.

⁵⁷ R. E. Miller, *op.cit.*, p. 65.

⁵⁸ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

with the Zamorin. But the Zamorin declared that the port of Calicut would always be open to all and that it would be impossible to prohibit any one from trading with Calicut whether he be a Muslim or not. He also asserted that it would not be possible to expropriate and banish the Muslims from Calicut.⁵⁹

In fact, the entry of Gama into the Indian Ocean announced the claim of the Portuguese exclusive domination over India and Portugal became the mistress of the Eastern Seas.⁶⁰ T K Gopalapanikkar in the work '*Malabar and its folk*' observes, "the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope was an evil day for the Moplahs. In the keen struggle for supremacy on the Eastern Seas the Moplahs came out vanquished... and never since have they regained their wealth and glory."⁶¹

The advent of Vasco da Gama proved to be a threat to the Muslims. They protested and tried to prevent free access of the Portuguese to their ruler.⁶² They even warned the Zamorin against the Portuguese and their piracy.⁶³ They also warned that, they would leave the city *en bloc* if his relation with the Portuguese continued.⁶⁴ However, the Zamorin permitted Gama to unload his goods and market it. But the Portuguese failed to get a

⁵⁹ K. S. Mathew, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

⁶⁰ C. S. Sreenivasachari and Rama Swami Iyengar, *A History of India, Part III*, Madras, 1954, p. 8.

⁶¹ Hamid Ali, 'The Moplahs', T. K. Gopalapanikkar (ed.), *Malabar and Its Folk*, Madras, 1929, p. 269.

⁶² Logan, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 296.

⁶³ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 131.

⁶⁴ *The Kerala Palama*, quoted in Krishna Ayyar, *Ibid*, p. 132.

good market for their products and they attributed it to the intrigue played by the Moors. Da Gama then went to Cannanore. The Kolathiri Raja, the ruler who had enmity with the Zamorin granted all sorts of helps to him. Thus Gama effectively exploited the unfriendly relation between the Kolathiri and the Zamorin.⁶⁵

Gama tried to appease the officials of the Zamorin, suggesting that he was ready to give double of the profit offered by others⁶⁶ to the king's treasury, provided the king would stop the business with the Moors and expel them from Malabar.⁶⁷ The Zamorin responded to the request negatively and expressed his inability to expel them from Calicut since there were more than 4000 of them who lived in the city not like foreigners but as natives and from whom his kingdom received much income.⁶⁸

Following the failure of his mission Gama intensified his retaliation on the coast. At Madayi near Cannanore he noticed a ship with 300 pilgrims from Makkah returning to Calicut. Gama attacked the ship owned by the brother of Shahbander Koya. The passengers of the ship offered all their valuables if they were allowed to land any where on the coast. Sultan of

⁶⁵ Logan, *Malabar, op.cit.*, p. 306.

⁶⁶ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, pp. 54 & 62.

⁶⁷ 'Kerala Varthamanam' Quoted in K. K. N. Kurup (ed.), *India's Naval Tradition (The Role of Kunhali Marakkars)*, New Delhi, 1997, p. 58.

⁶⁸ Correa Gasper, *op.cit.*, p. 328.

Egypt even promised ships full of spices for their release.⁶⁹ But Gama was inexplicable; his aim was revenge and not spices. After plundering all the valuables of the passengers he set fire to it. The passengers, however, extinguished it and pleaded for mercy. "Vasco da Gama", says Loppes, "looked on through his port hole, and saw the women bringing up their gold and jewels and holding up their babies to beg for mercy, but there was no mercy".⁷⁰ For eight days and nights the effort to burn the vessel and the counter effort continued. Finally as they were on the point of giving up the attack in despair a hunch-backed traitor set the ship once more on fire.⁷¹

Despite all these brutal acts, the Zamorin was inclined to ally with the Portuguese and sent envoys to them. But Gama, being intoxicated by the desire for vengeance, demanded the banishment of all the Moors and Mappilas from Calicut. The Zamorin rejected the demand frankly stating that neither honour nor prudence would allow him to comply with it. Gama gave an ultimatum of twenty-four hours time to take a positive action on his demand.⁷²

When the time of ultimatum expired, da Gama opened fire. A number of thatched huts of the fishermen on the shore were burnt and a number of

⁶⁹ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 150.

⁷¹ R. S. Whiteway, *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India*, Westminster, 1899, pp. 91-92.

⁷² K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 151.

godowns in the *bazaars* were damaged.⁷³ The anger of da Gama fell upon a fleet of twenty-four ships that arrived with rice from Mangalore. He captured all the vessels; seized all their crew numbering 800; cut off their hands, ears and noses; tied their legs and knocked out their teeth with sticks. To prevent escape, heaped them on board, covered with mats and leaves and set ashore in a small vessel with a palm leaf letter to the King, telling him to have a curry made of them.⁷⁴ Later, when a Brahmin envoy was sent to da Gama, he too was insulted; his ears were cut off and a dog's ears were sewn to his head and sent him back to the Zamorin.⁷⁵ Then da Gama set sail to Cochin.

The Zamorin found the Portuguese incorrigible. He declared open enmity with them. This change in his attitude brought him closer to the Muslims. In pursuit of the Portuguese the Zamorin led a force to Cochin. Hearing the news of Zamorin's arrival, da Gama escaped to Lisbon with his vessels full of spices. The Zamorin met the Raja of Cochin in the battlefield but the Zamorin was defeated.

The Zamorin also suffered a severe defeat off Cannanore. More than 3000 Muslim sailors lost their lives in the fight.⁷⁶ Thus the advent of the Portuguese and their trade became a cause of constant conflict on the coast. The Portuguese even declared their supremacy on the sea and no ship was

⁷³ *Ibid*, pp. 151-152.

⁷⁴ F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol. 1, *op.cit.*, p. 85.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 91.

⁷⁶ Ronald E. Miller, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

allowed to sail without having *Cartaz*⁷⁷ from them. Cochin and Cannanore recognized the supremacy of the Portuguese and traded with their *Cartaz*. Each ship, however, small it might be, was provided with a pass, for which the Portuguese fixed a certain fee. Whenever the Portuguese found any ship without *Cartaz*, they seized it with its crew and cargo.⁷⁸

The Zamorins and the *ulama*

A close study of the contemporary Arabic accounts would reveal that the Mappilas considered the Zamorin as their lord and savior. In the pre-Portuguese period they enjoyed peace and stability in social and economic spheres. The relation of Muslims with the Zamorin was so passionate and sincere that *Qazi* Muhammad, the head of the Mappila community of Calicut has dedicated his work in the name of Zamorin and entitled it *Al Fathul Mubin Lissamiriyyi Iladi Yuhibbul Muslimeen* (The Manifest Victory of Zamorin who Loves the Muslims). The *Qazi* states that, the purpose of his writing was only to get the pleasure of God.⁷⁹ Thus it is to be inferred that to dedicate his work to a non-Muslim ruler was considered as a religious virtue.

⁷⁷ The king of the Portugal believed that he had the prerogative to appropriate monopoly over the spice trade. It was with this objective in mind that he instituted a system of safe conduct (*Cartaz*) that the Asian navigators had to buy from the Portuguese authorities, on the penalty of being boarded and often of being sunk with their vessel. Claude Markovits (ed.), *op.cit.*, p. 63.

⁷⁸ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 56. Some times even the holders of the *Cartaz* were attacked without any justification. K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese... op.cit.*, p. 208.

⁷⁹ *Qazi* Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verse. 521, p. 32.

He also praises the bravery of the Zamorin.⁸⁰ Applauding his love and sympathy for the Muslims, the *Qazi* writes, "He loves us and loves our religion more than anything else."⁸¹ Praising him to the skies,⁸² the *Qazi* admits that the description is only the one thousandth of the real greatness that he deserves.⁸³

Another important work of this period, *Tuhfat ul Mujahidin* is dedicated to the Sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur as he came forward to help the Zamorin in the fight against the Portuguese.⁸⁴ It indicates the Muslims' faith and respect towards their ruler, the Zamorin. Sultan Ali Adil Shah also wrote a letter to the Zamorin requesting him to accelerate the fight against the Portuguese infidels and to save the land of the believers.⁸⁵ It again indicates that the Zamorin is the benefactor and protector of the Muslims and the state as abode of Islam. The *Qazi* also states that, to the Zamorin, the death of a Muslim is more painful than the death of ten non-Muslims.⁸⁶

To Sheikh Zainudhin, the Zamorin's rule was a blessing of God to the Muslims. According to him, by the grace of God the Muslims were happy and prosperous under the Zamorin. But the prosperity made them ungrateful. Thus

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, Verse. 15, p. 3.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, verse. 17, p. 4.

⁸² *Ibid*, verses. 510-537, pp. 31-32.

⁸³ *Ibid*, verse. 522, p. 32.

⁸⁴ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Hamza, p. 36.

⁸⁵ Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verse 303, p. 19.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, verse. 408, p. 25.

came Allah's punishment in the form of the Portuguese intruders.⁸⁷ He laments the pathetic condition of the Muslims that "the Muslims of Malabar have no *Amir* (leader) who possesses power and can exercise authority over them and be mindful of their welfare."⁸⁸ The *Tuhfat* states that Muslims enjoyed considerable freedom under the Zamorins. The Hindus, though very particular of their religious observances, were never intolerant and envious to the Muslims, who were less in number not exceeding one-tenth of the total population.⁸⁹

There existed mutual faith and understanding between the Zamorins and the *ulama*. The Zamorin even sought their support and co-operation in the administration. Thus the *Qazis* were entrusted with judicial power on the Muslims. The Zamorin directed that a Muslim criminal should not be arrested or punished without the permission of the *ulama*.⁹⁰ The *ulama* also prayed for the well being of the Zamorin and appealed to all Muslims to pray for him.⁹¹ It was in the peaceful and the harmonious nature of Malabar that the Portuguese interrupted, which badly compelled the *ulama* to direct the community to resist them by all means.

⁸⁷ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 60.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 21-22, 51.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, p. 60.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 52.

⁹¹ *Qazi Muhammad, op.cit.*, verses, 523-24, p. 2. It implies to make prayers for Zamorin.

The *Makhdums* and the Portuguese

The *Makhdums* of Ponnani had a long tradition of rallying people against the colonial powers. The *Makhdum* family, which belonged to Yemen, came and settled near Kayalpattanam of Eastern coast. They were a cultured and learned group actively involved in trade. When the trade prospered, a group of them under Sheikh Ahmed came and settled at Cochin. Sheikh Ahmad was a good scholar.⁹² Along with trade he took interest in the religious and socio-economic developments of the people, which earned him much reputation in the society. People of Ponnani with great pleasure invited him and helped him to settle down in the town. His son Sheikh Zainudhin Ibrahim was made the *Qazi* of Ponnani. During that time Abu Yahya Zainudhin bin Sheikh Ali Ibn Sheikh Ahmad popularly known as Sheikh Zainudhin the senior was a student.⁹³

Sheikh Zainudhin, the senior

After education at Chaliyam and Calicut, Sheikh Zainudhin went to Egypt for higher studies. In Egypt he had occasions to know more about the world, different languages and cultures. Moreover, he had opportunity to

⁹² *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*, p. 65.

⁹³ *Ibid.* Sheikh Zainudhin was a theologian, *Muhaddis* (traditionalist), writer, reformer and above all an ardent fighter against injustice and colonialism. He had his early education at Ponnani, Chaliyam and Calicut. Then he went to Makkah and Egypt for higher studies. After his education, making Ponnani the centre, he started the reform work in the educational and socio-religious life of the people. During his career he produced a good collection of literatures and disciples through which he resisted the colonialists effectively.

contact a galaxy of great scholars.⁹⁴ On his return, he became the spiritual and temporal guide of the people of Ponnani. The whole leadership of the Malabar Muslim community subsequently fell upon his shoulders.⁹⁵ He took interest in the overall development of the community and initiated reform movement among them. He also dedicated himself for the spread of spiritual knowledge by setting up a *Dars* in Ponnani.

In 1510, with the purpose of bringing reforms in the society, Sheikh Zainudhin convened a meeting of the Muslims of the area and started the construction of a Juma Masjid at Ponnani. It was a spacious four-storied building with 90 feet length and 60 feet breadth.⁹⁶ The construction of the mosque indicates his interest in uniting the people for a common cause. A full-fledged *Dars* also functioned in the upper stories of the mosque.⁹⁷ He himself became the *Mudarris* (Chief Instructor) of the institution. The institution attracted students from far off places like Indonesia, Malaysia, Ceylon, Arabia, Egypt, Syria, Baghdad and Yaman.⁹⁸ A large number of students flocked to Ponnani, which became the centre of Islamic culture and learning and came to be known as 'the Makkah of Malabar.'⁹⁹ It was at this time that the Portuguese came to Malabar and posed menace to the social,

⁹⁴ Nellikkuthu Muhammad Ali Musaliar, *Malayalathile Maharadhanmar*, Calicut, 1997, p. 15.

⁹⁵ *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*, p. 24.

⁹⁶ A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala op.cit.*, p. 213.

⁹⁷ R. E. Miller, *op.cit.*, pp. 260-261.

⁹⁸ Nellikkuthu Muhammad Ali Musaliar, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

⁹⁹ K. V. Abdul Rahiman, *Mappila Charitra Shakalangaal, Ponnani*, Mal., 1998, pp. 13-22.

economic and cultural life of the people in general, and the Mappilas in particular. Shiekh Zainudhin took the threat very serious¹⁰⁰ and directed the people to defy them.

Mosques had always been centres of emotional appeal. The Portuguese found the mosques as centres of *ulama* as well as the centres of Mappila resistance. Many references about the resistant meetings held in the mosques of Ponnani, Chaliyam and Calicut can be found in *Tuhfat*.¹⁰¹ A large number of such references can be found in the literary pieces of Sheikh Zainudhin the senior, Sheikh Zainudhin the junior and Qazi Muhammed. This led to the destruction of many mosques on the West Coast including Ponnani, Pantalayini and Calicut by the Portuguese.¹⁰²

Attracted by the anti-Portuguese activities of Sheikh Zainudhin, the Zamorin went to Ponnani in person and sought the help of Zainudhin against the intruders¹⁰³ Shiekh Zainudhin promised him all assistance and made the people assemble in the *Juma Masjid* and impressed upon them the need of fighting the colonialists. Subsequently the disciples of Sheikh Zainudhin participated in many fights undertaken by the Zamorin.

¹⁰⁰ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tahrid*, verse. 30. It says, "We on our weakness and shortage of equipments fought them years, as we could."

¹⁰¹ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Hamza, p. 72.

¹⁰² Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, pp. 69-70 and 78. See also *Tahrid* verse. 10.

¹⁰³ C. Gopalan Nair, 'Malayalathile Mappilamar', reproduced, T. Abdul Aziz in *Chandrika Weekly*, 1994 July 23 p. 23.

Sheikh Zainudhin wrote an inspiring work, *Tahrid Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abadathissulban al-Marghabati fil Jinan al Munquidat min an Neeran* (Inducement to the believers for holy war on worshippers of cross). The work is the first known anti-colonial literature in India. It consists of 135 couplets of poems. Date of its compositions is not definitely known, but it happened sometime in the early decades of the 16th century. The written copies of it were sent to the important Muslim mosques and countries like Egypt, Turkey, Arabia and so on. The first part of it contains the savage cruelties of the Portuguese upon the Muslims and the message to expel the intruders. It is written aiming particularly for the Muslim mass and rulers. It prescribes *jihad* compulsory to all, irrespective of gender, class, health, colour or region. Even for disabled there is no excuse in it. He strongly commands the Muslims to fight against the Portuguese by weapons, wealth and health. He warns the community not to make the Portuguese their leaders. "Come and join the war, so that Allah, and His creations like men, *jinn*, animals and birds would enjoy."¹⁰⁴

The reward for the *jihad*, according to him would be either *Shahadath* (martyrdom) or success in both cases victory. He elaborately describes the virtues of a martyr (*Shahid*). He also warns those lags in *jihad* enter the severe punishment of Hell. He makes a picturesque narration of the inhuman

¹⁰⁴Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tahrid Ahlil Iman Ala Jihadi Abadathissulban al-Marghabati fil Jinan al Munquidat min an Neeran*, Kakkove Masjid Collections, n.d. Verses. 11-12. Hereafter referred as *Tahrid*.

atrocities of the Portuguese that they perpetrated in the Muslim centres. They burned and destroyed the mosques and Holy Scriptures, demolish the dwellings attacked and molested Muslim ladies and children, killed and enslaved Muslims and they even objected pilgrimage to Makkah¹⁰⁵

By making use of his wide contact, Zainudhin also wrote letters to the rulers of various countries¹⁰⁶ seeking help against the Portuguese. Four of these rulers viz, Muhammad Shah, Arshed Beg, Mubarak Shah, and Adil Shah¹⁰⁷ responded positively and sent their forces to Calicut. Shiekh Zainudhin joined them with his own forces and succeeded in defeating the Portuguese. As a token of gratitude the Zamorin offered him all help in the socio-religious activities. With the help of the Zamorin, Zainudhin constructed another mosque at Ponnani.¹⁰⁸ He also continued to send letters and books to Arab countries seeking help on behalf of the Zamorin.¹⁰⁹

The presence of *Makhdums* made Ponnani the centre of resistance on the one hand and of the Portuguese atrocities on the other. In 1507, the Portuguese bombarded the city. The *ulama* rose up and called upon the people

¹⁰⁵ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tahrid* verses. 9 – 16.

¹⁰⁶ As a clear proof of response, a mosque can be seen constructed at Ponnani known as Misri Masjid (Egyptian Mosque) where the force from Egypt was supposed to have stayed and later a mosque was constructed for their memory, *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁷ The rulers from Gujarat, Egypt, Diu and Bijapur.

¹⁰⁸ Zamorin also constructed a temple in honour of his success near the mosque constructed by Zainudhin at Ponnani. *Ibid.* As a token of the relationship, still now the principal door of the Ponnani big mosque opens only five times during prayer with the belief that it faces to the door of Bhaghavati temple of Trikkavu. *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁹ C. Gopalan Nair, *op.cit.*, p. 23.

for *jihad*.¹¹⁰ “Number of Moors,” states Logan, “swore to die as *Shahid* (martyr) to defend the town.”¹¹¹ The people of Ponnani and Valiyankot collected four boats and came up against the invaders. The people of Pantalayini and Kakkad also joined them in three boats. Together they put up a tough battle against the Portuguese¹¹² and drove them back to Cochin.

However the Portuguese continued their attacks and atrocities unabated. But the Muslims were never sluggish and did not slacken their resistance. The resistance added new chapters into the heroic history of Mappila resistance. Here is such an instance. A few Portuguese soldiers kidnapped a young girl from a coastal cottage. Nobody could save her from their hands. The news was reported at the marriage function of Kunhi Marakkar, one of the chief disciples of Sheikh Zainudhin.¹¹³ The young bridegroom Kunhi Marakkar, without informing others, for fear that he would be prevented, rushed to the spot in a vessel. After an adventurous fight he rescued the girl and killed many Portuguese. But in the encounter that followed the young hero, Kunhi Marakkar, was cut into pieces. Portions of his body were washed ashore at different places. The Kunhi Marakkar Shahid

¹¹⁰ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 170.

¹¹¹ Logan, *op.cit.*, Volume I, p. 314.

¹¹² Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 56.

¹¹³ K. T. Mohammed, *Kottuppalli Kunhi Marakkar Nerchappattu* (Arabi- Malayalam), C.H. Mohammed & Sons Tirurangadi, n. d., p.3.

episode later on acted as a strong catalyst of the *jihad* movement among the Mappilas.¹¹⁴

Sheikh Zainudhin, the junior

Sheikh Zainudhin, the junior¹¹⁵ was the *Qazi* and *Mudarris* of Ponnani. He followed his forefathers in the struggle against the colonialists. He rather aggravated the struggle and prepared a strong group of disciples at Ponnani ready to do anything for the cause of their land. During his time, the name and fame of his *Dars* reached far and wide and the great scholar of Makkah Ibn Hajarul Haithami visited the institution.¹¹⁶

Sheikh Zainudhin on the basis of his experiences and observations wrote *Tuhfat ul Mujahidin Fi Baa'zi Akhbaril Burtughaliyyin*¹¹⁷ (Gift to the

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, The event being published by many writers from different publishers, Imbichikoya Vaidyar published in the title Kottuppalli Kunhi Marakkar Shahid *Quissa* or *Albhuta Ramamala* in Arabic Malayalam n d., Tirurangadi. See also Kunhali V, 'The Marakkar Legacy and Mappila Community', 64th Session Mysore, *Indian History Congress Proceedings*, Vol., 2003, pp.369-373.

¹¹⁵ He was the grandson of Sheikh Zainudhin the senior, born at Chombala near Badagara. He had his education at Ponnani and Makkah. Then he became *Mudarris* and *Qazi* of Ponnani. In Ponnani, he prepared people against the Portuguese through his preachings and writings. He wrote a number of works containing the subjects of theology and many sociological issues like marriage. He died at Chombala and lay buried there in the place popularly known as Kunhipally.

¹¹⁶ *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*, p. 79.

¹¹⁷ In some editions it also found as *Ahwalil Burtughaliyyin* instead of *Akhbaril Burtughaliyyin*. But in the original manuscript it is *Akhbaril Burtughaliyyin*. It covers a period between 1498-1583. The work is dedicated to sultan Ali Adil Shah of Bijapur as a gift book for his help to Zamorin. The work consists of four chapters. In the first chapter Zainudhin depicts the virtues of *jihad*. The second chapter is about the advent of Islam in Kerala, the third makes an account about the life and customs of the people of Malabar. The fourth chapter is divided into 14 sections under subtitles and covers the activities of the Portuguese and the resistance presented by the locals.

Holy Warriors in Respect to some Informations of the Portuguese). The work devotes the first chapter to describe the virtues of *jihad*. In the chapter he explains the purpose of his writing as to inspire the Muslims to fight against the Portuguese.¹¹⁸ He delineates the condition of the Muslims very deplorable and laments that the Muslims suffer poverty and humiliation, as they had no 'powerful Muslim ruler to save them.'¹¹⁹ The work contains a period between 1498-1583. It pictures the entry of the Portuguese in Malabar and their attempt of colonialism and the resistance presented by the people of the coast.¹²⁰ The work has been written and circulated through mosques to each village of Malabar and some foreign countries.¹²¹

The threat of colonialism almost entered into a stage of ceaseless war with the Portuguese. Political and economic stability was disrupted. In this situation the Zamorin dispatched letters to many Muslim Sultans seeking their help and support.¹²² Sheikh Zainudhin by the advice of the Zamorin wrote letters to the Sultans of many dynasties. A few of them like Sultan of Gujarat, Mahmood Shah and Sultan of Bijapur, Adil Shah prepared forces and waited for the reinforcement from Egypt. Qansul Ghouri of Egypt sent a well-equipped force of 1500 naval men under Amir Hussain to join the forces of

¹¹⁸ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p.19-33.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid*, 12-13.

¹²⁰ Sheik Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, 4th chapter.

¹²¹ Sheik Zainudhin, *Tuhfat* Nainar, *op.cit.*, p.13.

¹²² *Makhdumum Ponnaniyum*, p. 57.

Gujarat. Thus the combined forces of Bijapur, Gujarat and Egypt attacked the Portuguese at Diu. The Portuguese under Lorenzo were defeated and their ships were captured.¹²³ Krishna Ayyar states, “unwilling or unable to escape in boats he perished with all his men under the well-directed fire of the Egyptians.”¹²⁴

The Portuguese immediately retaliated. In the battle that followed, the combined forces of the Zamorin and the Muslims Sultans were defeated. The defeat caused great indignity to the ruler of Egypt and he sent another force against the Portuguese. Infighting among the Muslim forces helped the Portuguese to resist the attack. Thereafter external support became a mirage to the Zamorin.¹²⁵ Sheikh Zainudhin felt very sad about the turn of events. Describing the situation he wrote, The Muslims of Malabar enjoyed a happy and prosperous life ‘on account of the benevolence of their rulers,’¹²⁶ who had great regard for time-honoured customs, and practices. But the Muslims undervalued the blessings of Allah and transgressed and disobeyed His orders. ‘So Allah set on them the people of Portukal.’¹²⁷

The barbarities of the Portuguese thereafter became unimaginably cruel. They subjected the Muslims to all kinds of cruelties. They treated them

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 170.

¹²⁵ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 58.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, p.60.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

insolently; employed them to draw water, and spat upon their face and body. They prevented the pilgrimage to Makkah. They plundered their properties; burnt their cities and mosques; seized their ships and the *Holy Quran* was trampled up on. They forced the Muslims to accept Christianity and to prostrate before the cross. They molested the Muslim women in order to give birth to their children in the Muslim womb.¹²⁸ They put *hajis* to death and publicly reviled the apostles of Allah. They caught the Muslims; enslaved them and sold them into the slave markets. They kept the Muslims in dark, dirty and stinking houses. They kicked them with boots. They were made to labour hard without remuneration.¹²⁹ They did not spare the *ulama* from these torments and subjected them to untold hardships. Thus Shiekh Zainudhin mourns, “How many *ulama*, *sayyids* and nobles have been captured and tortured? And how many of them have been converted to Christianity!”¹³⁰

Alike the *Makhdums*, the family of Kunjali Marakkar’s, the admirals of the Zamorin, also had come from Kayalpattanam and had close association with the *Makhdum* family of Malabar. Basically, the Marakkars were rice traders.¹³¹ It was from the writings and preachings of the *Makhdums*, that they drew their inspiration for *jihad*. References are found in *Tuhfat* and *Fathul Mubin* about Marakkars such as Pattu Marakkar, Mammali Marakkar, Faquih

¹²⁸ *Ibid*,

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, pp.60-61.

¹³⁰ Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verse.177, p. 12.

¹³¹ K. M. Panikkar, *History of Kerala, 1498 – 1801*, Annamalai Nagar, 1960, p. 57.

Ahmad Marakkar, Kunjali Marakkar, Muhammad Ali Marakkar and so on.¹³² They whole-heartedly carried out the call for *jihad* made by the *Makhdums*. They came to the battlefield against the Portuguese under the influence of Sheikh Zainudhin and Sheikh Abul Wafa.¹³³ Hence the *ulama* served as sources of inspiration to the Marakkars in their prolonged struggle against the Portuguese.¹³⁴

The Qazi of Calicut and the Milanese

The rivalry between the Zamorin and the Raja of Cochin reached its pinnacle. The Zamorin could not tolerate the policy of giving protection to the Portuguese by the Raja of Cochin. The Zamorin sent a force against Cochin. The operation was successful. The most important gain from this operation was the capture of two Milanese men, John Maria and Peter Antony, the artillerymen. Influenced by the Zamorin they joined the service of Calicut. The Milanese were very proficient in making guns and ammunitions. Thus, they proved to be a great blessing to the military prowess of Calicut. In other words the missing of the Milanese affected the Portuguese in two ways. Firstly, making use of them, the Zamorin acquired an upper hand in weaponry over the Portuguese. Secondly, it adversely affected the artillery strength of

¹³² Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Hamza, p. 73.

¹³³ C. N. Ahmed Moulavi and K. K. Mohammed Abdul Kareem, *op.cit.*, p.161.

¹³⁴ The whole heroic fights presented by the Kunjali Marakkars are the outcome of the spirit kindled by writings and the mobilization process initiated by Zainudhin Makhdum.

the Portuguese.¹³⁵ Varthama states that they had manufactured more than four hundred guns for the Zamorin's forces.¹³⁶

The Portuguese were now determined to bring the Milanese back to their camp. They sent a priest, Ludovico de Varthama who could speak Arabic well, to the court of Zamorin in the guise of an Egyptian physician. He was warmly received in to the court of Zamorin. During his stay in the court, he intrigued with the Milanese; offered pardon for their offence and guaranteed to reinstate them in their old positions. Thus, in the darkness of the night, they fled to Cannanore. Meanwhile, the *Qazi* of Calicut came to know of the plot. He instantly deputed two hundred warriors and spoiled the plot. The vigilant squad of the *Qazi* captured and murdered them on the border of Calicut.¹³⁷

As referred to earlier, the conditions were deteriorating day by day. Albuquerque, the cruelest among the Portuguese Governors, conquered Goa in 1510. The occupation of Goa cut off the Zamorin's relations with the Muslim rulers of Deccan. The position of the Zamorin and the Muslims became more precarious than ever before. Taking advantage of this situation Albuquerque attacked Calicut and burnt the Juma Masjid built by Naquda Mithqal. He then bombarded the city of Calicut; entered the palace and tried

¹³⁵ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam* (Mal.), Kottayam, 2004, pp. 260-262.

¹³⁶ Ludo Vico De Varthama, quoted in *Ibid.*

¹³⁷ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, vol: I, Cochin, 1997, pp.165-166.

to seize it. At that time, the king was away at Chetwai.¹³⁸ But the *Nair* forces rose to the occasion and dispersed the forces in which nearly 500 Portuguese were killed and many drowned.¹³⁹ Albuquerque himself had a narrow escape.¹⁴⁰ While withdrawing to Cochin, they attacked Ponnani and burnt fifty ships and in the encounter seventy Muslims were martyred.¹⁴¹

Albuquerque, by all means, was determined to hold the control of Malabar for which he wanted a secure fort at Calicut. For the purpose he pressed the Zamorin to enter into a treaty. Accordingly permission was granted to build a fort at Calicut, which could be garrisoned by the Portuguese soldiers. However, realizing the danger, the Zamorin withdrew the offer. There upon Albuquerque entered into an intrigue with the crown prince, to poison the king.¹⁴²

On the successful completion of the conspiracy the new Zamorin made an unholy alliance with Albuquerque. Albuquerque had his own ulterior motives in forging the alliances. He hoped that it would bring peace with the Zamorin; weaken the trade of Cairo and Venice, and secure the exclusion of the Moors from trade and obstruct all their navigation with Makkah.¹⁴³ It was clear from his letter to the king of Portugal that he wished 'to destroy

¹³⁸ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 173.

¹³⁹ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p.58.

¹⁴⁰ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p. 175.

¹⁴¹ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Hamza, p. 67.

¹⁴² K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and... op.cit.*, p. 83.

¹⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 85.

Makkah¹⁴⁴ and Madinah and 'to seize its treasures and the dead body of Mohammad which was to be held in ransom for the liberation of Jerusalem.'¹⁴⁵

Finally a historic treaty was signed on 24th December by which the Portuguese were allowed to construct a fort on the bank of the Kallayi River, Calicut. Thereafter the Portuguese forbade the Muslims from exporting ginger and pepper and seized their ship, with its contents and crew. Thus the Portuguese at Calicut became a source of great affliction and distress to the Muslims and other subjects.¹⁴⁶ Again when the Zamorin failed to check the Portuguese, he wrote letters to the Muslim sovereigns seeking their help.¹⁴⁷

The Portuguese also made preparations for war and set out from Goa. They fell upon Tikkodi and burnt many houses, shops and the Juma Masjid. Then they attacked Ponnani and burnt many houses and four mosques including the Juma Masjid.¹⁴⁸ People of the coast approached their spiritual leader Sheikh Abul Wafa Muhammad *alias* Mamu Koya Shettar¹⁴⁹ for his blessings and advice to fight with the Portuguese. He blessed them and gave

¹⁴⁴ F. C. Danvers, *The Portuguese in India*, Vol: I, London, p. 306.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, p. 71.

¹⁴⁶ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 63.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid*.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 78

¹⁴⁹ Sheikh Abdul Wafa Shamsudheen Muhammad Alias Sheikh Mamu Koya was a *Sufi* born in a Syrian family at Calicut. He had large number of followers in different places. For details, see Shihabudhin Ahmad Koya Shaliyati, *Al-sheikh Abul Wafa Muhammad Kalikuti* (Ara.), Hajee K. Abdullah Musaliar Indianoor, trans. Mal., Ajmal printers, Chaliyam, 1987.

proper guidance and sent them against the Portuguese. Subsequently thousands of people fought against the Portuguese and captured the Portuguese ships and goods.¹⁵⁰

Meanwhile a civil war broke out between the Jews and Muslims at Kodungallur on the murder of a Muslim. To confront the combined forces of Jews and the Portuguese, a huge force of Nairs and Muslims were prepared. The Mappilas from different places like Calicut, Pantalayini, Kakkad, Tikkodi, Chaliyam, Parappanangadi, Tirurangadi, Tanur, Paravanna, Ponnani, and Veliyancode gathered together in the Juma Masjid¹⁵¹ of Chaliyam. With the consent of the Zamorin, they fought the combined enemy forces; attacked and burnt their houses and synagogues.¹⁵² Thrilled by the victory, the Zamorin's forces reached Calicut with a fleet of hundred ships; attacked and destroyed the Calicut fort. The fort was reduced to a heap of ruins.¹⁵³

Shiekh Zainudhin notes that after the destruction of the fort, the fury and enmity of the Portuguese against the Zamorin and the Muslims increased. They attacked the city of Ponnani, burnt houses and caused great casualties

¹⁵⁰ Shihabudhin Ahmad Koya Shaliyati, *op.cit.*, pp.12-13.

¹⁵¹ Gathering in the Juma Masjid indicates meeting of people under the *ulama*, as Chaliyam being one of the oldest centres of Muslim settlements. It also shows that their proper preparations and incitement for *jihad*.

¹⁵² Shiekh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat* original text in Arabic MSS got from Chaliyam Library.

¹⁵³ *The Kerala Palama*, pp.170-85. Quoted in K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p.188.

and many Muslims suffered martyrdom.¹⁵⁴ In the fights that followed more than 2000 men including *Nairs* and Muslims, were slain.¹⁵⁵

Muslims also had confrontation with the Portuguese at various other points. In 1557, Ali Raja of Cannanore set out with a plan to resist the Portuguese. Foreknowing his plan the Portuguese attacked and killed large numbers of people and burnt many houses and mosques at Amine Island, which was under the control of Ali Raja. According to Sheikh Zainudhin, “the inhabitants of these islands were ignorant of the use of weapons, and there was none competent to fight. Notwithstanding, a large number of people fought against the enemy and fell as martyrs. Of these, the *Qazi* of the place and his wife¹⁵⁶ were worthy of note. The *Qazi* was an elderly person virtuous and pious. Though the people possessed no arms, they were prepared to give a fight for their faith and die as martyrs. They flung earth and stones at the Portuguese and inflicted blows on them severely with sticks till they were killed.”¹⁵⁷

In 1528, Da Cunha, the Viceroy thought to have a fort at Ponnani or Chaliyam because of their strategic importance.¹⁵⁸ The Portuguese, by an intrigue with the local chieftains of Tanur and Bettathunad, secured

¹⁵⁴ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 66.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 67.

¹⁵⁶ Nainar and others translated it a pious woman but the correct translation from the original text of the *Tuhfat* is ‘his wife’.

¹⁵⁷ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 80.

¹⁵⁸ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op. cit.*, 1999, p. 190.

permission for the erection of a fort at Ponnani. But the ships that carried the building materials from Cochin were destroyed in a storm near Ponnani. All 7the ships except one along with goods and crew were drowned.¹⁵⁹The people of Ponnani took this catastrophe as the miracle of their saints.

Despite all these reverses, the Portuguese did not give up their attempt to get a hold over Malabar. They conducted prolonged negotiations with the chieftains of Tanur and Chaliyam. Finally through nefarious lobbying the Portuguese managed to secure permission from the Zamorin to construct a fort at Chaliyam, a place of strategic and economic importance. In order to procure building materials for the construction of the fort and a church attached to it, they demolished four mosques including the famous historic *Naquda Mithqal* of Calicut.¹⁶⁰ They even dug out the tombs of the Muslim graveyards.¹⁶¹ Thus by all wretched means they realized their dream of a fort at Chaliyam.

Soon the fort became a challenge both to the rulers and the ruled. The Portuguese caused a lot of hardships to the Zamorin and the traders. They seized every Moorish vessel that came on their way. The trade through sea came to a standstill. The Zamorin became convinced of his mistake and took

¹⁵⁹ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p. 68.

¹⁶⁰ Mosque constructed by *Naquda Misthgal*, one of the historic mosques in Calicut.

¹⁶¹ Sheikh Zainudhin, *Tuhfat*, Nainar, p.70.

measures for the destruction of the fort, which culminated to the battle of Chaliyam.

Ulama in the Battle of Chaliyam

The *ulama* took an active role in the capture of the Chaliyam fort in 1570. Contemporary sources are eloquent of their role in the battle of Chaliyam.¹⁶² *Fathul Mubin* of Qazi Muhammad¹⁶³ gives a vivid description of the prolonged war to seize the fort.¹⁶⁴ At some stages the Zamorin was in utter despair as to the development of the war. The *ulama*, realizing the gravity of the situation appeared in person in the warfront. Throughout the siege, Sheikh Abul Wafa Muhammad *alias* Mamu Koya Shettar¹⁶⁵ and Abdul Aziz, the *Qazil Quzat* of Calicut¹⁶⁶ led the forces in the battlefront. Owing to many reasons the war prolonged and the result became unpredictable. In such a critical situation, the mother of the Zamorin sent an envoy to Sheikh Abul Wafa. He, then, called the Muslim leaders and the military generals to a mosque at Chaliyam and discussed the new tactics to be adopted in the war.

¹⁶² Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verses 246-251, pp. 16-17.

¹⁶³ He was born in the *Qazi* family of Calicut as the son of Qazi Abdul Aziz. He was a prolific writer, scholar, philosopher, poet, thinker, historian and crusader against the colonialists. He studied at Chaliyam and Ponnani under scholars like Sheikh Zainudhin Makhdam. He wrote a large number of works in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam. *Muhyidhin Mala* is the classical masterpiece among them.

¹⁶⁴ Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verses 214-475, pp.14-29.

¹⁶⁵ Shihabudhin Ahmad Koya Shaliyati, *op.cit.*, pp.3, and 12-13 the reference about the Portuguese in the Arabic version is *Afrang* but it is translated by the author into Malayalam as French by mistake.

¹⁶⁶ *Qazi ul Quzat* means chief justice. It is an honorable Post in the Muslim community. Qazi Abdul Aziz was the father of Qazi Muhammad, the author of *Fath ul Mubin*.

When the new tactics were applied, the Calicut army could make advance in the war.¹⁶⁷ However the war dragged on indefinitely.

Increasing mortality and material losses adversely affected the morale of the forces. The wise mother of the Zamorin also wrote letters to many Muslim leaders seeking their support.¹⁶⁸ Special messengers were sent to Sheikh Abul Wafa beseeching him to offer special prayers.¹⁶⁹ At the request of the Zamorin's mother, Sheikh Abul Wafa organized a congregation of thousands at Ponnani and offered special prayers for the victory in the war.¹⁷⁰ After the congregation, Sheikh Abul Wafa and his disciples marched on to Chaliyam. Abdul Aziz, the *Qazil Quzat* of Calicut with a group of *ulama* including Sidi Ahmad al Khumami, Umar Andabi, Abdul Aziz Makhdumi Ma' bari, and the general Kunjali Marakkar joined in the fight against the Portuguese.¹⁷¹ Special vows, entreaties and offerings were made at Makkah and Madinah.¹⁷² The *Qazis* of Chaliyam and Calicut were specially called for discussion at the Zamorin's court.¹⁷³ Soon the tide of the war turned in favour of the Zamorin. The Zamorin won the war and the Portuguese were uprooted.¹⁷⁴ The Zamorin

¹⁶⁷ Shihabudhin Ahmad Koya Shaliyati, *op.cit.*, p. 27.

¹⁶⁸ Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verse. 244, p. 16.

¹⁶⁹ Shihabudhin Ahmad Koya Shaliyati, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.* See also *Qazi Muhammad, op.cit. Verses 246-252, pp.16-17.*

¹⁷² Qazi Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verses. 272-273, p. 18.

¹⁷³ P. K. Muhammad Kunhi, *op.cit.*, p. 78.

¹⁷⁴ Shihabudhin Ahmad Koya Shaliyati, *op.cit.*, p. 28.

ordered to demolish the fort; which was razed to the ground leaving not a single stone of the fort.¹⁷⁵

A living pen portrait of the battle of Chaliyam is available in the resistance literature written by *Qazi* Mohammed entitled *Fathul Mubin Lissamariyyilladi Yuhibbul Muslimeen* (Manifest victory of Zamorin who is loving Muslims). He was born as the son of *Qazi* Abdul Aziz who fought in person against Portuguese in the battle of Chaliyam. It may probably be written around 1585 A.D, which consists of 537 verses. It is written to glorify the brevity and virtues of the ruler, Zamorin to the world. The author pictures him the champion of communal harmony. It also describes various types of atrocities committed by the Portuguese on Muslims and laments about the pathetic condition of the Muslim rulers who were not fighting against the Portuguese oppressors. By the title 'Manifest Victory' he imply the success of Zamorin on the Portuguese and the capture of Chaliyam fort.

The *Qazi* Muhammad, an erudite writer, records the description of the battle of Chaliyam, a lesson to the people of the world to come.¹⁷⁶ He upholds the valour and model of the Zamorin before the rulers of the world and advises to follow him. It also pictures the benevolent activities of the Zamorin, which should be adopted by other rulers.¹⁷⁷ His presentation of the

¹⁷⁵ *Qazi* Muhammad, *op.cit.*, verses. 499-503, p. 30-31.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid*, verses. 12-14, p. 3.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid*, verses. 34-48, pp. 4-5.

arrival of the Portuguese and their character and activities would ignite a strong anti-colonial spirit among the readers of all the time.¹⁷⁸

The seventy years of conflict gave nothing substantial to the Portuguese. The accursed Portuguese in a fit of anger applied fire and sword along the Malabar coast. They were like the wounded snakes. They withdrew to Goa to come again with new schemes to trap the Zamorin. In 1572 the Portuguese appeared off Calicut. They ravaged the coastal cities from Tikodi in the north to Ponnani in the south. The ravages shook the fickle minded Zamorin. He bowed down before the Portuguese and granted them permission to erect a fort at Ponnani, 'the Makkah of the Malabar.'

The *ulama* also became vigilant of the menace and continued to call the people for *jihad*. They inspired the people through war songs and special congregations. Thus new groups of *Mujahids*¹⁷⁹ rose up ready to face the challenges of the Portuguese. Among them were the Kunjali Marakkars, the disciple of sheikh Mamukoya and the Makhdums.¹⁸⁰

The Kunjalis warned Zamorin against making treaty with the Portuguese and the construction of a fort at Ponnani. He also sought permission to erect a fort at the mouth of Kotta River as defense to the Portuguese fort. Making Puthupattinam as their naval base, the Kunjalis

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, verses. 70- 80, pp. 6-7.

¹⁷⁹ One who engage in *jihad*.

¹⁸⁰ C. N. Ahmad Maulawi and K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *op.cit.*, p. 161.

inflicted crushing defeats upon the Portuguese in the Arabian Sea. Failing to face the Marakkar menace, the Portuguese tried to woo the Zamorin. Thus the erection of the Portuguese fort at Ponnani, and the Marakkar fort at Puthupattinam created great havoc in the Zamorin's territory. The Portuguese spread the rumour that the Kunjalis were acting as super kings.¹⁸¹ The Zamorin fell in the trap of the rumour, which ultimately led to the eradication of the Marakkar family.¹⁸² The whole heroic episode of Kunjalis' fight¹⁸³ was the fulfillment of the dreams of his beloved Sheikhs, Sheikh Abul Wafa and Sheikh Zainudhin.

The vigilant stand and prompt interference of the *ulama* contributed a great moral as well as material strength in checking the expansion of the Portuguese dominance in Malabar. Though the Portuguese succeeded in creating a maritime empire in Asia, their endeavours to gain territorial expansion in India failed except in Goa.¹⁸⁴ The fall of the Portuguese did not mark the end of anti-colonial struggle of the *ulama*. The Dutch and the French followed the Portuguese to Malabar. But they did not seriously succeeded to have a colonial root in Malabar. They did not acutely affect the life and activities of the Mappilas. Hence the burden of *ulama* was ease and they

¹⁸¹ K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *op.cit.*, p.199.

¹⁸² *Ibid*, p. 201.

¹⁸³ After the surrender, the Portuguese carried Kunjali to Goa and put him to gallow and his body was quartered and limbs were exhibited on the beaches of Panjim and Bardaz, his head was salted and sent to Cannanore to be exhibited there as a warning to strike terror among the Mappilas.

¹⁸⁴ Claude Markovits, *op.cit.*, pp.5-6.

turned seriously to the theological side. So, since then the *ulama* kept away from active involvement in the colonial issues till the coming of the British.

In short, the role of the *ulama* in the struggle against the Portuguese constitutes a unique chapter in the history of anti-colonial movement in the country. It was the *ulama* of Malabar who first developed an ideological basis on religious ground to the movement. To them the kingdom ruled by a Hindu Raja was a *Dar ul Islam* and to fight against those who tried to subjugate it was *jihad*. They did not hesitate to fight and die for the Hindu Rajas and never sought to replace them with any others including the Muslim rulers. The *ulama* of Malabar won the support of foreign rulers and succeeded in making their anti-colonial stand an international issue. They were also the first to use literature based on Holy Scriptures in the struggle against colonialism.

CHAPTER V

ULAMA AND THE

MAPPILA - BRITISH CONFLICT: EARLY PHASE

The void created by the evacuation of the Portuguese from Malabar was filled by the Dutch, the French and finally by the British. The Dutch and the French did not succeed in establishing their sway over the region. So we find no anti-colonial struggle led by the *ulama* until the advent of the British in Malabar. The Mappila attention turned to the social and cultural activities rather than to political interference. Following the evacuation of the Portuguese from Malabar the *ulama* remained largely “an anonymous class.”¹

The state of affairs remained unchanged until Tipu Sultan conquered Malabar. Though Tipu visited the houses of Sheikh Jifri at Calicut and Mohammed Shah of Kondotty, the *ulama*, in general, could not find any asylum in him because Tipu had no particular interest in the revival of the Muslim leadership in the region. It was a time when factional disputes over *Shiaism*, propagated by Muhammad Shah arose among the *ulama* of *Sunnis* and *Shias*. They actively indulged in factional disputes. Tipu by visiting the

¹ S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 55.

leaders of these groups aimed only to seek their moral support and recognition.²

When Tipu annexed Malabar and brought about major reforms in the social and revenue system, the traditional high caste Hindu landlords lost their dominance. Fearing breach of caste rules many of them fled to Travancore.³ The Mappilas who were deprived of their prosperity in trade during the Portuguese conflict had moved to the village and became tenants, under the control of the *janmis*.⁴ During Tipu's period, some of the Mappilas who were already serving the landlords as managers got chances to become proprietors of the land after the flight of their masters.⁵ Mappila chiefs served Tipu as tax collectors also. This caused to the destruction of the age-old Hindu Mappila harmonious atmosphere of Malabar.

The English East India Company from its inception was purely an independent trading company. It followed a shrewd and diplomatic policy in politics. The treaty of Sreerangapatam brought Malabar under British colonial yoke. Soon after they reverted the agrarian system adopted by Tipu. In the changed political set up the old landlords reached back and the government

² A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala, op.cit.*, p. 223.

³ Report of Joint Commission from Bengal and Bombay appointed to inspect into the state and condition of the province of Malabar in the years 1792-1793, Vol. II, Madras, 1862, p. 4.

⁴ Presidents Minute, MRP, 16 July 1822, p. 1871, No: 12, Para: 70.

⁵ Report of Joint Commission *op.cit.*, p. 119.

helped them to restore their old positions. In order to win over the heart of the landlords, the British supported all the steps taken by the Janmis. The landlords by using their power were harsher towards the tenants. Thus the change in administration caused to the sufferings of the tenants. Mostly the Mappilas were the victims of this policy in south Malabar. The Company also had a hidden programme to eliminate the Mappilas and to favour the landed class of Hindus.⁶

However, with the advent of the British, the *ulama* were forced to turn their attention to politics. The whole situation under the British was different from that under the Portuguese. The British took very cautious steps and by hook or crook made the local rulers their supporters. They were powerful and well organized in India at the time of their entry into Malabar and always sought the support of the powerful class for the expansion of their power. Yet, by the beginning of the 19th century, lawlessness and revolts broke out in Malabar, which affected the Muslim community. The *ulama* of Malabar, in such a situation took an active part in guiding them. For a better understanding of the role of the *ulama*, a close study of the structure of the Malabar society, land tenure relationships, and the attitude and treatments of the colonialists are to be discussed.

⁶ The Malabar District Reports (pol.), 1800, p. 183. (Hereafter referred MDR). There was a rapid increase of Mappila population. Sixty percent of them concentrated in Ernad, Walluvanadu and Ponnani Taluks. They were wretchedly poor peasants. Landlords were mostly Namboodiris and Nairs. In 1881 out of 511 *janmis*, in these Taluks only 12 were Mappilas.

The British authorities were quite partial in the appointments of officials. They were suspicious of the loyalty of the Mappilas. The British suspected them to be agents of the Mysore rulers. So no coveted posts were offered to them.⁷ The revenue collectors appointed by the Company extracted revenue from the people through unscrupulous means. Acts were also passed for the recognition of landlord's rights. Moreover, the upper classes and the relatives of the landlords monopolized the judicial posts. Thus the judiciary also came under the control of the landlords.⁸

The Walker Report of 1800 assures justice to *Nairs* and their possessions, whereas it blames Mappilas as usurpers.⁹ For each and every problem, the British found fault with the Mappilas. Such a partial approach of the British made the Mappilas more resentful to the authorities. To T. L. Strange, the Malabar special commissioner, the Mappilas are a harmful race. He has stated, "The Hindu inhabitants are naturally mild and forbearing, provocation has always been on the Moplah side."¹⁰ By such a colonial articulation, the authorities intended to ensure the support of the propertied classes.

⁷ J. Wye, Report on the Southern Division, to the Board of Revenue, 4th February 1801. Later, the government took some positive steps like the abolition of *Purushantaram* (death duty), recruitment of Mappilas in government posts etc. to get the support of the Mappilas. Kuttoossa, a Mappila was appointed as the Tahsildar of Ernad.

⁸ W. Logan, *Report of Malabar Special Commission 1881-82 on Malabar Land Tenures* (3 vols.), Vol. I, 1951, pp. 1, 11.

⁹ MDR (pol.), 1800, p. 183.

¹⁰ *Correspondence on Moplah Outrages 1849-53*, 2 Volumes, Madras Superintendent Government press, Vol. I, 1863, p. 443. (Hereafter Referred as *CMO*)

The British also spread the notion that Tipu's rule made the Mappilas a turbulent race. The feelings of the ignorant Mappilas were inflamed both against the government, and the Hindu *janmis*.¹¹ Fawcett, the District Superintendent of Police noted during the close of the 19th century that Ernad Mappilas had an insane idea that Europeans hated them and wanted to destroy them.¹² In 1882 Sir Thomas Munroe, the Governor of Madras also referred to Mappilas as a 'worst race in Malabar' and the 'most hostile' to the British dominion.¹³

The condition of the tenants under the Company was miserable. They had no right over any property. They were subjected to the enhancement of rent, eviction, imposition of renewal fees etc.¹⁴ Earlier they got 33% of crop produce as their share after harvest. With the change in administration it was reduced to 2-12%. Besides, many other obligatory feudal levies, presents to the lords on different occasions etc., increased their burden.¹⁵ Even for minor lapses punishment was severe. Delays in the payment of levies, inadequacy of customary presents, improper public obeisance or even a slip of the tongue

¹¹ R. H. Hitchcock, *Peasant Revolt in Malabar a History of Malabar Rebellion* 1921, Delhi, 1983, p. 8.

¹² Report of Fawcett, 5 June 1896, MJA No. 1567, 30 September 1896, p. 112, quoted in Conrad wood, *op.cit.*, p. 39.

¹³ Presidents Minute, MRP, 16th July 1822, p. 1871, quoted in Conrad wood, *Ibid*, p. 114.

¹⁴ M. Gangadharan, 'Peasant Exploitation in Malabar in the 19th century', *JKS*, Vol. IX, Parts 1- 4, 1984, pp. 155-56.

¹⁵ F. B. Evans and C. A. Innes, *Notes on Tenancy Legislation*, Madras, 1915, Appendix X.

during conversation, would cause eviction of the tenant from the lease.¹⁶ Physical tortures like whipping,¹⁷ selling as slaves, chaining and keeping in captivity were also resorted to for delaying payments.¹⁸ Here the British land revenue policy and administration acted as facilitating factors to the oppressions and exploitations perpetrated by the landlords.¹⁹ This sort of economic distress made the Mappilas resort to house breaking, dacoity and gang robbery. In the years preceding 1850's the *Foujdari Adalath* reported a three-fold increase in crime.²⁰ Moreover, the newly bestowed power to the landlords and the Mappila desperation of defence caused many uprisings in 19th century Malabar.

William Logan, the Malabar Collector, has brought out the intensity of the agrarian problem in 1881. He noticed 91,720 cases of eviction. Out of 7,994 tenants he interviewed in 1881 he found 4,401 were in debt for about 17 lakhs of rupees at interest rates ranging between 12-36%.²¹ The British gave unlimited powers to the landlords; and they had the prerogative to expel a tenant at the end of every twelve years. Thus the whole labour and sweating of the tenants' in the fields were in vain. Moreover, the prices of the

¹⁶ K. N. Panikkar (ed.), *Peasant Protests and Revolts in Malabar*, Delhi, 1990, p. X.

¹⁷ Statement of Tasherri Unni Ali, Karaye Pandikkad, Record of Court of Special Assistant Magistrate of Malabar, quoted in K. N. Panikkar, *Peasant Protest...op.cit.*, p. 259.

¹⁸ K. K. N. Kurup, *Aspect of Kerala History and Culture*, Tiruvananthapuram, 1977, p. 65.

¹⁹ M. Gangadharan, 'Peasant Exploitation...' *op.cit.*, pp. 155-86.

²⁰ Bombay Gazetteer, 29 September 1849. Hindu tenants were also suffered but they were largely low castes and non-castes who could not rise against the high caste *janmis* that would become dishonour to the caste rules and Hindu land system.

²¹ W. Logan's Report on... *op.cit.*, Para 88.

agricultural products increased by more than 100%²² and thus the landlord always tended to transfer his lease for higher *pattam*. It resulted in harsh treatment of the tenants,²³ which caused a series of peasant uprisings. The peasant uprisings of modern era were, as E. K. G. Nambiar states, less concerned with religious or utopian aims than with practical demands like reducing taxes and doing away with the worst of the feudal obligations.²⁴ Contradictory to this world phenomenon Mappila uprisings of Malabar had a strong religious background.

Mappilas had an age-old tradition of resistance. During the time of the Portuguese, they had developed a notion that they were being victimized. During the early years of the British influence in Malabar, Mappilas of Tirurangadi challenged the officer of the Zamorins.²⁵ *Tellichery records* report about some conflicts between the British chieftains and Mappilas.²⁶ A fight took place between Paranambi, the *janmi* and the Mappilas at Malappuram. A similar confrontation is reported to have occurred at

²² W. Logan's Report on... *op.cit.*, Vol. II, 1951.

²³ *CMO*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, pp. 216-20.

²⁴ E. K. G. Nambiar, 'Marx and Lenin on the Role of Peasantry in Revolutions, Some Theoretical Observations' in E. K. G. Nambiar (ed.), *Agrarian India, Problems and Perspectives*, Calicut University, 1999, p.2.

²⁵ For details see, S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, pp. 245-246.

²⁶ For details see, *Tellichery Consultations*, Vol. XVI, p. 169.

Peringathoor near Tellichery on the question of obeisance between Mappilas and Nair landlords in the beginning of the 18th century.²⁷

As stated earlier, peace in Malabar disappeared; instead, revolts, dacoity, thefts and social banditry occurred almost quite frequently. Having lost everything, the hapless Mappila rose in revolt against the landlords and the British colonialists. It culminated in a series of outbreaks in the 19th century. Religious ideology united them and played a dominant role in these outbreaks. The *ulama* reminded them of the commandments of the *Quran*, “Fight in the cause of God those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for God loveth not transgressors,”²⁸ and “fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God.”²⁹ Accordingly, outbreaks of Muttiyara (1841), Cherur (1843), Manjeri (1849), Kolothur (1873), Malappuram (1884) and so on took place in south Malabar.

About the revolts of the 19th century William Logan, the District Collector of Malabar comments, “there was no other association for them (the Mappilas) except their religion... the religion gave them a philosophy of

²⁷ M. Gangadharan, *Mappila Padanangal*, *op.cit.*, p. 22. A young man named Mayan in the streets of Tellichery and Kunhippa Hajee of Pommala found to have participated in the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. P. A. Sayyid Muhammad, *Kerala Muslim Charitram* (Mal.), Calicut, 1996, pp. 174-175.

²⁸ *Quran* 2: 190.

²⁹ *Ibid*: 8: 39.

action and nourished their feelings of antagonism against the well to do land owners.”³⁰

The identical character and the uniformity of these occurrences would prove the ideological backings and leadership. It would be very clear from the statement of Kunhi Koya Tangal,³¹ one of the *ulama*, who led the revolt of 1849 that, “my reason for joining these people arises from the dictates of religion, for when a member of Mussalmans is in trouble and in danger, it is for us, *Sayyids* to join and die with them. Seeing their grievous state, I thinking of the face of God, joined them.”³² He also warned that similar incidents would recur if Mappila grievances were not redressed.³³

The Mappilas have been fed on the folklores of *shuhada* (martyrs) right from childhood. Many such folklore compiled by the *ulama* of the time, planted several dreams in their minds: of martyrdom and extreme desire for heavenly bliss. It was at this juncture that the landlords took away the dwellings of the Mappilas, which kindled the outbreaks.³⁴ As H. V. Connolly, the Malabar Collector, pointed out, no year passed during his tenure without

³⁰ K. K. N. Kurup, *William Logan a Study in the Agrarian Relations of Malabar*, Calicut, 1981, p. 37.

³¹ While stating about the occasion when Raja of Manjeri forced Mappila tenants to contribute towards the expenses for the reconstruction of the temple.

³² *CMO*, Vol. I, p. 32.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ M. P. S. Menon, *Malabar Samaram M P Narayana Menonum Sahapravarthakarum* (Mal.), Calicut, 1994, p. 25.

recording a Mappila outbreak.³⁵ These words were the expression of a frustrated authority.

The period 1836-1919 witnessed a number of revolts and uprisings in south Malabar. Thirty-two of them were rather major revolts, which shook the British power. Out of these, twenty-two occurred between 1836-53. Murder of Connolly in 1855 and the attempts on C. A. Innes in 1915 were grievous. Each of these revolts had some common features, beginning with a religious ceremony like *nercha*. A Mappila peasant either evicted from his land or unduly exploited by the landlord without any alternative means of livelihood would declare his intentions to kill his landlord and to become a martyr. Immediately, a few others would also join him in religious frenzy. After divorcing their wives and clad in white robes of martyrs, they marched to the houses of their landlords; killed them and then waited in the landlord's house or a convenient place or a temple to encounter the police. Attempts to escape from punishment or to surrender to the police were not seen.³⁶ Out of 351 Mappilas who directly took part in the outbreaks, 319 died and only 32 survived to be captured.³⁷

³⁵ M. Gangadharan, *Mappila Padanangal*, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

³⁶ K. N. Panikkar, *Peasant Protest... op.cit.*, p. XII.

³⁷ Cf, S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 122.

Terrified by the recurring Mappila revolts, Connolly appointed T. L. Strange as Commission to trace the causes of the Mappila revolts.³⁸ The report he brought out was disappointing. Without going deep into the agrarian problems, he rather justified the authorities and emphasized the landlords' rights. In his opinion the outrages were due to fanaticism³⁹ fanned by Muslim priests and land hungry rich Mappilas who exploited the religious sentiments of their illiterate and poor brethren.⁴⁰ He recommended repressive policy and legislation against the outbreaks. He also emphasized the role of spiritual leaders, especially of *Tarammal Tangals*⁴¹ of Tirurangadi, behind many of these outbreaks.

It was on the recommendations of Strange that Fazl Pookoya Tangal was deported to Makkah on 19th March 1852. Measures like the imposition of heavy fines on the Mappila population in localities where outrages occurred, confiscation of the property of those found guilty of outrages and deportation of persons suspected of complicity were the main recommendations of the

³⁸ CMO, V. I, pp. 268-73

³⁹ T. L. Strange, *Commission Report*, submitted to T. Pycroft, Secretary to government, Judicial Dept. on 25th September 1852, Madras, p. 411. (TNA). Hereafter referred as Strange Report.

⁴⁰ K. N. Panikkar, *Peasant Protest... op.cit.*, p. XV.

⁴¹ Mamburam Sayyid Alawi Tangal and Fazl Pookoya Tangal are often referred in the Strange Report as Tarammal Tangal, Tirurangadi Tangal, and Mamburam Tangal.

strange report. To enforce the measures a special police force was raised in Ernad.⁴²

The findings of Strange were one sided and the results of his prejudices. The recommendations and its subsequent measures such as Mappila outrages Acts of XXII and XXIV in 1854 and the acts of XXV and XXX in 1859 were considered humiliating to the Mappilas.⁴³

The report and measures proposals were prepared under the supervision of Connolly, the District Collector.⁴⁴ The report did not lead to any positive solution to the serious problems of the tenants. But, definitely the measures taken against the Mappilas based on the Strange report intensified the anti-British feelings among the Mappila peasantry. Its first expression was the murder of Connolly on 12th September 1855 by three Mappilas.⁴⁵ Instead of a decline, more violent outbreaks occurred in the areas of Kolothur (1873) Melattur (1880) Malappuram Kilmuri (1884), Pandikkad (1889), Chambrassery and Payyannur (1898) and so on. Thus Malabar has witnessed more than 86 revolts against the officials during 80 years prior to 1921.⁴⁶

⁴² Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, 1951, pp. 570-71.

⁴³ K. K. N. Kurup, *Mappila Parambaryam*, Tirurangadi, 1998, p. 77

⁴⁴ P. P. Abdul Razak, 'The Prose of Counter Insurgency and the Representation of Mappilas', in K. N. Ganesh (ed.), *Culture and Modernity, Historical Explorations*, Calicut University, 2004, p. 194.

⁴⁵ K. N. Panikkar, *Peasant Protest... op.cit.*, p. XV.

⁴⁶ K. Madhavan Nair, 'Malayalathile Mappila Lahala,' *Mathrubhumi*, 24 March 1923.

On 14th October 1880, the government received an anonymous petition from some educated Mappilas. It contained complaints against the landlords' oppression of Mappilas and a pleading to the government to take immediate steps.⁴⁷ The government took quick steps on the problem by appointing William Logan, the Collector of Malabar as special commissioner to inquire into and report⁴⁸ on the general questions of land tenure, tenant rights and conditions of peasants in Malabar. Logan in his report, criticized Strange's finding and was much optimistic about improving the peasant condition for which he recommended permanency of tenure, free hand to exploit the soil for agricultural purposes and the right to sell or transfer their interest in the soil.⁴⁹ He reported that the tenants were constantly in fear of eviction by the landlords. Their life was in abject poverty, debts and starvation.⁵⁰ Logan also recommended the immediate redressal of the tenants' grievances. But instead of taking steps on the report, the Government of Madras appointed another committee in 1885.

The British authorities' attitudes to the causes of the revolts were highly biased. They concluded that the recurring outbreaks were due to fanaticism of the Mappilas and even designated the area as fanatic zone. They treated the Mappilas of Ernad-Walluvanad area with contempt and called

⁴⁷ Judl. Dept. G O, No: 281, February 1881. TNA.

⁴⁸ W. Logan, *Report of Malabar Special Commission 1881-82*, Madras, 1885.

⁴⁹ K. N. Panikkar, *Peasant Protest... op.cit.*, p. XVI.

⁵⁰ W. Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 583.

them 'Jungle Mappila' or 'fanatic Mappila.'⁵¹ They were accused of possessing war knives at the instigation of religious leaders like *Tarammal Tangals*. The British did not spare even the dead bodies of the martyrs. They cremated them *en bloc*. Their attempt to burn the dead bodies of the martyrs of the Cherur revolt and the deporting of 125 accused to the Andaman made the Mappilas uncontrollable.⁵² Prohibition on the construction of mosques and deporting of Fazl Pookoya Tangal also provoked the Mappilas.

To redress the grievances of the peasants, Malabar Compensation for Tenants' Improvement Act was passed in 1887. The Act provided for compensation for those who were evicted from their holdings. Despite all these measures, the number of evictions increased after 1887. For instance in 1887 the number of evictions was 2819 while it increased to 4,620 in 1892.⁵³

It was under circumstances of such oppressions by the landlords supported by the British authorities that the *ulama* played their active role in the Mappila community. Thus behind the outbreaks of the 19th century, the presence of the *ulama* was conspicuous as they were basically against the colonialists and oppressions. The people stood behind them with implicit obedience and blind belief in their miracles (*Karamat*). As K. N. Panikkar

⁵¹ *Joint Commission Report ...op.cit.*, Vol. I, p. 164, quoted in Francis Day, *op.cit.*, p. 368.

⁵² P. K. Muhammad Kunhi, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁵³ K. N. Panikkar, *Peasant Protest... op.cit.*, p. 56.

quotes, "Rumours about the ability of religious leaders to work miracles (*Karamat*) were widely current among the Mappilas."⁵⁴

The *Ba Alawis* of Mamburam

The above analysis reveals the role of religious leaders in the revolt of the 19th century. The *Ba Alawis*⁵⁵ were foremost among the spiritual leaders to give lead to the Mappilas in their struggle against the colonial powers. They came to Calicut and stayed in the city, Jamaludhin Makhdum of Ponnani or the Arabi Tangal invited Sheikh Hasan Jifri, their leader to Mamburam.⁵⁶ Thus it became the head quarter of the *Ba Alawis*. The place must have been chosen as their head quarters due to its historical importance, since Tirurangadi had a long tradition of resistance. In 1746 Mappilas of Tirurangadi resisted the Zamorin's plan to destroy the Tirurangadi mosque.⁵⁷ So also two of the Anglo-Mysore wars in 1782 and 1790 took place in

⁵⁴ *Times of Malabar*, 13th January 1900, MNNR, p.1900.

⁵⁵ *Ba Alawis*, a prominent Sayyid family reached Malabar from Hadarmouth. The first among them Sheikh Hasan Jifri came to Mamburam in 1764 but left shortly.

⁵⁶ Mamburam near Tirurangadi is a rural area on the northern bank of Kadalundi River, 35 Kms. south of Calicut. The place has a long tradition of *jihad* since the Portuguese period. When the Portuguese menace was overcome the *Makhdums* of Ponnani had diverted their attention to the cultural and educational development of the community. Thus, gradually the centre of spiritual leadership moved to the *Ba Alawis* of Mamburam.

⁵⁷ M. Gangadharan, 'Virudharum Vidheyarum, Mamburam Tangalmarude Kalavum Akalavum,' *Mathrubhumi Weekly*- June 5, 2005, book- 83, Vol. 14, p. 29.

Tirurangadi in which thousands of Mappilas of the locality fought along with the Mysore forces.⁵⁸

The sanctity attributed to a *Sayyid* family by the community was great. Moreover the practice of *Taqbil* or kissing the hand of the *Sheikh* after salutation was prevalent only among the *Ba Alawis*.⁵⁹ This practice led to a closer affinity among the people. Thus when the *Ba Alawis* gave the call to resist the colonialists, people heeded the call and acted accordingly, which manifested in the form of revolts in the 19th century.

Sayyid Alawi Tangal

Sayyid Alawi Tangal,⁶⁰ the second in the line of *Ba Alawis* in Mamburam, was the first *Ba Alawi* to give leadership to the people of Malabar.⁶¹ The teachings of Sayyid Alawi initiated a process of revitalization and regeneration among the Mappilas.⁶² But it was never motivated by any

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ K. Hussain, *Mappila Malabar*, Calicut, 2005, pp. 52-53.

⁶⁰ Born at Tarim of Hadarmouth, the son of Muhammad Ibn Ali and Fatimah, direct descendant of the Prophet. Having lost his parents in the early age he travelled widely; reached Malabar in 1767. He settled at Mamburam under the guidance of Shiekh Jifri. He led people in all the walks of life. He died at Mamburam 1200 AH. He wrote many works, important among them is Saiful Battar, a collection of fatwa.

⁶¹ Earlier the centre of Mappila spiritual leadership in Malabar was Ponnani. After the Portuguese it was shifted to Ponnani. Though for a short period Sheikh Jifri was there in Mamburam he could not influence the people as their spiritual guide. Sayyid Alawi was the first to do it.

⁶² K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord... op.cit.*, p. 62.

fanatic views.⁶³ He built a number of mosques at different places like Mamburam, Tanur, Moonniyoor, Muttiyara, Ponmundam, Konduchina, Velimukku and Kodingi.⁶⁴ With the establishment of these mosques he aimed at setting up a spiritual network with Mamburam as the centre.

The Mappilas believed that the *Tangal* could perform miracles. The popular belief about his miracles like prediction of future, bringing rain during drought etc. increased his fame and recognition. Marvellous stories are told of his supernatural knowledge. A large number of visitors flowed to him for cure of chronic diseases, for the recovery of the stolen property, to induce rain during drought and to restore fallen trees to their original position⁶⁵ and to swear at his feet. The common mass looked upon the *Tangal* as being imbued with divinity. Earth on which he has spat or walked is treasured up. His blessings were supremely prized.⁶⁶

There was no confrontation between the colonialists and the *Tangal* in the early revolts of the 19th century. When Chemban Pokker, Attan Kurikkal and Unni Mutha Moopan revolted, the *Tangal* did not interfere in it for it was an isolated event. But the government authorities were of the strong opinion

⁶³ *Ibid.* p. 61.

⁶⁴ K. N. Ganesh, 'Socio-Cultural Process and Livelihood Patterns at Tirurangadi- A Micro historical Study' *Unpublished Project Report submitted to Tirurangadi Block*, 2005, p. 175.

⁶⁵ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mamburam Sayyid Alawi Tangal* (Mal.), Tirurangadi, 1970, pp. 48-51.

⁶⁶ *CMO*, Vol. I, p. 222.

that religious leaders played a vital role in all the revolts of the 19th century. Mr. Strange throughout his report⁶⁷ accused *Tarammal Tangal*⁶⁸ for his active role in directing these 'fanatical outrages.'⁶⁹

The illiterate Mappilas were intensely religious with blind faith and veneration for their religious leaders especially the *Tangal* of Mamburam. It was from his preachings that they imbibed the religious ideal of martyrdom that motivated them to fight against injustice and oppression. The Mappilas held Sayyid Alawi Tangal in high esteem and looked upon him 'almost as a prophet.'⁷⁰ The *jihadis* before going out for holy war received blessings of Mamburam Tangal and vowed, *nercha* and *Moulid*.⁷¹ By realizing the greatness of the Tangal, the British authorities tried to cajole him. But he never fell for the mean tricks of the British authorities. He always kept away from the authorities. He refused to entertain the British officials at Mamburam, who had come with the objective of influencing him.⁷²

Sayyid Alawi Tangal wrote the most exciting work, '*Assaiful Battar ala man Yuvaril Kuffar wa ya Khudum min Dunillahi wa Rasulih wal Mu'minin*

⁶⁷ *Strange Report*, pp. 413-512.

⁶⁸ The name used by Strange for Mamburam *Tangals* since their centre of activity was a 'Tara' (a high platform) at Mamburam.

⁶⁹ The term used by the commissions to denote the outbreaks, as stated them due to fanatic reasons throughout the report.

⁷⁰ MDR 1817, Letter received Police, pp. 435-36.

⁷¹ Conrad Wood, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

⁷² A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala, op.cit.*, p. 218.

wal Ansar' (The sharp sword upon the supporters of Infidels and those serving against Allah, His Messenger and the helping Believers),⁷³ exhorting people to fight against the *frengi* (European) rule. According to him the 'white folk' were supporting the oppressive landlords. The work was secretly circulated from mosque to mosque. The British authorities considered the work most dangerous. In 1851 Connolly issued orders for proscribing the book.

At the top of each page of the book, the following was written: "*Qatilu A'da Allahi Innal Jannatha Tahta Zilali Ssuyuf* (fight against the enemies of Allah, for the paradise is under the shadow of the sword).⁷⁴ The *Saiful Battar* declares *jihad* against the British infidels as incumbent. It states that at critical situation *jihad* is compulsory on all including the old, women and children.⁷⁵ No co-operation and compromise would be made with the British. If anybody praised the British rule it would be a great sin and he should repent it. If not, he would become an infidel and God's wrath would befall on him.⁷⁶

⁷³ The *Assaiful Battar* is the collection of *fatwas* proclaimed by Mamburam Tangal as answers to the eight questions of Abdullah bin Abdul Bari Abdal Tangal of Quilandi.

⁷⁴ Sayyid Fazl, *Uddat ul Umara wal Hukam li Ihanatil Kafarati wa Abadat il Asnam*, Egypt, 1856 (1273 A H).

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, p. 27.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 28.

The *Saiful Battar* condemned the British courts and advised the Muslims not to file cases in the British courts since justice could not be expected from the Europeans.⁷⁷ It also urged the believers to fight till the last breath for the liberation of the country from the British colonial rule.⁷⁸ Quoting from *Tuhfat* of Ibn Hajarul Haithami, Sayyid Alawi emphasizes, “if *Dar ul Islam* (abode of Islam)⁷⁹ is occupied by the *Harbis* (*Kafirs* or Christians), it should be treated as an Islamic country and it is obligatory on all Mappilas to resist the enemy.”⁸⁰ According to him, the Europeans were the worst enemies of the Muslims and could not be trusted by the believers.⁸¹

The British authorities had a strong contention that Unni Mutha Moopan, Athan Kurikkal and Chemban Pokker, the leaders of the uprising of 1801 had received succour from Sayyid Alawi Tangal. The government’s contention was based on the arrest of two of Kurikkal’s supporters, including his sword bearer from the Mamburam mosque.⁸² Thus the British authorities decided to arrest the *Tangal*. But due to the fear of riots gave up the plan.⁸³

Again in 1817, the authorities chalked out a plan to arrest Sayyid Alawi Tangal. It was also because of his relations with Athan Kurikkal. After the

⁷⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 28-37.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 29.

⁷⁹ Sayyid Alawi called Malabar as *Dar ul Islam*.

⁸⁰ Sayyid Fazl, *Uddat ul Umara...op.cit.*, p. 25.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 29.

⁸² S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, pp. 116-17.

⁸³ MDR Police Department Letter, 1817, pp. 435-36.

murder of the Kurikkal, the government confiscated his lands and properties. In April 1817, one of his sons with hundreds of well equipped youths attempted to recapture the lands. The government aborted the attempt. On the suppression of the revolt, the government tried to trace the master brain behind it and found Sayyid Alawi Tangal as the moving force behind the revolt. Accordingly, James Vaughan, the Collector summoned him to Calicut. The *Tangal* appeared before the Collector accompanied by a huge and well-armed mob, which actually frightened him and made him give up the plan of arrest.⁸⁴ The Collector remarked about the situation, "I had reason to believe that any attempt to seize the *Tangal* by force would be attended with the most dreadful consequences, no less than a general rise of the Mappila populace."⁸⁵

Sayyid Alawi Tangal was a staunch exponent of Hindu-Muslim unity. Kontu Nair was his trusted manager.⁸⁶ A traditional folk song related to famous *Kaliyattakkavu* festival⁸⁷ reads like this,

Edavam Padinanjanthi

Nalloru Kaliyatte

⁸⁴ S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 116.

⁸⁵ MDR, Letter received Police, 18A, pp. 435-36, TNA.

⁸⁶ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mamburam... op.cit.*, p. 28.

⁸⁷ A festival of the low caste Hindus at Muttiyara, annually held in the mid of *Edavam* (end of May) where *Poikuthira* (a model of horse) and hen (*Kozhikkaliyattam*) were sacrificed before *Kaliyattakkav Baghavathi*.

Velliyazhcha Nalla Nale

Teertatha Kodukkunnu

Sayyidalawi Tangalane

Teerthoru Kaliyattam

Annathe Varampolathanne

*Innolam Vazhunnu.*⁸⁸

(It was Sayyid Alawi Tangal who fixed Friday 15th Edavam as the day of Kaliyattam and till today it continues on the same day.)

Near the place of this festival called 'Muttiyara', a clash⁸⁹ took place between Mappilas and *janmis*. In the first phase of the Muttiyara incident, the Mamburam Tangal advised the Mappilas not to be provoked by the indecent behavior of the landlord, Thottasseri Thachu Panikkar.⁹⁰ But when the Panikkar violated the sanctity of the mosque and manhandled the Mappilas who had assembled for prayer⁹¹ Sayyid Alawi Tangal permitted them to repay in the same coin. The subsequent events led to the Muttiyara revolt. From

⁸⁸ Salim Iddid, 'Kadha parayunna Mamburam' *Chandrika Daily*, 27th April 1919, p. 3

⁸⁹ In November 1841, on the issue of some flimsy causes a clash occurred at Muttiyara. Thachu Panikkar, the landlord, along with his men attacked the people by 'entering the mosque' before 'an overpowering number of Mappilas' and in the fight followed, the Panikkar, his peon and eleven Mappilas were killed.

⁹⁰ *Strange Report*, p. 411-12.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 412.

some letters found from the bodies of the martyrs, indicated that they had been in correspondence with the *Tangal* and had turned to him for support.⁹²

Cherur⁹³ was another centre of serious Mappila outbreak.⁹⁴ As usual, the revolt was against the oppressions of Kaprat Panikkar, a local landlord and a British official (*Adhikary*). In August 1843, the Mappilas killed the Panikkar and there followed the revolt. They believed that it was made possible by the blessings of Sayyid Alawi Tangal. They even held that the *Tangal* had fought with them in disguise.⁹⁵

The district authorities quite often reminded the government about the leadership of Mamburam Tangal in the outbreaks. On 30th November 1843 Connolly, the Collector wrote to J. F. Thomas, the Secretary to Governor stating his plan to arrest and question the Arab priest (Sayyid Alawi).⁹⁶ But he

⁹² *Ibid*, pp. 413- 14.

⁹³ A place, ten Kms. South of Mamburam.

⁹⁴ Cherur Revolt was staged against Kaprat Panikkar, a landlord near Cherur. With the support of the British forces, he disgraced the Mappilas, mostly the converts from low castes. They complained it to Sayyid Alawi Tangal. With his blessings Mappilas fought against the Panikkar. It is said that within no time the Tangal reached the spot miraculously and fought in person. In the battle that followed 60 British officials of Vth Madras Regiment assisted the Panikkar. According to British version four British soldiers were killed. But *Cherur Chinth* states it to be twenty, and seven Mappila became *Shahid*. British authorities carried the dead bodies of the Mappilas to Tirurangadi with the intention of cremating them. But the Mappilas seized them on the way and buried them at *Manthani Parambu* near Tirurangadi Police Station.

⁹⁵ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mamburam... op.cit.*, pp.59-60. The lines of *Cherur Chinth* and *Cherur Padappattu* refers that in the fight Sayyid Alawi fought in person and had wounds in his thigh. See C. M. Muhammad Maulawi, *Britainta Parajayam Athava Cherur Chinth*, Pub. By the author n.d, pp.2-23.

⁹⁶ *CMO*, Vol. II, *op.cit.*, p. 94.

himself was fearful of such an act, which would bring serious consequences.⁹⁷ After the *Tangal's* death, his name and fame further spread far and wide and his tomb became a centre of pilgrimage to both Mappilas and Hindus, particularly to the lower castes.

Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal

Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal,⁹⁸ son and successor of Sayyid Alawi Tangal, was an ardent enemy of the British. He had great influence in the society. Through his writings and speeches he fought bitterly against the injustice committed on the peasants by the landlords and the atrocities perpetrated by the authorities against the poor. It made him a nightmare to the authorities. He dared to declare in *khutuba* that to kill a *janmi* who evicted the peasant is not a sin but a virtuous deed.⁹⁹ He also used the Friday congregation at Mamburam mosque to make the people aware of their day-to-day affairs.¹⁰⁰ He strongly warned the Mappilas not to follow the *kuffar* (unbelievers) in their habits and manners. By the term 'kuffar' he meant the

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 111.

⁹⁸ Scholar, writer, reformer, crusader against the colonialists, statesmen born in the family of *Ba Alawis* at Mamburam. He became the spiritual leader after the death of his father. When the authorities found him inspiring the people against the British, he was deported to Makkah with his family.

⁹⁹ C. Kanaran, Deputy Collector of Malabar to Logan, Govt. of Madras- *Malabar Special Commission 1881- 82*, Vol. II, p. 48, quoted in Conrad Wood, 'Historical Background of Moplah Rebellion', *Social Scientists*, Tiruvananthapuram, August 1974, p. 45.

¹⁰⁰ C. N. Ahmad Maulawi and K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mahathaya Mappila...op.cit.*, p. 186.

Europeans as he clearly described Malabar, the land of Mappilas and Hindus as *Dar ul Islam*.

Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal edited a work along with Saiful Battar and some other *fatwas* and published it from Egypt.¹⁰¹ It was entitled *Uddat ul Umara wal Hukam li Ihanat al Kafarati wa Abadat il Asnam* (preparation to judges and leaders to undermine the idolaters and unbelief). The work contains 168 pages with nine chapters and is replete with quotes from *Quran* and *Hadith*. In the work he advises the readers to write war songs in different languages to mobilize the people against the Europeans.¹⁰² He also recommends the people to read the work and to consider the book a friend.¹⁰³ He advises the Muslims to obey the ruler of their land and to boycott the *Kuffars* (Europeans) in all means.¹⁰⁴

The *Uddat ul Umara* remind the believers, "Is there any cruel group than these *Kuffars*? How did they enter to us? By crook they intrude us and destroy our women, children, wealth, lands and mosques. After conquest, they destroy our holy places replaces it with churches, captivated our women children and convert them into their religion. Is it not the great carelessness to make them

¹⁰¹ Sayyid Fazl, *Uddat ul Umara wal Hukam li Ihanat il Kafaratil wa Abadat il Asnam*, Egypt, 1856 (1273 A H).

¹⁰² Sayyid Fazl, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁰³ Sayyid Fazl, *Uddat ul Umara...op.cit.*, p. 2.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 25.

helpers?¹⁰⁵ Thus enter against them in *jihad* is great honour and treasure of God. He asks the Muslim to quench the thirst for *jihad* and to sell the body for heaven.¹⁰⁶ He strongly commands the believers to fight against frangis (Europeans), Oh, the believers, fight and fight. Here is the paradise. Sacrifice your health and wealth to save your body from hell. Martyrdom is a great treasure. Don't be miser to become a martyr. You keep trust in God and his Prophet, but is a sin as not to act upon it.¹⁰⁷

He also describes the mortality of this world and everlasting hereafter. To the believers, there is success either by victory or by martyrdom.¹⁰⁸ Like Haji Shariatullah of *Faraizi Movement*, Sayyid Fazl worked for the enlistment of poor peasant groups.¹⁰⁹ He also was uncompromising with the British as Jamaludhin Afghani of the Pan-Islamic Movement.

The British authorities made out a strong case about his role in the outbreaks of the 19th century. They held the presence of the *Tangal* responsible for the outbreaks. To them, Sayyid Fazl was more dangerous than his father. Reports on the outbreaks and court trials, reveals his role. Moreover, the circumstantial evidences supported his role in the outbreaks. There was an absence of *Tangals* at Mamburam between 1843 and 1848

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 41-43.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 43.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 44.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p. 52.

¹⁰⁹ Mujeeb Ashraf, *Muslim Attitude Towards ...op.cit.*, p. 144.

following the death of Sayyid Alawi Tangal and the accession of Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal. The period was noted for the absence of revolts. As soon as Sayyid Fazl reached Malabar in 1848, within a period of four years of his arrival (1848-52) there occurred eight outbreaks, which according to the British authorities, were because of the presence and guidance of Sayyid Fazl.¹¹⁰ Moreover, the occurrences of these outbreaks in the vicinity of Tirurangadi, the assailants' relations with the *Tangal*, the dedication of many of the war songs to the *Tangal*, his attitude and doctrines (*fatwas*), his later career in Arabia and Turkey¹¹¹ all tended the British officials to charge Sayyid Fazl as the spirit behind the outbreaks. Many of the war songs (*Padappattus*) set out with a high wrought invocation to the *Tangals*,¹¹² were compiled and dedicated¹¹³ in the name of the *Tangal*. Moreover, the venues of most of the 19th century rebellions were the nearby areas of Tirurangadi. All these factors confirm the role of Sayyid Fazl in the revolts.

The British authorities were provoked and alerted by the steps of the *Tangal*. The *Tangal* had strictly instructed the new converts to obey the following injunctions.

- To act and dress like the ordinary Mappilas.

¹¹⁰ S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 128.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² *Strange Report*, p. 416.

¹¹³ *Connolly's Letter to J. Pycroft*, 11th February 1852, *CMO*, pp. 270-76.

- To avoid the usual polite form '*Thankal*' (You) while addressing a high caste and to use '*Nee*' (you) like a high caste addressed a Muslim.
- Not to eat food left over by the rich and upper caste Hindu.
- And not to go out for ploughing on Fridays.¹¹⁴

By these steps, the *Tangal* was initiating a socio-economic and political revolution. On the one hand he tried to discard the social and economic injustice and inequality and on the other he offered equal status and humane treatment to the backward. By advising the Mappilas to refrain from work on Fridays he meant the Mappilas to enjoy a day off in a week and to participate in the Friday congregation.

T. L. Strange often refers to the name of *Tarammal Tangal* in connection with the outbreaks of the 19th century. He produces the statement of the relatives of the assailants who some way or other sought the blessings of the *Tangal*. He altogether investigated thirty-two outbreaks in which he found the direct involvement of the *Tangal* in seven,¹¹⁵ his mediation in two,¹¹⁶ and sanction in nine.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 274-76.

¹¹⁵ *Strange Report*, p. 448, Outbreaks Nos. 1, 2, 4, 5, 9, 17, 31.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, Outbreak Nos. 16, 30.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, Outbreaks Nos. 7,10,13,14,15,20,24,25,27.

During the enquiry, when Sayyid Fazl was called before Strange, a huge mob of 10,000-12,000 assembled at Tirurangadi,¹¹⁸ which alarmed the authorities. Strange in his report observed that the ideas behind Mappila uprisings had originated from Mamburam Tangal.¹¹⁹ The authorities tried to conciliate the *Tangal*. The government appointed C. Kanaran, the Deputy Collector, Kuttoossa, the Tahsildar of Ernad and Attakoya Tangal, a relative of the Sayyid Fazl for the purpose. They appealed to him to withdraw his *fatwa* against the *janmi*' and the government in turn promised not to take action against him.¹²⁰ But the *Tangal* did not succumb to their machinations.

The British government seriously discussed the issue of Sayyid Fazl. W. Robinson, the Malabar Assistant Collector suggested the arrest and trial of the *Tangal*.¹²¹ Connolly, the District Collector, realized that the arrest would cause strong resistance, and he even feared that, besides the forces of Cannanore, forces from Bangalore and Madras would be needed to face the consequences.¹²² Thus the government was reluctant to take any strong step against him. Finally the British authorities diplomatically persuaded him to leave Malabar. A huge mob of 10,000-12,000 gathered at Tirurangadi, ready to do anything for their master. But Sayyid Fazl persuaded them to disperse

¹¹⁸ Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 567.

¹¹⁹ Strange to Connolly, 29th July 1852, MJP, No: 154, 16th March 1853, p. 1610.

¹²⁰ Letter from Logan to Chief Secretary, Government of Madras, No. 33, Calicut, Dated- Dec. 13, 1880 (Judicial), Dept. G.O. No: 281, Dated 15th Feb. 1881, T.N.A.

¹²¹ *CMO*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 260, T.N.A.

¹²² M. Gangadharan, *Mathrubhumi*, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

peacefully.¹²³ Accordingly, on 19th March 1852 Sayyid Fazl with his relatives left Malabar for Makkah.

The banished Sayyid Fazl was very active in Makkah. He took up the powerful posts of Governor and Advisor under the Turkish Sultan. During his career he always exhibited his wrath towards the British imperialism. Though banished, his mind was with the people of Malabar. He made continuous efforts to return to Malabar and to lead the people in their struggle against the colonialists. But the authorities had decided not to permit him to enter Malabar.¹²⁴ Connolly wrote to the Governor of Bombay to check the entry of the Tungal in any part of his state.¹²⁵ Even the port authorities were alerted about the homecoming of Sayyid Fazl or any of his family members to Malabar.¹²⁶ Thus the whole British missionary was used to check the return of Sayyid Fazl. It shows that he was still treated a source of danger to the British. The authorities feared that the presence of Sayyid Fazl would arouse the Mappilas into action. Even long after his death in 1925, Sayyid Ali, one of the descendants of Sayyid Fazl, was denied permission to come to Malabar.¹²⁷

¹²³ *CMO*, Vol. I, p. 277.

¹²⁴ *Strange Report*, p. 487.

¹²⁵ *Letter from H.V. Connolly to A. Mallet, Chief Secretary to Govt. Of Bombay Calicut* dated 6th Aug. 1853, No: 1430, quoted in K.K.N. Kurup and P.K. Poker (ed.), *Sayyid Fazl, Jeevithavum Porattavum*, Tiruvananthapuram, 2006, p. 50.

¹²⁶ *Letters from Secretary to Govt. (Judicial) to C.J.O. Cole*, quoted in *Ibid.*

¹²⁷ *Telegram Government of India* at p. 40 of GO No: 1216, public dated 17- 12- 1925, quoted in public (Gen) Dept. No: 1232. Dated 29- 7- 1935, B. No: 1A S. No. 2. RAK.

All these illustrate that the British authorities were afraid of even the shadow of Mamburam Tangals in Malabar after the deportation.

Again, on 12th February 1934 Sayyid Ali without any prior information landed at Calicut. But the authorities did not allow him to stay there and compelled him to leave for Colombo. A huge mob from different parts of Malabar rushed to Calicut after reading the report of his arrival from the newspaper.¹²⁸

The deportation of Sayyid Fazl had a two-fold effect in the Mappila community. Firstly the centre of the leadership shifted from Mamburam to Calicut and the *Qazis* of Calicut became the spiritual leaders. Secondly, the attention of the *ulama* diverted to flimsy issues like *Ponnani-Kondotty Kaitarkam*,¹²⁹ *Qazi* power controversy¹³⁰ and so on. At the same time the British authorities took steps to create a loyal group in Mamburam under Sayyid Attakoya Tangal and in Calicut under the *Qazis*.

Even in the absence of Sayyid Fazl, some of the members from *Ba Alawis*, Sayyid Hussain Tangal of Panakkad worked against the landlords and

¹²⁸ *Al- Ameen*, 12th February (Special Supplement) and 13th Feb- 1934, in public Dept, No: 240, Dated 13- 3- 1934, B. No: 1A, S.NO: 25. RAK.

¹²⁹ On certain issue of religious observances, the *ulama* group of Kondotty and Ponnani entered in dispute.

¹³⁰ Dispute between the two *Qazis* of Calicut on the question of certain flimsy issues like beating of drum at the time of marriage. People of Calicut divided in two groups and made arguments and counter arguments on it. For details see P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*,

the British. He was a contemporary of Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal who joined hands with him in the anti-British campaigns and issued *fatwas*. The deportation of Sayyid Fazl made him a sworn enemy of the British. He excited the people to revolt against the British imperialism.¹³¹

The British authorities had clear evidence of his involvement in the outbreak of 1882¹³² led by Kalangadan Kutty Hasan. The police reported that the *fatwas* and amulets issued by the *Tangal* instigated the Mappilas for the outbreak. The Mappilas believed that the amulets would make them immune to bullets. Consequently the Tangal was arrested. The copies of his *fatwas* were confiscated. Considering his status in the Malabar society he was persuaded by the authorities to deny the charge against him before the Court of Law. But he did not succumb to the persuasion. Subsequently he was sentenced to life imprisonment. He remained in central jail, Vellore till his death in 1885.¹³³

Yet, the Mappilas continued their resistance against the British at the inspiration of the *ulama*. Many outbreaks were reported to have taken place during this period also. Strange reports that many of the *Sayyids*, *Qazis* and others of the order of Mohammedan priesthood in Malabar played an active

¹³¹ K. Muhammad Kutty, *Thanganmarude Nethrthwam (Mal.)*, Calicut, 1954, pp. 65-66.

¹³² S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 136.

¹³³ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, Vol. III, *op.cit.*, p. 258.

role in these outbreaks.¹³⁴ He even states about the presence of the *ulama* like Awukoya Musaliar and Pocker kutty Musaliar in these outbreaks.¹³⁵

In the absence of a spiritual leadership, the youths also undertook certain outbreaks by getting inspired from the soul of Sayyid Alawi at his tomb (Mamburam Maqam). Thus the dead Mamburam Tangal became more powerful than the living *Tangals*. As William Logan refers,

“The Arab *Tangal* or High priest was generally credited with having incited the Mappilas to commit these outrages. The *Tangal* died shortly afterwards and was buried at the Mamburam mosque situated on the riverbank opposite to Tirurangadi. Fanatics who intent to commit outrages, and those who have committed them do, as a rule even now, proceed to this mosque to pray at the *Tangal*'s shrine.”¹³⁶

Umar Qazi

Umar Qazi¹³⁷ of Veliyancode was another bitter enemy of the British. He was a contemporary and companion of Sayyid Alawi Tangal. The Qazi

¹³⁴ *Strange Report, op.cit.*, p. 146.

¹³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 432.

¹³⁶ Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 557.

¹³⁷ He was born at Veliyancode in the family of Kakkathara as son of Ali Musaliar. He studied in the *Dars* of Tanur and Ponnani. He served the mosques of Valiyakulangara and Ponnani as *Mudarris*. During this time, he wrote number of works in prose and

advocated the theory of non- taxation long before Gandhiji thought of it.¹³⁸ He was quite agitated by the heavy taxes imposed upon the people and stood for non-taxation.¹³⁹

The *Qazi* wrote several works both in prose and verse concerning social and religious issues. He issued *fatwas* against the British and gave intellectual guidance to the early non-co-operation, non-taxation and resistance movements in Malabar.¹⁴⁰

During his lifetime he was never prepared to pay taxes and he sensitized the people through his poems about the injustice of the British authorities in their tax collection. He said, "He (the Collector) illegally increased and imposed the taxes on us. On the contrary, reduced the taxes on the properties of *Adhikarin* (village officer) and *Menon* (assessor in the village office)."¹⁴¹ He himself refused to pay taxes and issued *fatwas* to the effect that the British had no legal right to impose taxes on the people as they destroyed the native rulers of the country.

verses containing in the subjects like theology, sociology and so on. Through his writings, he criticized the evil practices of both Muslims and Hindus.

¹³⁸ M. G. S. Narayanan, *Veliyancode Umar Qazi (ra) yude Jeevachritravum Krithikalum, 1765-1857*, published by Veliyancode Mahallu Jama't Committee, Veliyancode, 1999, preface.

¹³⁹ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord... op.cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁴⁰ K. N. Panikkar, 'Mappila Munnettavum Paramparakatha Bhudhijeevikalum', in K. K. N. Kurup and P. K. Poker, *op.cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁴¹ *Veliyancode Umar Qazi...op.cit.*, p. 60.

He himself did not pay taxes and ran up huge amounts in arrears. Once, some officials approached him for the collection of taxes. Refusing the demand he mocked at them and called them traitors as being the supporters of the British. The officials felt insulted and threatened to report the matter to the higher authorities. Sensing danger, one of his friends and bodyguards, Zainudhin Marakkar approached the revenue officer and stated, “The *Qazi* would never pay tax, as he firmly believed that assessing tax on God’s land is illegal. Thus here onwards, I would pay tax on *Qazi*’s behalf.”¹⁴²

On the death of Zainudhin Marakkar, the officials met *Qazi* and demanded the tax. He got annoyed and cried, “You are the destroyers of our dynasties like Mysore, Cochin, Calicut etc. Even to accept job under the white *Nazaranis*¹⁴³ is *haram* (forbidden); God is the real lord of all lands. So I will not pay the tax.”¹⁴⁴

The revenue officials felt insulted and reported to the *Tokdi* (sub-Magistrate), “Umar Musaliar, S/O Kakkathara Ali Musaliar, the local leader and *alim*, of 48 years old, declined to give tax on his properties. When we went to his house for the collection of tax he scolded the British government and us. If we made an attempt to realize it by force, we fear that it would

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 45.

¹⁴³ Term for Christians.

¹⁴⁴ *Veliyancode Umar Qazi... op.cit.*, p. 47.

cause a Mappila uprising. So your good self may take necessary actions for the realization of tax from him.”¹⁴⁵

On receipt of the letter, Neebu, the *Tokdi* of Chavakkad summoned the *Qazi* to his office. Without any reluctance the *Qazi* went to the *Tokdi*'s office at Chavakkad. On the way a large number of people followed him to the office. But near the *Kacheri* he persuaded them to disperse and leave him alone. At the office, Neebu Sahib enquired about the incident. In the course of the talk there occurred a slip of tongue and a quarrel ensued between them. The *Tokdi* threatened to arrest the *Qazi* if he did not pay the tax. The *Qazi* challenged the *Tokdi*, “Do as you like.”¹⁴⁶ The *Tokdi* lost temper and shouted, “What do you say?” The *Qazi* retaliated, ‘*Mada thaqulu ya Bathal*’ (what do you say? Oh! fool!) and spat at *Tokdi*'s face. When the police officers tried to check the *Qazi*, they were beaten with his stick. Finally the *Qazi* was arrested.¹⁴⁷

The news of the arrest of the *Qazi* spread like wild fire. Soon the jail premises got filled with a violent mob. The British authorities were frightened to see the mob. But the *Qazi* appeased the mob and directed them to disperse in peace.¹⁴⁸ He spent the night in the jail in prayers and invocations. The next

¹⁴⁵ ‘Salahul Ikhvan’ Arabi-Malayalam Paper, Vol. 3, Book. 18, p. 4, quoted in *Ibid*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁶ C. N. Ahmad Maulawi and K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mahathaya*, *op.cit.*, p. 202.

¹⁴⁷ *Veliyancode Umar Qazi... op.cit.*, p. 49.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid*, p. 50.

day dawned with the news of Umar Qazi's miraculous escape from the jail. It is said that, the lock on the jail door remained untouched but the *Qazi* was not seen inside. According to K N Panikkar, the *Qazi* was looked upon as a divine with miraculous powers. Popular belief credited him with the ability to disappear from police lock-up and to force police officials to act according to his wishes.¹⁴⁹ The whole British missionary was excited and the case was reported to the Collector Mac Lean at Calicut.

The Collector issued orders for the arrest of the *Qazi*. Police forces reached Veliyancode for the arrest. The *Qazi*'s followers brought a palanquin for his travel, but the police objected to it. But the disciples insisted on the *Qazi* being carried in the palanquin. It made the situation tense. The *Qazi* interfered and said, "I am going to see the Collector; I am not carried to the Collector. So I have every right to choose the means of my journey." The police stood numbed before his argument. The *Qazi* travelled on his palanquin to Calicut. Thousands of people followed him on the way. When the *Qazi* reached Calicut, the whole Collector's office was crowded with spirited youth. The Collector, MacLean, received the *Qazi* with respect and advised the people to disperse peacefully. He told the people that *Qazi* was his guest and wanted some friendly talk with him. On the request of the Collector, the *Qazi* advised the people to disperse peacefully and the Collector also sought

¹⁴⁹ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord... op.cit.*, p. 60.

the help of Qazi Muhiyiddheen, the *Qazi* of Calicut to pacify the mob. He reached the spot and controlled the situation.¹⁵⁰

The Collector paid him due respect and talked to him a long time, and persuaded him to give a written apology for his conduct to Neebu Sahib and the police officers. The Collector also demanded an assurance from him to pay taxes then onwards. But Umar Qazi was not prepared to accept these terms and refused to relent on the question of paying tax to the government. He was therefore arrested and detained indefinitely.¹⁵¹

During his stay in jail, he wrote a letter to Sayyid Alawi Tangal of Mamburam narrating the treatment that he faced in the jail. He wrote, “We should not allow such oppression to continue. It is better for the Mappilas to fight and die against those oppressive rulers.”¹⁵²

On receipt of the letter, Sayyid Alawi wrote to the Collector warning him of the consequences of the detention of the *Qazi*. He also warned of an unprecedented Mappila outbreak in Malabar. Realizing the threat the Collector issued orders for his release.¹⁵³

¹⁵⁰ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, p.

¹⁵¹ *Veliyancode Umar Qazi... op.cit.*, pp. 56-57.

¹⁵² *Ibid*, pp. 58-61.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, pp. 61-62.

Umar Qazi had a sharp pen and a powerful tongue. With these weapons he fought boldly against the oppressors. His fight against the inequalities was uncompromising. He criticized the inequalities that existed in the society. His works reflected on the need of equality among different castes, religions, and regions. He refused to accept superiority on the basis of class, colour or caste. In one of his poems he wrote: "Oh! Those who boast about family status; think of your origin, you were converts from such low castes as *Tiyyan*, *Nayar*, *Asari* (carpenter) *Musari* (Mason), *Mannan* (Dhobi), *Panan* (Basket maker), *Kusavan* (pottery maker), *Chetti* (Bangles maker), *Nayadi*, and *Parayan*.¹⁵⁴ After his death he became a cult figure among the rural Mappilas.¹⁵⁵

Construction of Mosques

To the landlords and the British authorities, the mosques were the bulwark of the *ulama* and the bastion of the Mappila solidarity and political awakening. So the constructions and renovations of mosques and acquisition of graveyards were looked upon as against their interest. The mosques were the nerve centres of the life and activities of the Mappilas. It served as the centre of community interactions, place of invocations, congregation and

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, p. 143.

¹⁵⁵ C. N. Ahamad Maulawi and K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mahathaya... op.cit.*, pp. 196- 203.

social ceremonies like weddings, funerals, nerchas etc. All these socio-religious functions were conducted under the direction and supervision of the *ulama*. Besides, mosques also were the centre of learning with a number of *mudarris* and *muta'llims* (students). The *mudarris* was invariably the *ulama* who made use of this position to mobilize the ordinary Mappilas.

The congregations in the mosques also had a great appeal on the community. Considering the importance of mosques in the mobilization of the Mappilas, K. N. Panikkar observes, "The congregation brought them together at the mosques and many an uprising was conceived and planned and recruits enlisted there, particularly at the time of festivals."¹⁵⁶

A large number of outbreaks occurred on the question of the construction of mosques. The issue of a mosque caused the Malappuram revolt. Paranambi, the chieftain of Zamorin at Malappuram, on account of some revenue issue, turned against the mosque of the region. It aggravated to an open fight in which large numbers of people were killed on both sides.¹⁵⁷

Thachu Panikkar, the Tahsildar, of Ernad Taluk, objected to the construction of a mosque at Mannur. The Mappilas questioned the Tahsildar,

¹⁵⁶ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord... op.cit.*, p. 195.

¹⁵⁷ See, P. A. Nainar Kutty, *Malappuram Raktasakshikal*, Ernakulam, 1952.

which ended in the murder of the Tahsildar and a peon on 19th November 1841. The culprits were captured.¹⁵⁸

Many of the outbreaks of south Malabar were caused by the construction of mosques. The objection of its constructions by the authority turns tensions and revolts in the area.¹⁵⁹ Such occurrences of revolts on the issue were noticed at many places like Kolothur¹⁶⁰ and Wandoor.¹⁶¹

The constant conflicts and confrontations related to the mosques paid the attention of the authorities. They issued strict orders regarding the construction of new mosques and the renovation of the old ones. Strange advised the government to take stringent actions against the construction of new mosques and graveyards. The *ulama* were in the forefront of the struggle for the protection of mosques and graveyards.

Conversions and apostasy

The process of conversions and apostasy had an important role in the outbreaks of the 19th century. The Omanoor incident of 1815 was an outbreak in connection with the conversion of a lady from the family of the Zamorin.

¹⁵⁸ Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 556.

¹⁵⁹ Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 577.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 563.

¹⁶¹ Hewesten, Dist. Magistrate to the Chief Secretary, Judl., 2nd March 1896, p. 38, Para 38.

The lady embraced Islam but soon she was persuaded to revert by his family members. When the Mappilas protested against the reversion, the Zamorin and his men retaliated and desecrated the mosque of Omanoor. It led to an open fight in which a *janmi* and three Mappilas were killed.¹⁶²

Instances of reversion and subsequent outbreaks were reported from Chernad and Pandikkad also.¹⁶³ An attempt to kill C. A. Inns, the Malabar Collector in 1915 was on the issue of his effort to recover a Hindu boy, who had converted to Islam.¹⁶⁴ In three other instances lower caste Hindu converts to Islam were killed on charge of apostasy.¹⁶⁵ In all these instances the *ulama* had been alleged to play a great role in inciting the community.¹⁶⁶

The British authorities were quite annoyed by the increase in conversions and growth in the number of mosques. T. L. Strange accuses, "Conversion from among slaves and lower caste Hindus have been frequent; mosques have increased, in number and the priesthood have become more numerous with higher pretensions". According to his statistics there were only 637 mosques in 1831. By 1851, the number of mosques increased to 1058. In other words, within 20 years the number of mosques in Malabar had almost doubled.

¹⁶² See, C. P. Mohammed 'Omara Pada Enna Qissappattu' Tirurangadi, 1971.

¹⁶³ William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, p. 569.

¹⁶⁴ S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ For details see 'Strange Report'- pp. 146-47.

Strange also has recorded the increase in the number of Mappilas from 2,69,624 in the year 1831 to 3,82,330 in 1851.¹⁶⁷ The increase in the population of the Mappilas was mostly due to the conversion of the depressed castes of rural areas like *Cheruma*, *Pulaya*, *Valluva* and *Mukkuva*.

These two factors were reported as the main causes of many of the outbreaks. The low castes converted largely because they could not fight against the landlords due to the caste rules. Moreover, the salvation after death was also not possible to them. Excommunication and social boycott multiplied their sufferings. The *ulama* taught them that conversion to Islam would give them opportunity to fight against the landlords and to attain the eternal bliss. Besides, it offered them equal status in the society.

Mappilas have been struggling long for justice. Outbreaks were the last resort for them in the 19th century. They had made many attempts of peaceful nature like petitions and prayers before the authority. Logan remarks that when he asked the tenants to present their grievances in writing, he received 2200 petitions from 4021 tenants of whom 67% were Mappilas.¹⁶⁸ This sense of response was also due to their constant contact with the *ulama* and the religious centres.

¹⁶⁷ *Strange Report, op.cit.*, p. 444.

¹⁶⁸ DN. Dhanagre, *Peasant Movement in India (1920- 1950)*, Delhi, 1983, p. 67.

By realizing the great role of the *ulama* in channeling the community, Connolly recommended to the government to take steps to propitiate them. He proposed to appoint the *ulama* as *Qazis* in different mosques with government salary. He also recommended the appointment of Mappila official, as revenue collectors so that friction between Hindu officials and Muslim tenants could be avoided considerably.¹⁶⁹ The British also took pain to bring up a supporting group from among the *ulama*. They succeeded in creating such a group of *ulama* (*Qazis*) in Calicut. The *Qazis* who were pro- British defused the outbreaks of the 19th century and even issued *fatwas*¹⁷⁰ against the revolts. Their influence was visible even in 1921. Calicut remained unaffected by the rebellion. The British government also generously conferred titles like Khan Sahibs and Khan Bahadurs to these *ulama*.

The powerful leadership of the *ulama* effectively filled the vacuum of leadership noticed in the beginning of the British period. It mobilized the outbreaks against landlords, the tools of the colonialists. They gave an ideological backing to the outbreaks which otherwise would have been isolated events as had happened in the case of the revolt of Athan Kurikkal in the beginning of the 19th century. Under the proper leadership of the *ulama*, the revolts gained meaning and direction.

¹⁶⁹ CMO, 8 March 1844, Vol. I, *op.cit.*, pp. 749-50.

¹⁷⁰ *Fatwa* of Mussapla Akath Mulla Koya Tangal, *Qazi* of Calicut and *fatwa* of Palliveetil Muhammad Haji, *Qazi* of Calicut in the letter from Muthu Koya, president Himayathul Islam Sabha of Calicut to the District Magistrate of Malabar on 20th May 1894.

CHAPTER VI

ULAMA AND THE

MAPPILA-BRITISH CONFLICT: LATER PHASE

The dawn of the 20th century was a critical period in the history of world Muslims. It was a time when the Islamic world was drawn into the whirlpool of international politics. The dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and the Khilafat issue that followed, stirred the Muslims all over the world. The Mappilas who had already been in the path of tenancy agitation got ignited and united by the new issues. The coalesced Tenants, Khilafat and Congress activities contributed sleepless nights to the British authorities in Malabar. The British attempt to suppress the movements led to the revolt of 1921.

The tenancy and the Khilafat were the two serious problems before the people of Malabar in the beginning of the 20th century. Many attempts had been made to find solutions to the tenant problem. In 1909 and 1919, *Hidayat ul Muslimin Sabha*, a Mappila socio-cultural Trust of Manjeri presented two memoranda before the Governor of Madras relating to the difficulties of the Mappila tenants and appealing for the redressal of their hardships.¹ On 23rd April 1912, a petition from Ponnani Taluk was sent to the Governor in

¹ The copy is available at the library of Hidayath ul Muslimin Sabha Manjeri.

Council through the Collector of Malabar demanding increase in the value of goods and against the bidding of *melchart* before the actual expiry of *kanam*.² Side by side with these attempts, some steps were also initiated to unite the tenants through *Kudiyam Sangham* (Tenancy Associations). In 1916, *Malabar Kudiyam Sangham* was formed with M P Narayana Menon and Kattilasseri Mohammed Maulawi, two leaders of the Indian National Congress as President and Secretary respectively. Its branches were set up all over Malabar within a short time.³ The leaders of the Association presented the tenants' problems on all Congress platforms.

On 28th and 29th April 1920, in the district conference of the Congress held at Manjeri, K.P. Raman Menon presented a resolution demanding legislation to determine the landlord-tenants relation and to protect the tenants' rights.⁴ The landlords in the conference strongly objected to the resolution.⁵ In spite of the objections the resolution was passed.

The First World War caused a lot of confusion of allegiance among the Muslims. The Ottoman Khalif fought against Britain as an ally of Germany. The British Prime Minister Lloyd D. George sought the support of the Muslims and declared that the war was not against the Ottoman Khalif; and

² Reve. Dept. (conf.) 2nd January 1914, No: 9. TNA.

³ S. Ramachandran, '*Kattilassery Muhammad Musaliarum Desiya Prasthanavum*' (Mal.), Tiruvananthapuram, 2003, p. 19.

⁴ *The Hindu*, 1st May 1920.

⁵ M. Gangadhara Menon, *Malabar Rebellion (1921-1922)*, Allahabad, 1989, p. 76.

whatever happened, the independence and sovereignty of the Khalif would be protected. Accordingly, Muslims all over the world supported Britain in the war. Taking the statement at its true sense, on 1st September 1914 the Mappilas of Calicut assembled at Himayatul Islam Sabha Hall and appealed to the Mappilas to join hands with Britain in the war and to make prayers by offering *Fathihah*⁶ in each mosque for the victory of Britain.⁷ But Britain went back on its commitment and the post-war treaties⁸ destroyed the Khilafat. Thus Britain deceived the world Muslims.

Tempers in the Muslim world were running high over the injustice of Britain on the Ottoman Khalif.⁹ The Mappilas of Malabar also took it as a serious aggression upon their faith. The Mappilas of Malabar, like the Muslims of other countries, had allegiance to the Khalif.¹⁰ The Muslims wanted to restore their spiritual head to its former position. For the purpose, they started the Khilafat Movement. In India, Maulana Mohammed Ali, Shoukat Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Abul Kalam Azad and others initiated the Movement. Mahatma Gandhi with the hope of massive Muslim support and Hindu-Muslim unity in the national movement joined hands with them and

⁶ The first chapter of the *Quran*.

⁷ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, p. 150.

⁸ Treaty of Sevres of August 1919 dismembered the Ottoman Empire.

⁹ E. Moidu Maulawi, 'Khilafat Smaranakal', in *Malabar Kalapam 1921 Smaranakalum Padanangalum* (Mal.), *60th Anniversary Volume*, Tirurangadi, 1981, p. 11.

¹⁰ During the Balkan war of 1912, Mappilas of Malappuram, Perinthalmanna, Mannarghat and Mampad offered special prayers for the success of Turkey. Mappilas had their moral support with Ottoman Khalif. *Judl. Dept. GO No.2040*, (conf.), 9th December 1912. TNA.

propagated the Khilafat message along with its leaders all over India. He said, "Today the British imperialism represents Devil. Lovers of God cannot compromise with Devil."¹¹

The Central Khilafat Committee declared Friday, 17th October 1919 to be observed as the Khilafat day. Along with other parts of India, Malabar also joined in the Khilafat Day observance by closing shops, giving charity to the poor, taking fast, and offering special prayers after *Juma*¹² for the restoration of the Ottoman Khilafat.¹³ The message of the Khilafat Movement was that the Muslims needed a strong Khalif. Only a free India could help such an attempt to realize the aim and so Mappilas should strive for the freedom of the country.¹⁴

In the Congress conferences at Manjeri and Ottapalam, Khilafat and tenancy questions were discussed. Komu Menon presented the Khilafat resolution in the Manjeri conference on 28th April 1920, which urged the British Government to restore the Ottoman Khilafat or else Muslims and Hindus would not co-operate with the government.¹⁵ Thus, even before the All India Congress Committee adopted the scheme, Mappilas of Malabar had already started Non-co-operation as a resistance movement.

¹¹ S. K. Pottakkad *et al*, *Muhammad Abdu Rahman* (Mal.), Calicut, 1978, p. 26.

¹² Friday congregation prayer.

¹³ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, p. 150.

¹⁴ K. Madhavan Nair, *Malabar Kalapam* (Mal.), Calicut, 1971, p. 47.

¹⁵ A. K. Pillai, *Keralavum Congressum* (Mal.), Tiruvananthapuram, 1983, p. 405.

On 18th August 1920 Gandhiji and Shoukat Ali arrived at Calicut¹⁶ to attend a Khilafat meeting. An enthusiastic mass of about 20,000 people attended the meeting.¹⁷ There, Gandhiji declared his¹⁸ non-violent Non-co-operation method of protest¹⁹ and a Malabar Khilafat Committee was formed with Kunhi Koya Tangal as President, T. Hasan Koya and U. Gopala Menon as Secretaries.²⁰ Subsequently, large numbers of local committees were formed. A number of local meetings and volunteer training camps were organized under the Khilafat committees. Besides, they published and circulated the *Muhimmat-ul Mumineen*²¹ and translated version of the *Turk-i Muwalat*²² among the people. The *Khilafat Patrika*²³ also brought out exhorting messages to the people.

As Khilafat was mainly a religious issue, the *ulama* took its lead.²⁴ In January 1921, a mammoth meeting of the Mappilas was held in Calicut at the initiative of Mahmud Tangal, the highest religious authority among the Mappilas of Malabar, which pledged to support the Non-co-operation and

¹⁶ *Madras Government Home (pol.)*, (conf.) F. No: 307. TNA.

¹⁷ Khan Behadur C. Gopalan Nair, *The Mappila Rebellion 1921*, Calicut, 1923, p. 20.

¹⁸ *The Madras Mail* 8th August 1921.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* See also, P. K. K. Menon, *History of Freedom Movement in Kerala 1885-1938*, Vol. II, Tiruvananthapuram, 2001, p. 102.

²⁰ A. M. Malayali, *Congress Directory* (Mal.), Palakkad, 1992, p. 55.

²¹ A Khilafat treatise written by Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musaliar.

²² A work of Abul Kalam Azad.

²³ A journal started from Varkala in 1920 by A. Muhammad Kunju. But only its six issues were published.

²⁴ S. F. Dale, *op.cit.*, p. 211.

Khilafat cause.²⁵ Thus by February 1921 the Khilafat and Non- co-operation Movements forged ahead in several parts of Malabar.²⁶

The British government was shocked to see this development in Malabar. The government took measures to curb the development. Public meetings in Ernad Taluk were banned. Prominent leaders were forbidden from addressing the Khilafat meetings.²⁷ It was in the wake of such developments that the district Khilafat committee decided to organize two meetings at Tanur and Calicut on 15th and 16th February 1921 respectively. As scheduled, Yaqub Hasan reached Calicut to address the meetings. But he was arrested along with U. Gopala Menon, K. Madhavan Nair and Ponmadath Moideen Koya on charges of violating the prohibitory orders. They were sentenced to six months imprisonment.²⁸ There was great protest against the arrest of the leaders. Hartals, protest meetings, boycotts and demonstrations were held everywhere in Malabar.²⁹

In the Ottapalam conference (23rd- 26th April 1921) separate sessions were arranged for tenants, Khilafat, students and *ulama* meetings.³⁰ The government took repressive measures against the conference and even

²⁵ A. P. Ibrahim Kunhu, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala, op.cit.*, p. 110.

²⁶ *GO Home (pol.) Dept. No: 185/1925*. TNA, See also, Sukbhir Choudhary, *Mappila Uprising (1921-1923)*, Delhi, 1977, p. 19.

²⁷ G. R. F. Tottenham, *The Mappila Rebellion 1921-22*, Madras, 1922, p. 3.

²⁸ K. Madhavan Nair, "Malabarile Mappila Lahala" in *Mathrubhumi*, 3rd May 1924.

²⁹ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, p. 148.

³⁰ K. P. Kesava Menon, *Kazhinja Kalam (Mal.)*, Calicut, 1969, p. 94.

assaulted the leading delegates. The leaders reminding them of the vow of non-violence consoled the agitated mass.³¹ Despite all the British atrocities, the Khilafat committees mushroomed all over Malabar under the guidance of the *ulama*.

, On 15th August 1921, a notice in the name of *ulama* was circulated among the Muslims of Calicut requesting them to purchase only *khadi* dress for the coming *Bakrid* festival.³² The release of the arrested leaders on 17th August 1921 turned the people of Calicut to a festive mood. In a huge reception meeting held at Calicut beach, the excited people burned their foreign goods in public and took an oath to use only the *swadeshi* goods.

Thus, by August 1921, Malabar witnessed an unprecedented growth of anti-British feeling on the one hand and the concerted attempts of the authorities to suppress the movements on the other. Having failed to check the mass movements, the officials requested the government for more vigorous steps³³ and it culminated in the revolt of 1921.³⁴

³¹ K. Madhavan Nair, *Malabar Kalapam* (Mal.), *op.cit.*, p. 82.

³² P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, pp. 149. .

³³ Home Dept. (pol.), File. No: 241/1-7, 1921, 20-8-1921. NAI.

³⁴ K. N. Panikkar, *Peasant Protest... op.cit.*, p. XXVII.

Kerala Majlis ul Ulama

In South India, the *Indian Majlis ul Ulama* was the counterpart of *Jam'iyyat ul Ulama- I Hind* of the north. It was founded first in Tiruchchirappalli of erstwhile Madras as its head quarters. Its first conference was held at Erode on 2nd and 3rd August 1921.³⁵ Stalwarts of *Jam'iyyat ul Ulama- I Hind* like Maulana Sayyid Hussain Ahmad Madani, Maulana Mufti Kifayatullah, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad led the different sessions of the conference. Besides, many well-known *ulama* from different parts of South India and about 150 Mappilas from south Malabar attended the conference.³⁶ The conference decided to start an identical organization in Kerala with Vakkam Abdul Qadir Maulawi at its head. Thus at the instance of the Maulawi, the Ottapalam conference (23-26th April 1921) discussed the issue seriously and an *ulama* session was held on 25th under the Chairmanship of Sayyid Murtaza Sahib.³⁷ Forty-one *ulama* and seven hundred delegates attended the conference.³⁸ Besides Muslims, some Hindu leaders also attended the session.³⁹ The session decided to form an organization of the *ulama* called '*Kerala Majlis ul Ulama*'. The organization had the aim of

³⁵ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 21.

³⁶ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra...op.cit.*, p. 29.

³⁷ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory op.cit.*, pp. 577- 79.

³⁸ Home (pol.) Dept. Government of India, F. No 241/ part 1-A/ 1921 No: 1-123 p. 104.

³⁹ M. Gangadhara Menon, *Malabar Rebellion op.cit.*, p. 131.

supporting the freedom movement under the Indian National Congress.⁴⁰ It elected Maulawi Sayyid Alawi Tangal as Permanent President and Vakkam Abdul Qadir Maulawi and Sheikh Mahin Hamadani as Vice Presidents, E. Moidu Maulawi as General Secretary, Kattilassery Mohammed Maulawi, K.M. Maulawi and Maulawi Arabi Shamnad as Joint Secretaries.⁴¹ It passed the following resolutions.

- To contribute a portion of *zakath*⁴² to the Khilafat and Smyrna fund.
- To adopt a policy of non-violent Non-co-operation towards the government.
- All Muslims above 21 years of age to be members of the Indian National Congress and devote themselves for *Swaraj* and the restoration of the Khilafat.⁴³

After the conference, Moidu Maulawi issued a pamphlet entitled *Da'wat ul Haq* (call to the truth)⁴⁴ calling upon the Muslims of Kerala to strive and to sacrifice all including their life to save the Khilafat.⁴⁵ It also appealed to the people to contribute a good share of their *zakath* to the

⁴⁰ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude Atma Kadha* (Mal.), Kottayam, 1981, p. 21.

⁴¹ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra ...op.cit.*, p. 30.

⁴² Compulsory contribution of 2.5% of wealth that each wealthy Muslim should be contributed to the poor people each year.

⁴³ Public Dept. F. GO No: 491, Dated 3rd August 1921, TNA. Copy of the resolution appended No: III.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* The government proscribed this and E. Moidu Maulawi was arrested and convicted for two years. E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude Atma Kadha*. Also see, G. R. F. Tottenham, *op.cit.*, p. 6.

⁴⁵ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory op.cit.*, pp. 355-56. Appended in the last. No. IV.

Khilafat fund.⁴⁶ Hassan Koya Molla, an active Congress-Khilafat member of Calicut invited Maulana Azad and other leaders of *Majlis ul Ulama* to Calicut. Though Maulana Azad reached Calicut, he could not address the public on account of the Police Act 144 in force in the town. He then attended a discussion class at Himayat ul Islam Sabha Hall and spoke in public at Kapad.⁴⁷ The *Majlis ul Ulama* also arranged its meetings in different parts of Malabar. Thus both the Khilafat committees and *Majlis ul Ulama* provided a strong impetus to the nationalist spirit among the Mappilas.

The Muslim awakening and the Hindu Muslim unity disturbed the British interests. The authorities hatched several plots to break this unity. Deputy Superintendent of Police, Mr. Amu planned to create disunity among the *ulama* and arranged an *ulama* meeting at Ponnani Pathar on 24th July 1921. The whole government machinery worked for its success. Collector Thomas and Deputy Collector Ammu Sahib took special interest and invited the *ulama* to the meeting. Local Chiefs, Khan Sahibs and Khan Behadurs met the *ulama* in person for the purpose. The government arranged vehicles and other facilities for the journey of the participants to the loyalists' conference. In the name of Khilafat Committee, Mohammed Abdul Rahiman appealed to the *ulama* not to take part in the meeting arranged by the British officials at

⁴⁶ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, p. 149.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 162.

Pathar.⁴⁸ Sensing the danger of the situation, the *ulama* stayed away and they could not bring any known *alim* to the conference.⁴⁹ Those who were brought to it were cleverly smuggled out to the nationalist *ulama* conference held at Puthu Ponnani.⁵⁰ As the attempt failed, Mr. Amu approached the leaders of *Majlis ul Ulama* and apprised them of the consequences of the anti-British activities. But the leaders took no heed to his threat⁵¹

***Majlis ul Ulama* Ponnani Conference**

Being informed of the meeting of the pro-British *ulama* at Ponnani, K P Kesava Menon, the Congress-Khilafat leader, advised E. Moidu Maulawi to conduct a Congress-Khilafat meeting at Ponnani the same day. The Maulawi found it difficult to hold such a meeting at Ponnani on account of the prevailing Police Act. But he decided to organize a meeting of the *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama* at Ponnani on the same day. But the Maulawi could not find a venue for the purpose due to the threat of the authorities. Finally it was arranged in a plot owned by a relative of Kattilasserri Mohammed Maulawi at Puthu Ponnani.⁵²

⁴⁸ Appeal is appended in the last. No. V.

⁴⁹ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra...* *op.cit.*, p. 32.

⁵⁰ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude...* *op.cit.*, p. 141.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, p. 140.

⁵² *Ibid*, p. 31.

A large number of *ulama* from different parts of Kerala flowed to the conference.⁵³ Sensing trouble, the government had issued strict orders against conducting any processions. The order was served on the organizers like Moidu Maulawi, Abdul Rahiman, A. P. Abdul Aziz, Makki Imbichi Sahib *et al.* Thus the organizers at different parts of Ponnani got vigilant and succeeded in leading the delegates silently to the pavilion. Breaking the silence a rumour spread that an old Sub Inspector attacked Ali Musaliar and subsequently the people manhandled the Sub Inspector and threw his cap into the Connolly Canal. A tense situation developed and shops and other institutions were closed. Abdul Rahiman some how managed to control the situation and console the people.⁵⁴

There were deliberate attempts on the part of the authorities to provoke and insult the participants.⁵⁵ In spite of all these, the meeting was a great success. Ponnani had never before witnessed such a great conference.⁵⁶ The conference was presided over by Abdul Aziz Musaliar, the Principal of Latheefia College, Vellore and had a large gathering of 2500 people including 1005 *ulama*. Renowned *ulama* like Abdul Bari Musaliar, Pangil Abdul Rahiman Musaliar, Cherusseri Zainudhin Kutty Musaliar, Uppungal Bapputty Musaliar, and Kottayi Bava Musaliar were among the delegates. The success

⁵³ Muzhikunnath Brahmattann Nambudirippad referred to the meeting as bombing in the stronghold of enemies (Pro Britishers). *Khilafat Smaranakal*, (Mal.) Calicut, 1965, p. 15.

⁵⁴ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, pp. 138-139.

⁵⁵ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra Chintakal op.cit.*, pp. 32-33.

⁵⁶ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude...op.cit.*, p.138.

of the conference alarmed the British authorities. The British repressive measures failed to dissuade the Mappilas from the nationalist struggle.

The revolt of 1921 was a fatal shock to the *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama*. Most of its leaders were arrested and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Others went underground. Some escaped to Kodungallur, a territory beyond the jurisdiction of the British.⁵⁷ Another important reason for its disappearance was the rise of the *Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam*. Later the progressive leaders of the *Majlis* who escaped to Kodungallur along with the *ulama* of the region and some members of *Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam* gave shape to the organization of *Kerala Jam'iyat ul Ulama* in 1922.⁵⁸

Kerala Jam'iyat ul Ulama

The *Kerala Jam'iyat ul Ulama* was formed as a common platform for all the *ulama* of Kerala. K. M. Maulawi one of the stalwarts of the *Aikya Sangam* wrote to Maulana Abdul Jabbar Hazrat, the Principal of Vellore Baquiat us Salihat Arabic College explaining the aims and objectives of the organization. The Biannual Conference of *Aikya Sangam* held at Aluva under the presidentship of the Maulana gave shape to the committee of the *Jam'iyat*. A committee was formed with M. Abdul Kadar Maulawi as

⁵⁷ A territory under the Raja of Cochin.

⁵⁸ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K. M. Maulawi* (Mal.), Tirurangadi, 1985, pp. 142-146.

President, C. Abdullah Koya Tangal and K. K. Mohammed Kutty Maulawi as Vice Presidents and C. K. Moideen Kutty Maulawi and E. K. Maulawi as Secretary and Assistant Secretary respectively. P. N. Mohammed Maulawi, P. P. Unni Moideen Kutty Maulawi, Hajee Palot Moosakkutty Maulawi, T. Mohammed Kutty Maulawi, P.M. Abdul Qadir Maulawi, B.V. Koya kutty Tangal, C. Abdullah Kutty Maulawi, Palasseri Kammu Maulawi were the Executive Members.⁵⁹ The main objectives of the *Kerala Jam'iyyat ul Ulama* were the following.

- Re-establish unity among the *ulama*.
- Constitute Muslim *Panchayats* for settling disputes among the Muslims.
- Start *Darul Iftah* (Centre of Verdicts).
- Strengthen the foundation of true faith and to eliminate all evil customs and practices.
- Work for the religious propagation.⁶⁰

The third and fourth conferences of the *Jam'iyyat* were held at Calicut and Tellichery in 1925 and 1926 respectively. The organization always emphasized the need for independence of the country for its smooth functioning.

⁵⁹ Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangham- Biannual Meeting Report, pp. 40-41, quoted in K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K. M. Maulawi op.cit.*, pp. 146-147.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*, p. 31, quoted in *Ibid*, pp. 147- 48.

The government also took some measures to counter the activities of *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama*. For this purpose a parallel *ulama* was installed and presented before the people. They issued and circulated among the people an Arabi-Malayalam *fatwa Mahaqul Khilafah Ala Ismil Khilafa* (Erasing the Khilafat in the name of Khilafah), prepared by Mammad Kutty Musaliar and another *fatwa*, *Nadil Masmooi ila Ma'nal Khilafa Kama Hiya al Mashuri* (Instigating people against the famous Khilafah) by K. M. Abdullah Kutty Musaliar. Both the *fatwa* vehemently criticized the Khilafat and Non co-operation movement. Quoting the *Quran*, the *fatwas* advocated loyalty and obedience to the government as the bounden duty of every Muslim.

Ali Musaliar

The Khilafatists consisting of Hindus and Muslims were very active in the whole of south Malabar.⁶¹ By August 1921 anti-British sentiments reached a flash point. Leadership of Ali Musaliar⁶² added fuel to it. Ali Musaliar, the native of Nellikkuth near Manjeri was a stalwart to be inducted into the forefront of the Khilafat movement of Malabar. It was the bitter

⁶¹ Madras Times, dated 2nd July 1920 file No: 306 DT 10th August 1920. T N A.

⁶² Ali Musaliar was born 1853 at Nellikkuth, near Manjeri as the son of Erikkunnath Palath Moolayil Kunhi Moideen Sahib and Amina, D/o Ottakath Mammad kutty Musaliar in the progeny of *Makhdums* of Ponnani. He was educated at Ponnani and Makkah. After education he served as *Mudarris* (teacher) in different places like Kavarati, Thodikakappalam, Podiyatt, Melmuri, Nellikkuth and Tirurangadi. He was a scholar in Arabic and Urdu languages and a regular reader of works in these languages.

experiences in his life⁶³ and the inspirations of Kattilasseri Muhammad Maulawi that made him a first rate Khilafat leader.⁶⁴ For Ali Musaliar, there were several other reasons for the enmity against the British. He had lost his elder brother Mammad Kutty Musaliar and many relatives in the struggle against the British in Mannarghat in 1891.⁶⁵ These personal losses supplemented with Khilafat and tenant problems made him a vibrant political activist. He realized that the British were not to be depended on. He took pains to form a strong group of Khilafat volunteers. He travelled in every nook and corner of Malabar⁶⁶ with the purpose of organizing the Khilafat committees. Volunteers were asked to wear uniform consisting of khaki trousers and coat, red Turkey cap with an emblem on it. The volunteers also used to go for evening drills in their uniform.⁶⁷ His religious classes and sermons at the mosques had a great popular appeal. He utilized those occasions to spread the Khilafat message and to instill anti-British consciousness among the people. His audience was not limited to the people of Tirurangadi.⁶⁸ He had thousands of disciples all over Malabar. The British authorities were amazed at the regular system of inter-communication,

⁶³ Ashraf Bachu, *Ali Musaliare Marakkathirikkuka, Wagon Tragedy Smaranika* (Mal.), 60th Annual Conference Committee Volume, Tirur, 1981, p. 136.

⁶⁴ K. Koyatti Maulawi, *1921 le Mappila Lahala* (Mal.), Tirurangadi, 1953, p. 22.

⁶⁵ For details see Ashraf Bachu, *op.cit.*, pp. 136-138. P. C. Bamford also quotes another important motivation as Ali Musaliar had a dream in which he was told by Mannarghat Tangal by the time for establishing the *Khilafat* has come P C Bamford, *histories, op.cit.*, pp. 175-176

⁶⁶ F. B. Evans, Notes on the Rebellion reproduced from G. R. F. Tottenham, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 42.

⁶⁸ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord...op.cit.*, p. 154.

between the Musaliar and the people through his disciples (*murid*) whereby men from distant area could be instantly summoned to any place.⁶⁹

As his circle of contact was vast, a large number of disciples and friends gathered around him at Tirurangadi. The popularity of the Musaliar attracted a large number of visitors to the *Mamburam Jaram*.⁷⁰ As the *Jaram* being near his seat, the visitors also reached his feet for his blessings and prayers. Thus, the ideals of the Khilafat Movement spread over the length and breadth of Malabar through his disciples, relatives, friends and visitors. A number of *ulama* came to Tirurangadi to partake of the resistance struggle along with the Musaliar. It was known to the British authorities that Ali Musaliar and his students at the mosque were taking an active role in spreading the Khilafat ideas.⁷¹

It was due to his leadership that the Khilafat committee became powerful in Tirurangadi, Pookottoor, Nellikuth, Tanur, and Malappuram areas. He was very strong in organizing the Khilafat committees and volunteers.⁷² Ali Musaliar himself was the Secretary of Tirurangadi Khilafat committee. Pareekutty Musaliar, Kunhi Koya Tangal and Vadakkeveetil Mohammed were the Secretaries at Tanur, Malappuram and Pookottoor respectively.

⁶⁹ 'Madras Mail' August 8, 1921, p. 6, quoted in R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 10.

⁷⁰ Tomb of Sayyid Alawi Tangal, which is one of the important centres of pilgrimage for all the communities.

⁷¹ Inns and Evans, Supplement to Malabar Gazetteer G/31-1395, p. 111. K. S. A.

⁷² Koyatti Maulawi, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

Ali Musaliar by virtue of his fourteen years of service as *Mudarris* of Kizhakkappalli from 1907-1921 had great respect and popularity among a large number of his disciples at Tirurangadi and neighbouring areas. Varian Kunnath Kunhahmed Hajee, one of the strong leaders of the revolt of 1921 was his relative and friend; Kunhi Koya Tangal was his friend, and Lavakkutty and Kunhalavi were his trustful lieutenants, Kunhi Kadar of Tanur, and Vadakkeveetil Mohammed of Pookottoor, Karadan Moideen Kutty, Parayeri Kunhahmed Kutty, and Thettayil Kunhahmed Hajee of Tirurangadi were his closest disciples.⁷³ It was through these friends and disciples that the Musaliar controlled the whole movement. Thus, Ali Musaliar had the full rein of Khilafat agitations and the revolt of 1921 till his arrest.

Ali Musaliar was basically a peace loving man attracted to the *ahimsa* principles of Gandhiji. He always used *khadi* dress and preached the *ahimsa* doctrine of Gandhiji.⁷⁴ He drew his inspiration from M. P. Narayana Menon. Even in the face of serious provocation of 1921 revolt, Ali Musaliar advised *ahimsa*. For instance when Lavakkutty, one of his right hand men asked him, what he was to do if police compelled him to remove his cap, the reply of Ali Musaliar was exemplary. He said, "you should not remove your cap, if

⁷³ F. B. Evans, Notes on the Rebellion...*op.cit.*, p. 42

⁷⁴ M. P. S. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 81.

anybody insist and attempts to manhandle you then you try to escape from the scene.”⁷⁵

He was never a fanatic and by no means incited people for any offence.⁷⁶ He advocated that Muslims had the right to protect their religious solidarity and had the right to use force for the safety of their religious honour.⁷⁷ As referred in the judgment of his execution, it was not fanaticism or agrarian trouble or destitution that worked in the mind of Ali Musaliar, but the influence of Khilafat and Non co- operation that drove him to his crime.⁷⁸ Sukbhir Choudhary adds that it was agrarian troubles that worked in the mind of Ali Musaliar.⁷⁹ It shows that all the Khilafat, Non co- operation and agrarian issues contributed to his entry into the colonial struggle.

The political developments and the Hindu-Muslim joint attempts for the Khilafat gave sleepless nights to the British. The authorities were always suspicious and anxious about the activities of the Mappilas.⁸⁰ The British found that the Musaliar was the activator of the Mappilas. Thus, they always

⁷⁵ E. Moidu Maulawi, ‘*Khilafat Smaranakal op.cit.*, p. 9.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 10.

⁷⁷ A. K. Pillai, *op.cit.*, p. 67.

⁷⁸ F. B. Evans, Notes on the Rebellion...*op.cit.*, p. 42.

⁷⁹ The secret report on the Non- co- operation movement submitted to the Home secretary Govt. of India, on 31st Jan. 1920 by the L Barkey chief secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Home (pol.) Dept. Govt. of India file No: 185/ 1925, p. 84. Quoted in Sukbhir Choudhary. *Mappila Uprising* (1921- 23), Delhi, 1971, forward by M. P. S. Menon, p. XVI,

⁸⁰ A. K. Pillai, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

tried to interfere in the activities of Ali Musaliar. Such a situation gradually changed his attitude bitterer towards the British.

The court proceedings of Musaliar's trial accused him an uncompromising hero of Khilafat movement who prepared the people for stronger struggles.⁸¹ The important charges against him were the following. As soon as the Khilafat committees were formed he enrolled a large number of youths as its members throughout south Malabar. When the movement grew up, another serious offence took place in Tirurangadi. The visit to the *Manthani Parambu*⁸² had already been banned by the British government due to the *jihadi* sentiment of this place.⁸³ Ignoring the ban, the Musaliar quite often used to take his Khilafat volunteers to this place for *ziara* (sacred visit) in the month of Ramadan (June 1921), where they took vows and offered special prayers.⁸⁴

Another serious charge against him was that he led his volunteers in procession, shouting *Taqbeer* to Kerala *Majlis ul Ulama* Conference at Ponnani where such meetings and processions were prohibited by the

⁸² Statement of Karat Moideen Kutty Hajee s/o Unnimuthan of Pookottoor to inspector Narayanan Menon, 8th June 1922 R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 190. Similar statements in *Ibid*, pp. 182- 83, 208 etc.

⁸³ The place where the *Cherur shuhada* (martyrs) who killed in the revolt of Cherur (1843) were buried which is at Chemmad near Tirurangadi Kacheri.

⁸⁴ H. F. M. files (conf.) No: 84, p. 32.

⁸⁴ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 31.

government. So it was taken as a violation of government order and charges of breach of government orders were levelled against him.

Another important charge levelled against him was that on 29th July 1921 he conducted a congregation at Juma Masjid of Tirurangadi where he read out the Karachi resolution of the Khilafat committee.⁸⁵ It created a strong feeling that the British rule in India would soon come to an end.⁸⁶

Ali Musaliar was also accused of convincing the people that the Amir of Afghanistan would attack India. Gandhiji and Ali brothers were prepared to help them, so everybody should help Gandhiji and Ali brothers in this venture.⁸⁷ He was also blamed of instigating people against the British officials, and of waging holy war against the British King.

In February 1921, the British authorities prepared a list, of 24 'dangerous persons.' Ali Musaliar, being the first in the list, was the man most wanted by the authorities. Collector Thomas sought permission from the government of Madras to arrest him.⁸⁸ But A. R. Knapp, the member of Governor's

⁸⁵ Karachi Khilafat Conference held on July 1921 advocated people to determine to work whole- heartedly at whatever cost or sacrifice to preserve the sanctity of Khilafat and to release all Muslim countries from the non- Islamic powers. R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

⁸⁶ G. R. F. Tottenham, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

⁸⁷ F. B. Evans, *Notes on the Rebellion...* *op.cit.*, p. 43.

⁸⁸ Communiqué from the Dist. Collector to the Govt. of Madras, in Telegram from the Viceroy to the Secretary of state for India, dated Aug. 27, 1921, Simla, quoted in R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 12. (Introduction)

Executive Council refused permission to take a sudden action against Ali Musaliar for fear of consequences.⁸⁹

The mission having failed, the Collector asked Ali Musaliar to meet him at Tirurangadi kacheri. But the Musaliar refused to see him on the ground of Non co-operation with the government. Meanwhile a rumour was spread that the Musaliar was going to be arrested soon. On receipt of the news a large group of Khilafatists from Pookottoor and Pudiya⁹⁰, numbering about 500, marched in uniform to Tirurangadi.⁹¹ It was only when they were convinced that it was an unfounded rumour that the mob moved back to their places.⁹² The entire episode shows that Ali Musaliar was as popular and influential as Mamburam Tangal.⁹³

After the *ulama* conference at Ponnani, the British authorities were quite vigilant of the political developments in Malabar. Mr. Thomas, the Malabar Collector, even requested the Governor to take stringent actions against the Khilafat activities and to ban the movement. But the authorities after a close scrutiny decided not to take any strong step against the Khilafat since it was an All India movement.⁹⁴ But the Collector was not satisfied with the decision

⁸⁹ R. H. Hitchcock, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁹⁰ About 25 Kms east to Tirurangadi.

⁹¹ G. R. F. Tottenham, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ Brahmadattan Namboodirippad, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

of the superiors. He was personally revengeful against the Mappilas and was inciting the Hindu landlords against them. In such a situation, on 1st August 1921, an attempt was made at Pookottoor to arrest Vadakkeveetil Mammad, the Secretary of Khilafat committee on the issue of the alleged theft of a pistol from Nilambur *Kovilakam*.⁹⁵ A huge crowd prevented the police from arresting him. Thus the police was humiliated. The British authorities found fault with Ali Musaliar, as he was the master brain of the Khilafat Movement. Expecting Ali Musaliar in the Kizhakkappalli of Tirurangadi, the Collector and party searched there on 19th August 1921. But they could not find the 'culprits.' However, three Khilafat workers were arrested from the mosque.⁹⁶

The search and arrest of three Khilafat workers caused to the spread of rumours. There spread a rumour that Ali Musaliar was arrested and Mamburam Mosque was destroyed.⁹⁷ According to some eyewitness accounts, a police officer in his civil dress was found riding a bicycle and spreading this news to the nearby areas.⁹⁸ On receipt of the news, people from neighbouring places rushed to Tirurangadi shouting *Taqbeer*.⁹⁹ K. M.

⁹⁵ S. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, p. 44.

⁹⁶ Letter from Esq. E. F. Thomas, collector to government of Madras dated 16th August 1921, quoted in G. R. F. Tottenham, *op.cit.*, pp. 28- 29.

⁹⁶ To know the influence of rumours, see K. Gopalan kutty, 'Rumours and Rebellions in South Malabar' in Kesavan Veluthat and P. P. Sudhakaran (ed.), *Advances in History* (Essays in Memory of Prof. M. P. Sreedharan) Calicut, 2003, pp. 277-280

⁹⁸ Moyarath Sankaran, *Ente Jeevitha Kadha* (Mal.), Calicut, 1965, p. 153.

⁹⁹ Shouting '*Allahuakbar*' (Allah is Great) as found uttered in different fights of Islam.

Maulawi, Mohammed Abdul Rahiman, K. Madhavan Nair and others met them at different places and managed to pacify them.¹⁰⁰

Kunhi Kader, the local Khilafat leader of Tanur addressed the people, "Time had come to overthrow the British rule and set up Khilafat government."¹⁰¹ Hundreds of people from Tanur marched to Tirurangadi under the leadership of Kunhi Kader.¹⁰² It also included thirteen Musalliaris from Pillingappally of Tanur.¹⁰³ The police stopped them at Pantharangadi. In the confrontation that followed, nine Khilafat workers were killed and Kunhi Kader and forty persons were taken prisoners. Meanwhile a spirited mob under Ali Musaliar reached *Kacheri* at Chemmad demanding the release of the Khilafatists. The authorities agreed to release the arrested people, but requested Ali Musaliar and Khilafatists to wait for a while and asked them to sit down. When all of them sat down the police started firing at them. In the fight that ensued, seventeen Khilafatists¹⁰⁴ and six British officials were killed. This action on the part of the authority was as unwise as pouring oil into the burning fire.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ K. Koyatti Maulawi, *op.cit.*, p. 37.

¹⁰¹ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, Appendix, III, p. 208.

¹⁰² K. Madhavan Nair, *Malabar Kalapam* (Mal.), *op.cit.*, p. 110.

¹⁰³ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, Appendix I, p. 183. The names of the thirteen Musaliars are included separately in the Appendix No. VII.

¹⁰⁴ K. Koyatti Maulawi, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

¹⁰⁵ A. K. Pillai, *op.cit.*, p. 337.

News and rumours about the Tirurangadi incident spread like wild fire and Ernad was dragged into a state of open rebellion. The rebels destroyed the railway and telegraph lines.¹⁰⁶ Fearing the Mappila wrath the British officials left the place and not even a village peon was left in Tirurangadi. All the supporters of the government also fled from the place.¹⁰⁷ The revolutionaries burned the treasury and the government offices at Tirurangadi and the British rule had practically ceased to exist. Then Ali Musaliar declared Khilafat Raj and himself acted as the head of the Khilafat government.¹⁰⁸ Administration was carried through the mosques and Khilafat committee offices. He issued special orders that nobody should leave the place and that all should assemble at the mosque and fight against the British army. He also declared that dues from the ferry and bazaars were to be remitted to his government and not to the British Raj.¹⁰⁹ He also gave strict instructions neither to commit plunder nor to consign any act of aggression against the Hindus.¹¹⁰

The developments in Tirurangadi terrified the government and the authorities decided to take stringent action against the rebels. In the meantime the Congress-Khilafat leaders under the leadership of P.Kesava Menon, M.

¹⁰⁶ The Bombay Chronicle 25th August 1921 (micro film Section NMML, Delhi), FNR for 2nd half of August 1921, TNA.

¹⁰⁷ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude...* *op.cit.*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁸ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord...* *op.cit.*, p. 153.

¹⁰⁹ G. R. F. Tottenham, *op.cit.*, p. 45.

¹¹¹ Sreedhara Menon, *Keralavum Swathendrya Samaravum* (Mal), Tiruvananthapuram, 2000, p.73. See also, P. K. K. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 120.

Abdul Rahiman and E. Moidu Maulawi reached Tirurangadi.¹¹¹ They advised Ali Musaliar to stop violence and to surrender before the authorities for the good of the people. But he said, “No one in my family has had a natural death. I have not ventured into any revolt. I very much believe in non-violence. I had approached the officers to enquire about the raiding of houses after midnight and arresting innocent people. I had only my walking stick in my hand. Islam enjoins upon people to throw at least a handful of dust against oppression. Firing was ordered against us who had just gone there peacefully. Certain untoward things happened consequently.”¹¹²

As A. K. Gopalan, the veteran communist leader pointed out that they were able to make the British quit India from Ernad for about three months in 1921. It was Ali Musaliar who did it.¹¹³ Later, The British battalions from different corners gathered at Tirurangadi with the aim of arresting Ali Musaliar. On 30th August, they surrounded the Tirurangadi mosque. The next day, Ali Musaliar with forty-two comrades surrendered to the British forces.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ P. P. Ummar Koya, ‘Oru Samaravum Oru Thudakkavum’ (Mal.), Malabar Kalapam 1921 60th *Anniversary Souvenir... op.cit.*, p.97.

¹¹² E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, pp. 44- 45.

¹¹² A. K. Gopalan, Court Proceedings, accuses A. K. Gopalan for his speech dated, 24-8-1946 at Perinthalmanna, selected Records No. 21, and extracts of the speech. p. 123. R A K.

¹¹³ Home (pol.) File No. 241/11A 1921, Reply submitted to the letter No. S. 250- 208G- Dt. 10th Sept. 1921. (N A I)

After a perfunctory trial, the court accused him of waging war against the King and sentenced him to capital punishment. On 17th February 1922 Ali Musaliar and twelve of his followers were hanged in the Coimbatore jail. The Malabar Muslim Association buried the dead bodies at a place near Nawab Hakim Road, Coimbatore. The Malayalis of Coimbatore also constructed a memorial there. In the central hall of the Mausoleum it is inscribed, "Dedicated to the sacred memory of the martyrs of Islam. Ali Musaliar and his followers who braved the British gallows of Coimbatore central jail during the Mappila rebellion of 1921 to free our country from slavery"¹¹⁵

Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musaliar

Aminummantakath Pareekutty Musaliar¹¹⁶ of Tanur was an uncompromising Khilafat activist. He fought against colonialism in both words and deeds. During the days of Khilafat agitations and the revolt of 1921 he was very active in Tanur as the Secretary of the local Khilafat committee. When tension broke out in Tirurangadi he was in the forefront of mobilizing

¹¹⁵ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory op.cit.*, p. 60.

¹¹⁶ Pareekutty Musaliar was born at Tanur. He studied at Ponnani and was a scholar in Arabic and Urdu languages and a regular writer in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam. He had close contact with the central Khilafat committee leaders and thus Tanur became a strong hold of Khilafat activities and the revolt of 1921.

people at Tanur.¹¹⁷ He issued many *fatwas*, supporting the activities of the Congress and asking the Mappilas to wage holy war against the British.

His *fatwas* known as *Tarjuma Muhimmat ul Mumineen* (the important things to be known to the believers),¹¹⁸ deal with the Khilafat issue at length. It was written in Arabi-Malayalam and distributed in every village and mosque of south Malabar. It deals with various issues of *Dar ul Islam* and *Dar ul Harb*.¹¹⁹ According to him, “ It has been made evident in the light of *Quran* and *Hadith* of our Prophet and the decrees of the unanimous *fatwas* of all *Imams* that it is the bounden duty of all Muslims to endeavour in attaining *Swaraj*. ”¹²⁰

In *Muhimmat ul Mumineen*, the author supports the activities of the Congress and appeals to the Mappilas to wage war against the British.¹²¹ He prescribes *jihad* and helping the fighters as compulsory to all (*fardh ain*).¹²² If

¹¹⁷ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, pp. 181-182.

¹¹⁸ The work consists of 40 pages. The author published it on March 21st 1921 at Tanur in the *Muhi kil Garaib* Lithopress. Aniyapurath Ammu of Thalasseri ran the Press. C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, Vol. III. Hereafter referred as Pareekutty Musaliar.

¹¹⁹ Pareekutty Musaliar, *Tarjuma Muhimmat ul Mu'minin* (Arab-Mal.), Tanur, 1921, p. 5.

¹²⁰ English version of it dated 16th July 1921 found in the file of public department G. O. No: 514, 15 Aug 1921, English translation by M. A. Ammu, Deputy Collector, TNA.

¹²¹ Pareekutty Musaliar, *op.cit.*, pp. 5-15.

¹²² *Ibid*, p. 6.

anyone is reluctant to do *jihad* against the British, then it is compulsory on others to do *jihad* against such people.¹²³

The author vehemently criticizes the pro-British and calls them heretics (*murtadd*). He wishes them hell after death. He also encourages co-operation with the non-Muslims who are fighting against the British.¹²⁴ He advises the Muslims not to obey the oppressors, who have been referred to by the *Quran* and *Hadith* as infidels.¹²⁵ If one could not resist the British, he should migrate (*hijrat*) to other countries.¹²⁶

Pareekutty Musaliar throughout the work justifies the Khilafat and resistance movement. He often quotes the *Quran*, *Hadith* and verses from the Jurists (*Fuqaha*) of Islam. He also cites an instance relating to the Prophet to prove the importance of the Khilafat in the Islamic world. When the Prophet died, the primary concern of his followers was the election of a follower to the Prophet. So the burial of the dead body was delayed for three days till the selection of a Khalifa.¹²⁷ He also quotes Salahudhin Saquidi who has stated that the divinity of the Ottoman Khilafat was to last till the coming of the

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, p. 15.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, pp 15-16.

¹²⁷ Pareekutty Musaliar, *op.cit.*, pp. 16-17.

Mahdi.¹²⁸ Thus it is *wajib* (compulsory) on every Muslim to pray for the glory and success of the Khalifa.¹²⁹

The author took an aggressive stand in the Khilafat issue. He declares *jihad* even against the anti-Khilafat Muslims. He states, “Khilafat is the link that unites the world Muslims. Whoever tries to break that link should be cut into pieces.”¹³⁰ Recognizing the popularity of the *Muhimmat*, the government took strong steps against its propagation; proscribed it and possessing it was proclaimed a seditious offence.¹³¹ Because of his active role as an ideologue and pragmatist, and on the assumption that he was gaining support from the people the government declared him as the fourteenth among the ‘dangerous persons’ of Malabar.¹³²

The *Muhimmat* ends with the declaration that he used only the *Quran*, *Hadith* and reliable quotes of the *ulama*.¹³³ The contemporary scholars like Cherusseri Ahmad Kutty Musaliar, Panayikulath Abdul Rahiman Musaliar, Kutty Bava Musaliar and Mylasseri Zainudhin Kutty Musaliar also

¹²⁸ According to Islam, a promised Messiah would come in the end of this world to lead the people to the right path.

¹²⁹ Pareekutty Musaliar, *op.cit.*, p. 20.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 23.

¹³¹ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, Vol. 3, *op.cit.*, p. 74.

¹³² R. H. Hitchcock, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹³³ Pareekutty Musaliar, *op.cit.*, p. 38.

authenticates the references of the *Muhimmat*.¹³⁴ The British authorities reprehended them for certifying the *Muhimmat*.¹³⁵

During the revolt of 1921, he played an active role in inspiring the people against the British. At Tanur, a large group of people got ready to go to Tirurangadi under Pareekutty Musaliar. The Musaliar then conveyed the message to the mosques of Tanur and to the local Khilafat committee office.¹³⁶ On receipt of the message drums were beaten as signal for the people to assemble. He also widely circulated copies of the *Muhimmat* and mobilized the people to revolt against the British.¹³⁷ His *fatwas* became one of the most motivating forces to the revolt. The work was proscribed by the government and the copies were seized and confiscated. The authorities also declared five years imprisonment to those keeping the copies of it.¹³⁸ The British were always on the search for him due to his active role in the revolt of 1921. When the revolt was crushed, realizing the fate of arrest, he escaped to Makkah where he lived till death in 1942.

¹³⁴ *Ibid*, p.39.

¹³⁵ C. N. Ahmad Maulawi, K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *Mahathaya Mappila... op.cit.*, p. 72.

¹³⁶ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, pp. 182-185.

¹³⁷ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p.

¹³⁸ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, Vol. III

Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Maulawi

During the days of the Khilafat agitations Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Maulawi¹³⁹ popularly known as K. M. Maulawi was one of the stalwarts of the movement. He strongly advocated and practiced non-violence. During the days of Khilafat movement he was active in the formation of Khilafat committees in Malabar. A number of Congress-Khilafat committees at his guidance were formed in Ernad, Walluvanadu and Calicut taluks.¹⁴⁰ Daily he addressed many Khilafat meetings in different centres. He also propagated the mission of *swadeshi* and Non-co-operation.¹⁴¹ He participated in the Tiruchirapally Conference of *Indian Majlis ul Ulama*. He was one of the chief architects of the *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama*. In the Ottappalam Congress he suggested that all Mussalman should join Non-co-operation with the government. When the police created tension during the conference, he was in the forefront to call upon the people to be peaceful.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Maulawi (Musaliar) popularly known as K. M. Maulawi was a scholar, orator and writer and editor of many journals and pamphlets such as *al-Murshid*, *Risalatun fil Bunk* etc He was born in Kakkad, near Tirurangadi in the scholarly family of Tayyil Kunhi Moideen Sahib and Palamadathil Karnatic Ayisha. He had his early education from the traditional *Dars* of Tirurangadi, Thalakkadathur and Paravanna and *Dar ul Uloom* Madrassa Vazhakkad. He also took the lead of the establishment of the Tirurangadi Yatheem Khana along with his friends like E. K. Maulawi, M. K. Hajee *et al.* (Here in after referred as K. M. Maulawi).

¹⁴⁰ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K. M. Maulawi op.cit.*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 72.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, p. 90.

Maulawi was a strict idealist of *ahimsa* principles. Prior to the revolt of 1921, he was much disturbed over the explosive condition of Malabar. There was every possibility for police raid and arrest. Thus he shuttled from one place to another appealing to people for peace. On 13th August he spoke at Pookotloor that if the government wanted to arrest any of them, then they should not resist.¹⁴³ He made similar speeches at Kodur and Malappuram. He often described the unarmed fight with the British forces as suicidal.¹⁴⁴ He condemned all types of violence in the name of the Khilafat and Congress.¹⁴⁵

During the turbulent revolt of 1921, he was restless in consoling the people from outrages. C. P. Muhammad Hajee one of his associates and eyewitnesses of the revolt records his reminiscences about the Maulawi, "It was the day of Kottakkal *chanda* (weekly fair), a rumour spread that Ali Musaliar was arrested and the Juma Masjid was destroyed. Hearing this, people in groups from the *chanda* flowed to Tirurangadi with sticks and daggers. Mappilas from Valakkulam, Valiora and Ponmala reached Tirurangadi. The excited mob became uncontrollable. K. M. Maulawi tried hard to convince them of the fact and of the matter and pacify them. He

¹⁴³ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K. M. Maulawi op.cit.*, p. 93.

¹⁴⁴ Hajee Muhammad Kannu, *Vakkam Maulawiyum Navodhana Nayakanmarum*, Tiruvananthapuram, 1982, p. 90.

¹⁴⁵ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K. M. Maulawi op.cit.*, p. 93.

reminded them of the peaceful and non-violent nature of Khilafat and Non-co-operation.”¹⁴⁶

The non-official report about the revolt of 1921 records a still more interesting incident about the Maulawi that while controlling the excited mob he often quoted the *Quranic* words. At this time someone from the unruly crowd murmured, protested and some decried him as a government spy. Some others cried out, “Our brethren killed by them are lying on the road; should we not at least bring their bodies and bury them? The Maulawi replied that they must not go even for that.”¹⁴⁷

When the situation became badly explosive in Ernad, he tried hard to avoid the explosion of an imminent revolt in Malabar. On 22nd August, an urgent meeting of the Congress-Khilafat workers was convened at Calicut, which prepared ‘a serious notice’ and decided to circulate the copies of it in every village. It demanded patience and perseverance before the aggression of the British. K. M. Maulawi was one of the seven signatories to the notice.¹⁴⁸ E. Moidu Maulawi recorded that 5,000 copies of such notice were so

¹⁴⁶ C. P. Muhammad Hajee, ‘Avismaraniya Dinangal’, *Malabar Kalapam 60th year Anniversary Souvenir*, Tirurangadi, 1981, p. 48.

¹⁴⁷ Non-official report of the Mappila disturbances by T. Prakashan and Venkata Ram Ayyar in September 1922 to Kerala Provincial Congress Committee in September 1922, p. 828. T N A..

¹⁴⁸ Copy of the notice is appended, No. VI.

circulated.¹⁴⁹ Despite all his peaceful missions he was a target of the British officials and was often haunted.¹⁵⁰

The British government branded him treasonous and counted him twelfth among the dangerous persons of Malabar.¹⁵¹ On 16th August 1921, the District Collector Thomas wrote to the government that Tayyil Muhammad Kutty was the most dangerous rebel. After the suppression of the revolt of 1921, the authorities planned to capture K. M. Maulawi and Kattilasseril Muhammad Maulawi and hang them within three months.¹⁵² When he came to know of the arrest warrant, he went underground. Later E.K. Maulawi and M. C. C. Abdul Rahiman Maulawi took special interest to invite him to Kodungallur. They provided him all facilities on his arrival at Kodungallur¹⁵³ and he remained there for ten years.

On the repeal of the cases against him, he returned to Malabar and got involved in the day today affairs of the people. But he alienated himself from the Congress and later became one of the founders of the Muslim league in Kerala.

¹⁴⁹ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K. M. Maulawi op.cit.*, p. -104.

¹⁵⁰ M. Ali Kunhi, *1921 le Malabar Kalapam* (Mal.), Calicut, 1972, p. 41.

¹⁵¹ R. H. Hitchcock, *op. cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁵² K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K. M. Maulawi op.cit.*, pp. 130-131.

¹⁵³ UAE Indian Islahi Centre Souvenir, 1982, p. 77.

Kattilasseri Muhammad Maulawi

Mankada Parambil Vadekethodi Muhammad Maulawi¹⁵⁴ was a staunch enemy of the British. Kattilasseri came to the public life as an associate of M. P. Narayana Menon who always fought for the cause of suffering people. Kattilasseri realized that all the problems of the country were due to the presence of the British who were beneficial only to the landlords and capitalists. The British rather utilized them for their safe stand in the colonial process. Landlords always were the supporters of the British. Thus this illegitimate alliance worsened the condition of the peasant in Malabar.¹⁵⁵

Kattilasseri fought against this alliance tooth and nail. He formed *Kudiyar Sangham* (Tenants' Association) with the aim of solving the grievances of the tenants. It organized *Kudiyar Struggles* against the *janmis*. He engaged himself in tireless efforts to organize the units of *Kudiyar Sangham* all over Ernad, Kurumbranadu, Walluvanadu, Calicut, Ponnani and Kottayam Taluks for which Kattilasseri travelled widely in his bullock-cart with M. P. Narayana Menon.¹⁵⁶ It was when Mahatma Gandhi staged his *Chambaran Satyagraha* that Kattilasseri engaged himself in such an identical

¹⁵⁴ He was born at Puzhakkatteri near Perinthalmanna in 1879 as son of Ali Musaliar and Aishumma. He had his early education at *Dars* of Tirurangadi, Ponnani and Vellore. His presence in the Malabar resistance movement was second to none. Here in after called Kattilasseri.

¹⁵⁵ S. Rama Chandran, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 19.

movement in Malabar. In 1916, at Kodur near Malappuram a *janmi* called Arakkal Kuttimalu Amma and her *kanamdar* Paruthikkunnan Pocker evicted many tenants. The tenants started protection strikes against the *janmis*. When the landlords sought the support of the Congress against the *Kudiyam* strike, Kattilasseri and Narayana Menon successfully intervened on behalf of the peasants and the *janmis* were rebuffed. Then the landlords came up with the *fatwas* of a group of *ulama*, which claimed the landlords' proprietorship of the lands divinely decided. Kattilasseri defended it by counter *fatwas*. Finally the *Kudiyam Sangham* under the leadership of Kattilasseri won the strike.¹⁵⁷ Similar successful tenants' strikes were held at Kuruga and Kottakkal under Kattilasseri. Thus Kattilasseri made tenants a strong defensive force in the struggle against landlordism and colonialism.¹⁵⁸

He called a Tenant conference at Angadippuram and oriented the tenants' about their rights. The Congress conferences at Manjeri and Ottapalam took the tenants problem seriously. Kattilasseri played a vital role in moving resolutions in the conferences for the protection of the rights of tenants'.

Kattilasseri had an appealing personality. He was a good organizer and a speaker. Kesava Menon comments about him, " Muhammad Musaliar of

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 20.

Perinthalmanna, the friend of M. P. with his long stature and white sleeveless shirt, *lungi* and turban speak for hours fluently with magnetic attraction.”¹⁵⁹ Ayisha Kutty, daughter of Kattilasseri, remembers her father, “that he prepared the people to the anti-British movements by quoting the *Quranic* verses.”¹⁶⁰ He used to speak at *chandass* and at mosques on Fridays.¹⁶¹ Thus within a short period the tenant movement became very active in every nook and corner of Malabar. Later when Khilafat movement started, the units of *Kudiyam Sangham* merged with the Khilafat stream and formed a joint force against the British.¹⁶²

He also distributed copies of the Karachi Resolutions.¹⁶³ His patriotic spirit even made him unmindful of the District Collector. When Mr. Thomas entered the Khilafat Committee office at Calicut without seeking permission, Kattilasseri remained in his seat. When enquired of this behavior he replied, “will you permit anybody to enter your office without seeking permission.

¹⁵⁹ K. P. Kesava Menon, *Kazhinja Kalam* (Mal.), Calicut, 1969, pp. 31- 32.

¹⁶⁰ C. F. Umar Arakkal, ‘Idhu Vazhi Kadannu Poyavar, Kattilasseri yude Makal Ayishakkutty,’ *Chandrika Varanthya Padhipp.* 15- 9- 1993.

¹⁶¹ M. P. S. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, p. 40.

¹⁶³ Karachi Khilafat Conference held on July 1921 advocated people to determine to work whole-heartedly at whatever cost or sacrifice to preserve the sanctity of Khilafat and to release all Muslim countries from the non- Islamic powers. R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 22.

You did enter our office without seeking permission because you have no respect to the Indian offices.”¹⁶⁴

Kattilasseri was strong in the *ahimsa* principles. He proved that tenant reforms could be achieved through peaceful means. So also strong peaceful resistance of the British could solve the Khilafat question. When the situation at Tirurangadi became worse, he visited Ali Musaliar with his friend, M. P. Narayana Menon and convinced him of the danger of armed fight against the British.¹⁶⁵ On the way they met one of the bodyguards of Ali Musaliar who had a dagger in his waist. Surprised of the turn of events, Kattilasseri remarked in an insulting mood, “Oh, you are a butcher.”¹⁶⁶ This was actually the outburst of a man of *ahimsa*.

E. P. Gopalan, one of the friends of Kattilasseri recalls, “Kattilasseri, the close friend of M. P. was a great scholar. He spoke for hours about the need of nationalism in the light of the *Quran* and *Hadith*. The British authorities feared him and found him dangerous as the champion of nationalism and an uncompromising hero of Hindu-Muslim unity.”¹⁶⁷ As referred to earlier the British authorities had a deep sense of vengeance

¹⁶⁴ S. Ramachandran, *op.cit.*, p. 46.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 45.

¹⁶⁶ Mozhikkunnath Brahmadattan Namboodirippad, *op.cit.*, p. 61.

¹⁶⁷ E. P. Gopalan, ‘Swathandra Samara Senanikal Atma Suhruthukal’ in *Mathrubhumi*, January 3, 1969, p.4.

against him. He was declared the tenth among the 'dangerous persons' of Malabar to be arrested soon.¹⁶⁸

The government had also observed that one of the root causes of the revolt of 1921 was the rise of *Kudiyam Sangham* and its activities in Malabar. The spark of the revolt also was on the same issue. One of the servants of Nilambur Kovilakam; Vadakkeveetil Muhammad was suspended, as he became the organizer of *Kudiyam* conference of Pookkootoor in January 1921.¹⁶⁹ From the subsequent developments, the British authorities realized that the tenants' movement was more harmful than anything. Thus, the government planned to arrest Kattilasseril with M.P. Narayana Menon, as they were the chief architects of *Kudiyam* movement in Malabar. M. P. Narayana Menon was arrested and the Maulawi escaped to Vellore.¹⁷⁰ The police under Amu, the Superintendent chased him to Vellore in disguise for his arrest. But Maulawi dramatically escaped to the French Karakkal where he lived till the cases against him were repealed in 1933. After his return he spent the rest of his life in public activities. He also established a number of educational institutions but without accepting any aid from the British government.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 32.

¹⁶⁹ S. Ramachandran Nair, *Freedom Struggle in Colonial Kerala*, Tiruvananthapuram, 2004, p. 62. The subsequent allegation of theft of pistol and the events discussed in the part of Ali Musaliar.

¹⁷⁰ M. P. S. Menon, *op.cit.*, p. 123.

¹⁷¹ E. P. Gopalan, *op.cit.*, p. 4.

Moidu Maulawi

Moidu Maulawi¹⁷² was an uncompromising fighter against the British colonialism. He was attracted to the national movement through the Home Rule League. The Khilafat agitations and Non-co-operation movements strengthened his nationalist feeling and thus he came to the forefront of the struggle for freedom.¹⁷³

Moidu Maulawi took a leading role in the foundation of *Majlis ul Ulama* and Khilafat committees in Kerala. He had a leading role in the Ottapalam Congress conference of 23-25th April 1921. A special *ulama* conference was held in the same venue and the *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama* was formed as Moidu Maulawi the General Secretary of the organization.¹⁷⁴ After the conference he became a full time propagandist of the Khilafat movement in Malabar.¹⁷⁵

The *Majlis ul Ulama* and the Khilafat Committees worked in Malabar actively under the guidance of Moidu Maulawi and others. To counter their activities the British authorities arranged parallel movements and *ulama*

¹⁷² He was born in Maranchery of Ponnani Taluk as son of Malayamkulathayil Marakkar Musaliar and Ummati Umma. He had his early education in the *Dars* of Ponnani. For higher education he went to Vazhakkad *Dar ul Uloom*. At Vazhakkad along with Arabic, he studied Urdu also. Urdu scholarship enabled him to read the works of leaders like Azad, which tempted him to enter in serious politics.

¹⁷³ E. Moidu Maulawi 'Jeevitha Yathrayile Nazhikkallukal' in *Chandrika Daily*, 28th July 1990, p. 2.

¹⁷⁴ Contains in the resolution of Kerala *Ulama* Conference in the file of public dept, GO, No: 491, 3rd Aug. 1921, TNA

¹⁷⁵ P. P. Umar Koya, *Dheeratmakkal* (Mal.), Calicut, 1975, p. 40.

conference, which all ended in fiasco. It shocked the British authorities. Amu, the Superintendent of Police personally approached the Maulawi and requested him to desist from his anti-British activities.¹⁷⁶ When it seemed that Maulawi was not yielding, Mr. Amu warned, “all your dealings are seditious, you must desist from it and report to the Collector, Mr. Thomas. I shall help you in every possible way. By God I too believe in the Khilafat. You must do for the goodness of the nation.”¹⁷⁷ Having listened to what he said, Maulawi retaliated. “I cannot deviate from my goal. I know arrest and prison are at your disposal. My country’s liberation is my ultimate object. I am prepared to sacrifice everything for its sake.”¹⁷⁸

Moidu Maulawi was restless during the revolt of 1921. After the Pookottoor incident, the British authorities decided to take harsh steps and the Khilafatists also prepared for a confrontation with the British. On 19th August 1921 the Collector Mr. Thomas, and the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Hitchcock started to Tirurangadi with 500 soldiers and policemen. As soon as Abdu Rahman and Moidu Maulawi came to know about the move of the District Collector, they sent a message to Ali Musaliar stating, “it was known that Mr. Thomas and Hitchcock, accompanied by a well equipped army had

¹⁷⁶ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Ente Kootukaran* (Mal.), Calicut, 1964, p. 25.

¹⁷⁷ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, p. 140.

¹⁷⁸ E. Moidu Maulawi, *op.cit.*, *Chandrika Daily*, Dated 5th Feb. 1990, p. 2

started from Calicut either to Tirurangadi or to Pookottoor.” It also reminded Ali Musaliar to be careful to ward off untoward incidents.¹⁷⁹

On reaching Tirurangadi Mr. Thomas and his group raided Kizhakkeppalli. The news of the raid created a state of anarchy in Ernad. People rose in revolt at different centres. Foreseeing the danger of an open fight, Moidu Maulawi reached Pookottoor, the most tensed up area on 22nd August. There he found people getting ready for a march to Tirurangadi. Moidu Maulawi and K. Madhavan Nair tried to pacify the people. But people suspected them as spies.¹⁸⁰ In spite of continuous attempts the mob refused to relent. When the *adhan* gave the call for the evening prayer, Maulawi requested them to go to the mosque telling them that prayer was more virtuous than *jihad*. “If you are very particular to go for *jihad*, do prayer and proceed.”¹⁸¹ Fortunately after the prayer the people dispersed.

When Maulawi heard of the *jihad* proclamation of Ali Musaliar, he strongly opposed it. He reprimanded, “Ali Musaliar had no right to declare *jihad* against the British. He is only one among the members of the Khilafat

¹⁷⁹ V. S. Keraleeyan, *Keralathinte Veeraputhran op.cit.*, p. 15.

¹⁸⁰ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, p.33.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 34.

committee. The central committee of the Khilafat alone has the right to declare *jihad*.”¹⁸²

He was unhappy about the developments in Tirurangadi. He prepared another delegation of 24 leaders including K.P. Kesava Menon, U. Gopala Menon, Muhammad Abdul Rahman, P. Moideen Koya *et al*. They left for Ernad taluk. At Feroke they were stopped by the military who threatened to shoot them. The police frisked Moidu Maulawi and his comrades. Maulawi had worn a Mappila cap, while others had worn *Gandhi caps*. A police officer got irritated on seeing Maulawi’s cap. He started abusing him and threw the cap to the nearest river.¹⁸³ The military did not allow them to go ahead. Only when the District Magistrate’s pass was shown, they were permitted to proceed.¹⁸⁴

The peace delegation crossed many villages and towns. Wherever they went, they addressed the crowd, pacified the people; arranged peace leagues and brought refugees to places of safety. Amongst the refugees there were a pregnant lady and her children. The Congress workers carried the pregnant lady in a manchal to Calicut.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸² *Ibid*, pp. 31- 32.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 33.

¹⁸⁴ Non- Official Report on the Malabar Disturbances... *op.cit.*, p. 829. T N A.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 829.

Maulawi was an apostle of non-violence. But on certain occasions, may be out of over enthusiasm, he preached armed uprisings against the British. Once, while addressing an audience at Cannanore he said, "The Indian Muslims ought to have fought a war to avenge the wrongs done to Islam," and he lamented the want of arms for such a venture.¹⁸⁶ Drawing inspiration from Maulawi's speech, the *ulama* associations together issued *fatwas* calling upon all Muslim to be ready to sacrifice everything including their lives for the Khilafat and the country. Consequently war preparations were made. The disbanded Mappila soldiers trained volunteers on military style. Manufacture of arms also became wide spread in Malabar.¹⁸⁷

Such skidding can be seen in his pamphlet, issued after Ottappalam conference. The resolution passed in the conference accused the British of trying to destroy the Khilafat. The resolution also exhorted the Muslims to become members of the Indian National Congress in order that India might obtain *Swaraj* through the efforts of the Congress and set right the Khilafat issue.¹⁸⁸ He also quoted the speeches of Shoukat Ali on different occasions.¹⁸⁹

Except on these few occasions Maulawi firmly stood for peaceful Non-co-operation and Khilafat agitation. His influence was so deep in the societies

¹⁸⁶ Home (pol.), 1921, F No: 241, pt IA, NAI.

¹⁸⁷ R. H. Hitchcock, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹⁸⁸ Pub. Dept, G.O No. 491, 3 August 1921.

¹⁸⁹ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord... op.cit.*, p. 126.

that within a short period of time a large number of Khilafat and *ulama* organizations sprang up in Malabar. These developments literally shocked the British authorities. They wanted to arrest him but were aware of its consequences. On 16th July, 1921 the Under Secretary to the Government of Madras wrote to the District Magistrate, "Government consider it desirable that before sanctioning the prosecution of E. Moidu, you should send for him and give him an opportunity of apologizing and personally undertaking not to repeat the offence."¹⁹⁰ They were also fearful of the consequences of his arrest. The District Collector, Mr. Thomas, wrote after the Pookottoor event, "I am so doubtful as to the effect in Ernad of prosecuting E. Moidu that I am postponing the action."¹⁹¹

In the peak hours of the revolt of 1921, having arrested the leaders like Ali Musaliar, the government turned against Moidu Maulawi and issued arrest warrant on the basis of some old allegations like inciting the Mappilas against the British, publishing of seditious pamphlets, urging the Muslims of Malabar to join the Khilafat and Non-co-operation Movements and justifying the activities of the Ottappalam *Majlis ul Ulama*. Thus under Indian Penal Code,

¹⁹⁰ G. R. F. Tottenham, Undersecretary to Government of Madras, letter to District Magistrate Malabar, 16th July, 1921, quoted in M. Gangadhara Menon, *Malabar Rebellion, op.cit.*, p. 155.

¹⁹¹ Letter of Thomas to Madras, 10th August, 1921 in G. R. F. Tottenham, *op.cit.*, p. 19.

section 124A and section 153A Maulawi was arrested on 10th September 1921.¹⁹²

After a quick trial he was sentenced to a two-year imprisonment and a fine of 300 Rupees. If the fine were not remitted, the imprisonment would be extended for another six months. After the judgment, the Magistrate gave him another option to plead for apology to the British government so that he might be excused. But he said boldly that he did not commit any crime and so no need of begging for pardon of the government. He was also not prepared to pay the fine. Subsequently Maulawi was sent to jail for two and a half year term.¹⁹³

On being released from jail in 1923,¹⁹⁴ instead of going to his family, Maulawi straight away went to Kakkinada to attend the All India Annual Conference of Indian National Congress.¹⁹⁵ It reveals his great concern for the national issues and the Struggle for Independence.

He was steadfast towards the British even in the jail days. When A. R. Knapp visited the Bellary Jail, he advised Maulawi to desist from the anti-British activities, citing that Sharif Hussain, the *Amir* of Makkah, was friend

¹⁹² E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, p. 50.

¹⁹³ He discussed his jail experiences in detail in Autobiography. See, *Ibid*, pp. 50- 87.

¹⁹⁴ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁹⁵ E. Moidu Maulawi, *op.cit.*, *Chandrika Daily*, dated, 1- 12- 1990.

of Britain. The response of Maulawi was strong: Sharif Hussain is to be killed. Maulawi also expressed his wish to kill him as has become the enemy of Islam by supporting Britain.¹⁹⁶ He was progressive and a revolutionary in the Islamic observances. Owing to his progressive ideas, a group of *ulama* always opposed him and even claimed to kill 'Kafir Moidu'.¹⁹⁷ Thus he had the internal as well as foreign enemies.

As a serious step to rouse the people from inactivity and lethargy and to spread the principles and messages of the Congress to the people, two newspapers were brought out this period. K. P. Kesava Menon started *Mathrubhumi* on 18th March 1923 and *Al Ameen* was started on 12th October 1924. Muhammad Abdu Rahman and Moidu Maulawi were chief editor and sub-editor of *Al-Ameen* respectively. Through the paper they succeeded in propagating the need to fight for the cause of the motherland.

Making *Al-Ameen* a strong weapon, Maulawi questioned many of the British activities such as Andaman Scheme, inhuman atrocities accorded on the arrested people, discriminative rehabilitation in the revolt affected area etc. On 6th September 1924, the District Magistrate of Malabar suggested to send the prisoners of the revolt to Andaman. Muhammad Abdu

¹⁹⁶ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁹⁷ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Ormakal op.cit.*, p. 77.

Rahman and E. Moidu Maulawi, calling this an 'Operation Trap', resented the move and *Al-Ameen* launched a battle against it.¹⁹⁸

On 6th July 1930, he wrote in *Al Ameen* under the title '*Jihad ul Akbar* (the great holy war), that if patriotism is an integral part of the religious faith of a Muslim and if Islam is a religion which extols the message of freedom, it is the bounden duty of every true Muslim to sacrifice every thing including life for the freedom and salvation of the motherland.¹⁹⁹

On 3rd February 1929, All India Congress Committee observed a day of protest in India against the arrival of Simon Commission. Total Hartal was observed in all the principal cities of India and processions carrying black flags and placards with the words, 'Simon Go Back' received the Commission. Along with the other parts of India, Malabar also joined the protest. A large number of people under the leadership of Muhammad Abdu Rahman and Moidu Maulawi came forward to boycott the commission.²⁰⁰

The reflections of Salt Satyagraha were very strong in Malabar. K. Kelappan, the President of K.P.C.C staged an identical march in Malabar on 13th April 1930. He led a procession of 32 men from Calicut to Payyannur to

¹⁹⁸ *Al -Ameen*, 9th and 15th March 1931 in MNNR, pp. 381 and 444.

¹⁹⁹ *Al Ameen*, 6th July 1930, MNNR July- August, 1930, p. 1030. T N A.

²⁰⁰ P. A. Sayyid Muhammad, *op.cit.*, p. 216.

make salt.²⁰¹ E. Moidu Maulawi in the initial stage did not co-operate with the movement. Soon, at the inspiration of T. R. Krishna Swami Ayyar and Muhammad Abdu Rahman, made up his mind to join the movement actively.²⁰² At the vanguard of the *jadha*, he suffered many assaults, cruelties and insults at places like at Valappattanam, Tellichery, Nadapuram, and Koyilandi.²⁰³ However, the message of Civil Disobedience Movement was effectively propagated and there was massive co-operation in many of the centres of their journey. Later, on his leading role he was arrested and punished for nine months.²⁰⁴

Maulawi was a critic and uncompromising towards the policies of the All India Muslim League. When the League was formed in 1934, he found many Muslim Congress leaders resigned to the new party. K. M. Seethi Sahib, A. K. Kunhi Mayin Haji, C. P. Mammu Keyi, Sultan Abdu Rahman Ali Raja, Abdu Sathar Sait and Uppi Sahib were some of the prominent among them. Moidu Maulawi could not tolerate this flow of leaders and strengthened *Kerala Muslim Majlis* to counter the activities of Muslim League and to convince the Muslims that the *Majlis* are for the welfare of the community. He was unrelenting and bitter to the organization of Muslim League that he

²⁰¹ H F M in Malabar, Vol. No. 103, pp. 67- 69.

²⁰² Moidu Maulawi and Abu, Ormakal 'Ayavirakkunnu' in *Mathrubhumi*, 11- 5- 1980.

²⁰³ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, pp. 160-166

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 172.

stated in 1972, "if the Muslim League is not a communal organization, there is no communal organization in the world."²⁰⁵

Maulawi cherished the dream of a United India. He therefore was strongly against the partition demands of the All India Muslim League. While addressing a gathering at Marancheri he warned the people against the forces attempting to destroy the unity of our nation and demanding a separate state for them.²⁰⁶ He also reminded the people of the unity of Hindus and Muslims and the necessity of fighting the colonialists.

Maulawi was busy during the days of Quit India Movement. He visited every nook and corner of Malabar preaching the message of the Quit India Movement. On 10th August 1942, the government arrested him for inspiring the people to join the movement and he was sent to Vellore for a three-year rigorous imprisonment.²⁰⁷ The government also confiscated his house and properties. Thus after his release in 1945, finding no shelter he had to sleep in the nearest mosque for several days.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁵ Sighted in Naresh Kumar Jain (ed.), *Muslims in India a Biographical Dictionary*, Vol. II, Delhi, 1983, p. 69.

²⁰⁶ *Mathrubhumi Daily*, *op.cit.*, 7th Sept. 1945.

²⁰⁷ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, p.208.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, p.216.

Some other Prominent *Ulama*

Chembrasserri Kunhi Koya Tangal and Konnara Tangal were other two prominent *ulama* in the forefront of the movement till the end of the revolt of 1921. Kunhi Koya Tangal was the President of Chembrasserri Khilafat committee. On the outbreak of the revolt, he declared himself the ruler of Tuvur. He had believed to have miracles by which he was immune of bullets.²⁰⁹ He was also in close company with Varian Kunnath Kunhahmed Haji, the leader of the revolt in the area of Manjeri, to lead the people against the British. Thus he was in the blacklist of the government and was arrested at Melattur. He was tried on the charges of waging war against the king. The court found him guilty and shot him to death at Malappuram.²¹⁰ F.B. Evans, who met him after arrest, refers him as 'a dignified person.'²¹¹

Konnara Muhammad Koya Tangal fought with 2000 volunteers against the British. He made the mosque of Konnara as centre of Khilafat activities. In retaliation the British fired at the Konnara mosque. The British were so afraid of him that in 1922 the authorities appealed to the government not to repeal the martial law in Malabar because Konnara Tangal and his forces

²⁰⁹ K. Madhavan Nair, *Malabar... op.cit.*, p. 268.

²¹⁰ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K.M. Maulawi op.cit.*, p. 85.

²¹¹ G. R. F. Tottenham, *op.cit.*, p. 276.

were still active in Beypore.²¹² Subsequently, one of his right hand men, Avokkar Musaliar, was arrested. In August 1922, Konnara Tangal was also arrested from Koothuparamba of north Malabar. After a short trial he was hanged at Coimbatore.²¹³

Avaran kutty Musaliar of Tanalur was an aged but brave fighter against the British. He was arrested on charges of conspiring with Ali Musaliar against the British. During the visit at Bellary jail, Mr. Knapp asked, “why did you commit this crime in this old age Musaliar?” he retaliated, “I have not committed any crime, I fought for the freedom of my country and I feel it is my responsibility as a Mussalman.”²¹⁴

Seethi Koya Tangal of Kumaranputhoor was an extremist *alim* who conducted many terrorist activities during the revolt of 1921. He destroyed all the communication facilities in the Mannarghat area; demolished the Tripanad Bridge and attacked and seized weapons from Cherpulassery police station and trained his followers in the guerilla warfare attack.²¹⁵ He declared himself the king of Mannarghat. He was a nightmare to the British for long and finally he was shot dead by the forces on 19th January 1922.

²¹² C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, Vol. III, *op.cit.*, p. 79.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

²¹⁴ E. Moidu Maulawi, *Maulawiyude... op.cit.*, pp. 79-80.

²¹⁵ C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, Vol. III, *op.cit.*, p. 70.

Mattath Sayyid Alawi Koya Tangal was among those who surrendered with Ali Musaliar and was in jail waiting for the gallows. But later the punishment was relaxed to life imprisonment. After long years of imprisonment he was exiled to the Andaman.²¹⁶

Another stalwart, Kalakkandathil Kunhabdulla Musaliar of Puzhakkatteri spent a major part of his income to prepare a force of 1000 youths against the British. He posed a serious threat to the British. At the end of a fierce fight, Musaliar was arrested and his troops were scattered. He was jailed for thirteen years in Coimbatore.²¹⁷

The revolt of 1921 was backed by the *ulama* everywhere. In the course of court proceedings almost all participants of the revolt of 1921 revealed that they had drawn their inspiration from the *ulama*.²¹⁸ Hitchcock produces the statement of a culprit, "I joined the rebellion as I was induced by Kalluvalappil Ibrayen Mullah's son Kunhi Moideen Musaliar and his younger brother another Musaliar of Peruvallur Amsam, preached to me that this is the

²¹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 70.

²¹⁷ *Ibid*, p. 93.

²¹⁸ Extracts from the Central Legislative Assembly Debats, 8th Feb. 1922. Quoted in K. N. Panikkar, *peasant protest...op. cit.*, p. 535.

time of every Mussalman should die for Khilafat. I was led away by the preaching and hence joined the rebellion.”²¹⁹

In fact, the number of the *ulama* who fervently participated in the nationalist movement was far greater in number. Many of their names did not even enter in the records. From the court procedures, oral records and interviews we could gather a list of *ulama* but without further details, who due to their participation were killed, jailed, exiled or persecuted.²²⁰

The response of the authorities to the revolt was indescribable. Malabar became the free chasing ground of all the atrocious troops. Not even human consideration was given to the arrested people. One such incident; the ‘Wagon Tragedy’ suffocated and killed 64 lives that were transported in a luggage wagon to Coimbatore. Large number of people were executed, imprisoned or exiled. More than 45,000 were arrested and about 10,000 were killed in the police action.²²¹

The revolt of 1921 brought a clear rift between the Muslims and the Hindus on one hand, Muslims and Congress Khilafat leaders on the other. The

²¹⁹ Statement of Kooliparamban Pokkar before Sub Inspector of Tirurangadi on 25th December 1921, quoted by R. H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, pp. 194 - 195.

²²⁰ A list of the *ulama* participated in the 1921 revolt collected from different sources such as interviews, discussions, and from different publications are produced in the appendix No. VII.

²²¹ K. N. Panikkar, *Against Lord... op.cit.*, p.163. According to the official version, only 3,000 were killed during the revolt.

name and fame of the Congress Khilafat activities were largely eclipsed.²²² As golden chance, the government exploited the occasion for channeling their mission of divide between the two groups.²²³ They were also successful in misleading the Hindus to think that British rule in India was essential for their survival. Muslims, on the other hand had developed the notion that not only the British and the landlords were against them but also the Congress-Khilafat groups, as they deserted the movement at a very critical stage. The post revolt period noticed a vacuum of Mappila participation in politics, due to the hatred, fear, lethargy and poverty. Khilafat Committees had started thinking to stop its activities in Malabar.²²⁴

Following the suppression of the revolt of 1921, there was an apparent withdrawal of the *ulama* from the national movement. The British were successful in misleading the *ulama* into believing that the Congress was responsible for the great misfortune of 1921. The *ulama* who mistook the Congress became passive in the national movement and active in the social reform movements. Even at this critical time the *ulama* like Moidu Maulawi, Kattilasseri *et al* remained steadfast in the Congress and came to be known as the nationalist *ulama*.

²²² E. Moidu Maulawi, *Charitra Chintakal*, *op.cit.*, pp. 41-43.

²²³ Home (pol.) File No: D/8784 dated 9th December 1922, TNA.

²²⁴ *Mathrubhumi*, 28th June 1923.

The nationalist *ulama* did not miss any chance to keep up the patriotic spirit and nationalist enthusiasm among the Muslim youths. Large-scale participation of Muslims in the boycott of Simon Commission, Civil Disobedience Movement and Salt Satyagraha testifies to the role of the nationalist *ulama*. Besides these political issues, they made use of religious festivals to enliven the nationalist enthusiasm. In 1931 in connection with the celebration of *Idul Azha* the nationalist *ulama* appealed to people not to purchase foreign textile materials. When Muslims purchase dress for their festival from Big Bazaar, Calicut, a group of leaders at the inspiration of *ulama*, under Kattil Veettil Ummar Koya and N. P. Abu picketed the foreign textile shops and dissuaded the people from purchasing foreign clothes. They also circulated a notice²²⁵ appealing to the people to purchase Khadi for the welfare of the nation and the people.²²⁶

In short the number of *ulama* who participated in the nationalist movement in Malabar was indeed great. Unfortunately we are short of a detailed and authentic account of their life and activities. The names of some are found in the court proceedings. Their role in the freedom struggle is to be reconstructed from the memories and oral traditions. They are not to be sidelined as 'forgotten freedom fighters'. However, the *ulama* were there in the vanguard from the beginning to the end of the struggle against

²²⁵ Notice appended. No. VIII.

²²⁶ P. P. Mammad Koya Parappil, *op.cit.*, pp. 165-166.

colonialism. The chapter they wrote in golden letters in the history of India's freedom struggle will be a source of inspiration for generations to come, as they were role models to the *ulama* community all over the world. Religious bigotry was totally alien to them. To them the freedom of the motherland was an integral part of their religious faith.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The *ulama* of the Muslim community have played their role beyond the periphery of the religion. It is in this respect that they have taken an active role in the anti-colonial struggle everywhere in the Islamic world. They acted as the spokesmen of the society and leaders of the community in all walks of life. They upheld the scriptures and acted as the real heirs of the prophets in guiding the community both in the spiritual and worldly affairs. They were successful in imparting the points of their mission among the common mass. The masses, in return, acknowledged their guidance and leadership almost unquestionably. This reciprocal relation has contributed a lot in shaping the history of the Muslim community in Malabar from its very commencement till the present time.

The hallmark of the *ulama* was their knowledge in religion. People irrespective of their joy and sorrow, peace and violence, birth and death turned to the *ulama* for help and guidance. Owing to their influence on Muslim masses, the political authorities always approached the *ulama*

and tried to woo them. The *ulama* also enjoyed covetable positions both under the Muslim and non-Muslim rulers. But, in spite of these dignified positions in the administrative system, the *ulama* did not succumb to the selfish motives of the rulers.

The *ulama* used *fatwa* as a potential weapon to exert their hold on both the government and the community. They also used the *fatwa* both as an offensive and defensive weapon, as verdict on religious issues and as stimulant for *jihad* against the enemies. The authorities were at the doorsteps of the *ulama* for getting *Fatwas* in favour of them.

Jihad is another powerful instrument in the hands of the *ulama*. They used it frequently against the enemies of both the religion of Islam and the Muslims all over the world and at all times. It has got four stages. The first three stages are constructive and only in the last stage the believers resorted to weapons. The *ulama* were particular about keeping order in the society.

Right from the beginning, the history of Islam is full of prompt interferences by the *ulama*. In the modern period of colonialism and imperialism their interferences is more conspicuous than ever before. In

the Islamic world the *ulama* were the first to question the colonial intrusion. They challenged the activities of the colonial powers. They not only mobilized the people but also led them to the battlefield. To them service to God and service to the nation are only two sides of the same coin.

When taken in the world context we come across many great *ulama* leading anti-colonial movements in different parts of Islamic world. Mahdi of Sudan, Jamaludhin Afghani, Muhammad Abdu, Rashid Ridha and Hasan ul Banna of Egypt against the British, Abdul Hamid Ibn Badis of Algeria, Sayyid Mohammad Ibn Ali, Sayyid Mohammad Idris and Sheikh Siddi Umar Mukhtar of Libya against the French, Mullah Ibn Abdullah Hasan of Somaliland and Hamid Idris Awati of Eritrea against the Italian, Imam Bunugool of Indonesia against the Dutch and Imam Khomeni of Iran against the American colonialists are some names in the long list of the *ulama* who gave leadership in the anti-colonial struggle.

Right from the very beginning of the Muslim rule in India, the *ulama* enjoyed high positions among the rulers and the ruled. They even acted as a check on the autocratic authority of the rulers. Their

interferences in administration constituted a serious matter of discussion in the history of medieval period. But as they constituted a part and parcel of the administration, they did not take up the grievances of the people against the government.

The entry of European colonial powers into the Indian political arena changed the role of the *ulama* from governmental into anti-governmental. They took the colonial rule as anti-Islamic and declared colonial India as *Dar ul Harb*. The activities of the Christian missionaries were more serious to the *ulama* than anything else. Thus the *ulama* like Shah Waliyullah, Shah Abdul Aziz, Sayyid Ahmad of Bareilly, and Maulana Sayyid Ismail Shahid initiated the anti-colonial struggle. A number of anti-colonial movements also took shape under the *ulama*. The *Faraizi*, *Taaiyuni*, *Tariqa-i Mohammadiyyah*, *Wahabi* were some of the movements under the *ulama*.

The role of the *ulama* in the Great Revolt of 1857 was second to none. They marched to the battle ground with the people and courted death, gallows, jail and banishment. Following the ruthless suppression of the revolt there was a temporary withdrawal of the *ulama* from the political scene. It took a decade for the return of *ulama* to the platform.

In this time the *ulama* like Maulana Muhammad Qasim Nanutavi and Maulana Rashid Ahmad Gangohi took serious steps for the purpose. *Dar ul Uloom* and *Frangi Mahal* also prepared the ground for their come back. Soon these centres became a strong bastion of defence against the British incursions. They reared and geared the nationalist movement in all its steps. They were the precursors of the Indian National Congress and many of its activities during the first half of the 20th century.

It was through the *ulama* of India that the Khilafat Movement received a worldwide dimension. In the Khilafat agitations, the *ulama* whole-heartedly accepted the leadership of Gandhiji to root out the foreigners from the Indian soil. They even declared the government posts under the British government to be *Haram*.

As part of integrating the *ulama*, *Jam'iyyat ul Ulama-i Hind* was formed. Soon it became an accelerating force in the freedom struggle and second in command to the Congress. A large number of *fatwas* demanding boycott and non-co-operation with the government were issued. They were uncompromising to the British.

They left no stone unturned in their attempt to bring harmony among the different communities. They stood firm against the partition and incurred the displeasure of All India Muslim League. Meanwhile, the British attempt of making breach among the *ulama* groups proved successful, and a strong pro-partition *ulama* group came into being.

Ever since the introduction of Islam till the advent of the Europeans, India was *Dar ul Islam*. But, the British India was nothing short of *Dar ul Harb* to the *ulama*. So they advised the Muslims either to do *jihad* or to do *Hijrat*. Maulana Abdu ul Bari and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi were the main advocates of the movement.

The *ulama* of Malabar were on *par excellence* with their counterparts in the world in knowledge and contributions. From the very introduction of Islam in Malabar, the *ulama* became an integral part of the society of the area. The contributions of the *ulama* in the economic and political development of the Muslims of Malabar cannot be underestimated in any circumstances. They also enjoyed a privileged position under the Hindu Rajas. They shaped the character of generations through *Maktabs*, *Madrassas* and *Dars*. The floods of jihadi literature stand witness to their integrity and loyalty to the motherland. The people

trained by the *ulama* haunted the colonial powers from the Portuguese to the British. Their thirst for *Shahadath* or martyrdom literally shook the very foundation of the British Empire.

In intellectual pursuits, the *ulama* were *at par* with their counterpart in any other country even in Arabia. Many of them had studied at world-renowned centres of Islamic learning like Makkah, Madinah etc. It gave them an opportunity to develop an international scholarly network, and a broad outlook to all religious and national issues. This character invited a chain of *ulama* groups to Malabar who shaped the history and culture of the country in general and Muslims in particular.

Later when the history of Malabar became replete with the heroic fight against the colonial powers, the Mappilas joined under the *ulama en masse* and presented vigorous fight unparalleled in the history of India. The *ulama* declared that to protect the land from colonial oppression and to strengthen the hands of the local rulers were the religious duties of every Muslim. Theirs was not mere lip service and they proved their integrity by declaring, and participating in, *jihad*.

When the Portuguese came to Malabar with a definite plan of establishing a strong hold here, the *ulama* were the first to sense it. They came out of the religious claddings and gave leadership in the fighting with the colonialists. They preached the need of defending the motherland from the foreign intruders. In the attempt of resistance, they used their pen as a mighty weapon. It may not be wrong to say that the *ulama* were the first to start a new branch of text called the 'resistance literature'. It was most secular in scope and content and filled with patriotic spirit. The literature they produced included prose pieces, poems, ballads, folklores etc. The most noteworthy among the prose pieces are *Tuhfat ul Mujahidin*, *Fath ul Mubin*, etc. They were written in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam. They were not only motivating but also declaring *jihad* mandatory on all Muslims.

Apart from the literary and oral fight, the *ulama* led their followers to the battlefield in person. They successfully made use of their international contact and won the support of many foreign countries in the struggle against colonialism. Local rulers like the Zamorin, the Kolathiri and Ali Raja realized the potentials of the *ulama* and tried to tap it to the maximum.

At the same time the *ulama* of high rank like the *Qazil Quzat* of Calicut and the *Qazi* of Lakshadweep were not away from the people's problems. People had easy access to them. Even women of other communities could meet them and seek their blessings and redressal of grievances. The *ulama* did not preach for a Muslim ruler to Malabar or to the country as a whole. They wanted only an *adil* (just) ruler who may be a Hindu or a Muslim.

In this struggle, places like Ponnani, the centre of Makhdums, Mamburam, the seat of the *Ba Alawis* and Tirurangadi, the centre of Ali Musliar served as hubs of resistance. Besides these centres, the mosques and *Durus* all over Malabar also served as recruiting centres of *jihadis* under the *ulama*. The training and preachings of these centres created groups, which were nightmarish to the colonialists in Malabar throughout the period. The Marakkars and the Khilafatists were such proud outputs of these trainings.

The divines sitting on the mats spread in mosques were vigilant of the state of their land. The dealing of Milanese artillerymen by the *Qazi* tells us such an instance of vigilant religious leadership. It was these kinds of vigilance and prompt interference that saved Malabar and its

people from the clutches of the Portuguese domination. Otherwise Malabar would have been a part of Goa.

When Malabar was freed from the Portuguese menace, the *ulama* concentrated their attention on studies and socio- religious activities. The Mysorean rule made the *ulama* inactive. They had a feeling that the rights and privileges of the people were safe under the Mysorean rule. This detachment on the part of the *ulama* helped the British to infiltrate into Malabar political life.

When the landlords and colonialists joined hands, the life of the tenants became very pathetic. As Islam does not sanction exploitation in any form, the *ulama* stood with the tenants and fought for their just demands. The *Ba Alawis* of Mamburam gave the tenants moral and ideological support. When Mamburam and its suburbs became hotbeds of peasant struggles, the British held the *Ba Alawis* responsible for it. When Sayyid Fazl Pookoya Tangal was deported on charge of preparing the people for revolt, they accepted the verdict silently. Thus the rule of the law was recognized but the rule of exploitation was questioned. The deportation did not extinguish the Mappila spirit of agitations. When Fazl Pookoya Tangal was no more there in Mamburam, the Mappilas

drew their inspiration from the tomb of Sayyid Alawi Tangal. Thus the *ulama*, dead or alive served as guiding spirit to anti-colonial struggle. Getting excited from this spirit and out of thirst for *shahadath* a large number of suicidal bands were prepared in Malabar during the 19th century, which largely threatened the safety of the British imperialism.

There was a notion that non- co-operation and non-taxation were the strategies developed by the Indian National Congress. But in Malabar the same had already been presented by the *ulama* like Umar Qazi of Veliyancode in the early quarters of the 19th century.

Unlike the Portuguese the British did not interfere with the religious freedom of the people. But as the *ulama* made the mosques the nerve centres of their anti-colonial activities, the authorities had to impose restrictions on the construction of mosques.

The unsolved agrarian problems and the age-old miseries of the peasant community agonized the *ulama* like Kattilasserri. They started *Kudiyani Sangham*. When the *Kudiyani* movement began to gather momentum through national movement, the Khilafat issue came to the

scene. Thus the local, national and international issues merged together to form an irresistible anti-colonial movement.

Though the *ulama* were at the forefront of all anti-colonial struggles in Malabar, they lacked political cohesion. It was in this context that the *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama* was founded under the leadership of Maulawi Sayyid Alawi Tangal, Kattilasserri Muhammad Maulawi, K. M. Maulawi and E. Moidu Maulawi. The *Majlis* provided a common platform to the *ulama* all over Kerala. Thus the formation of the *Majlis* acted as a catalytic force to enter the anti-colonial movement.

Thus, the *ulama* were in the forefront of all the anti-colonial struggle such as Khilafat, National movement and tenant struggles. When the nationalist movement became an *ulama* dominated campaign, the British thought it wise to deal the *ulama* with the *ulama* by forming a Pro-British *ulama* group. But the nationalist *ulama* dealt them squarely.

With these movements the national movement became strong in Malabar. The All India leaders of Congress-Khilafat committees often visited and contacted with the leaders of Malabar including the *ulama*.

Fearful of the rising *ulama* influence, in the anti-colonial struggle, the British tried to convene an *ulama* conference of their supporters at Ponnani but miserably failed due to the excessive influence of the nationalist *ulama* and their counter conference at the same locality.

The *ulama* like Ali Musliar, Chembrasser Tangal and Seethi Koya Tangal were true visionaries. Though they had no administrative training, the Khilafat Raj they founded was of Islamic (republic) in several aspects. Though short-lived, these states were models to any democratic state.

There was a sharp departure in the *ulama* attitude during the 20th century from that of the earlier period. Till the 20th century, the *ulama* had proved a group ready to sacrifice their life for the goal. They never tried to escape or to be imprisoned by the forces. But during the 20th century, the *ulama* developed the dream of a replacement of the British rule. Thus, the *ulama* and their followers always fought for the success and establishment of a rule of their own. When the revolt was suppressed ruthlessly the *ulama* left from the scene and the spiritual leadership suffered till the return of the nationalist *ulama* under Moidu Maulawi and Kattilasserri.

However the *ulama* were there in the vanguard from the beginning to the end of the struggle against colonialism in Malabar. The wonderful chapter they wrote in the history of India's freedom struggle will be inspiring to all generations to come as they were a model to the *ulama* community all over the world. Religious bigotry was totally alien to them. To them the freedom of the motherland was integral part of their religious faith.

Glossary

Adam	The first man.
Adhan	The call to public prayers.
Adhikhary	Village revenue officer.
Adil	Just.
Ahimsa	Non- violence.
Ahl- Bait	The family of prophet Muhammad.
Ahl- i Qalam	The men of pen.
Ahl- i Saif	The men of sword.
Alim	Singular of ulama.
Alimun	The scholars.
Amir	Leader in Islam.
Attar	Perfume.
Ayathullah	Supreme Shiate religious scholar.
Badr	The first battle in the history of Islam.
Bakrid	Idul Azha celebrated in the 12 th month of Hijrat.
Bani Israel	The sons of Israel.
Bohra	A group of Muslim
Cartaz	Pass issued by the Portuguese to sail the ships.
Cherur Pada	Cherur fight.
Dar ul Herb	Abode of war.
Dar ul Islam	Abode of Islam.
Dar ul Uloom	Abode of knowledge.
Dars	Mosque seminary.
Deobandi	One who studied at Dar ul Uloom of Deoband
Dhikr Khalqas	Congregation of chants.
Faquih	The scholar in Islamic jurisprudence
Fardh Ain	Compulsory to every individual.

Farz	Obligatory duty.
Fatihah	The first chapter of Quran.
Fatwa	Written opinion on a point of Islamic Law given by the ulama.
Fiqh	Islamic law of jurisprudence
Haddad	Special chants prepared by Abdullah Ba Alawi Haddad
Hadith	Traditions of Prophet Muhammed
Hajis	One who performed pilgrimage to Ka'aba of Makkah
Hajj	Compulsory pilgrimage to Makkah.
Haram	Forbidden by Islamic law.
Hijazis	One who belong to Hijaz of Saudi Arabia.
Hijrat	Migration.
Houris	The heavenly damsels.
Ijma	Concise opinion of Islamic scholars.
Ilm	Knowledge.
Ilm-i Kalam	Theological philosophy.
Imam	Rightly guided leader in Islam.
Iman	Faith in one God.
Janmam	The birthright in land.
Janmi	holder of Janmam.
Jaram	tomb

Jihad	Striving in the way of God or holy war for the faith.
Juma'a	Friday prayer
Ka'aba	The holy shrine of Makkah.
Kacheri	Judicial court.
Kanakkar	One who hold land on kanam tenure.
Kanam	Land tenure based on mortgage or lease.
Karamat	Miracle shown by the spiritual persons.
Khalifa	The head of Islamic empire.
Khatib	Preacher in the mosque.
Khilafat	Rule led by Khalifa.
Khutuba	Sermon given by the Imam on Fridays and on special occasions
Khutubiyyat	Special chants on the name of Sheikh Abdul Qadar Jilani Baghdad.
Kizhekkepalli	literally eastern mosque. Here it is the mosque where Ali Musliar lived as a religious teacher in Tirurangadi.
Kuffar	Non- believers.
Madrassa	Centre for religious study.
Maktab	Primary school.
Mala	Literally it means garland or necklace. Here it means devotional songs praising the Prophet or saints.

Malappuram Pada	The fight of Malappuram.
Mallam	The word used for ulama in Turkey.
Manchal	Stretcher.
Mappila	The Malayalam speaking Muslims of Malabar.
Maulawi	The title for a religious scholar prefixed or suffixed the name of an <i>alim</i> .
Maulana	The title for a religious scholar prefixed the name of an alim.
Melchart	Over lease.
Menon	Village accountant.
Moulid	Ceremony in connection with the birthday anniversary.
Muazzin	One who calls for prayer.
Muallim	The teacher in the Maktabas.
Mudarris	A teacher of Dars.
Mufti	Jurists.
Mujahid	One who is fighting for the cause of Islam.
Mujtahid	One who imbibes lessons out of scriptures.
Mullah	An Islamic scholar in the lowest rank.
Murtadd	One who become heretic.
Musaliar	The title suffixed to an Islamic scholar.
Mussalman	Plural of Muslim.
Nazaranis	Means Christian.

Nercha	Rituals and celebrations conducted at the tomb of a saint.
Nikah	Marriage.
Othupalli	Old model of primary education centre.
Padappattu	Songs dealing with battle.
Pathans	Urdu speaking Muslims.
Pattam	Rent.
Puislan	A Mappila fisherman.
Purushantaram	The death duty levied by the landlords.
Qadiriyyah	Sufi group who follow the way of Abdul Qadir Jilani of Baghdad.
Qasidas	A form of poem praising the saints.
Qazi ul Quzat	Chief justice.
Qazi	Muslim judge.
Qil'a	Rob of Ka'aba .
Qiyas	Analogical science.
Quissappattus	The songs dealing the story of great persons.
Qurayshi	The family members of Prophet and custodians of Ka'aba.
Ratib	A special chants taught by Abdul Qadar Jilani.
Rawther	A Mappila of Travancore area.
Ryotwari	A revenue system
Sadr	Chief
Satan	The devil who instigates evil.

Sayyid	Descendent of prophet Muhammed.
Sadr- ul Sudur	Head of theology.
Shahadath	The martyrdom.
Shahid	A martyr. plural Shuhada
Sheikh	Spiritual leader.
Sheria	Muslim religious law.
Shia	A minority group in Islam who hold that the leadership in Islam belonged to Prophet Muhammad's family and their descendants.
Shura	Islamic consultative body.
Siddiquin	Truthful persons.
Sufi	A mystic.
Sufi Tariqa	The special union of a group of Sufis.
Sunni	The group in Islam accepts the line of first four Khalifs
Surah	Chapters in the Quran.
Swadeshi	The native.
Tabligh	Islamic propagation.
Tafsir	Quranic exegesis.
Tahsildar	Revenue officer in charge of a taluk.
Taluk	Sub-division of a district.
Tangal	Descendent of prophet Muhammed or Sayyid.

Tanzim	Organization, A movement among Muslims, which aimed at securing better education and a closer approach to unity among Muslims
Taqbil	The practice of hand kissing among the Ba Alawis.
Tokdi	Equal to the rank of a Tahsildar.
Uhd	The place name near Madina, where the second battle of Islam was fought.
Ulama- i Akhira	Spiritual ulama.
Ulama- i Dunia	Worldly ulama.
Ulama	Islamic religious learned man.
Umara	The leader in the society.
Ummah	Muslim community.
Ummat un Wahida	A single community.
Verumpattam	Tenant at will.
Wahabi	Follower of Mohammad Ibn Abdul Wahab.
Waidh	The speaker.
Wajib	Incumbent.
Watan	Country.
Yamanis	Belong to the traditions of Yaman.
Zakath	Compulsory poor arm to each Muslim.

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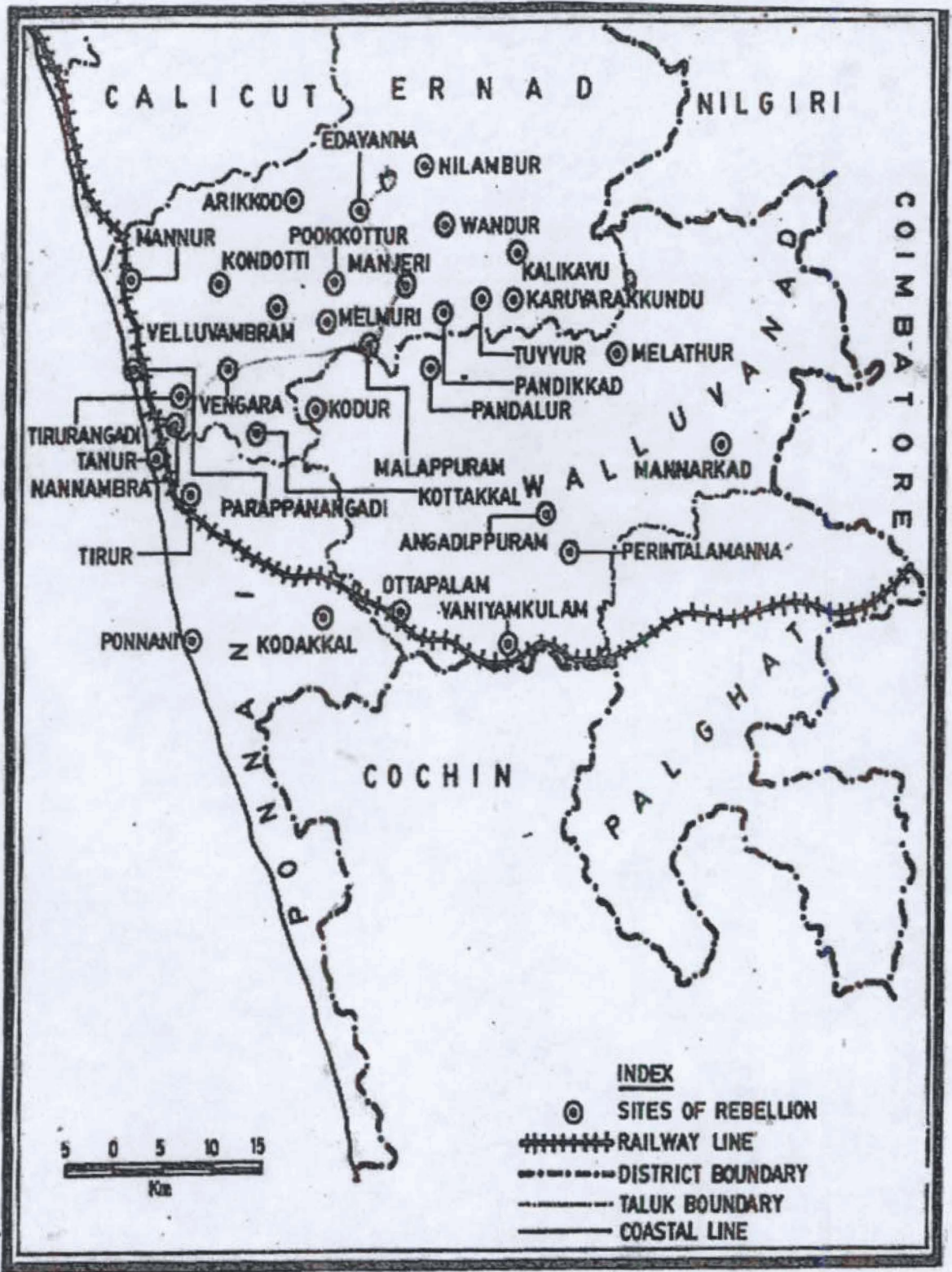
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MAJOR SITES OF REVOLT IN SOUTH MALABAR



Appendix No. I

15th August, 1947-INDIA WINS FREEDOM

(The speech delivered by the Vice Chancellor of Deoband Dar ul Uloom on the night of 15th August 1947, on the eve of the festival of freedom before a large gathering of *ulama*.)

“Elders of the nation, respectable *ulama* and dear students of the *Dar al Ulum*! The auspicious day of today will be always memorable in the history of India. A glorious and mighty empire regarding which it was admitted on all hands that the sun never set on it any time and about which an overweening and supercilious representative of this empire, namely, Gladstone himself had boasted vaingloriously in the parliament that his empire then was so powerful that even if the sky wished to fall down upon it they would stop it on the points of their bayonets and it would not be able to cause any harm to the empire. The same empire, not due to the falling of the sky but merely due to the stirring up of a few particles from the earth is winding up so easily that history cannot offer a single example thereof! On this great revolution we offer congratulations to the whole country; to the whole country in general and to the old and the young in particular whose efforts and sacrifices have brought forth this sweet fruit for India.

“It would be ungrateful on our part if on this occasion we do not recollect the efforts of those elders of the community who in fact laid the foundation- stone of this independence, and laid it at a time when the heart and mind of this country was simply devoid of the concept of liberty. It was the crusading party of Hazrat Shah Waliyullah’s intrepid disciples, which was marching in the path of this struggle for the past two hundred years not only with pen and ink but also with sword and blood. After 1857 when the English power completely dominated over the whole country, this was the lone party, which kept the concept of liberty alive and at last made every one in the

country infatuated with it. According to Moulana Rasheed Ahmed Gangohi, in 1857 the greatest repository of this concept and the greatest trustee of this fervour was Moulana Mohammed Qasim. He took up sword under the leadership of his Sheikh (spiritual preceptor), Hajee Imdad Allah and stepped in the path of liberty with the intention of laying down his life, but because of the difficulties of the path of the chain of victory stopped at the Shamly Tehsil and could not reach Delhi and the country was deprived of independence. However, this party did not become unmindful of this idea. When Hazrat Moulana Mohammed Qasim left this world, his proper and true successor, Sheikh al-Hind Moulana Mahmud Hasan, the legitimate heir to his knowledge and views, continued the movement for freedom with his whole party.

According to a statement of Jamal Pasha, the Turkish governor of Medina, what miracle was hidden in the handful of Sheikh al- Hind's bones and his short jubbah that it took the whole Islamic world into its fold! Anyhow, the passion of these august men against the English paramountcy was neither for rank and position nor for the ministerial chairs nor for the power of any single party, but it was only for this that the oppressed country be taken out from the grasp of an oppressive nation and be entrusted, by way of rendering the due to the rightful person, to one whose trust it was, so that the word of truth be elevated.

“The greatest leisure- time activity of these august men was always the same talk and anxiety as to how the yoke of the English should be thrown away from the shoulders; regarding this alone were their forecasts and spiritual revelations and about the same was their common orderliness and arrangement. One day all these elders were present in the Chhatta Mosque. In view of the English people's domination and uncommon might, Haji *Sayyid* Muhammad Abid said: ‘The English have set their claws very deep (i.e., have stabilized their position very firmly). Let us see how will they be disrooted? At this Maulana Muhammad Yaqub who was the first Shaikh al- Hadith of

the *Dar al Ulum*, Deoband; observed: Haji Sahib! What are you thinking? That time is not far off when India will be turned like a row-mat. There will be no war; on the contrary, in a state of peace and tranquillity, this country will be turned like a row- mat. At night we will sleep under their rule and will rise up in the morning in another reign’.

“I do not run down the daring and the valiant people of today but I also cannot back down from the conviction and claim under any circumstances that all the efforts of independence today are a building the foundation of which had been laid down by these august men and therefore I can say loudly that this struggle for the independence of India had been initiated by Muslims only and they alone nurtured it. Shah Abd al- Aziz issued a *fatwa* against the English and declared India to be a *Dar al- Harab* (Territory of war). Haji Imdad Allah and Moulana Muhammad Qasim Nanautavi used this *fatwa*; they drank this recipe of cure in a particular manner and made others also drink it. The Shaikh al-Hind preserved the same recipe in the form of a compound electuary and made it usable for everyone. Accordingly its use became common. In the Khilafat Movement also though the recipe was bitter, it was used by all, and, at all events, when it began to be used commonly, the passion for freedom passed over from the Muslims to the other compatriots and they also became active, and through indefatigable joint efforts of the Hindus and the Muslims and their sacrifices their sweet fruit is before us in the form of the independence of the country at which we extend congratulations to each other and pray for these august men who sowed the seed and the tree became so stalwart that all of us are eating its fruit today.”

“The independence of India is the independence of the entire Islamic world and hence gamut of our congratulations is also much wider. Both the states of India and Pakistan deserve our congratulations: we congratulate Pakistan as Muslims and India as our native land. I also cannot refrain from expressing this thought that now the Muslims have remained as an ordinary

minority in India and in today's independence while they have an occasion to be extremely glad that the 200-year old paramountcy of the English has come to an end for which they were so restless, there is also an occasion to be anxious as to what would be the form of their collective life in this country? For this they should take steps from now. In the light of the holy *Shari'ah* there is only one way that they select from amongst themselves an *imam* (leader) and a religious chief (*amir*) for establishing their religio-legal organization; that instead of remaining scattered the Muslim groups and sects in India unite and become one, one at the *Kalima* of Islam, and decide to pass their religio-legal life under one chief. In this one sentence alone is hidden the prolix interpretation of their collective life. The thing of foremost priority for them is to forget the past events; let us give up the system of recrimination and sarcasm and stop thinking of laying the blame at the door of each other. On the contrary, keeping the future alone in view, let us ponder over it that to be united what can be the plans for fraternity and equality that we can put into practice today? In my opinion the chances of our being united are brighter now than ever. The parties on whom rest the bases of disputes have been turned up side down by this revolution; the fact is that they too have changed with the changing of India. Hence, now, instead of sowing the seeds of dissension by founding new parties, it is apposite, rather necessary, that we lay the foundation-stone of a single party and solve all those problems that have cropped up in the new India".

On this eve the following declaration was made on behalf of the *Dar-ul-Ulum*: -

"The *Dar al- Ulum*, Deoband, is a religious institution of the Muslims and a glorious academy, which has always protected its education and educational activities in the midst of the tumults of national politics and it has never let disharmony arise in its educational affairs by any fortuitous movement; nevertheless it never practiced alienation from its nation and

national movements to the extent of opposing the British domination and paramountcy; it rather took suitable part in a responsible manner in all the national matters.

“The event of the independence of India as our native land and the first step of its emancipation from the supremacy and dominance of British imperialism is not such a thing that the *Dar al -Uloom* can remain aloof from it. The *Dar al Uloom* is not only elated over the freedom of the native land but is also taking it as a good augury for the real liberty in future and is anticipating it as a prelude to many future joys.

“It has decided to express its jubilation on the eve of this incipient freedom of India and in the full expectation of its utmost liberty, that 15th August should be celebrated as a general holiday. As such, the *Dar al- Uloom*, through this holiday, shares the general exultation of the country.

“India is receiving the first installment of freedom after a slavery of two hundred years. We congratulate all those friends who have given sacrifices for the independence of the country, for Allah Most High, having accepted all their efforts, bestowed the wealth of freedom on all of us. We hope that these intrepid crusaders of the country will continue their efforts as long as India does not win complete freedom and they may not have attained the chance of elevating freely all their national and religious customs”

(Reproduced from, Hakim al Islam Hazrat Maulana Qari Muhammad Tayyib, Sayyid Mahboob Rizwi (trans. Eng.), *History of Dar ul Uloom, Deoband- The Great Religious Achievements of the Muslims of the Subcontinent*, Volume I, 1980, Deoband, p. 243.)

Appendix II

Notice of Central Khilafat Committee to observe 17th October 1919 as
 Khilafat Day

۱۳۰۳
خلافت کا دن

برادرانِ اسلام! ہم سے اپنی اپنی جگہ پر کمال ادا ہونے کی ضرورت ہے۔ ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔ ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔ ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۱) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۲) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۳) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۴) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۵) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۶) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۷) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۸) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۹) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

(۱۰) ہر مسلمان کو اپنی قوم کی خدمت میں اپنا حصہ دینا چاہیے۔

مولانا محمد اسحاق - حکیم محمد عثمان (پ. اے) محمد ظہیر (پ. اے) محمد ظہیر (پ. اے)

سیٹھ محمد سعید

Source, P. P. Mammad Koya, Parappil, Kozhikkotte Muslimkalude
 Charitram (Mal.), Calicut, 1997.

Appendix No. III

Three Resolutions Passed at the First Session

Of the Kerala *Ulama* Conference, 25th April 1921 at Ottappalam

Resolutions passed unanimously at the first session of the Kerala *Ulama* Conference held on 25.4.21 in the Kerala Conference pandal at Ottapalam under the presidency of *Moulvi Sayyid Murthaza Saheb*, one of the executive members of the *Majiliz ul Ulama*.

(1) As the European powers, especially the allies, who are chief among them, are with one mind trying to destroy the *Khilafat*, conference is of opinion that all Muslims in Kerala should, agreeably to the resolutions of the three great associations, - the *Naduvathul Ulama*, the *Jamhiyattul Ulama* and the *Majiliz ul Ulama*, -set apart for the *Khilafat* and the Smyrna funds a portion of the *sakkath* due from each of them, with a view to protect Islam from the danger that has befallen it.

(2) This conference demands that all the Muslims of Kerala should, in obedience to the resolutions of the *Jamhiyattul Ulama* and the *Majiliz ul Ulama* and in obedience to the *fatwas* of the *Ulamas* who are the leaders of religion in India, resort to non- violent non- co- operation.

(3) This conference requests that all Muslims of both sexes in Kerala who have attained 21 years of age should, paying a subscription of four annas per annum, become members of the Indian National Congress, in order that India may obtain *swaraj* through the efforts of the Congress and set aright the *Khilafat* affairs.

The name and particulars of some of the more important *Moulvis* who were present at the conference and supported the above resolutions are given below.

1. Puttan Veettil Kunju Mohammed Musaliar, Ponnani
2. Paloli Abdulla Musaliyar, Kottummudi, Velancheri
3. Madanpattu Ourangkutti Moulvi, Thanalur, Tanur
4. M.P. Ahmed Moulvi, Tirurangadi
5. Palot Moulvi Moosakutti Hajee, Cannanore
6. V. Kunjahamed Moulvi, Tirur
7. Sayyid Hussain Koyanji Koya, Tirurangadi
8. M.V. Mohammed Moulvi, Malappuram
9. Valiyakathodi Koyanji Koya Thangal, Kaippakancheri
10. P.K. Alavi Moulvi, Kolathur
11. Aminammanakath Parikkutti Musaliar, Tanur
12. Perachan Veetil Bakkiyil Moulvi Abu Hajee, Tirur
13. P.P. Beva Moulvi, Tirur
14. Pulikkalakath Muhamed Moulvi, Tirur
15. Chenganakkatil Kunjalikutti Musaliar, Klari
16. A.V. Muhamed Mulla, Calicut
17. Arangath K.V. Sayyid Alavi Koya Thangal, Malappuram
18. Kizhakkepurath Sayadu Muhamed Kunji Thangal, Kottakkal
19. Sheik Koya Kutty Thangal, Chaliyam
20. Sayyid Hamid alias Cheriya Kunji Koya Thangal, Thanalar
21. Kolleth Kunjahmed Moulvi, Vettathputiyangadi
22. Sheik Muhamed Mahin Hamindani Thangal

23. Nadammal Pudiyakath Muhamed Moulvi Hajee, Parappangadi
24. M. Kathile Ahmed Kutti Moulvi, Kolathur
25. P. Unnin Musaliyar, Mangada
26. Koyali Mappilakath Muhamed alias Bava Musaliar, Ponnani
27. Veetilyil Abdurahiman Musaliar, Chowghat
28. P. Veeran Moulvi, Angadipuram
29. Vachil Rayikutti Musaliar, Malappuram
30. M. Muhamed Abdul Khadar Moulvi, Editor, *Al-Islam*
31. A.M. Abdul Khadar, Editor, The Muslim
32. Thayyil Muhamed Kutti Moulvi, Tirurangadi
33. P. Muhamed Moulvi, Kundotti
34. P. Unni Mutha Vadin Kutti Moulvi
35. P.N. Muhamed Moulvi, Kundotti
36. K. Abdurahiman Moulvi, Kundotti
37. E. Abdulla Musaliar, Pandu, Pulikkal, Kundotti
38. C. Cheriya Muhamed Moulvi, Tirurangadi
39. Moulvi Arabi Shamnad, South Kanara
40. E.K. Kunjahmed Kutti Moulvi, Pannur
41. T.K. Muhamed Moulvi, Pannur

Source: PUBLIC DEPARTMENT, G. O. NO 491,

DATED 3.8.1921. TNA

Appendix No. IV

(Appeal of Moidu Maulawi, General Secretary of *Kerala Majlis ul Ulama* to contribute for the Khilafat fun)

To the Muslims of Kerala

Dear Brethren,

You must have read the three resolutions passed by the Kerala Majlis ul *Ulama*. I request you to read carefully what I have got to tell you before I requesting you to attend to those resolutions.

All are aware of the fact that the British government and their allies have for a centuries passed unfairly and unlawfully fought with the Turkish Sultan, who has been protecting our sacred religion as well as the holy places like Makkah, Madinah, Baitul Muqaddas, Baghdad, Kharbala, Najf etc. captured those holy places and divided them among themselves. Recently held meetings in Paris, London, etc have proved beyond any shadow of doubt that it is the British govt. that tries with all might and mane to eradicate the religion of Islam from the face of the world, which stands a rival to Christianity. Certainly, we consider our faith dearer to us than our own life breath. Can any true believer i.e. Islam be loyal to a governments that attempts to take away our liver by using all sorts of means, fair or foul?

I believe that the answer to this question will be 'no' from any person with at heart an iota of faith. So all the *ulama* and the *ulama* associations in India have issued *fatwas* calling upon all Muslims to sacrifice their all including their lives, to save the Khilafat which is the basis of the Islam. This is the time when it will be tested whether we Muslims have the least tinge of *iman* left in us. All Muslims should kindly remember that it will be decided in

accordance with the measure of the efforts made by each of them for the sake of the *Khilafat*.

Please hear a little about the hardships, which our Turkish brethren suffer at Smyrna in Asia Minor. Having been engaged in the successive Tripolian, Balkan and the European wars, the entire adult Muslims have either killed or crippled. The Greeks with the support of the allies are fiercely persecuting and oppressing the widows and children in that place who were already deprived of the means of livelihood. The persecution is carried out in a manner that will make one's hair stand on end to hear of it. Their houses have been set ablaze. Their furniture is removed. Their properties are stolen. Their cattle are seized. Women are insulted. Children are enslaved. As if not satisfied with all this, a (fierce) cannonade is kept up like a shower of fire. As a result of these devilish deeds, which not even brutes which have no understanding will commit, lakhs of Muslim widows and children there, are undergoing untold misery. They have no food to eat, no clothes to put on and have no houses to live in. And no money to purchase anything. Muslim brethren, lakhs and lakhs of your brethren, not having a place to live in a benumbing climate, without food to eat, without clothes to put on, and without water to drink are suffering wretched misery, suffering pangs in the flames of misery. They are dying in hundreds everyday!!! *Subhan Allah!* (God is Infallible) Does this not move your hearts? Do you pretend not to see it because it is at a distance beyond the reach of your eyes? No, I cannot admit that. Lo! I place that pitiable picture before you. If you open your eyes, you cannot but see it. And as for this misery, it is within your power to remedy it. Just open your purse. If your eyes open, I am sure that your purses will open themselves. May those eyes, which on account of miserliness, are closed with the object of not seeing such a condition, never open again.

One prayer

You know it is the month of *Ramadan*, which is just begun that we pay of *Zakkath*. I request all *Zakkath* paying Muslims of Kerala to send in my address two eighths of their *Zakkath*. It is trusted that even those who are not rich enough to pay *Zakkath* will also contribute that they can. On receipt of money separate receipt will be issued to each person. May *Rabul Alamin* (the lord of the world) give all the good source to do everything needed for the safety of the faith in this month of *Ramadan*, which promises special rewards to good deeds. Ameen.

Calicut

25.5.1921.

Maulawi

E. Moidu

Secretary

Kerala Majlis ul Ulama.

Source: C. K. Kareem, *Kerala Muslim Directory*, pp. 355-56

Appendix No. V

(Appeal of Muhammad Abdul Rahman not to attend the Pro- British ulama conference at Ponnani Pathar)

A Warning !

Most of the people must have seen the advertisement brought out by Puthan Veettil Kallarakkal Muhammad and four others stating that a public meeting is scheduled to be held at Ponnani Chunkam Pathar at 2 P M on July, 24, 1921 with the pretention that it would prove Khilafat, non- co- operation and self rule (autonomy) anti- Islamic. As there is a chance for people to misunderstand many things if there are not fore warned about the real intentions of the organizes of the meeting, I am stating certain significant points

The meeting notice itself declares that the said 'public meeting' is against the unanimation resolution passed by the four *ulama* organizations *Jamiat ul ulama*, *Nadvat ul ulama*, *Majlis ul ulama* and the *Kerala Majlis ul ulama* which had met at various places in India. These resolutions regarding Khilafat, non- co- operations were passed by thousands of scholars with deep knowledge of our faith and worldly wisdom. And anyone guoriasly interested in human liberty and dignity would agree that the Mammoth meeting to be held at Ponnani is only a heinous attempt at defying these scholarly resolutions and to propitiate the selfish motives of certain officials and those who blindly cajole them and not to protect Islam or Muslim community. It is anybodies guess how far right would it be if our religious affairs which require resolutions made after conducting debates and hearing what the various sides have to say- are decided upon according to the whims and fancies of two or three imposters who work out of loyalty to certain people or

forgetful of certain threats and they will not be applicable to either Islam or Muslims at any time.

The same approach was resolved upon *Nadvat ul ulama* etc. and being propagated in India is also being followed in countries like Egypt, Africa, by the Mussalman of Afghanistan and so as to retain their political power. As things stand abide by the Hadith in Ibn Majah: “it is your duty to follow the Muslim majority, he who turns back will have to turn back towards hell.” It is utterly anti- Islamic to follow the nobles and the little Mushians who fear the existing govt. and are always running after what it holes out.

Therefore, Muslim brothers who are true lovers of their faith are requested not to participate in the above meeting convened heretic shrewd people and not to be caught in the poisonous gas emanating from there.

Muhammed Abdurahiman,

Worker of Kerala Provincial Khilafath Committee

Source: - Ubaid, T.K.,(ed.), Prabodhanam Special, Kozhikode, April, 1998, p.60., who collected from the personal library of K.K.Muhammad Abdul Kareem, Kondotty. Photocopy is also appended.

Appendix No. VI.

(A serious notice issued by Congress-Khilafat leaders at Calicut appealing the people of Malabar to be peaceful and not to enter in violence with British)

A Very Serious Notice

Ladies and gentlemen,

The political awakening throughout India and the success of the ideological propaganda done by congress-Khilafat movements have enraged the ruling class a lot. Mahatma Gandhi, Ali brothers and the other Hindu Muslim national leaders all have exhorted for patients and non-co-operative styles of revolt. The strong amity between Muslims and Hindus in the Mappila land has upset the whites. All of you must have heard of the revolt in Tirurangadi in 21. We need not elaborate on its details here. There are clear indications that there will be more atrocities and arrest in the important areas of Mappila lands.

We cautioned the common people about a thing with regret and anxiety. Even if the police and the army commit any atrocity or arrest someone you should stick on to the path of patient suffering. You should not jump into any violence or retaliation. If you did so, that would create untold, unpredictable amount of ruin, destruction and bloodshed. Hence all are to display total commitment to patient suffering and non-co-operative sacrifices. We hereby ask all of you to move along the route of peace and self-control.

1921 August 22

1 K P Kesava Menon sd

2 U Gopala Menon do

3 Muhammad Abdurahiman	do
4 Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Musliar	do
5 M P Narayana Menon	do
6 E Moidu Maulawi	do
7 Ponmadath Moideen Koya	do

Source: K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, *K.M. Maulawi Sahib*,
Tirurangadi, 1985, pp. 102-104.

Appendix No. VII

List of Ulama Participated in the Revolt of 1921

- Abdulla Musaliar Puthur, Calicut
- Abdullakoya Tangal, Padapparambil
- Ahamed Musaliar, Kalukandan
- Alassankutty Musaliar, Urakam Melmuri
- Alavi Musaliar, Kalathingal
- Alavi Musaliar, Tankayattil
- Alavikkutty Molla, Asharippadikkal
- Attakoya Tangal, Calicut
- Avokkar Musaliar, Kodyathur
- Cheriyavokkar Musaliar, Kodyathur
- Cherunchi Tangal, Konnara
- Cheruvaditangal, Kodyathur
- Eranhaikkal Koyamamu Musaliar, Mannarghat
- Imbichi Tangal, Karuvarakundu
- Kalakkandathil Kunhabdulla Musaliar, Perinthalmanna
- Kalakkandathil Mammunni Musaliar, Perinthalmanna
- Kammu Musaliar, Kodappana
- Karadan Mohammed Musaliar, Vettathur

Karat Moideen kutty Haji, pookkootoor
 Kattungal Tangal, Valiyanchri
 Kodinhi palakkal Pukoya Tangal, Vengara
 Kolapparamban Abdulla Musaliar, pookkootoor
 Kottancheri Moidu Musaliar, Ponnani
 Koyakutty Tangal, Chalipram
 Koyakutty Tangal, Vellakath
 Koyunni Tangal, Melmuri
 Kunchayammu Musaliar, Karimbana
 Kunhahammad Musaliar, Edappatta
 Kunhi Ahamad Musaliar, Tirur
 Kunhi Tangal, Malappuram
 Kunhirayan Musaliar, Kattipparuthi
 Kunhirayan Musaliar, Puthur
 Kunhunniyan Musaliar, Palakkal
 Kunkunni Musaliar, Valiyanchri Karuvarakundu
 Kurumungi Attakoya Tangal, Klari
 Kuttumunda Poker Musaliar, Karimbuzha Nilambur
 Kuzhimannil Enadin Musaliar, Valiora
 M. Ahmadkutty Musaliar, pang Kaipancheri

Makamingal Kunhikoya Tangal, Vellakath
 Mammu Musaliar, Thottungal
 Mampat Avrankutty Musaliar Ponmundam
 Moideenkutty Musaliar, Urakam Kizhmuri
 Muhammad Musaliar, Chavakkad
 Muhammad Musaliar, Mannarghat
 Muhammadkoya, Karuvanthuruthi
 Mulleri Ayamad Musaliar, Angadippuram
 Muthkkoya Tangal, Calicut
 Odakkal Moideenkutty Musaliar, Urakam Melmuri
 Ottakath Kunhi koya Tangal, Chembrasser
 Ottakath Kunhikoya Tangal, Panthalur
 P. K. Alavi Musaliar, Pang
 Palakkanthodi Abubakker Musaliar, Puthur
 Pallikal Pukoya Tangal, Kodingi
 Parachottil Ahmadkutty Musaliar, Melmuri
 Pathirimanna Musaliar, Mangada
 Ponnanchindakath Kunhikoya Tangal, Tirurangadi
 Pottayil Ahmadkutty Musaliar, Melattur
 Pottayil Unniyali Musaliar, Melattur

Pottayil Unniyankutty Musaliar, Melattur

Pukoya Tangal, Chalipram

Pukoya Tangal, Peruvallur

Sayyid Abdulla koya Tangal, Panayath

Sayyid Abdulla Tangal, Pattam

Sayyid Hashim Tangal, Koyilandi

Sayyid Muhammad Valiya Unni Tangal, Manjeri

Tayyil Hassan Koya Molla, Calicut

Thadian Alavi Musaliar, Vettathur

Unni koya Tangal, Palappatta

Valiapediyakkal Kunhahammad Musaliar, Tirur

Ulama joined from, Pillingappalli, Tanur

Abdulla Musaliar Aluva

Abubakker Musaliar Tanur

Alavi Musaliar Tanur

Kizhakkakath Bava Musaliar of Tanur

Kondottykkaran Ali Ammotti Musaliar

Mammad Musaliar of Truktier

Perincherikkaran Koyakutty Musaliar

Puthiyakath Bava Musaliar

Tanurkkaran Mammad Musaliar

Thalekettukaran Abdu Rahman Musaliar

Thalekettukaran Kunhi Ahamed Musaliar

Thomil Kunhali kutty Musaliar

SOURCE: R H. Hitchcock, *op.cit.*, p. 183.

Appendix No. VIII

(The notice demanding to purchase only Khadr dress for the coming *Id ul Azha* festival).

The Khadi Dress Only

Ladies and gentle men,

Clothing is an important for men as is food. If we go through ancient history, we find not only that we did not have to rely upon outsiders for food and clothing but we can see clearly that the outsiders depended upon us for these requirements. But now we have reached a very pitiable state. We have forgotten our ancient cloth business and style. We have caused the worsening of the hunger thirst and misery of our own brethren. National growth and well-being have been adversely affected. We waste away our time by being trapped by the rut ward glitter of foreign cloths. What a leek of self- respect! How shameful! Can we think of depending upon foreigners for our needs when there is available the native Khadi dress made by our own poor people?

Revered Muslim brothers sisters, aren't we enjoined to abide by the principles laid down by the majority opinions of the *ulama* of the particular period? And wearing Khadi is a matter unanimously exhorted by all the famous ulama of India. If we examine many other factors too, wearing *Khadi* is a must even for a Muslim baby now.

Scarcity of *Khadi* dress has disappeared. The stuff is becoming more and more easily available. Rough type has set and smooth ones have arisen. Days of huge price have gone. Now they are very cheap.

Oh Keralites, isn't it yet time for *Khadi*? Can't your minds turn to act in time with your nation and your faith?

Go and see the Khader store opened at Valiyangadi in memory of T Assankoya Molla, Khilafat President, who underwent imprisonment and other sufferings for the nation and the faith. The public is especially informed that those will always be available Varieties of Khadi shirting, coating, dhotis, pure white Khadi, shawls, towels, caps etc. Discharge our duty by buying directly and through orders by post and there by use the pure Khadi dresses. Help the store through money and work. Instead of buying foreign clothing made by our enemies and faltering them and their pockets at this time of *Eid ul Fitr*, purchase the Khadi dresses made by our own brothers and sisters. Let yourself at the members of your families shine with the pure Khadi dress. As filling the coffers of the foreigner who is bent upon destroying Islam is equal to helping the enemies, there is no doubt that such people are anti- Islamic. Allah the Almighty has asked us not to help and support in sinful and anti-Islamic activities. Therefore, wearing Khadi is part of Islamic duties brothers and sisters; this Eid period is a good chance for you too to exhibit your true faith. Please do not waste this golden chance. Please do not be deceived

Secretary,
Kerala Vidyarthi Sangham,
Mathrubhumi Press,
Kozhikode.

Source: P. P. Mammad Koya, Parappil, *Kozhikkotte Muslimkalude Charitram (Mal.)*, Calicut, 1997. p.165. Photo copy of the notice also appended.

