REVIVAL AND REFORM
AMONG KERALA MUSLIMS

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DECLARATION

21th July 2011

I declare that the dissertation entitled *"Revival and Reform among Kerala Muslims"* submitted by me is in the partial fulfillment of the requirements of the award of the degree of **Master of Philosophy** of this university. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this university or of any other universities and is my own work.

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To

those who taught me

the abcd of reading and writing

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Acknowledgement

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Introduction

In the Islamic world, two different discourses on Islam are currently competing to win the hearts and minds of Muslims and to determine the course of Muslim societies' evolution. One discourse is generally referred to reformist, or liberal Islam, and the other is variously referred to orthodox, traditionalist, or literalist Islam (Hunter 2009: 3). Both of these trends accommodate separate philosophical outlooks on most of the Islamic principles especially concerning the rituals and customs. Nevertheless, both want to restore the original and pure Islam of the time of Prophet. The reformists try to establish a modernist version of Islam, which is compatible with the philosophy, and demands of new age reinterpreting texts in the light of reason. The traditionalists attempt to reproduce a textual and scriptural Islam that responds to the modern changes finding precedents from its rich heritage and insightful visionaries. Supporters of the two groups disagree on the definition and meaning of key words such as 'reform,' 'revival,' 'orthodox,' 'conservatism,' 'traditionalism,' or 'literalism' etc. All of these words are highly contested and are understood differently by all groups. What is considered legal with one is illegal and unlawful with other (Ibid: 3, 4). Thus, by the advent of colonialism everything has come across with a dual manner. The parameter of value and quality has been antagonistically transformed. Tradition and modernity have become two extreme poles of community. Those who are close to the modern trends are considered as progressive and those who are closely attached to the traditional believes are counted as retrogressive. It naturally kept the Muslims far from the mainstream of progress and development. The industrial revolution, renaissance and enlightenment, which took place in Europe, were big temptations for Muslims who lagged behind in the material developmental enterprises due to the obvious reasons.

However, by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Islamic community has witnessed political, economical and moral threats, especially from the Occident. Western Imperialism and colonialism have challenged the religio-political identity of the Muslims. The impact of western thoughts, administration and Europeanization process has created several problems and badly affected their well ordained believes and customs. Modern Islamic history has been characterized as static, retrogressive, or reactionary. Modernity brought western governments, institutions, laws, education,

cultural values, through the direct or indirect rule or dominance of European colonialism in the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, and subsequently through the power and intervention of the superpowers and multinational corporations (Esposito 1991: 37). Thus the result of modernity was all its values like 'progress', 'power', 'science', 'reason' penetrating traditional societies and thus violating their well-established identities (Zayd 2006: 11).

By the nineteenth century, a comprehensive search for a sustainable remedy was strategically traced and a new educated elites set out for the formation of an unprecedented configuration of unity mostly compatible with modern time. The post-Napoleonic atmosphere of Egypt was the laboratory of this new progressive experiment. Taking specimens from the West, the attempts to protect Islam from the colonial values, transformed as an emulative process tracing the western stimuli as the new steps in the progressive channels. However, this change in the perspectives of new *Ulama* group affected the progress regarding the Muslim community wholly and formed a new diversion in this regard. Consequently, most of the colonial liberal qualities like questioning the authority and reinterpretation of religious texts by reason were rehabilitated in Muslim community also. Thus, there was emerging a new *Ulama* wing working close with European progressive formulas (Hourani 1984). Naturally, several reform movements in Muslim countries erupted taking inspiration from European Enlightenment and name *Islah* was used just in the meaning of reform instead of the concept of *tajdid*, which was pervasively used in Islamic history (Voll 1983). The history of *mujaddids* was replaced by the history of *muslihs* in the sense of reformers, which was a new experience in annals of Muslim history. Taking advantage of print media this new message of 'reformist Islam' was spread all over the world, Kerala, a south Indian state also was not an exception in this case.

It is surprising that 'Islamic reform' and 'Muslim reformer' was the most discussed and resonant topic in Muslim countries after the nineteenth century. All those who have fought against traditional Islam and Sufism were called reformers. Citing the Prophetic tradition on the emergence of a *mujaddid* in the outset of every century, every group claimed its possible existence with them. Thus, in a short span of time

several *mujaddids* 'emerged' in Islamic history.[1] All of them formulated a particular philosophy and reinterpreted *Qur'an* in accordance with their new ideology to win a universal acceptance.[2] Because it was a transition period in Muslim thought due to the clashes of tradition and modernity worldwide, the novel interpretation of Islam was warmly welcomed by those who were keenly interested in modern trends.

It is pathetic that by the nineteenth century the traditional Islam was highly opposed and criticized allegedly due to its vernacular accommodation of Sufistic outlooks. Subsequently, the symbols marking the pristine units of comprehensive Islamic thought like *taqlid, madhabs*, and jurisprudence etc. were questioned and its secular versions were applied. It was followed by the method of understanding Islam directly from *Qur'an*. The scholastic commentaries and interpretations were considered as irrelevant and merely responses of their own time. In contrast, self-interpretation of *Qur'an* and *Hadith* was extensively appreciated.

Though the general tendency of the post-colonial studies is to defend the pro-colonial stands of the religious societies, by the end of the twentieth century we saw there a new trend in the studies of traditional Islam, *Ulama* and their contributions in social construction, revivalist attempts of Muslim community and their upliftment in education etc . In a short span of time, a plethora of academic works emerged in this regard. Metcalf (1982), Nasr (1994), Sanyal (1996), Robinson (2001), Zaman (2002), Faisal (2005), Latiff (2004), Zubair (2006), Sikand (2007), and Zubair (2011) are some examples which have marked new experience in this field. The common focus of the most of these works was mainly on the vibrant and energetic world of traditional Ulama, their educational outlooks and their leadership in the moulding of a powerful generation and their social inclusiveness in an age of information technology. Moreover, these studies have helped more to remove the misunderstandings created by reformists that the world of traditional *Ulama* is static and stagnant. In addition, it helped to clear the misconceptions of non-Muslims on Islamic teachings.

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[1] Afghani, Abduh, Rashid Rida, Abdur Rahman al Kawakibi, Sayyid Qutub, Hasan al Banna and Moududi were considered as *mujaddids* of their time among their adherents.
[2] *Al Manar* of Abduh and Rida, *Fi Dilal al Qur'an* of Sayyid Qutub, and *Tafhimul Qur'an* of Moududi are examples

Moreover, the writings of Fazalur Rahman (2006), John L. Esposito (1983), John Obert Voll (1982), Bernard Haykel (2003), Rahnema (1994), Hourani (1984), Nasr Abu Zayd (2006), Clinton Bennett (2005), Samira Haj (2009), Hunter (2009), Gregorian (2003), Adams (1968), Gesink (2010) etc. try to highlight the contribution of Muslim scholars in the revival and reform movements among Muslims. Since 18th century, the revivalist history of Muslim countries has widely sketched out these works. It is helpful to understand the response of Muslim scholars in different countries to the modernity in various surroundings and time. However, most of it has followed a pro-modern way in determining Islamic values and its influence in Muslim community. It is worth mentioning that the catalyst of the most of these works was the Islamic reformism, which will take form where the Sufism and traditional Islam have been opposed. The work of Rahman was a comprehensive insight into the issues of revival and reform in Islam that shows why and where modern Islam has lost its continuity with the past. He makes the case that what is considered Islamic fundamentalism today is inconsistent with its true meaning. Surveying the early history of sects, law, theology, mysticism and political developments, and reviewing major thinkers from Al-Ghazali to Ibnu Arabi, he demonstrates how, by going back to the roots and foundations of Islamic teachings, members of the community were able to be innovative and creative, while retaining the continuity with the intellectual tradition of Islam'.[3] Therefore, the central theme of revival and reform to Rahman was rethinking Islam and reinterpreting its texts. The categories of *ijtihad* and abandoning of *taqlid* would qualify as the key elements under his notion. 'His primary concern was to facilitate the ground for such rethinking that would gradually be realized by means of education. One of most neglected areas of educational reform, in his view, was the traditionalist-conservative educational system of the *Ulama'*. However, his only complaint was the *Ulama* had abandoned the important aspects of their legacy, especially the critical thoughts, innovations and self-interpretation of the texts (Moosa 2006: 6, 7). Haykel sketches in his work the intellectual biography of Al Shawkani and the circumstances of a transitional period in Yemeni history. It was a time when a society dominated by traditional *Zaidi Shiism* was shifted by Sunni

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[3] Rahman (2006), One World Publication, Publisher's Note of Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic Fundamentalism, Oxford, See
http://www.oneworld-publications.com/cgi-bin/cart2/commerce.cgi?pid=245&log_pid=yes

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reformism.[4] He traces the origin and outcomes of this transition presenting the reorientation of the *Zaydi madhab* and Sunnification of Yemeni society. In the study, he presented Al Shawkani as the *mujaddid* of the century in which he lived and as a staunch opponent of the *taqlid*.[5] Of the pioneers of Islamic revival, Rahnema attempts to introduce and analyze 'the lives and contributions of a number of men whose religio-political and economic writings as well as political practice have played a crucial role in reviving Islam as a potent political force' (1994: 2). The works of Esposito and Voll also try to expose the contents and new trends in the contemporary resurgent Islam and new revivalist attempts regarding its relation with Islamic past and history (1983; 1991; 1982). According to the most of these studies, *islah* just like reform gives a broad sense than *tajdid* and *ihya*, though someone has tried to introduce *islah* and *tajdid* in the same meaning.

However, it is interesting to find other writers who vehemently oppose the use of *tajdid* for reform and *islah* for revival. According to them, both represent separate themes. Taking *tajdid* as an Islamic concept, they criticize *Islah* in the same version of modern reform as alien to Islamic tradition. It can be seen in a high way in the latest Arabic academic works, which have been written using the basic sources of Islam. However, it is very useful to understand the essence of *tajdid* and *islah* in Islamic concept.

Dr. Bakkar's *Revival in the modern Islamic thought: a critical study in Islamic perspective* (2009), Jamal Sultan's *The roots of deviation in the modern Islamic thought* (1991) and *Renewal of Islamic thought*, Dr. Muhammad Bahi's *Modern Islamic thought and its connection to the western colonialism* (1964), Dr. Muhammad Hasanain's *Revival of religion: meaning, rules and consequences* (2007), Dr. Muhammad Umama's *Revival in Islamic thought* (2001), and Dr. Hamadan's *The Mujaddids in the 11th century of Hijra* (1989), and Amin al Khuli's *Mujaddids in Islam* (1965) are very comprehensive and important studies on revival and reform in Islamic perspectives. Differentiating revival and reform separately, these try to delineate the peculiarities, qualities and conditions of *tajdid* and the roots of

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[4] Haykel, Bernard. (2003), *Revival and Reform in Islam: The legacy of Muhammad al Shawkani*: New York University, See http://www.cambridge.org/gb/knowledge/isbn/item1169963/?site_locale=en_GB

[5] Egle, ABDR. (2003), Review of Revival and Reform in Islam, in *The British-Yemeni Society*, http://www.al-bab.com/bys/books/haykel05.htm

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deviations hidden in the movements working under the name of *Islah*. Even though, some authors have exposed their inclination to the reformist Islam of the modern time. In contrast, Bakkar and Jamal Sultan have unleashed their possible efforts to safeguard traditional Islam from the reformist attacks to an extent. They have dared to revel out the western influences in the thoughts of so-called reformists in modern Islamic history. Somehow, it was very helpful to understand and evaluate the prevalent status of contemporary Islamic thoughts.

However, the present study aims at providing some additions in the new trend designating the revivalist role of traditional *Ulama* in the making of a powerful, religious and vibrant Muslim community and determining to what extent the liberal and reformist groups have succeeded in this field. Taking Kerala as the centre of study, because of its earliest experience in accepting Islam and enjoying the highest literacy rate in the country, the focus is on determining to what level the *tajdid* concept has been applied in Kerala and to what level it has deviated from it.

The Muslims of Kerala, who form roughly one·fourth of state's population, have a rich history and tradition compared to their counterparts elsewhere, especially in north India. Starting from the Prophetic time through the guidance of scholastic personalities in different centuries, it has constituted a vernacular system of Islam responding to the spiritual and aesthetic needs of people. Not only in beliefs and rituals, but in most of the major areas like culture, politics, education, religion, social life etc. they have marked their significant identity and left a self-imprint closely related to the Islamic principles. Generally, the revivalist history of Kerala Muslims in different centuries can be summed up as the vibrant activities of Sufis, *Sayyids*, *Ulama*, *Umara* and Islamic organizational platforms. Through different times, they made their best for the betterment of Muslim community in all walks of life and culture. In the case of Kerala, all Muslims were known as *Sunnis* adhering to the *Shafi* school of *Sunni* jurisprudence along with the various forms of Sufism. However, since the rise of reformism, nowadays the term *Sunni* is used to mean 'orthodox' or 'traditionalist' Muslims (Osella 2007; Sikand 2009). The word *Sunni* is derived from the term *Ahlu al Sunnati wal Jama'a*, which means those who adhere to the traditions of the Prophet and his followers (Samad 1998: 131). Contrary to any other places, the Islam prevailed in Kerala directly form the Prophetic Companions was Sufistic Islam.

While the *Shi'as* are the opponents of Sunnis everywhere, as we hear in contemporary world, but in the case of Kerala it is reformists. Naturally, the ideological fights there were between Sufi Islam and so-called Wahabi Islam.

However, by the ninetieth and twentieth centuries when the reformism emerged in Muslim countries under the impact of interaction in the west, it influenced the whole Kerala. Taking impetus directly form the Egyptian modernism, it deliberately alleged the myth of *Jahiliyya* on the existing situation of Kerala Muslims, as it was an escaping formula everywhere for those who came in the name of reformism, saying they were present to get them out of the abyss of this *Jahiliyya*. Pacing with the vision of colonialism, indigenous socio-religious reform movements, Egyptian liberalism and Saudi *Wahabism* generated a new mode of religiosity, which adopted the name of reformist Islam. Though it followed the path of modernism with the taste of western liberality, it claimed that it was the continuity of Islamic *tajdid* started by the Prophet, rather than an innovation in the name of Islam. In this study, I wish to refer to this paradoxical situation as '*neo-tajdidism*'. Mostly its centre was Egypt, as it had undergone a drastic transformation by the invasion of Napoleon. By the twentieth century, *neo-tajdidism* began to spread its clutches in Kerala Muslims along with its modernist outlooks. Thus, the *Shirk* philosophy was injected on traditional Muslims and all the centuries-old customs and rituals observed by them were ostracized as un-Islamic. Unleashing constant war on Sufism and demanding for the reinterpretation of Islamic texts in the lights of reason compatible with modern time, it opened a new account among Kerala Muslims with its reformist voices. However, the split of reformism in Kerala in 2002 supporting Saudi *Wahabism* and Egyptian liberalism itself, has proved that the *Tawheed* that had been introduced among Kerala Muslims for eight decades back, was not on proper line. More than a '*Salafi*' Islamic concept, what was practiced in Kerala in this duration was Egyptian liberal Islamism, which translates the references of *Jins* in Qur'an as bacteria and fungus and *Sihr* as magic etc. with a complete rational interpretation.

However, by this study I would like to uncover the real concept of revivalism in Islam along with its application in Kerala's socio-religious milieu. In addition, bring out the intellectual, literary and educational contribution of traditional Ulama through the internal awakening of Kerala Muslims and their socio-religious upward mobility. On

the other hand, the impact of colonialism on the concept of Islamic revival, negative and positive, will be traced back, along with its consequences and repercussions, which have been seen in the backdrops of this drama. All these discussions take two dimensions of a general Islamic view and its Kerala experiences.

The two introductory chapters of the study provide a broad overview of Islamic revival and reform between tradition and modernity. They focus on the traditional and reformist outlooks, particularly during the pre-colonial and post-colonial period, in Islamic world. Chapter 1 discusses the concept and history of Islamic revival in Islam. More than a peripheral level, it tries to substantiate the Islamic concept of *tajdid* as the only way of Islamic religious revival, which has been in practice until the date from the first century of Islamic era. The process of *islah* as a part of *tajdid* in its prescribed meaning, its usage in the same sense of modern 'reform' as widely seen in the latest writings and speeches, is the post-colonial creation. The term *islah* which has been in use to denote the exact meaning of reform, according the modern socio-religious reformist movements, started only by the nineteenth century, when the Egyptian 'Islamic' modernism emerged in an apologetic state. Here, it differs from the Islamic concept of the religious awakening *tajdid* in many aspects. Furthermore, the chapter discusses the role and contribution of *mujaddids*, who come in the head of every hundred years, in Islamic awakening of Muslim *ummah* in different centuries. Then, the chapter goes through an analytical study of the formation of Islamic thoughts and different revivalist paradigms which appeared in accordance with the rise of fractions in Islamic thought. The main focus here is on the point that the traditional disciplines and their faculties like *Qur'an*ic studies and *mufassirs*, *Hadith* studies and *muhaddise*, *fiqh* studies and *fuqaha*, *tasawwuf* studies and Sufis, all have considerable role of revivalism in the formation of a powerful and intellectual Muslim *Umma*. *Madhabs*, *taqlid*, *fiqh* and *Sufism* were the very basic contents of renewal and awakening in Islamic history.

In chapter two, I address the issue of Islamic revival and reform in modern liberal interpretations. Taking the concept of 'Islamic reformation' as the central theme of the discussion, the chapter tries to find out the un-Islamic influences on Islamic revival. Firstly, it examines how the concept of Islamic awakening, *tajdid* transformed to so-called *islah* in its modern sense and revival to so-called reform in its modern

sense, in different time and space in the past as well as the present. A relevant issue mentioned here is the impact of colonialism on Islamic revival. By the nineteenth century, the abode of 'Islamic reformation' was exposed to the influx of western thoughts and culture. The new *Ulama* group who enjoyed the intellectual atmosphere of colonial modernity was brought up in the liberal and rational mindset, especially inspired by the new curricula of European education. This situation led to the emergence of a liberal *Ulama* wing who turned against traditional concepts of Islam. The main problem here was the change in parameters of 'progress' and whatever has been adopted in the west for the sake of progress was directly applied in Muslim countries in the same sense. Thus, *Sufism*, *fiqh* and scholastic interpretations were considered as the barricades in the progressive thoughts of Muslim community.

The last two chapters deal with the revival and reform among Muslims in Kerala milieu. It is an attempt to gauge the depth of and level of *tajdid* and reform differently applied in Kerala Muslim life and culture. The third chapter explains mainly the revivalist tradition and continuity of Islamic thought in Kerala throughout different centuries. Dividing the chapter to three major parts; vision of awakening, mission of awakening and areas of awakening, it tries to sketch out the main catalysts of Islamic revival in Kerala. It substantiates the role of *Sufis*, *Sayyids*, *Ulama* and *Umara* in facilitating a stubborn infrastructure in the religious and educational awakening of Kerala Muslims. Finally, as one of the major element it also castes light on the organizational platforms of Islamic revival, where it deals with the modern Islamic activities, educational explosion and spiritual leadership engineered by the Islamic organizations in Kerala. However, this part tries to reveal the role of traditional Islam and *Ulama* and educational system in the revivalist boost of Kerala Muslims.

The final chapter is on the level the reformism affected the traditional Kerala Muslim thought and its creative productions. As the second chapter discusses, by the emergence of colonialism and modernity in Muslim countries, especially by nineteen and twentieth centuries, Kerala was a prey of this religio-political and cultural invasion. Moreover, some Muslim personalities have made special contacts with those who were aggressively moved by modernism and progressive reformation, especially in Egypt. Because the inspiration they received was directly form the European reformation and colonial backdrops, the reform process implemented in Kerala was so

liberal and rational. Like anywhere in Muslim countries, in Kerala it led to a constant clash between tradition and modernity and abandoning of traditional Islam, as allegedly it was age-old and obsolete one. However, the reformism created several fractions in the centuries-old believes of Kerala Muslims. Applying the philosophy of *Shirk* and *Jahiliyya* it accused that all those who had lived here were not real Muslims, rather they were *Mushriks* and their *tawheed* was not complete. Due to the similar reasons, it abandoned the cultural, educational and religious rich heritage of Kerala Muslims and led them to a reformist and modernist Islam. By 2002, this reformism split as *Wahabi* Saudi version of Islam and Egyptian version of liberal Islam.

In sum, this study is an attempt to approach the Kerala Muslim awakening through an Islamic perspective. Here, the researcher hopes that it will quench the thirst of those who seeks details on revival and reform among Kerala Muslims and it will open new doors for further studies. In this study, generally the term 'revival' and 'reform' represent *tajdid* and *islah* respectively.

PART ONE

REVIVAL AND REFORM:
TRADITION AND MODERNITY

Revival and Reform in Islam:

A Critical Study Based on Tradition and Modernity

Introduction

As Esposito and his colleagues try to delineate in their combined work[6] the 'resurgent' Islam in recent decades has generated a growth industry in books and periodical literature on Islamic revival.[7] The single interior stimulus still working behind it, according to them, is the colonial interventions (Haddad et. al., 1991). Haddad says that 'Contemporary Islamic revivalist literature is but the latest episode in the ongoing saga of Muslim encounter with the west and corresponding recognition of its own internal circumstances' (1991: 3). In this context, 'the Muslim response to this complex and multi-layered challenge of colonialism and westernization has taken different forms: puritanism, fanaticism, revivalism, reform, secularism, and revolution.' So, it should be understood that the concept of revival and 'the history of Islamic reform in modern Muslim world, be it in India or Arab world, cannot be properly fathomed without understanding the colonial fact in its evolution and structure' (Abu-Rabi' 2004: 128).

In the postcolonial milieu, the terms like revival, renewal, and reform have become the cliché concepts those describe not only the European experiment of renaissance but also the growth and awakening occurring in the contemporary Muslim world in a

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[6] The book 'The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography' is a prominent work compiled by Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad, John Obert Voll, John L. Esposito, Kathleen Moore, and David Sawan, published by Greenwood Publishing Group, Westport, CT, Connecticut, London, in 1991. The authors have divided the book in four parts. It includes sections on development and interpretation, the revivalist literature, revivalist heritage and Islamic resurgence. 'This partially annotated bibliography is designed to provide useful reference of available literature on the subject of contemporary Islamic revival published in English between 1970 and 1988'. And 'It is estimated that by the early 1980s production had increased to the point where an average of some 200 books per year were published in the English language on topics dealing with the Middle East, Islam and Islamic revival. The periodical literature, keeping pace, has been extensive in scope' (Haddad. et al., 1991, p: IX).
[7] http://www.wheelers.co.nz/books/9780313247194-contemporary-islamic-revival-the-a-critical-survey-and-bibliography/

new form. The terminology itself gives clues on the plurality of the meaning in accordance to the various contexts and contents. 'The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries constituted a singular challenge to Islam: politically, economically, and morally.' As a religion, Islam was the victim of this crossroads, with modernity infiltrating to the Muslim countries, in all its meaning and characteristics. Making use of this fragile scenario, 'European colonialism and imperialism threatened Muslim political and religio-cultural identity and history'. Taking advantage from this imbroglio, the hidden agenda of the west has come out triumphant on the dedicated religiosity of Muslims. Reason and liberal-mindedness is the contribution of this occidental effect. 'The impact of western rule and modernization raised new questions and challenged time-honored belief and practices' (Esposito 1991). This transition period in the wake of modernity and westernization, has witnessed so many religious and intellectual ruptures, within Islam and it's out side. This decisive transition period, how the Muslim community, whether modernist or traditionalists, treated it, what was the realistic Islamic experience in concept and history on the issue, and how much they could succeed in its application on current condition are the pivotal focus of present chapter.

As the terms speak, revival and reform represent two different versions of time and history, and also two types of inspirations and motives. 'The intellectual content of the contemporary Islamic revival reflects its dual character as both a special, new experience and part of a broader historical tradition' (Voll 1991: 23). In another sense, 'contemporary Islamic revivalism is neither an innovation nor a novelty, for it is deeply embedded in the Islamic tradition, which conceptualizes human history as a continuum of renewal, revival and reform (tajdid, ihya' and islah)' (Haj 2009: 7). Anyway, tracing the contemporary writings on the concepts 'revival' and 'reform', one may come across with tremendous ambiguities and vague conceptions pertaining to the concept of 'tajdid' in Islam. This study attempts to bring out these different aspects of interpretations and to differentiate among them with their own traits and characteristics.[8] Before delving deep in to the impacts of modernity on the Islamic revival, and how the colonial values affected the progressive thoughts of

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[8] See the introduction (25-35) from Bakkar, Dr. Mhmood Abdillah (2009) *Al tajdid fi al fikri al islami al muaswir: Dirasathun Naqudiah fi lauil islam'* (Revival in the Contemporary Islamic Thought: A Critical Study in Islamic perspective), second edition, Mansoorah, Daru al Wafa li Thwabaathi wa Nashr.

contemporary Muslims, I think, it is better to explain the concept and history of both revival and reform in Islam.

I. Literal Explanation

Meaning of revival and reform

As given in dictionaries the meaning of revival is 'a renewal of interest in something that results in its becoming popular once more', 'process of bringing something or somebody back to life, consciousness or full strength[9], and 'the process of becoming active, successful, or popular again.'[10]

Reform means 'to make changes in something especially an institution or practice in order to improve it'[11] and 'to improve a system, an organization, a law, etc. by making changes to it'.[12]

Textual version of revival and reform

The two great concepts in the Islamic vocabulary of resurgence, according to Voll, are *tajdid* and *islah*. *Tajdid* is usually translated as 'renewal' and *islah* as 'reform'. Together they reflect a continuing tradition of revitalization of Islamic faith and practice within the historic communities of Muslims. It provides a basis for the conviction that movements of renewal are fundamental part in working out of the Islamic revelation in history. Even when the terms *tajdid* and *islah* are not explicitly used, the attitude and mode of faith to which they refer can still be seen (Voll 1983: 32).[13] *Ihya* is another word which denotes 'revival' (Ramadan 2007). According to specific contextualization, these words carry different meanings with meticulous variations. In the case of contemporary Islamic resurgent movements, the terms *islah* and *tajdid* are extensively used rather than *ihya* that represents the revival of the past.

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[9] Encarta online dictionary http://www.encarta.msn.com/dictionary_1861702372/definition.html
[10] Macmillan British Dictionary, http://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/revival
[11] Oxford Dictionaries http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/reform?view=uk
[12] Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, Oxford University Press
[13] For furthe terminological discussion, see 'Renewal and Reform in Islamic History' by John L. Voll in Esposito (ed.) *Voices of Resurgent Islam*(1983), where he gives detailed explanations on the meanings of revival and renewal and historically, puts clarity on the derivation of terms on the Islamic or Arabic path; Rahman (2006), *Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic Fundamentalism*, which gives fundamental derivations of these terms and explanations on different groups emerged under these names.
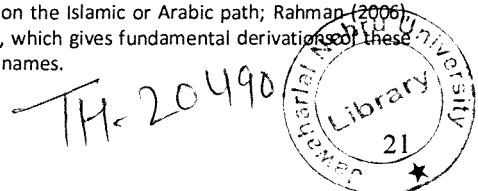
The word *tajdid* is derived from its Arabic root *jaddada,* which means renew, regenerate, or rejuvenate.[14] The word *'ihya'* comes from *'ahyā,* which means revival, rebirth, and revitalization.[15] And the term *'islāh* comes from *'aslaha* which does mean restore, ameliorate, and correct.[16]

In linguistics, Sultan explains, the 'renewal of the things', (*tajdid ul shai'i*) means returning it as 'a new one' to the former stage and 'renewal of the garment' (*tajdid ul thaub*) means to repair and improve it to an extent that it comes close to or returns as new as in the beginning. In the Islamic terminology also, the meaning of the religious renewal (*tajdid ul Din*) is nothing but its linguistic meaning. Therefore, *tajdid ul Din* means to return it as a new one to the former stage. This is the common law in Islamic revivalism: the prevalent condition of this community would not be revived with anything but one with which its first time was revived. This was the prophetic style, the route of the predecessors and the way prevailed in good centuries. Therefore, any talks regarding the religious renewal and religious thoughts away from this principle is simply false, fraud and perversion of the creed from the proper path (2008).

After the Iranian revolution, these words were used in common expressions, to indicate the resurgent growth and breakthrough of Islamic countries and Muslims.[17] A new jargon was coined out and freely used by western journalists. It was labeled as Islamic 'resurgence', 'fundamentalism', reassertion,' and 'revival'. All these labels assume that 'something which was dead has returned to life' (Hussain 1988: 1005).

However, these terms were being widely used in public and academic spheres since the early renaissance of Europe, both in pro and anti versions, as there were Protestant and Catholics sects. By the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these got a surprising popularity in the Muslim countries in an apologetic manner, as a part of condemned borrowing, for the purpose of leveling the status between east and west. Posting Egypt as an experimental lab of this reform process, a number of ardent modernists took part at their best in this play. Therefore, 'they developed an Islamic rationale for the

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[14] See *Lisanul 'Arab* (1997), Ibnu Manzur, Bairut, Second Edition, 201-102/2. Arabs used to say *tajaddada al shaiu'* in the meaning of it became renew and *jaddada al thaubu* which means the dress became renew .i.e. just opposite of *khliqa* which means decomposed or rotten. (Bakkar 2009: 25)

[15] Cowan, J.M. (1976) *Arabic English Dictionary,* Third Edition, Ithaca, New York, Spoken Language Services, Inc.

[16] Cowan, J.M. (1976) *Arabic English Dictionary,* Third Edition, Ithaca, New York, Spoken Language Services, Inc.

[17] The article of Hussin Mutalib (1990) *'Islamic Revivalism in Asian States: political implication'* in *Asian Survey,* Voll 30, No. 9, (sept., 1990), p: 877-891, gives an detailed information in this regard.

necessity of change and legitimated the impetus on the part of the Muslim community for adapting new circumstances. They called for a movement of *islah* (reform), posited in opposition to those who advocated *taqlid* (imitation)'[18] (Haddad 1991: 4).

According to Voll, over the centuries the specific meanings of *tajdid* and *islah* have been changing, depending on the evolution of Islamic thought and the changing circumstances of the Islamic community. In general terms, however, there has been a continuity of mood that lies behind the changing specifics of meaning. At its core, this broad tradition of renewal-reform represents the individual and collective effort to define Islam clearly and explicitly in terms of God's revelation (as recorded in *Qur'an*) and the customs or *Sunna* of the prophet Muhammad (as recorded in the *Hadith* literature which describes his reported sayings and actions) (1983: 32-33).

II. Revival and Reform: Between Tradition and Modernity

Tajdid: renewal of religion

Contrary to reform, the concept of *tajdid* in Islam is assumed to be very sacred and the verb root of this noun can be found in famous *Hadith* of Prophet: 'God will send to this (Muslim) community, every hundred years, (someone/some people) who will renew (*yujaddidu*) its religion'.[19] This prophetic tradition, as Ramadan says, 'is highly significant and it has given rise, through the ages, to numerous comments as to its meaning and impact. What is unanimously established in the Islamic creed (*al-Aqidah*) is that the Prophet of Islam is the last of the Messengers and he represents the final stage in the cycle of prophethood. What the *Hadith* tells us is that the Muslim community, nevertheless, be accompanied and guided through the centuries by scholars and/or thinkers who will help it, every hundred years or so, 'regenerate' or 'renew' the religion of Islam. This renewal of religion (*tajdid al Din*) does not, of course, entail a change in the source, principles and fundamentals of Islam, but only

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[18] The former reformist leaders like Rifa'a Badawi Rafi' al Tahtawi (1801-73), Khayr al-Dīn al-Tūnisī (d. 1890) wanted to reinterpret Islamic articles and reform it according to the time. According to them religion was a matter of old, that is why, of stagnation, as it was worked with the Catholic Christians, which gave birth to Martin Luther. See *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (1984), Albert Hourani, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, p: 67-102

[19] This is reported by Abu Hurairah, in the Hadith collection of Abu Daud (3740), Hakkim in *Musthadrak* (4/522) and Baihaqi in the book of *ma'rifathi al sunani wa al āthār* (1/137) as quoted in *Al tajdid fi al fikri al islami: dirasath al nqdiyyah fi Lau'i al Islam* (2009), Mahmud Abdillah Bakkar, Mansurah, Daru al wafa, p: 10

in the way the religion is understood, implemented, and lived in different times or places' (2007).

Thus, *tajdid* can be regarded as the intervention of the Al mighty to save the Muslim *Umma* from the misguidance. In spite of all other ways, it has been amply proved by *Hadith*. Prophet was the first one to use the word *tajdid* for the revivalist or renewalist appearance of Islam. Therefore, '*tajdid* does not denote the establishment of a new religion'. Rather, it 'means that the situation and time renders it necessary to restore something to its original form' (Zainul Abidin 2009). So, we can say that 'the *tajdid* refers to conscious efforts to bring about the renewal of religious faith and practice, emphasizing strict adherence to the prescription of the *Qur'an* and the precedents of the Prophet Muhammad' (Voll 2004: 675).

According to Bakkar, it is pathetic to use the word *tajdid* out of its context, in a way very contradictory to its original meaning for which it was really termed out, and to use it as a slogan to undermine the religion and deform its contents, instead of using it as an emblem of cleansing the religion and purifying the innovations and suspicious fabrications on it. Moreover, the concept of *tajdid* according to some intellectuals has changed today as the way to justify the separation between religion and state, to legalize the unveiling of women and the way to approve the interests, which is undoubtedly abolished in *Qur'an* and *Hadith*, in the transactions with banks. In another word, the concept of *tajdid* is nowadays supposed to accept all the things which are being brought to us by western civilization, and the justification of this acceptance is given the support of Islamic *fatwas* produced in the banner of *tajdid* (2009: 31). As Voll has disclosed, by the debut of modernity, the old concepts and movements of *tajdid* have undergone utter changes. Subsequently it took many various forms and routs (2004: 676).

The words of Jamal Sultan explicitly consolidate this problematic juncture and make it clear, while he says that, the term *tajdid* in the contemporary modern Islamic thought have emerged along with an upsurge of intellectual and rational aspect, which will compel us to review before adapt it at a strike. The secularist methodologies are the major problem we confront here. At the same time, today, there have started new terminology, which will exposes unprecedented voices and themes, really just parallel to that of Islamic vocabulary. For instance, the term 'culture' has begun to be

celebrated today, rather the term '*fiqh*' it has gone beyond the oblivion; the terms 'educated' and 'intellectual' came on the scene and the terms like '*alim*' and '*mutaallim*' were disappeared; the terms like '*ijtihad*' became unimportant and the terms like 'reform' is discussed everywhere (1991: 59 as quoted by Bakkar 2009: 31).

The pattern, which Jamal Sultan has adopted to make, the distinction between western-centric reformation and Islamic revivalism, clear, is significant and remarkable as he says: Look at the conditions of the advocates of the religious renewal. Look at their thoughts, famous writings, and behavior and intellectual, political, humanitarian, and social relations. You can easily understand that what kind of 'renewal' they are looking for and what kind of values they are promoting. Unfortunately, it is something other than the religion of God and the renewal other than 'the real religious renewal', which will be fulfilled by stuffing the religiosity and consciousness among people along with its alive, vibrant and divine purity as it was in the first time (2008).

Islah: reforming the religion

In the contemporary resurgent Islam, '*islah*' is a word relatively used very largely in academic and intellectual circles. Being subject matter of significant attention in both Islam and Christianity, it has become one of the much-discussed topics. According to Arbic linguistics, the derivation of the word is from the *sulh* and *salah*, which means goodness, righteousness, and fitness. *Aslaha* means make something fitted one, rectify something from mistakes, or in another word repair it to be good one.[20] The modern dictionaries give *islah* the meaning of reform, or reformation. The Arab history also uses the same term to denote the Reformation took place in Europe.

Elucidating the reasons of why some scholars are scrutinizing 'reform' with uncommon caution and keeping away from it, Ramadan says it is because 'they think it represents a threefold danger as far as faithfulness to the Islamic tradition is concerned. For some, 'reforming' Islam thus means – or sounds as if it meant – changing Islam, altering it in order to adapt it to modern times, which is not acceptable to a believing conscience. The second criticism comes from those who see

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[20] See *Arabic English Dictionary* edited by J.M. Cowan, (1971), New York, Spoken Language Services; and *Al Maurid*, a modern Arabic English Dictionary, Dr. Rohi Balaalabaki, (1995), Beirut, Lebanon, Dar el Ilmi lil malayin

in 'reform' something foreign, an approach imported from the Christian tradition to cause Islam to undergo the same evolution as Christianity and thereby make it lose its substance and its soul. The third criticism is based on the universal and 'timeless' character of Islam's teachings, which therefore, the argument goes, are in no need of 'reform' and can be implemented in all places and times' (2007).

This problem might not be seen as mere terminological haze like some writers strain to do. Rather as Bakkar says there are some cultural and historical aspects, which are embedded here (2009: 35). Moreover, 'It is inapplicable to compare Islam with any of other religion; especially with Christianity. In another word, it is extremely dangerous to delineate or interpret the concept of *tajdid* in Islam as the concept of reform (*islah*) in Christianity, which Martin Luther has stood for. There still remain many differences in using this term in relation with both of religions and its practices' (Al Qadir 2002: 10).

Needless to say the term *islah* and its variables are referred in *Qur'an* many a times. Every time it's meaning varies according to the contexts. Henceforth, Voll has tried to prove that *islah* is a duty directly related to those tasks of God's messengers which are explained wholly in the *Qur'an*. For instance, he takes the prophet Shuayb who tells the people to whom he was sent: 'I want only *islah* to the extent of my powers.' Those who work for *islah*, are frequently praised in the *Qur'an* and they are described as being engaged in the work of God. Their reward is said to be sure (S. 7:170). In this way Voll concludes, although the era of the prophets and their *islah* efforts is over, the work of *islah*, righteous reform, continues as a part of the responsibility of believers. (Voll 1983). Esposito also takes the same rout to unveil that the contemporary prevalent usage of reform or *islah* is a *Qur'an*ic abased (2010: 106). Ramadan also is not of another opinion in this case (2007).

Islah in the meaning that *Qur'an* has introduced here is understandable.[21] Instead when it is given the meaning of 'reform', naturally there arise some problems.[22] Reza

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[21] It is undoubtable that *Qur'an* never used the term *islah* in the modern sense of 'reform'. Rather, it only used for correction what has been corrupted. The correction will be through revival (*tajdid*), not by changing it. In the case of Prophets both of the meanings are probably true. There is no doubt in the meaning of previously mentioned. Because of they are the part of Shari'in the meaning of 'change' also followable. But, in the case of people it is not applicable, but revival and *tajdid*.

[22] Every 'Islamic reform' conducted in modern time was by avoiding Sufism, *taqlid*, *Madhab* etc. It is not justifiable in Islamic history.

Aslan has explained that *Islah* was not used in the sense of 'reform' until the modern reform movements of the 19th and 20th centuries were emerged (2009: 586). Moreover, Roberson says that *islah* is a term made prominent in the late nineteenth and in the twentieth century by the efforts of Al Afghani and Muhammad Abduh in the call for the reconstruction and modernization of society. (2005).

By the culmination of the mission of the Prophet Muhammad (s), there is no chance for Islam to be reformed or rebuilt, because the Al mighty says: 'This day I have perfected your religion for you, completed my favor upon you, and have chosen Islam as a religion for you'[23].

The main impediment that lies here is in reforming the religion (*al islahu al dini*). Unlike to other religions, there is no need to reform Islam, as it is presented by the God who has the assurance that he will preserve it until the last day. However, it is important to remember that there should be changes in the approaches of man to the religion. But it should not be discussed as an ideology, which might want the time bound amendments and reshuffle. Islam, being meant for all the periods and circumstances after its emergence on earth, there is no relevance to use the terms like 'old-new' and 'classical-modern'. It converses all times and all people as well. The overruling of misinterpretations on realities is the major problem here. It opens the doors for usages like 'modernization' and 'reform' which are alien to Islam.

Revival not reform

Briefing a large discussion on revival and reform in Islam, quoting different writers and thinkers, Bakkar says: I conclude this discussion on the point that the religious reform (*al islah al dini*) is not a justifiable one in Islamic circle. Rather, what appreciable here is the reforms in the Islamic thought (*al islah fil fikr al islami*). It is admissible as well as the using of *tajdid* in Islamic principles, because, probably it may pollute and misunderstood by the ebb of time. The *mujaddids* in every centuries focused their duties on this *islahi* process as well as the revivalist attempts in believes and customs. The distinction between revival-reform and their connections are to be

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[23] *Qur'an* Surah al Ma'ida: 3, translation is taken from Yusuf Ali's translation.

realized here, because, they are designating the permissibility and impermissibility (2009: 35).[24]

As the majority of scholars reiterate, *ihya'* (revival) is the just synonym of *tajdid* (renewal), though there may be seen a tiny terminological variation. Similar to *tajdid*, *ihya'* also is supported by text. According to Hasan Turabi, there is a slight difference between *ihya'* and *tajdid*. In his view, ihya' is an historical endeavor, which will resuscitate and illuminate the religious believes and practice, after a long time it has been introduced (1987: 53) and *tajdid* is rebuilding the religion (*al din*) on the classical bases, looking back to the crux and taking it out, but not as a just mirror type repeating (1987: 88). Turabi is opposing here, the *fuqaha* for limiting *tajdid* on mere *ihya'*, mentioning that they are not being updated with time. However, *ihya'* is meeting the soul and *tajdid* is unearthing the essence. So, we can say *ihya'* is just a step in the way of *tajdid*, and *tajdid* is the extreme and major phase of *ihya'*, though both are still synonyms (Bakkar 2009: 44).

Tajdid, development, and modernity

According to Islam, the corollary of this scriptural basis is that *tajdid* is mode of renewal that does not depend upon a concept of 'progress' for their validity. The available model through revelation is already perfect. Here, the purpose of the *mujaddid* is to implement an already existing ideal, not to perfect the model. These renewers are thus not *Messiah* or apocalyptic figures coming at the end of time and human history. While there are messianic figures in the traditions of Islam, their anticipated role is to bring in the last days, while the actions of the renewers are clearly in the realm of historical human experience (Voll 1983: 34).

The meaning of *tajdid* has nothing to do with that of progress and development (*tatawwur*). The development represents a special movement or mobility from low level to higher-level, be it negative or positive in practice. It means a change from a deficient condition to a sufficient one. According to divine religion, which is already completed, this is logically impossible. Moreover, the negativity and positivity of change, both possible in the process of development, could not be seen in the process

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[24] If both of the *tajdid* and *islah* are Islamic, it is problematic only when they are in the meaning of modern reform and the modern reform is termed out as the continuity of Prophetic *tajdid*.

of *tajdid*. It will always be positive and upward one. That is why, it is not applicable to use the words like development or progress in relation with *al Din*, because, it is completed and static. Receiving the changes and amendments according to the time and space, proves that it is subservient and liable to progressing technology. The case of Islam, as a way of life, is beyond time and space (Al Khuli 1965).

Unlike the *tajdid* 'modernity' is the product of western capitalist development (Freitag 2003: 17). Fundamentally and sincerely speaking, it is the only one among several, mode of so-called 'progress', which ever the world has yet witnessed. Because, the European bourgeoisie is considered to be the advocate of 'the creation of 'modern' Europe, where the enlightened spirit of secular 'modernity' provided the philosophical foundations for capitalist industrialization or 'modernization'. Such a development was often understood in terms of a historical evolution from tradition towards 'progress', which itself became one of the foremost concepts of 'modernity'. Moreover, 'for a long time, non-Western societies were seen to have developed along lines different from 'the West', lacking not only the Scientific and Industrial Revolution but, perhaps more crucially, the philosophical underpinnings of scientific and industrial development, most importantly the Renaissance and Enlightenment. In the 1950s, the Western model was seen to have proven its validity, not least through its imposing worldwide dominance during and after the age of imperialism. Thus, the logical development for the non-Western world, and the only path towards the achievement of 'progress', seemed to get the development of the West copied through a process of 'modernization''. The question of Reinhard Schulze, of whether there possibly existed an 'enlightenment in the Islamic cultures of the pre-colonial modern period', really aims at the core of what constitutes the Western modernity (Ibid: 10-14). So, the 'Modernization' of Islam and interpreting it according to the 'neo-progresses', (if indeed this is how we can interpret *islah*, then the result will be something dominating,) exactly is far from what Islam represents for. Subsequently, the relation between the concept of *tajdid* and this 'neo-progressiveness' should remain contradictory and un-bridged.

In contrast, the traditional aspect of *tajdid* should be potential and influential. Because, 'the traditional perspective remains always aware of the fall of the community from its original perfection, the danger of destroying traditional

institutions of Islam, and of the necessity of creating a more Islamic order and reviving society from within, by strengthening faiths in the hearts of men and women, rather than by an external force. The traditional image of socio-political revival, done by a 'renewer' (*mujaddid*), is identified over the centuries with great saints and sages, such as Abd al-Qadir al Jilani, al Ghazzali, Shaykh Abul Hasan al Shadhili and Shaykh Ahmed Sirhindi, which is in a very contrast to the so called 'reformers' who have appeared up on the scene since the 12th/ 18th century' (Nasr 1994: 17, 18).

III. Nature and Strategy of Islamic Revival

Unlike the concept of so-called contemporary Islamic revival, the notion of *tajdid* in the Islamic tradition can be traced back to the Prophet Muhammad, who said that 'at the turn of each century there will arise in this *Umma* (the Muslim community) those who will call for a religious renewal (revival)'. Such people (*mujaddid*), are believed to always come in the time when Muslim community began to depart from the true path defined by the *Qur'an* and *Sunna*. The task of the *mujaddid*, therefore, is to return Muslims to their basic sources (the *Qur'an* and *sunna*), to clean Islam from all un-Godly elements, to present Islam and make it flourish more or less in its original pure form and spirit (Bugaje 1991).[25]

As *Qur'an* has mentioned regarding the prophets, the advocates of *tajdid* also appeared one after another, all through the time, to carry out various endeavors and to confront different challenges. According to the time, *tajdid* was implemented in various fields of life for the wellbeing of the Muslim *Umma* (Zainul Abidin 2009).

In Islamic perspective, the renewal of *Din* or revitalization of the Muslim community means that the restoration of the Islamic order in that society. Holistic in its approach, comprehensive in its nature, the Islamic order, neither admits of any spiritual-mundane dichotomy, nor does it leave any aspect of human endeavor outside its purview. The restoration of this order must therefore involve every facet of society, the intellectual and spiritual as well as the socio-economic and political aspects of the society. This Islamic order is symbolized by the supremacy of the *Sharia*. (Bugaje 1991).

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[25] Its contents are taken from (Maududi, 1981: 34-35 and Voll 1983) by Bugaje 1991

The source of validity of this Islamic renewal (*tajdid*) is the perfect model available in the revelation, *Qur'an* (*wahy*, words of God) and the traditions and customs of the Prophet (*Sunna*). The era of the Prophet is an ideal model of a society in which revelation is applied in human life. The purpose of the *tajdid* is to implement this ideal model in Muslims' lives, wherever and whenever Muslim society exists. This purpose implies that *tajdid* is a continuous effort by Muslims always to explain Islam and make it applicable in continually changing situations without violating its principles (Rosyad 1995).

It is important to note that *tajdid* of the *Din* (way of life) of the Muslim *Umma* is a technical expression connoting a total societal change and religious revivalism. It is a profound and comprehensive change, which seeks to return the Muslim society to its purity free from the decadence and lethargy that had crept in over a period of time. This change to be sure must necessarily start with pursuit and spread of knowledge, which leads to the erosion of the intellectual and cultural basis of the decadent order and ultimately end up with a total societal change (Bugaje 1987).

Historically speaking, it can be understood that because of the men are the vicegerent (*khalifah*) of Allah on earth, Islam was resuscitated by themselves in every time, moreover, the Al mighty him self has sent most appropriate personalities on this duty from the origin of Islam. Prophets, great *Ulama* and Sufis were the advocates of the same mission. Henceforth, it is evident that the never corrupted survival of the Muslim community and its belief-based maintenance is reserved on the living teachings of *Qur'an, Sunna*. And the *Ulama*, who are giving resuscitation and rebirth, reviving and renewing its principles, to rise up and retain the glory of *Umma*, are most responsible to take over this duty.

Meaning of *Tajdid* and Islamic Revival

The much-discussed and most misconstrued *Hadith* in the contemporary Muslim world might be the aforementioned one, which refers to *tajdid* verbally. While a hot discourse is going on global level on all aspects of reform process, naturally or deliberately the efforts also are exhausted to lay a cross bridge between Islam and reform itself, in its all sense. Because of some applications were misread and some linkages were misconnected, naturally the result of this experiment was extremely

paradoxical one. This juggling should be untied and disclosed only through an Islamic reading and 'traditionalist' interpretations.

Tajdid in Islamic perspective should be explained as the process of reviving the *Qur'an* ic and traditionalist practices and beliefs vanished by the passage of time due to the interference of alien contacts and alleged inclusions, and of bringing them to the uncontaminated status that they were enjoying before. Hence, the prime duty of a *mujaddid* is to differentiate *Sunna* (tradition) from *Bid'a* (innovation), promoting the life in Godly way by discouraging pursuit of religious innovations, which may create cripples in belief and divine relation and opening the door of incessant knowledge, having the realization of divine truth and sharpening inner eyes against the misinterpretations which are creeping in (Hasanain 2007: 26).

According to Bugaje, the technical meaning of *tajdid* is 'returning something anew exactly as it was originally. In the context of this particular *Hadith*, the word *mujaddid* refers to renewing or still reviving the application of Islam in the Muslim community. Since the religion of Islam, as contained in its two principal sources, has already been revealed and will remain intact, needing neither addition nor subtraction but only interpretation and application, certainly it is the application which with time tends to wane and needs resuscitations. The word *tajdid* means, therefore, the renewal of the application of Islam in society, revitalizing their community and returning it to the path of Islam anew, as it was originally (1991: 31, 32).

Islamic revival, in Maududi's view, is neither striking compromises with un-Islamic, nor preparing new blends of Islam and un-Islam, but it is cleansing Islam of all the un-Godly elements and presenting it and making it flourish more or less in its original pure form. Considered form this view point, a *mujaddid* is the most un-compromising person with un-Islam, and the least tolerant one to the presence of un-Islam, even a tinge, in the Islamic system (1981: 34, 35).

The very crux of the *tajdid* is extraction of innovations (*Bid'a*) from Islamic community that have stranded in belief, thought, practice etc. By the extensive confrontation of secular atmosphere and unrestricted intervention of materially advanced surroundings, its innate immunity would not be melt down. Imam Suyuti has stated that *tajdid* itself is the renewal of the Islamic guidance, realization of its

realities and refusal of what has appeared there newly (Umamah 2003: 17). According to Qardawi, the *tajdid* is not what is told nowadays as change or what is being considered as alternative to the prevalent one, but rather it is returning to what was in the time of prophet kindling the light form texts (Ibid: 18). Explaining innovation (*Bid'a*) and innovator (*Bida'i*) Maududi says:

Most people do not distinguish between innovation and revival, and very innocently take 'innovation' for a *mujaddid*. They seem to harbour the impression that any person who invents a new way of life and presents it with force is a *mujaddid*. Especially, such people are promptly honoured with the title of *mujaddid* as he makes an effort to safeguard and protect the worldly interests of declining Muslim community to their age, or prepare a new admixture of Islam and un-Islam by compromising with the un-Godly powers of the day, or try to colour their community wholly in un-Godly colours, keeping the Islam only in its name. Such people may be called the 'innovators' but not *mujaddids*, as their work is more akin to innovation than to Revival (1981: 34).

Tajdid: The Way of Prophets

If the *mujaddid* may not be a prophet, the prophets might be a *mujaddid*, even in a literal sense: while the prophet-hood is very prominent and high-ranked than *mujddidship*. An intrusting point, which warrants our attention, is the *tajdid* tradition[26] has used the word *yab'athu* (from the verb *ba'atha*, means, rise or send) to denote the delegation of *mujaddids*. The same word has been used in the *Qur'an* in reference to the prophets raised. This obviously, neither equates the *mujaddid* with the prophet, nor does it means the *mujaddid* is directly appointed in the way the prophet is. But, it certainly suggests a relationship of a kind: a relationship of continuity of role; a sharing in the divine blessing (Bugaje 1991: 37, 38).

Another point of relevance 'is that the *tajdid* tradition guarantees the continued existence of religion without the absolute authority of the Prophet. Ever since the Prophet died, a gap was created in the Muslim community, which, could only partially and inadequately be filled. This is expressed by statements such as: 'the scholars are successors to the prophets', or: 'had it been possible that God would send another

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[26] *Hadith* referring the rising of *mujaddis*, which was reported by Abu Daud

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prophet it would be so-and-so' (it is said that it was said about 'Umar, al-Ghazali, al-Juwayni, Ibn Hanbal like scholars). The cessation of revelation with the death of the Prophet had to be compensated for in various (deficient) ways; the *mujaddid* could be another solution to the same problem. The very terms used in the *Hadith*: *inna al Laha yab'athu* 'God will send', points to a connection with prophecy. Also by analogy one may reach the same conclusion because usually the *mujaddids* are supposed to come from the circles of religious scholars; since 'the scholars are successors to the prophets', the *mujaddid* too is a successor' (Tasseron 1989: 82).

According to Maududi, 'though a *mujaddid* is not prophet, yet in spirit he comes very close to prophethood. He is characterized by a clear mind, penetrating vision, unbiased straight thinking, special ability to see the right path clear of all extremes and keep balance, power to think independently of the contemporary and centuries old social and other prejudices, courage to fight against the evils of the time, inherent ability to lead and guide, and an unusual competency to undertake *ijtihad* and the work of reconstruction. Besides these great qualities, he must have acquired a thorough and comprehensive grasp of Islam, must be a perfect Muslim in thought and attitude, must possess the acumen to distinguish Islam from un-Islam in the finest details, and must possess the ability to extract the truth from the welter of long established falsehood. Without these extra-ordinary qualities, nobody can expect to be a *mujaddid*; and these are the very qualities that characterize a prophet only on a far higher scale (1981: 35). The *mujaddid*, to be sure, does not receive any revelation as a prophet does (Bugaje 1991: 38), hence, this is one of the basic facts that distinguishes a *mujaddid* from a prophet.

The *mujaddid* differs from the prophets in many ways that the latter is being appointed directly to his mission by Allah; he is fully aware of his appointment as such; and he receives revelation. He starts his mission with the claim of his prophethood and he will call the people to himself and to the unity of the God. In contrast, a *mujaddid* might not know whether he is a *mujaddid* or not, and he is responsible to do so, but, he will do his duty on a fascinated way, which, will make himself a *mujaddid* later (Maududi 1981: 35, 36).

The Time and Men of *Tajdid*

According to the *tajdid* tradition, the precision in the time of the advent of *mujaddid* is controversial one. Different traditional *Ulama* as well as the modern are of different opinions on the subject. This is the reference in the *Hadith*, *'ala ra'si kulli mi'ati sanatin* (the head of every one hundred years), which mentions the time of *tajdid*. In linguistics, the term *ra's* means that the high part,[27] then, *ra's ul sanh* means the starting of the year and *ra's al shahr* means the beginning of month: this is the argument of those who says, taking *Hadith* as proof, the *mujaddids* will come at the beginning of the century (Jamal 1994: 533). The adherents of this view are lesser than those who say the *mujaddids* will descent on the end of the century. This is prioritized by the scholars like Ibnu Hajar,[28] Al Twaibi and Al Aleem 'Abadi etc. (Umamah 2003: 58).

Aleem 'Abadi says in his commentary on *Sunanu Abi Daud*,[29] regarding this *Hadith*: *ra's* in this *Hadith* means the end of the year. Because, the scholars like Ahmad bin Hanbal and Zuhri have come on a common term that the *mujaddid* of the first century is 'Umar bin Abd al 'Aziz (d: 101 H) and of the second century is Imam al Shafi'i (d: 204 H). Being their demise at end of the centuries, the meaning of *ra's* should be the end, while they inducted already as *mujaddids*. Otherwise, this calculation would not be true. At the same time, it must be evaluated that definitely, they weren't born at the inception of the century, then, how we can say, they are the *mujaddis* of those centuries? (Bakkar 2009: 108). In this perspective, irrespective of other criteria thy have considered, few scholars have enumerated those who have died on the end of the century (after ending the first and on the just starting of the second) as *mujaddids*. For instance, the scholars like, Ibnu Suraij (d: 306 H), Baqillani (d: 403 H), Al Gazali (d: 505 H), Al Razi (d: 606 H), Ibnu Daqiq al 'Iid (d: 703 H) and Al 'Iraqi (d: 808 H) (Umamah 2009: 58, 59). To put it precisely, as they demised on the starting of the century, it would not be good to say that they are the *mujaddids* of that imminent

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[27] According to 'Aleem Abadi (Al 'Aun al Ma'bud, 11/386) the word *ra's* means fist of the ting or last of it (Umamah 2003: 58).

[28] Fatah al Bari Sharahu Saheeh al Bukhari: 2/89 (Bakkar 2009: 109)

[29] *'Aun al Ma'bud Sharahu Sunani Abi Daud*: 6/ 11/262,262 (Bakkar 2009: 108)

century, because they do not remain alive then. In this concept, the listing of the *mujaddids* is at the end of the century.[30]

Another debatable point, here is from where the start of the century is considered? Is it from the birth of the Prophet or his prophethood or his migration or by this *Hadith* or by his departure? The scholars like Imam Subki have made clear that it is from the migration of that the Prophet the century starts (Bakkar 2009: 109). That is why, it has been considered later as the commencement of the Muslim era (Ibid: 110).

A huge criticism has come in the circumscription and related remarks, especially from modern scholars.[31] From this conception, there arise so many doubts. A few of them can be understood as: (1) one cannot help noticing that it was the date of death, which was taken into account in determining the identity of the *mujaddids*. This is in keeping with the habit of Muslim biographical literature, to go by the death date of the person, but is hardly, compatible with the literal meaning of the *Hadith*. Because, shortly after the turn of the century the *mujaddids* were already dead and thus unable to restore religion (Tasseron 1989: 84). (2) The scholars who did not happen to die at the turn of a century also contributed to strengthen Islam, yet a candidate could be disqualified because of the incompatibility of his death date (Ibid).

Solving these ambiguities Bakkar has delineated so many extractions from different aspects. According to him, the centrality of the discussion rely upon the understanding of the 'century' in *Hadith* is an imaginary one or fixed one. Those who says it is 'fixed' time, necessarily agrees that the scholars come in the centre of the century are not *mujaddids*, though they were very important than those of the ends. In the same time, those who argue it is just tentative or imaginary one, say that, God will send in

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[30] 'Umar bin 'Abd al 'Aziz, who dies on 101 H, the *mujaddid* of fist century and Imam Shafi 'i, who dies on 204 H, mujaddid of second century. So go on...

[31] Tasseron in his article *'Cyclical Reform': A Study of the Mujaddid tradition'* (Studia Islamica No 70, 1989: 79-117) rises so many questions related with the *Hadith* and the practical conceptions which is being considered today. From toe to top, he evaluates the *Hadith* in the light of written commentaries and mentioning different deficiencies, according to him, in the presentation and criticizes the stands took by scholars in this regard. His another article on this topic is *Zaydi Imams as Restoreres of Religion: Ihya' and Tajdid in Zaydi Literature* (!990) *Jeornal of Near Eastorn Studies*, Vol 49, No 3, July 1990, pp 247-263 (Tesseron 1990).

Maududi also is critical on this point. He says: 'some people have wholly misconstrued this tradition and formed a very wrong view about *tajdid* and *mujaddids*. They thought that 'at the head of each century' necessarily meant the beginning or the end of a century, and 'who will revive this religion' referred some one particular person. With this presumption they began looking, in the pages of Muslim history, for persons who had rendered some service to the revival of Islam and had died or been born at the beginning or the end of some century. As a matter of fact, neither the word 'head' nor the pronoun used signifies one single individual (1981: 33).

each of the centuries, whether it is in the beginning, the mid, or the end (2009: 111). Imam Suyuti and Manawi support the latter one. On the other hand, it can be understood that the availability of the *mujaddid* is whenever the time needs them, while the circumstances necessarily demand their presence to reinforce the religious setup, likewise the mission of prophets, according to time and space (Ibid).

In the words of Bugaje, the reference to a century may be no more than an indication of a period of time after which a Muslim community or any human society may require revitalization. Ibn Khaldun's theory of rise and fall of civilizations, which takes about four generations, may give credence to such interpretation. The message of the *Hadith* in this respect may simply be that *tajdid* will occur frequently enough to ensure that Muslim community remains extant and generally on course. With the growing number of the faithful and their increasing territorial spread and complexity, *tajdid* can easily be seen to warrant more than one *mujaddid* in more than one epoch (1991: 39).

Now, we can discuss that, who will be the *mujaddis* and at a time how many *muajaddids* will be on the work. As Tasseron writes, the *tajdid* tradition has given rise to long list of people considered as *mujaddids*. In accordance with the divergent groups and decisive time, numerous claims have risen, pressing on the competency of the *tajdid* (1989: 84). Here the discussion focuses on the portion from the *Hadith*, *man yujaddidu laha dinaha* (who will revive its religion for it). The Arabic pronoun '*man*' which means 'who' is used here. In Arabic construction, it can be means both singular and plural. It conveys the meaning that the *mujaddid* can be one person or several persons. Many scholars tended to see the *mujaddid* as a single person often peerless in his time and of course exceptional in his contributions (Bugaje 1991: 38). Imam Suyuti is the advocate of this opinion. He has prioritized this one and explained it as the opinion of the majority. Writing a poem in this regard, he has presented it in detail. According to him, singleness is one of his conditions. In contrary, the counterparts say that the pronoun in *Hadith*, represents the meaning of general sense, not specified one. The scholars like Ibnu Hajar, Ibn al Atheer (d. 606 H), Al Dahabi

(d. 748 H), Ibnu Katheer (d. 774 H), Al Manawi and Al Azimabadi support this one. Imam Navavi also prefers this opinion (Umamah 2003: 62, 63; Bakkar 2009: 113).[32]

Many scholars have listed the *mujaddids* in different centuries. But, all the lists have it's own cripples and deficiencies.[33] 'Ibn al Athir made a list of all the *mujaddids*, systematically including for each century a caliph, jurists of all the schools and various countries, traditionists and even Imam Shi'ites, which provoked an angry protest from Azimabadi, the commentator of Sunanu Abi Da'ud. It may be suspected that some of the *mujaddids* mentioned by Ibn al Athir in that list, were 'appointed' by him for the first time, because he was obviously making an effort to present a systematic, inclusive list. This effort remained, however, isolated. Most lists are not as variegated and representative as that of Ibn al Athir but simply contain a few alternative names' (Tasseron 1989: 85). Clarifying a lot of concerns regarding to *tajdid,* Ibn al Athir says:

> Every scholar in his own day differed in his interpretation of this tradition, and each one indicated the person who renewed for the people their religion at the head of each 100 years, and each one proponent favoured his own law school ... Some of the '*Ulama*' came to (the conclusion) that the most fitting would be to interpret the tradition in a general sense, for the saying of the Prophet (on him be blessing and peace) was that 'God sends to this community at the head of every 100 years one who regenerates its religion for it'. This saying of his does not necessarily mean that it should be only one who is sent at the head of each century but rather it may be one or it may be more than one. For even though the community derives general benefit in matters of religion from jurists, their benefit through others is never the less (equally) great; for example, those who govern the community, the traditionists, the reciters, the admonishers and those who belong to the various class of ascetics. One person gives benefit in an area which others do not give benefit in. The root of preserving religion is the preservation of the political statutes, the spread of justice and mutual fairness through which (the shedding of) blood is averted, and the ennoblement of the laws of the *Shari'a* to be upheld. This is the task of

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[32] For details see (Bakkar 2009), (Umamah 2003) and (Hasanain 2007).
[33] Imam Suyuti, Ibn al Atheer, Rashid Rida and Moududi are examples.

those who govern. Similarly, the traditionists are beneficial (in giving) religious admonitions and exhorting people their perseverance in piety and indifference to the world. And each individual gives benefit in a way different from the others. It is better and more fitting that this should be an indication of occurrence of a group of great and celebrated men at the head of every 100 years who renew for people their religion and preserve it for them in the various regions of the earth (Suyuti 1986 as quoted by Bugaje 2009: 40, 41). [34]

Imam Suyuti is the great scholar cum author who listed the *mujaddids* through out the centuries. He composed a poem named *Tuhfat al Muhtadin fi Bayani 'Asmai' al Mujaddidin*, which contains twenty-eight lines. He also composed a prose-booklet in this regard, named as *Al Tanbi'ah Biman Ya'atuhu al Lahu 'Ala Ra'si Kulli Mi'atin*.[35] Both works contain the concept and history of *tajdid* in Islam. Consequently, there emerged several studies on this topic, as commentaries and fresh genuine works. It includes *Bigyat al Mutaqaddimin* by Maraghi, *Al Fawai'd al Jammah fi Man Yujaddidu al Dina wal Umma* by Hafiz Ibn Hajar and *Minhal al Mujaddidin 'ala Tuhfat al Muhtadin*[36] (Al Khuli 1965: 7, 8, 12).

Suyuti, in his great work on *mujaddids*,[37] has produced the views of many scholars before giving his own. He says:

> Shaykh Afif al Din al Yafi'i said in al Irshad: A group of scholars, among whom was the Hafiz bin al Asakir, said in regard to the *Hadith* that God sends to this community at the end of every one-hundred years one who regenerates the matter of its religion that at the head of the first (one -hundred years) was Umar bin 'Abd al Aziz, and at the second was the Imam Shafi'i and at the head *of* the third (hundred years) was the Imam Abul Hasan al Ash'ari and at the head of the fourth (hundred years) was Abu Bakr al Baqillani, and at the head of the fifth (hundred years) was Imam Abu Hamid al Ghazali. This (last

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[34] This taken from Suyuti's work on mujaddids, until recently in manuscript form, which has been provisionally edited and translated by Bobboy, Hunwick Kramer and Poston, NW University, Chicago (1986), as quoted by (Bugaje 2009: 40, 41).

[35] It is a manuscript kept in the Egyptian Library

[36] These also manuscripts kept in Egyptian Library

[37] This may be the book we mentioned before, *Al Tanbi'ah*, and itself, may that translated one by Bobboy as Bugaje (2009: 40) says in the footnotes of his study on *tajdid*, page number 40, footnote number 54.

designation) was because of the many wonders found in his works and his plunging into the seas of learning (Suyuti 1986 as quoted by Bugaje 2009: 40).

Another group of scholars has a different list:

> The *hafiz* Al Dhahabi reported that the one sent at the head of the six century was the *hafiz* Abd al Ghani. It has come to me some of the *Ulama* maintained that in the six century it was the Shaykh Muhy ul Din Al Navavi and in the fifth century before it was Shaykh Abu Ishaq Al Shirazi (Ibid).

Based on the documents of Imam Suyuti, the list of *mujaddids* can be listed as follows.[38] 1) Umar bin 'Abd al 'Aziz (d. 101 H), 2) Imam Shafi'i (d. 204 H), 3) Abu al Abbas ibnu Suraij (d. 306) or Abul Hasan al Ash'ari (d. 324 H), 4) Al Qasi Abu Bakkar al Baqillani (d. 403 H) or Abu Hamid Al 'Isfara'ini (d. 406 H) or Abu Sahl al Sa'luki (d. 369 H), 5) Abu Hamid al Gazzali (d. 505 H), 6) Fakhr al Din al Razi (d. 606 H) or Al Rafi'i (d. 578 H), 7) Ibnu Daqiq al 'Iid (d. 703 H), 8) Siraj al Din al Bulqini (d. 805 H) or Hafiz Zain al Din al 'Iraqi (d. 808). In the end of the poem, Suyuti himself expresses his desire that it would be better to him, if he was selected as the *mujaddid* of ninth century of *Hijra*.[39]

In addition, considering the scholastic personality, we can write up some more names in this series, prioritizing the perspective of those who say that the *mujaddids* will come all time, not only either at the end or the beginning. It can be summed up as follows. First of all the Imams of the four schools of thought: Imam Abu Hanifa (d. 150 H), Imam Malik bin Anas (d. 179 H) and Imam Ahmed bin Hanbal (d. 241 H)[40], Abu Abd al Rahman Ahmad al Nasa'i (d. 303 H), Imam Navavi (d. 676 H), Abd al Qadir al Jilani (d. 561 H), Ibnu Hajar Shihab al Din al Asqalani (d. 852 H), Shikh Ahmad Sirhindi (d. 1034 H), Shah Waliyullah al Dahlawi (d. 1176 H) (Hamadan 1989; Bkkar 2009).

According to the modern interpretations, the mission of *tajdid* may be practiced through the collective efforts and gang works. As Moududi says, the meaning of the

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[38] I selected his list because most of the writers who listed the *mujaddids* in later period have given much priority to his list and mostly added his selections firstly and then added their personal selections.

[39] For detailed knowledge see *Al mujaddiduna fil Islam* (al Khuli 1965), *'Ulama'u al Tajdid fil Islam hata al Qarni al Hadi 'Ashar lil Hijrah* (Hamadan 1989) and *Al Tajdid fil Fikr al Islami al Mu'asir* (Bakkar 2009).

[40] The name Imam Shafi'i has mentioned before.

pronoun in *Hadith*, may be the 'group of persons or even organizations of people' (1981: 33). In Qaradawi's view '*tajdid* would have been presented connecting with the gangs/groups, institutions/schools and movements, nowadays. It may facilitate each one of the Muslims to play his own part in *tajdid* process. Then, there would not raise the question that, when the *mujaddid* will come, but rather, the question will be how to revive the community' (Qaradawi, *Min 'Ajali Sahwatin Rashidah*: 54 as quoted by Jamal 1994: 535). In the contemporary Islamic 'reformist' literature, many writers are advocates of this perspective. But, the adherents of traditional Islam are not supposed to admit this novel perception.

The Characteristics of *Tajdid* and *Mujaddid*

The authority in Islam has prescribed certain characteristics and norms to be followed throughout the process of *tjadid*. However, it is the divine decision that plays a pivotal role in the selection of a *Mujaddid*. In Islam the concept of *tajdid* is in its all sense based on the teachings of *Qur'an*and the *Sunna* (Voll 1983: 33). This, returning to texts, was the very motto of every revival attempts emerged so far. But, unlike the modern movements, in the case of *tajdid*, it has some more inner meanings.

Tajdid is the basic way to reinstate Islamic ethics in its soul and purity. Texts are to speak here more than depending on rationality and reason. Rather than making gigantic revolutions and political demonstrations, changing infrastructure and social setups, it means, above all, the regeneration of Islamic thoughts and revitalization of vanished or vanishing religious essence, inserting spirit and intimacy of Prophetic preaching. Generally, the *tajdid* processes are setting out diagnosing the current ailments affected the Muslim *Umma*. Enhancement of Islamic intellectualism and revival of Islamic system are two important aspects of *tajdid* from different perspectives. Beyond an imagination, this concept becomes true, while it touches the creative faculties of knowledge. Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), exegesis (*tafsir*), Tasawwuf, and history (*tariq*) etc are all the areas that frequently need *tajdid*. It is not an attempt to rewrite them according to the time and space, but re-stressing them with religious value, which is being faded gradually, in relation with issues. Human related characters like mutual dealings, understandings, self-evaluations and personal and social interventions are the other areas to be revived necessarily.

Moreover, as far the *mujaddids* are concerned, there are several conditions, dissolving in his life, to be recognized as the living role model of the Muslim *Umma*. Imam Suyuti has explained most of them in his poem.[41] The authors who have penned on *tajdid* also tried to unveil the qualifications and expertise of *mujaddids*, though, according to the variety of books, the conditions vary. Nevertheless, a kind of Suyutian centrality is seen everywhere. Most of them agree with his conditions, though there are some additional changes according to time, in their own perspectives.

Infinite and fathomless knowledge cum the qualification to *ijtihad* is the one of important thing to be adorned with for *mujaddids*. Not only the Islamic but also the general awareness of contemporary issues related with Islam and Muslims is inevitable. Naturally, he should be aware on his time and space, surrounding, and his contemporaries.[42]

As well as in poem Suyuti comments in the prose also, on the inevitability of deep knowledge for *mujaddids*. He says: It is not enough that his task be confined to one country or region, but rather his knowledge must spread to the horizons and be conveyed to the (various) regions, so that his regeneration of the religion be all-encompassing and the benefit of his knowledge be felt in (all) the quarters of Islam (1986 as quoted by Bugaje 1991: 43).

The *mujaddid* should be an ardent follower of *Ahl al Sunnat wal Jama'ah*,[43] not of *Shi'ism*. Similarly, an innovator never can be a *mujaddid* at all, because, the innovation and reformism are so close to *Shi'ism*, being itself an innovation, regarding Islam. On other hand, *Bid'a* (innovation) is the just opposite of the *Sunna* (Prophetic tradition). While the task of the *mujaddid* is reviving and giving rebirth to the *Sunna*, a *Bida'i* cannot be just to his duty (Bakkar 2007: 122; Umamah 2004: 45, Hasanain 2007: 36).

The contribution of the *mujaddid* should be related with both fields of thought and social affairs. The social and intellectual grip of the community also will be in his reign. Otherwise, the distortions and misconstructions, taking place in his

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[41] See Bakkar 2009 : 114

[42] Fore details refer *Tajdid al Fikr al Islami* (Umama 2004: 46) and *Tajdid al Fikr al Islami al Mu'asir* (Bajjar 2009: 120, 121, 124).

[43] It means the followers of Prophetic traditions and the specimens of *Sahabah* (companions of Prophet).

surroundings, may be unnoticed. *Mujaddid* must be accessible for all, especially in his knowledge. So, every one can take advantage of him. In another word, the conditions of *mujaddids* could be summed up as follows: they are the potential and capable personalities, who can defend Islam from all of misunderstanding and misreading as well as misinterpretation and misconstructions in his tenure (Ibid).

IV. Formation of Islamic Thought and the Revivalist Paradigms

In order to know the *tajdid* tradition of Islam, I think, it would be better to make a brief acquaintance with the process of Islamic thought and the development of the Islamic *Shari'a,* followed by the details on the intellectual ruptures and splits occurred among Muslims and the consequent remedial revivalist initiatives from the scholars' part, in addition with a discussion about *fiqh, ijtihad, taqlid,* Sufism and Islamic tradition. It is worth mentioning that the revivalist attempts in Islamic history were mainly in the fields of *fiqh* (jurisprudence), *'aqida* (creed) and *tasawwuf* (Sufism) in particular and in *Qur'an* and *Hadith* in general. In spite of being the very bases of Islam, these areas were later dubbed as fabrications and illegal intrusions. The following articulation will cast light on how these areas are the integral parts of Islamic legal institution and soul part in the concept of spirituality.

Fundamentally speaking, we can categorize the sources of Islamic *shari'a* as two: revealed and non-revealed. The revealed sources are also tow: the *Qur'an* and *Sunna* of the Prophet Muhammad (s). The non-revealed are the rulings produced through *ijtihad.* According to *madhabs*[44] it can be untie as *ijma'* and *qiyas.* It is the undisputed truth that the *Qur'an* and *Sunna* are respectively the first and second most important sources of authority and legislation in Islam. Because of the *Qur'an* was revealed in accordance with the events and queries confronted by Prophet, it included all kinds of legal rulings. The Prophet also was using it as the base of his teachings (Kamali 2007: 151, 152). Though the Prophet not favoured the writing of his sayings down in the threshold of his mission, the companions were keen to exemplify it in their life, at its extreme level. After the departure of Prophet there have taken sporadic attempts to gather it and exchange each other as a part of knowledge dissemination (Hanson 2007). It was only by the half of eight century that the first collection of traditions

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[44] Schools of Islamic jurisprudence or *fiqh,* the details will be followed.

such as Ibnu Ishaq's *Sirah* or Malik's *Muwatta* emerged. The later was the first codified attempt on the Islamic legal system. Later emerged many comprehensive compilations which adopted different methods regarding to contents and structure, especially like *Sihah al Sittah* (eminent six *Hadith* collections) (Motzki 2004: 286). *Ijma*, the third authoritative source, is the collective consensus of scholars on any issue. If the notion of consensus was expressed by various verbs or through compound expressions during most of the first two centuries of Hijra, it came out in a collective system later (Hallaq 2004: 110). *Ijma '* was recognized as the social and practical basis and it was thought to be free from errors. The *Ulama* justified it by invoking a *Hadith* 'My community will never agree in an error.' Thus, jurists linked *ijma* to an idealized concept of Islamic community using the words of sacred scripture and the Prophet. Even the early scholars, judges, and administrators have used it related to their localities; it got popularity, just after Imam Shafii's efforts to systematize the science of Islamic jurisprudence in the early ninth century (Fareed 2004: 345). The *qiyas*, fourth pillar of Islamic law, is the extension of a ruling from an original case to a new one because of the equivalence in the causes underlying them (Hilal n.d: 45). For a close analysis, it can be understood that this concept was the systematic expression of the *ra'y* tradtion, which existed among people in Iraq (Hallaq 2004: 114, 115).

Codification of Islamic Law and the Inevitable Emergence of Schools of Thought

Generally speaking, there are two Arabic terms that may be translated as law, and specifically signify the Islamic canon- *Shari'a* and *fiqh*. The *shari'a* is the law of God, immutable, all-encompassing, and transcendent. Strictly speaking, *fiqh* is the understanding of the law of God, which jurists acquire through pious scholarship, in the reference of fundamental sources (Weiss 1987: 155). Literally, the term *fiqh* means the 'proper understanding and discrimination' or the 'roots of understanding' (Bukhari 1967: 57).[45] Whereas the *Shari'a* is ideally the comprehensive body of law ordained by God, *fiqh* involves Muslim's commitment to understand God's law and make it relevant to their lives. As such, it is a religious form of what is called 'jurisprudence' in the west, and it extends its reach from matters of worship to detailed aspects of every day conducts (Campo 2009: 238).

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[45] Those who were engaged in this work are known as *faqih* (pl. *fuaqaha*), jurists, or lawyers. The legal opinion is called *fatwa*, which was usually put down in the form of answers to questions (Bukhari 1967: 57).

Here, we can concise the chronological development of the formation of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) in and after the time of incessant revelations. According to Kamali, it has been categorized to five phases, starting by the commencement of the Prophetic mission. The initial phase of Islamic jurisprudence was the prophetic period it self (610-632). The era of the Companions of the Prophet (632-661) was the second phase. The third phase was the era of successors (*tabi'un* singl. *Tabi'*), approximately, it was coincided with the '*Umayya* caliphs (661-750).[46] The subsequent duration of about two centuries (750-950) was the fourth phase. It was the most important and historic tenure in which *fiqh* has enjoyed its heyday, developing from a dispersed type of negligence to a systematic set up. Here was the emergence of the relevant four schools of thought and four famous jurists. The last of the phase of the five formative steps of *fiqh*, was begun around the first half of the tenth century (950-) up to date. Generally, it was the period of *taqlid* and imitation of *madhabs* and jurisprudence (2007: 176, 177).

In the first century of Islam, Medina was the main center for the development of Islamic knowledge and practice. It was complemented by the work of many competent figures who were expert to fulfill juridical and administrative duties elsewhere. In the late decades, they made substantial contributions to juristic thought. (Tastan 2004: 406). By the time that *Umayyah* dynasty assumed power, the capital city of knowledge changed from Medina to Damascus. It was the juncture that gave way for the debut of Imams of different schools of thought, focusing on the local groups of schools and leading style of thoughts there, especially on Medina and Iraq. By the second century of Islamic era, these groups made way for a new type of collective initiative called *madhabs*. For the consequent years, Medina and Kufa remained as the centre of such groups, until the number of schools multiplied. The people were completely depended on only their local leaders for their religious needs and laws. Meanwhile, the scholar Abu Hnifa (d. 767/ 150 H) was also among his adherents in Kufa in southern Iraq, developing his own school of thoughts, Malik bin Anas (d. 795/ 179 H) in Medina, Imam Shafi'i (d. 820/ 204 H) in Egypt and Imam Hanbali (d. 855/ 241 H) in Baghdad, with their own revivalist thoughts and positive orderings. Nevertheless, the only four schools, which have survived forever in a

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[46] The precision in the chronology of the *tabi'in* here is tentative.

systematic and codified manner was Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali'; each of them being referred, later, to the names of its leaders (Kamali 1987; 2007).

By the turning of the first half of ninth century (first half of third century of Islamic era) the creative thoughts of Islamic community was channeled through four confined methodologies, which may have retained the spirit of Islamisity forever. Because of there was a plethora of methodologies emanated from same source, it was inevitable to make a partial restriction in order to protect religion from probable misinterpretation and manhandling. Especially, because of the time was of vigorous political squabbles and there were several possibilities for *fatwas* to be given in favour of political powers and their influences. Moreover, the unification of Islamic thoughts under the same umbrella was a valuable forecasting, as a precaution against the misuse of the capability of collecting Islamic laws directly from primary texts, in later period. Therefore, the *madahabs* were, in all means, the creation of necessity and 'sophisticated techniques for avoiding innovations' (Murad 1995). 'Subsequently, the knowledgeable people became liable to *madhabs* and came to recognize the brilliance of the Four Imams. And after the late third century of Islam it was hardly possible for any scholar to adhere to any other approach exclusive of the prescribed four. The great *Hadith* specialists, including al-Bukhari and Muslim, were all loyal adherents of one or another of the *madhabs*, particularly that of Imam Al-Shafi'i' (ibid).

In Keller's view, the slogans we hear today about 'following the *Qur'an* and *Sunna* instead of following the *madhhabs*' are wide of the mark, for everyone agrees that we must follow the *Qur'an* and the *Sunna* of the Prophet. The point is that the Prophet is no longer alive to personally teach us, and everything we have from him, whether the *Hadith* or the Qur'an, has been conveyed to us through Islamic scholars. So, it is not a question of whether or not to take our *Din* from scholars, but rather, from which scholars. And this is the reason we have *madhhabs* in Islam: because the excellence and superiority of the scholarship of the *mujtahid* Imams have met the test of scholarly investigation and won the confidence of thinking and practicing Muslims for all the centuries of Islamic greatness. The reason why *madhhabs* exist, the benefit of them, past, present, and future, is that they furnish thousands of sound, knowledge-based answers to Muslims questions on how to obey Allah. Muslims have realized that, to follow a *madhhab* means to follow a super scholar, who not only had a

comprehensive knowledge of the *Qur'an* and *Hadith* texts relating to each issue he gave judgments on, but also lived in an age a millennium closer to the Prophet and his Companions (1995).

The rise of *madhhabs* in Islam as Gerber says is 'nothing less than the molding of a literary-theological turn of mind into a more systematic legal system and profession. If *ijtihad* had remained the major characteristic, this would have meant that Islamic law would have remained a philosophical movement and nothing else. However, systematic thinking has its limits: every system of law needs to move forward, and it can do this only if it has a built-in dynamic mechanism making this possible. In Islamic law, *ijtihad* was one such mechanism. If the *madhhab* was the flour in the cake of Islamic law, *ijtihad* was the leaven. In other words the important point is its existence, not its relative predominance' (1999: 81, 82).

However, the circumscription of *madhabs* in four is not a matter of debate. In the case of other schools, 'their juristic teachings were not compiled together. If they had been arranged as the teachings of others are, then surely their *taqlid* would have been allowed too. Neither have we had their rulings in book form, nor are there *Ulama* representing them.' 'Although the *Sahabah* and the elders of the first generation were superior to the later day jurists and *mujtahids*, yet they did not get an opportunity to compile and arrange their knowledge and its principles and branches. So, it is not proper to make *taqlid* of them, because none of their teachings can be pinpointed for sure' (Usmani 2003: 70-73).

Madhabs definitely were not a barricade in front of the Muslim growth and development as well as that of the progressive Islamic thoughts. One of the common assumptions on the system of *madhab* is that it traps the Muslim intellectualism in shackles and curtails the freedom of freewill. Another, prevailing allegation is that, until the third century of Islamic era, there was uninterruptedly traced the freethinking in religious field and by the advent of *madhabs* it was terminated. It warrants our attention that, primarily, the Islam should be understood as a religion in its own sense, so the concept of progress and freewill would be gauged within same framework, rather than understanding religion in another sense and taking the stock of its growth using a borrowed yardstick. Being liberal in religious affaires, whether it is observed as progress in western perspective, it is not a healthy change in the Islamic

understanding. All of such allegations should have to be examined through the same prism. In another hand, details of this discussion are directly, related with following articulations on the admissibility of *ijtihad* and *taqlid*.

Taqlid and the Stagnation of Islamic Thought?

The discussion on *madhab* is directly connected with *ijthad* and *taqlid*. Here we are going to unveil both of the concepts in their sincere aspect. Firstly, the concept of *taqlid*: the term *taqlid*, is derived form the Arabic rout *qallada*, it means imitate or emulate, here the basic word-rout is *qalādah*, which refers to a necklace wore around the neck (Qardawi 2010); *taqlid*: imitation and *muqallid*: imitator. In technical sense, *taqlid* means: 'the practice of following the opinion of a scholar in preference to engaging in once own *ijtihad*' (Weiss 1987: 92) or 'to follow the legal opinions of a scholar without gaining knowledge of the detailed evidences for those opinions'[47] (Sajjad 2010: 4).

Unlike to other thoughts and movements, in the case of Islam the concept of *taqlid* is not a novel one rather, Islam itself already is constituted on the theory of imitation. In the religious circle the imitation not means stagnation but it exhorts the continuity of purity and stainlessness in its articles.[48] In most of the religious principles instead of resorting the reason, the believer is ordered to imitate the Prophet, his companions and *tabi'in*. The interpretation and understanding of the 'imitation' in the modern milieu, caused fundamentally in it's under valuation and degradation. Subsequently, the *madhab* system came to be tagged as the way of stagnation. The most dangerous thing here is this simple and logical bridging, between *taqlid* and stagnation. 'At this point, we will correct a common Orientalist mistreatment of the word *taqlid*. The standard Orientalist view is that after the -gates of *ijtihad* closed- only *taqlid* was allowed. As stated above, Orientalists define *taqlid* as 'imitating' or 'blindly following' the decisions made by earlier jurists. This is an inaccurate and misleading way of representing what is done in every legal system that ever existed. Gerber points out that the translation of *taqlid* as imitation is not only pejorative, but factually wrong. *Taqlid* is used mainly in the context of accepting someone's intellectual

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[47] Refer Imam Gazzali's Al Mustasfa: 579 quoted by Sajjad 2010
[48] Prophet said: you perform *namz* how you have seen me: it means what we have known on the prayers of Prophet, we should imitate him by line and word. Thus, we want to follow *Sahaba* and then *Tabi'in* and so on...

authority. This is echoed by Norman Calder, who says that *taqlid* is more a justified acknowledgement of authority, than Western scholarship's 'blind submission'. Theodor Juynboll a well-known orientalist, defines *taqlid* as 'giving authority to' another school regarding a special subject' (Dave n.d.).

Authority is a symbol of stability and systematic completeness, especially in a well-arranged organization or institution, whether it is socially or religiously oriented. In an all -encompassing legal system, definitely, it is strongly demanded one. According to *Sunna* or *Hadith* the authority or authenticity is determined by *isnad* or support, that is attached to particular *Hadith*. In the case of Islamic legal system also, there should have been some easy accessible authorities, though there are prime authorities, to refer them in the day today life. While referring to *taqlid* simply as 'to follow an earlier decision based on its authority', it becomes a very common fact, prevalent everywhere and every time, as Gerber says: 'A judge in a Western legal system, who faces a legal problem to be solved is not supposed to give an answer based on personal opinion or personal intuition, but is, rather, expected to give the authoritative view of the law' (1994).

Mentioning the stability of law in *taqlid,* Fadel mentions that, most of scholars who prefer *ijtihad* to *taqlid* rarely account for the cost of this instability to the legal system. In my opinion, *taqlid*, viewed from the perspective of the sociology of law and the legal process, is best understood as an expression of the desire for regular and predictable legal outcomes, akin to what modern jurisprudence terms the 'rule of law': the ideal that legal officials are bound to pre-existing rules' (1996).

As far as the judiciary is concerned, most of the problems arising are heard and judged by use of reference to the previous specimens and analogies, so as to make the verdicts devoid of possible shortcomings. Rather, the fresh approach to any problem is assured to endanger the situation, because, it may not be perceived by people directly. As Gerber says: 'without a large dose of conservatism, no legal system can function, for if decisions are not based on previously existing rules, the result will be arbitrariness' (1994). '*Taqlid* is Islam's term for what is done in all legal systems, and it means to follow a precedent rather than deciding the case on your own. Menski says that '*taqlid* did not simply mean uncritical mindless reception or copying, but a prohibition on flying off into private speculation' (Dave n.d.). According to Waelul

Hallaq, *taqlid* is not the result of conservatism, but is the custodian of change because, in the legal sense the change and continuity are the two sides of same coin. He says in the preface of his work in this regard:

'Continuity here, in the form of *taqlid*, is hardly seen as 'blind' or mindless acquiescence to the opinion of others, but rather as the reasoned and highly calculated insistence on abiding by a particular authoritative legal doctrine. In this general sense, *taqlid* can be said to characterize all the major legal traditions, which are regarded as inherently disposed to accommodating change even as they are deemed, by their very nature, to be conservative; it is in fact *taqlid* that makes these seemingly contradictory states of affairs possible. For in law continuity and change are two sides of the same coin, both involving the reasoned defense of a doctrine, with the difference that continuity requires the sustained defense of an established doctrine while change demands the defense of a new or, more often, a less authoritative one. Reasoned defense therefore is no more required in stimulating change than it is in preserving continuity' (2001: 9).

Even the recent studies conducted on the social progress of Muslims and jurisprudential effect have come out disclosing the fantastic legal stability and protection of norms and values, among scores of other quasi movements. Though there have the tag of 'madhabness' and 'stagnation' in the perspective of antagonists, the effectiveness and workability of Islamic jurisprudence and legal setup is worth appreciation. Because of the scrutinized studies on this area are very limited, the realities remain hidden beneath the piles of nude accusations and 'inherited' stigmatizations. The research reports of Lombardi and Johansen reveals the un-tolled realities lies between the lines of *taqlid* and the incessant allegation of 'stagnation'.

Shedding light on the latest studies on the era of *taqlid* predominance, Clark Lombardi explains:

'For many decades, both Muslim and Western scholars seemed to assume that precedential reasoning in Islam was rigid and that the move from *ijtihad* to *taqlid* had led to a fossilization of Islamic law. Over the last ten years, however, scholars have begun to study more closely the types of precedential

reasoning used by *muqallid* jurists, and this body of research has made clear that reasoning in the age of *taqlid* was quite subtle and creative. Precedential reasoning was sufficiently flexible that jurists who were recognized as talented were permitted to reason creatively within their *madhhab* and there was, in fact, considerable evolution in the law. Indeed, substantive law in the age of *taqlid* continued to develop in response to changing circumstances' (2006).

Evaluating the *taqlid* tradition and its being an equipped apparatus in order to maintain the structure of Islamic law, rather than reflective of actual practice, Baber Johansen states:

'A re-interpretation of the relationship between *ijtihad* and *taqlid* seems desirable. Far from being a historical reality at all levels of legal activities, *taqlid* often seems to be a pious wish rather than the actual practice of the jurists. It is a conscious attempt to maintain important elements of the legal tradition in the face of social and legal change that threatened the unity of Hanafite legal teaching' (1988).

Now we conclude this discussion with an extraction taken from the '*Authority, Continuity, and Change in Islamic Law*' written by Wael Hallaq, from the last part of the chapter '*Taqlid: Authority, Hermeneutics, and Function*'. Justifying the un-blindness in *taqlid* and rectifying the false notion of Islamicists on *taqlid* he says:

'All in all, we have demonstrated that *taqlid* is far from the blind following of an authority, as a number of major Islamicists have claimed. True, there were always jurists at the lowest rung of the profession who did mechanically and perhaps obtusely follow legal authority. But their juristic performance represents no more than one form or one level of *taqlid*, an activity that stretched over a wide spectrum. The search for the school's authoritative principles and the attempt to apply them to individual cases emerged as one of the mainstays of *taqlid*. The characteristic listing of opinions pertaining to a single issue had a number of functions, not the least of which was the illustration of how each opinion was the result of the application of a different principle, or of a different interpretation of the same principle. Connected with this listing of opinions was the defense of the authoritative doctrine of the school against other schools or the defense of a single authority over and against other authorities, from both within and without the school. And

although the traditionally recognized authorities were, as a rule, followed, there were nonetheless exceptions to this rule, even though they remained, it must be stressed, within the purview of *taqlid*. In fact, it is a salient feature of Islamic legal doctrine that the juristic authority embedded in the works of the immediate or near-immediate precursors was to come to constitute the chief source from which the jurists expounded their own doctrines, or at least on par with the teachings of the founders. *Taqlid*, therefore, was not bound by any particular authority just because this authority was equated with an eponym or an early master. *Taqlid* of the 'moderns' (*muta'akhirun*) was therefore as legitimate as - and in fact more frequently practiced than - that of the 'ancients' (*mutaqaddimun*) (2001: 119, 120).

Was the Gate of *Ijtihad* Closed?

As the Iranian thinker, Murtada Mutahhari observes the question of *ijtihad* in these days is an oft-debated subject. Many people ask, either aloud or to themselves, where from Islam got the concept of *ijtihad*? Why should one practice *taqlid*? What are the conditions of *ijtihad*? What are the duties of a *mujtahid*? (1962). While the concept of *taqlid* is interpreted as the 'stagnation and intellectual timidity' (Engineer 2010) and 'blameworthy innovation (*Bid'a*)' (Alwani 1991), it would be better to delineate its net sum; what it is and what not; how it relates with progress and social change; is it a religious concept or a doorway for the liberal stands.

First of all, we can discuss what is the concept of *ijtihad* in Islam. Literally, it means 'endeavor', 'strenuous endeavor', or 'self-exertion'.[49] In technical term, it is 'the endeavor of an individual scholar to derive a rule of divine law (*Shari'a*) directly from the recognized sources of that law without any reliance upon the views of other scholars' (Weiss 1987: 90).[50] In legal usage, it refers to the 'endeavor of a jurist to formulate a rule of law on the basis of evidence (*dalil*) found in the sources' (Weiss 1977). In other words, *ijtihad* is the maximum effort expended by the jurist to master and apply the principles and rules of *usul ul fiqh* (legal theory) for the purpose of discovering God's law (Hallaq 1984). Looking in this line, *ijtihad* is a religious

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[49] For further studies, see Falahi, *Gulam Nabi. Ijtihad (consensus)*, London: UK Islamic Mission, www.ukim.org ; (Weiss1987), p 90 and (Weiss 1977)
[50] But, it will be by the help of many other similar *Qur'anic* verses and *Hadithes*. Rather, not by self-thinking on one of *Hadith* or *Qur'anic* verse.

practice to be traced while the explicit Islamic laws are not found and there are not seen any apparent analogies. Moreover, this phenomenon must be limited a circle, to which Islam has demarcated it.

According to Weiss 'the process of deriving rules from the texts entails two distinct activities: 1) the determination of rules that lie within the meaning of the text, and 2) the determination of any additional rules that may be deemed analogous to these rules' (1987).

However, the modernists as well as the orientalists have made deliberate attempts to define *ijtihad* in a liberal sense by extending temptation toward freedom from the so-called 'shackles' of *taqlid*. Hence, most of the modernist writings are tracing the same rout and spreading it through their scores of treaties in order to consolidate this 'assumption' to work out in future in its extent sense. According to their findings, the meaning of *ijtihad* is 'independent reasoning' or 'freethinking',[51] the words, which resonates the very soul of liberal thoughts. Freewill and independent reasoning are inadmissible in the case of religion at all. These have just started historically by the European religious reformation. Presenting these terms just close to *ijtihad*, there is the justification of accommodating Islam for new trends, as the result of presenting Islam through the modernistic prism. Actually, the term *ijtihad* is 'roughly corresponds to what in Western jurisprudence is called 'interpretation.' The two terms are, of course, not exact equivalents, because their lexical meanings are not the same and because *ijtihad* includes an activity, which is not normally subsumed under interpretation (Weiss 1977: 200).

Al Haddad mentions, 'a distinction must be made between *ijtihad* and religious reform. *Ijtihad* is a practical effort to adapt religious concepts to the transformations of evolving lifestyles. Such a balance is relativist and practical. Religious reform, on the other hand, is more comprehensive, and entails the rearrangement of the entire relationship between the divine unknowable and human life. Reform is not merely

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[51] In the most of the modern writings, the same style has been introduced extensively. For more details see, Fishman, Shammai. (2003), *Ideological Islam in the united stats: Ijtihad in the thought of Dr. Taha Jabir al AlWani,* Translated by Dr. Tzemah Yoreh, published in Hebrew in Jamaa, 11 (2003) Bin Gurion University, Beer Sheva; Peters, Rudolph. (1980*), Ijtihad and Taqlid in 18*th *and 19*th *Century Islam,* Die Welt Des Islam, Paper read at the 10th Congres de l'Union Europeenne des Arabisants et Islami- sants (Edinburgh, September 1980) and Schacht, Joseph, *An Introduction to Islamic Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), (First edition is from 1964) etc.

rethinking a handful of stances and rulings, but broadly reconsidering the function of the sacred. Just as instruments of the state (the machine, the laboratory, the school) have changed in the modern era, religion and its role in a society with complex social structures should evolve as well' (2006: 20).

Then, what is the concept of *ijtihad* in Islam? As aforementioned, it is a practice within religion, proved by the Prophetic tradition and done by series of genius luminaries. Instead of being a way of liberalizing Islam, it bridges the gapes of textually unmentioned solutions, regarding life and practice of people, while confronting unprecedented versions of issues. The tradition, generally considered in this regard, is that of related with the companion of Prophet, Mu'adh bin Jabal. [52] After the Prophetic age, the practice of *ijtihad* grew tremendously. By the end of the second century after the *Hijra,* when the science of jurisprudence has developed drastically it changed in to a level of *taqlid.* (Bugaje 1991: 33). By the 10th century, *ijtihad* had gained a place in all four of the major Sunni legal schools, but it was more limited than in the earlier centuries. It was considered a religious duty that had to be honored by jurists, but it was to be used only if there was no precedent in the *Qur'an,* the *Sunna,* or the consensus (*ijmaa*) of the school in which they had been trained' (Campo ed. 2009: 347). This restriction was in order to protect the Islamic law from the severe mishandling and misinterpretations. As Weiss explains, 'Obviously, the very existence of Islamic law as a body of positive law capable of regulating an entire society presupposes that the great majority of men will leave *ijtihad* to the few and act in accordance with what the few decide. If every man were *mujtahids,* there would be no law in the ordinary sense: every man would be a law unto himself. The implications, which this would have brought for society can hardly be comprehended' (1978).

By the change of centuries, while there appeared some misconstructions in the name of religion, the scholars collectively set out and naturally adopted appropriate

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[52] While the Prophet was sending him to Yemen as a judge, he interviewed him to just satisfy himself and disclose a invaluable information on the concept of *ijtihad.* 'According to what shall thou judge?' The Prophet asked. 'According to the book of God (i.e. *Qur'an*),' replied Mu'adh. 'And if thou findest naught therein?' asked the Prophet. 'According to the *Sunna* of the prophet of God,' replied Mu'adh. 'And if thou findest naught therein?' Asked the Prophet again. 'Then I will exert (*ajtahidu*) my self to form my own opinion in this regard'. And there upon the Prophet said: 'Praise be to God who has guided the messenger of His Prophet to that which pleases His Prophet' (Ramadan 1970: 74 quoted by Bugaje 1991).

measures to tackle the imminent problem. Consequently, in order to designate the perpetual remedy, they compelled to come in term with the endorsement of few prominent conditions to *mujtahids*.[53] If the situation that prevailed before the third century of Islamic era was going on, without any imperative amendments, Islamic legal system may have witnessed so many rewritings and misconstrues from the very beginning as Christianity did. Nevertheless, fortunately the timely scholastic treatments and intellectual interferences kept it fortified as possible, retaining all Prophetic traditionalist values, rather than the newly produced innovations (*Bid'a*). Henceforth, renowned *mujtahids* are relatively very less, even though, there are many sub-*mujtahids*, practicing their duty within the circle of a particular school of thought. As Rahman mentions: 'the earlier authorities among these medieval writers talk of an absolute *ijtihad* (*ijtihad mutlaq*) and partial *ijtihad* exercised only in certain matters. Later, the division becomes three fold and *ijtihad* is divided in to *ijtihad mutlaq*, i.e. an absolute *ijtihad, ijtihad muqyyad*, i.e. a limited *ijtihad* and *ijtihad fil madhab*, i.e. *ijtihad* within a given school of Islamic law' (1984: 168, 169).

Here, the most significant thing is that the severe restriction of *ijtihad* is merely and primarily relating to the making of *usuls* of *fiqh*,[54] other than the already made ones by Imam Shafi'i, Imam Hanafi, Imam Maliki and Imam Hanbali. Each of them has separate *usuls*, which will fundamentally distinguish the style acquiring of laws from the texts. Because of the differences in *usuls*, were the differences in certain laws in different *madhabs*. To be such a scholar, worth of all qualities, is the highest position in the field of Islamic law, and as came true, it was once in blue moon. But the probability of happening could not be refuted, though this possibility is yet to realize. Surprisingly it is worth mentioning that exactly they had formulated the prime *usuls* forever and for whatever needs.

The second thing, which needs the utmost notice, is the role of the *mujtahids* within *madhabs*, those who comes in next step. Needless to say, there came so many *mujtahids* of this kind according to the passage of time. Imam Navavi, Imam Suyuti, and Ibnu Hajar al Haitami etc. constitute this list. They also have taken so many initiatives in this field. As the *usuls* are thoroughly codified before, their business was

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[53] Scholars have prescribed a lot of conditions in knowledge and faithfulness as the criterion of *Mujtahids*.
[54] Fundamental laws of *fiqh*, on which the further *ijtihad* will carry on

definitely quenching the demands of the current in the light of texts. In this line, the *fiqh* was obviously speaking to present, rather than the past, striking a stark contrast to the allegations of opponents. Writing large namely-commentaries, they have gone all touching areas of human life, not only of then time, but also, foreseeing to the upcoming centuries. A huge portion of what the *fiqh* studies enclosed with was not what happened before, but rather, was the guessings and imaginations on what happens later. This pre-designing capacity was the unique peculiarity of *fuqaha*.

The ever-present eligible *muftis* are another dynamic face of Islamic jurisprudence. *Ifta'* (filing *fatwas*) itself can be seen as a minor level of *ijtihad*. For producing a fatwa, the scholar is compelled to refer most of fore-written works in this regard, use of thinking and hard contemplation on the issue. Definitely, as most of the contemporary queries are unprecedented, the jurists are being impressed with opening new horizons of *fiqh* and legal system. These creative thoughts as a result of which they find new formulas very largely exist, even still, among traditional jurists. The muftis are not copying the pre-produced *fatwas* itself, but, because of the varying of time, situation, surrounding and character of the new issue, they are compelled to make novel attempts and ponderings to solve the problems.

The great dangerous thing in this field lies in the misinterpretation of the question that whether the gate of *ijtihad* is closed or not. As this is a general question and the term *ijtihad* is used here in a general sense, it is not easily answerable. As mentioned above, the *ijtihad* concept in Islam is not single and monolithic one, but it has been dispersed to separate categories and varied positions. As its position varies its status and required conditions also vary. Fundamentally examining the concept of *ijtihad*, it is very clear that Islamic *Shari'a* neither terminate it nor put an end to it, textually and by documents.[55] But, because of the competitive deficiency, the history of *mujtahid* or *ijtihad* has recurred very nominally. At the same time, as we mentioned, there have come so many sub-*mujtahids*, who have frequently intervened in the laws lagging beyond the time. In the opinion of Makdisi, much has been said about the 'closing of

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[55] Wael Hallq in his PhD theses (1983) and the renowned article *'Was the Gate of Ijtihad Closed?'* (Hallaq 1984) attempted to explain it very sincerely and precisely. As himself says: Since the publication of the article, I have come across a staggering body of evidence, both directly and not so directly related to the issue of *ijtihad*, which clearly supports the thesis advanced in the article. Conversely, I have not, throughout these years, encountered any evidence that may in any way undermine that thesis (Hallaq 1994). Reviewing this study Weiss says that: this research 'no doubt, has closed the door on further discussions' on this topic (1998).

the gate of *ijtihad*' though the phrase, however, has never been documented anywhere (1981:290).

According to Hallaq, *ijtihad* was exercised from the first century of Islam up to the pre-modern era in one sense or another. The availability of *mujtahids* was the only problem they had to confront with in this field.

> 'As often used in legal discussions, the term '*bab*' means 'way.' Thus, *saddu babi al-talaqi* may be rendered as 'closing the way of divorce' or 'making divorce infeasible'. Similarly, *insadda babu al-qiyasi* may be translated 'the way of *qiyas* was closed' or 'the procedure of *qiyas* was suspended'. The Arabic *masdar* form, *insidad*, and the verb form *insadda* do not denote to the agent. Hence, *insadda babu al-ijtihadi* conveys no idea about who had actually closed the gate. This notion of the closure is in complete accord with the Islamic belief, which asserts that no one at any time has demanded that the practice of *ijtihad* should be suspended. In theory, should this practice decline or stop permanently, the methodology of *ijtihad* is not to be blamed because this deficiency can only stem from fallible elements, namely, the *mujtahids*. *Ijtihad* may cease only when *mujtahids* either decline to perform it or when they become extinct. Since, as previously mentioned, *ijtihad* was considered a *fard kifaya* and thus incumbent upon *mujtahids*, the possibility of extinction remains as the only alternative. The dying out or the lack of well-learned jurists then can be the only reason for the closure of the gate of *ijtihad* (1984: p 20).

Because of the gate of *ijtihad* is officially not closed and Islam has produced many *mujtahids* till the time, even as *mujaddids* on the head of every century, it is not compulsory to all taking over the duty of *ijtihad* and living on the self-interpretation of *Qur'an* and *Sunna* and in order to that disagree with the *madhabs*. Rather, the *Hadith* indicates that whenever any body becomes capable, only then he can pursue the way of *ijtihad*. The major problem regarding the *fiqh* and its related things is that the later scholars have clearly failed to present *fiqh* and its meaning and concept, in front of the modern world and in the style of how to make understand it others. While Islam has been understood just like other religions, *fiqh* jsut like western laws and

ijtihad just like self-thinking or independent reasoning, the all concepts were intercepted and misunderstood.

Emergence of Innate Fractions and the Revivalist Movements

The Prophet hadn't appointed anybody as his successor and the absence of consensus over the succession led to more than one debates over who will succeed him. The inevitable result of this issue was the division of Muslims in to *Sunnis* and *Shiites* who believed that the prophet has designated 'Ali bin Abi Talib (d. 661) as his successor to go on with Islamic leadership, retaining the purity of genealogy (*Ahl al bait*) (Mayer 1987; Nanji & Daftary 2007).

The *Khawarijs* were the first sectarian movement in Islamic history. They were 'Ali's supporters who 'exited' (*khraja*) after the battle of *Siffin* (657)[56] while 'Ali accepted the arbitration (*tahkim*) with Mu'awiya (r. 661-680). Taking as their 'Only God can judge' (i.e., God, not man, decides human affairs), as their watchword, which echoes echoing in the verses of Qur'an6:57, 12:40 and 12:67, they opposed a human tribunal in place of a battle victory decided by God's judgment. Owing to their decision to keep away from the collectivity of Muslim community, they -seceding faction- came to be known as the *Khawarij* or, literally in Arabic, 'those who went out' from the group of 'Ali. Subsequently, they stood vehemently against 'Ali and Mu'awiya in particular and the Muslim leaders in genera: hence, they advocated the selection of leaders only by religious merit rather than by heritage (Kenney 2009; Higgins 2004).

Mu'tazila is the first Muslim rationalist theological school founded in Basarah and later developed in Baghdad, especially during Al Ma'mun Caliphate from 813 to 833 (Kamal 2003). '*Mu'tazila* comes from the word, '*i'tazala*', i.e., 'to withdraw.' The group is named as such because its founder 'Waasil Ibn Ataa' (131/748) withdrew (*i'tazala*) from the study circles of Hassan al-Basri (after proposing an innovative idea on the status of Muslims who commit major sins (i.e. whether they are believers or disbelievers). From then on, the *Mu'tazila* deviated further and trapped in misguidance under the influence of *Ilmul Kalam* in many issues of belief'. '*Mu'tazilah* is the sect responsible for popularizing ideas of ancient pagan philosophy

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[56] A battle waged in the place *Siffin*, a site on the Euphrates between Syria and Iraq, between the caliph 'Ali ibn abi talib (d. 661) and Mu'awiya bin Abi Sufyan, the governor of Syria.

to the Muslim *Umma* in the name of '*Ilmul-Kalaam*', by which they caused much confusion concerning the status of *Qur'an* and *Sunna*, and attempted to make human intellect (*aql*) decisive over the texts of the *Din*. They paved a way where well-established Islamic beliefs (like Attributes of Allah, matters of *Ghayb*, etc.) and acts of worship were questioned, and argued about; then distorted or abandoned' (Kayum 2010: 8). 'The *Mu'tazilites* were thoroughly rationalists. They believed that the arbiter of whatever is revealed has to be theoretical reason' (Valiuddin 1961). From this premise, the *Mu'tazili* school of _Kalam_ proceeded to posit that the injunctions of God are accessible to rational thought and inquiry: because knowledge is derived from reason, reason is the 'final arbiter' in distinguishing right from wrong.

The history of growth and spread of *Mu'tazila* has three phases in history: 1) 'an incubation period that lasted roughly through the eighth century; 2) a short period of less than half a century (815-850) when the *Mu'tazili* school, after having denied its identity, developed an astonishing variety of individual, sometimes contradictory ideas permeated the intellectual life at the *Abbasid* court; 3) and finally, several centuries of scholastic systematization channeled in to two branches or schools that were named after the towns of Basra and Baghdad respectively' (Ess 1987).

Because of great challenge to Islamic principles due to the misinterpretation of *Qur'an* and *Sunna*, a lot of well-versed scholars like Ahmed bin Hanbal, Abu Hasan al Ash'ari, Abdul Qadir Jilani and Imam Gazzali have embarked on the duty of the eradication of this sect. Though the scholastic stiff resistance has made a great block to its unprecedented debut, the *Mu'tazili* thought itself worked as the motive of later rationalist thoughts among Muslims.[57]

***Ash'ariyya and Similar Revivalist Attempts*:** The *Ash'ariya* is the foremost philosophico-religious school of theology in Islam, that developed during the fourth and fifth/tenth and eleventh centuries. It is named after Abu al Hasan al Ash'ari, who sought to define and defend core doctrines about God, the *Qur'an*, and Free Will in terms of rational philosophy (Campo ed. 2009: 66). This movement was an attempt not only to purge Islam of all non-Islamic elements, which had quietly crept into it,

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[57] For further data availability on *Mu'tazila* see *What is Sunni Islsm?* (Rauf 2007); Stroumsa, Sarah. (1990), *The Beginning of Mu'tazilah reconsidered*, JSAI, 13, 1990; Macdonald, Duncan B. (1903), *Development of Muslim theology, Jurisprudence and Constitutional Theory*, New York: Charles Scribner

but also to harmonize the religious consciousness with the religious thought of Islam. It laid the foundation of an orthodox Islamic theology or orthodox *Kalam,* as opposed to the rationalist *Kalam of* the *Mu'tazilites* (Hye 1960). From the inception, the *Ash'ari* masters have tried to remark this school as *Ahl al haqq* (those who teach the true doctrine) or *Ahl al sunnati wal jama'ah* (the adherents of *Sunna* and consensus of the *Sahabah*) (Frank 1987).

Besides the orthodox philosophical theology of Al-Ash'ari (d. 330 or 334/941 or 945), which centered in Baghdad there were two other also, in Egypt and Samarqand led by Al Tahawi (d. 331/942) Abu Mansur al Maturidi (d. 333/ 944) respectively. Out of these three, Al-Ash'ari became the most popular hero, before whom the *Mu'tazilite* system (the rationalist *Kalam)* went down, and he came to be known as the founder of the orthodox philosophical theology (Ibid). The *Ash'ari* School grew in Basra and Baghdad, drawing its inspiration from *Al-Ashari's* theology and method of rational argument. By the late 12th century, it happened to become the dominant *Sunni* theological tradition and was, officially, taught as a subject in Sunni centers of learning.

Vibrant Sufism and Spiritual Activism

Tasawwuf is another creative and dynamic system of Islam that invigorates and enhances the rate of Islamisity in its adherents. *Tasawwuf, mutasawwif* or *Sufi* all are probably derived form the Arabic word *suf* (wool) or *safa'* (purity), which implies the purity of heart while the former refers to the garments that the Sufis are said to have worn since early history of Islam (Awn 1987: 104). The word Sufism stands to the mystical traditions of Islam and is generally used to denote *tasawwuf.* In Islamic sense, *tasawwuf* is 'the inner and esoteric dimension of Islam and, very similar to *Shari'a,* has its roots in the *Qur'an* and Prophetic practice. Being the heart of the Islamic message, it is hidden from outer exposure and is the inner source of life and the central part, which coordinate inwardly the whole religious organism of Islam. It is the most subtle and difficult aspect of Islam to understand, at the same time its manifestation is seen vividly in many aspects of Islamic society and civilization'. The gist of the *tasawwuf* is 'to worship God with the awareness that we are in His proximity and therefore 'see' Him or He is always watching us and we are always standing before Him' (Nasr 1971:121).

According to Nasr using 'Islamic mysticism' to refer Sufism is never appreciable. Because it happens to possesses a kind of 'passive' and 'anti-intellectual colour in most contemporary European languages, as a result of struggle between Christianity and rationalism continued for several centuries. 'Sufism is an active participation in a spiritual path and is intellectual in the real meaning of this word. Contemplation in Sufism is the highest form of activity and in fact, Sufism has always integrated the active and contemplative lives. That is why many Sufis have been teachers and scholars, artists and scientists, and even states-men and soldiers' (Ibid: 132).

Then, Sufism in its real colour, never was an alien or the symbol of inactivity in Islam, as the West attempts to prove it for centuries. In their view, 'we are brought up to believe that from the sixteenth century onwards the East began to 'stagnate' whereas the West 'developed' and 'progressed'. But it is simply forgotten that whatever the word 'progress' may mean, it is exclusive of the 'progress in other-worldliness'- a kind of progress realized only through the Sufism, as it is the integral and vital part of spirituality. The charges of stagnation leveled against Sufism indicates that it produced no 'original thinkers' if the word 'original' is taken in its modern sense, then that supposed weakness is as strength, as it indicates to a kind of firmness not being side tracked to manifestation of individualism which in which novelty takes dominance over the truth (Lings 1999: 122). In fact, the Sufis were never lagged beyond their responsibilities. In contrast, their mentality was disciplined in the philosophy of 'be with the world, but not of it'. This 'focusing of mind', as our Sufi teachings observe it, is one of the cardinal exercises of this way (Shah 2009: 10).

Sufism, no doubt, was never alien to Islam, but, formed 'within Islam, in response to the certain versus of *Qur'an*, emphasizing the transient nature of this world vis-à-vis God' (Rahman 2006: 110). There were so many Sufis leading the beacon of intellect and self-knowledge to mould a new dedicated generation, like Suhrawardi (d. 1168), Jilani (d. 1166), Rifa'i (1182), Chishti (d. 1236), Shadhili (d. 1258), Badawi (d. 1226), Maulawi- Rumi (d. 1273), Hamadani (D. 1140), Naqshabandi (d. 1389) etc (Trimingham 1971: 14). Most of them were treated as the *Shaykhs* of Sufi orders and were responsible with the task of safeguarding Muslim community form the misguidance. Among them, Imam Ghazali was a distinguished figure.

Abu Hamid Al-Ghazli (450/1058-505/1111) was the most influential and impressive religious and Sufiistic personality in post-classical Islam. At the age of thirty-three, he achieved enough expertise, with his extra ordinary brilliance, in the traditional Islamic sciences of law and theology. Even someone such as Ibn Taymiya, who even doubted whether his Islam is acceptable, nevertheless insisted on his sincerity, besides his unusual intelligence and 'ocean-like' knowledge (Rahman 2006: 116). Being a great Sufi scholar, he paved the way of creativity and vibrancy in later Islam, pursuing incessant researches and reviving the whole corrupts, which have yet taken place, in different shape and name.

Unfortunately, Sufism, the soul of Islam, was the key target of its enemies, be it Islamicists, modernists or fundamentalists. Considering it alien to Islam, an array of oppositions has broke out. Along with orientalists-Islamicists, Muhammad bin Abdil Wahab, Jamaluddin Afghani and Muhammad Abduh were those fueled oil in the fire of anti-Sufism movements. Moreover, the general secularization of the world culture, colonialism, with its concomitant critique of Islamic religion and society; the response of Islamic modernism; and the rise of Islamic fundamentalism also played its cards (Awn 1987).

Surviving Traditionality

Unlike any other religions, in Islam, tradition has an invaluable dominance in its practices and beliefs. This is because of Islam gives an extreme attention to remain its tenets unpolluted and misinterpreted in order to retain the fathomless spirit and value centrality. That is why the concept of *sanad* (term denotes the continuity)[58] and *imamat* (leadership)[59] is strongly still prescribed in most of nucleus principles of the Islam.

Etymologically, the word tradition comes from the Latin noun *traditio*, which means 'handing over' (Valliere 1987). In literal sense, it indicates 'the handing down from generation to generation of opinions, beliefs, customs, and so on' (Oxford 1984). In

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[58] *Sanad* of *Hadith* means the chain of its reporters from the imminent to the Prophet. it is being prescribed in learning, receiving *sufi* orders etc

[59] The leader oriented life and practices of Muslims, also gives some serious thoughts on the inevitability of preservation of tradition, as the Muslims observe it in the all aspects of life, like prayer.

other words, whatever that is transformed to us from the previous generations constitutes tradition (Faisal 2011).

Fundamentally speaking, the concept of tradition in Islamic sense, might be coming from the four sources of Islamic *Shari'a* in general and from the *Sunna* of the Prophet in particular, as it was the first articulated, easily traceable and practicable one than the rest.

The most interesting pint is, it was only after 'the theories of evolution came to dominate the social sciences that 'tradition' started to be treated as a stage before reaching to a progressive and developed 'modernity'. And since then the developmental modernist theories established the 'backward' and 'anti-developmental' face of 'tradition'. Hence, there came a general assumption that 'whatever traditional should be eradicated in order to achieve development' and so the European countries were equated to modern and the non-European were labeled as 'traditional' (Falleres 1963 as quoted by Faisal 2011).

In all the sense, tradition was never an enemy of change, but the very stuff was subject to change. Even the history of Islamic thought provides numerous examples of how the intellectual tradition was dynamic and energetic (Brown 1996). Being Islam the major tradition that constitutes a significant part of the lives of Muslims, we should not take it for granted that the tradition needs to be remade in the image of liberal Protestant Christianity, as the modernists and liberalists argue (Asad 1997). As far as the islamicists are concerned, to get out of the so-called 'contemporary Muslim intellectual impasse' it has to experience a drastic change, similar to that of the Protestant Reformation in Europe (Voll 1982: 3-4).

However, today has reached in a level that, as Nasr says, two centuries ago, if a Westerner, Chinese Confucian or a Hindu from India, were to study Islam, he would have encountered but a single Islamic tradition. Such a person, today, could have detected numerous schools of thought, juridical and theological interpretations and even sects, which remained separated from the main body of the community- that is traditionalist Islam. He would moreover have encountered both orthodoxy and heterodoxy in belief as well as in practice (1994: 11). Especially, by the eighteenth century, while the threat of colonialism beefed up, there emerged so many counter

groups, in the name of resistance due to reviving Islam rather, the grave result was mushrooming of the so-called 'Islamic resurgence' and 'revivalism', in order to borrowing the yardstick of progress from the west; which constitutes the discussion of next chapter.

Conclusion

Contrary to other religions and latest initiatives, the concept of revival or renewal in Islam would not be gauged on the modern criteria of 'progress.' Being the creation of the west, it never can do justice with the issue. As a divine religion, Islamic tradition deserves much importance. Seemingly oldness and antiquity in Islam, tradition may not be underestimated as a system to pull back. *Tajdid* is the mere Islamic concept to revive the religion and community rather than *islah,* which means 'reform'. *Tajdid* cannot be translated as 'reform' in the modern sense. Because, fundamentally speaking, the concept of *tajdid* and reform are utterly different. Then the only appreciable *islah* in Islam is *islah al fikr al islami* instead of *islah al dini. Tasawwuf, fiqh* and '*aqida* were never worked as the barricades in the development of Muslim thoughts. In a close observation, everybody can understand that certainly they were the inevitable factors for the sustainable energetic Islam. The main problem lies here in the approaching of religious concepts between tradition and modernity. In sum, the main problem lies here in the misunderstanding of revival and reform by using the varied concepts of tradition and modernity.

Chapter: II

Islamic Reformism

Neo-*tajdidism* versus Islamic Revival

Introduction

Until the nineteenth century, *tajdid* had generally enjoyed the traditional understanding of *ihya' ul sunna* (revival of tradition) and *imatat al bid'a* (elimination of innovation). By the intensive interference of colonialism and intrusion of modernity necessarily or unnecessarily, it has took a different turn and henceforth began to be introduced in some allegedly flexible sense. Particularly this diversion was explicit in the precise distinction of tradition from innovation; both are prescribed to be authentically verified in Islam. By the nineteenth century only, the term *tajdid* acquired an added meaning of reform in the sense of reconciling Islam with rationalist and scientific thinking and restructuring Muslim countries' educational and socio-political institutions more or less along the lines of European institutions (Hunter 2009). In another word; in the colonial and postcolonial period, the meaning of *tajdid* wasn't actually less than that of reform almost in its secular sense.

Like many of the recent movements that evoked on the particular objectives, Lapidus observes that the contemporary Islamic revival also may be understood as the expression of modernity. By the advent of modernization, as he says, Christian, Hindu, Jewish, and even Muslim movements also broke out as a response to the global changes that constitute modern trends (1997). Although some writers tried to interpret it as the continuity of old *tajdid* tradition, the novel trends and approaches that assumed engendered so many questions, which made way for the incessant debates, and controversies concerning the topic and that are still going on. The reaction of its pioneers that 'it was not a call for a renewed Islamization of society and state following the example of the foundation era, but it is for the modernization of Islam itself' also makes clear that what the intention did work behind the reform process (Donk 2006: 32). There fore in this chapter I would like to sketch out the concept of 'Islamic reformism'; what for does it represent; how far does it stand away

from the concept of *'tajidid'* itself and at which level it has been influenced by colonial 'values' and modernity in colonial and post colonial narratives . By the passage of time, drastic changes have taken place and the prescribed features of *tajdid* have mostly vanished from the real concept of 'reform'. And while its advocates still try to uphold it as the continuity of *tajdid* tradition, I do prefer here to call it as the neo-*tajdidism*. Having apparently consisted of the spirit of Islam and contently the logic of West, the concept of neo-*tajdid* takes mostly a pro-modern or Western style in its manifestations rather than substantializing the traditional identity.

I. From *tajdid* to neo-*tajdidism*

The Socio-Religious Milieu of 'Islamic Reformism'

Nineteenth century was the period of confrontations between traditional and modern religious thoughts, which has turned a landmark in the history of Muslim world. Taking Syria, Egypt, and Iran etc. as the focal centers of this movement, it played a significant part in the intellectual formation of later Muslim generation. Finally, the culmination of the frequent clashes has reached at some so-called conclusions that were exactly the commencement of further demands for a new idea of neo-*tajdid*, eschewing all inclinations towards 'stagnant' traditional Islam and espousing the progressive and liberal thoughts of the West. However, the developments from the fragile political situation of the Ottoman Empire and to the impacts of the pre-modern 'reformist' thoughts like *Wahabism*, had played an undisputable role in the critical formation of this transition period.

Political Instability and its Repercussions on Muslim Thought

Restoring Muslim power to a wider area, the Ottoman Empire ascended the throne by the fifteenth century in Turkey. Coexisting with *Safavids* in Iran and *Mughals* in India it made an unprecedented breakthrough in reign as well as in corruption in the ever-known political history of Muslims. As the historians review, it enjoyed three centuries of expansion and survived three centuries of stagnation and decline (Demant 2006: 17). Despite accepting Islam and protecting its literature and culture, the new Turkish elite remained distant from the old Arabo-Presian and rode on a most extravagant way. In the last centuries of the reign, religious centres as well as the

political and social institution were not free from mishandlings and malpractices. Misusing of the religion for vested interests and exploitation of religious positions for unauthentic purposes was rampant. Moreover, the *Sunni-Shii'a* antagonism has reached at its peak. Finally, all of these brought the situation to the grip of one kind of imbroglio and chaos in religious spectrum. In another part, this decline followed geopolitical and economic factors which reached beyond the Ottoman reach (Ibid: 18) and tensions were increasing and communal relations were worsening in a gradual process. In sum, the then milieu was in thirst of an alternative at all spheres, including political, social and cultural. Naturally, it made way for the Westernization in the cost of Ottoman sultans themselves (Ibid: 20).

Though there were many problems in the suzerainty of corrupted government, one can't absolutely deny the undercurrents of Islamic thought spread through *Sufism*, covert *Ulama* gatherings and scholars well versed in *Qur'an, Hadith*, jurisprudence, *tasawwuf* etc. But these factors got aloof from the fascination of politics and authority. Several *Sufi* orders and scholastic intervention were popular among Muslims lead by well-known learned men who could play a key role in the survival of religiosity in that crucial juncture. Pointing out to the invasion of imperialism, many modernist writers have tried to portray this period as a 'dark' one. And many criticized the *Ulama* groups of the era on the ground that they were allegedly the central cause of this setback.[60] However, as Demant tries to disclose the political deterioration and uncertain condition of its authority was the decisive phase that paved way for the easy access of imperialism to Muslim countries (2006).

Myth of *Jahiliyya* and Contextualization of 'Reformism'

Whoever set out to bring reforms and changes ever in history, all of them have upheld two kinds of mottos that could justify their initiatives and rectify them: the prevalent condition is in the grip of *Jahiliyya* (age of ignorance) and the enlightenment will come true by their-own efforts. The case of Islamic 'reformers' also is not different, as they emerged to reconstruct traditional Islam to a reformed one in different era. Alleging a period as *Jahiliyya* they were obfuscating a term of creativity proving that the reformed thoughts are dominant. The surprising thing is that wherever traditional

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[60] See Cooper, Barry. (2004), *New Political Religions or An Analysis of Modern Terrorism*, Colombia and London: University of Missouri Press, p, 105

or Sunni Islam has prospered in history, anti-traditionalists have tried to denounce it and to solve this precarious state by their own 'enlightenment' period.

Actually, *Jahiliyya* (age of ignorance) was referred to the pre-Islamic period by Muslims. (Admec 2004: 146). The pagan polytheism of Arabian Peninsula before the revelation of the *Qur'an* was the main reference by this connotation. Muslims view this period with particular disdain because polytheism or *shirk* is viewed as absolutely contradictory to Islam's own strict monotheism (*Tawheed*). But by 13th and 18th centuries some Muslims came to apply this term to Muslims also (Armajani 2009: 387). In 13 centuries Ibnu Taimiya, in 18th century Ibnu Abdil Wahab and in 20th century Rashid Rida, Maududi and Sayyid Qutub (1906-1966) also used the term to refer traditionalist Muslims (Faizer 2009: 371). It means that by the advent of colonialism the criterion of polytheism has changed and the traditionalists were attributed as the followers of polytheism, just because they were not agreeing with the reformist Islam. According to Cooper, Rida was the first to apply the term *Jahiliyya* to the Muslims of his own time. Soon enough, as Haddad observed, *Jahiliyya* came to mean 'any system, order, world view or ideology that is considered un-Islamic' by the *Salafist* interpreter (2004: 105).

However, one cannot deny the resemblance of this new trend that has extensively prevailed among the advocates of reformist Islam with the Luther's attempt to make the pre-renaissance history dark and irrelevant. As previously mentioned the *Jahilyyaization* of pre-*Wahabi* period also is of this kind. This trend can be seen wherever religious reformist movements have erupted and worked out.

Pre-modern Reformism and Unprecedented Interpretations

It is sure that the thoughts of Ibnu Taimiya (1263-1328) and Ibnu Abdil Wahab (1703-1792) have played a considerable role in individual and mental formation of modern Muslim. Thanks to their thoughts were not free from the orientation of modern world, though it has come very later. The values of modernity like liberty, rationality, and freedom were overwhelmingly seen in their narratives. As a result, modern believer preferred the religion to be out of all traditional bondages.

Ibnu Taimiya was a controversial theologian, *faqih* and scholar of *Hadith* lived in thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. He was the first to open liberal way of thought within Islam, rejecting the traditional interpretation of religion (Nafi 2004: 30). Representing different perspectives, he maintained the role of a critic intellectual. He claimed the right of *ijtihad* and used the independent judgments in rearticulating the general principles provided by *Qur'an* and *Sunna* (Esposito & Voll 2010: 10). He was in a fierce opposition to the popular *tasawwuf* and the theosophism of *Wahdat al Wujud* advanced by Ibnu Arabi and his disciples. Terming the Islamic branches of knowledges *Ilm al kalam, Ilm al fiqh* and *Ilm al tasawwuf* as neo-*kalam*, neo-*fiqh* and neo-*tasawwuf* he said all have become chaotic and irresponsible. He unleashed charges against mainstream *Sunni Kalam, Ash'arism*,[61] as it declared human beings, in his opinion, to be impotent in the interest of 'saving' God's omnipotence and absoluteness. He not only denounced *Kalam* but also assailed the science of the principles of law (*ilm usul al fiqh*) (Rahman 2006: 133). Thus in all sense the life and works of Ibnu Taimiya was a fight and challenge to the customs and rituals prevalent among Muslims of that time. At the same time, some innovations in his perspective, were pervasively followed by traditional *Ulama* with enough authentic proves.[62]

In the centuries after Ibnu Taimiya the anti-traditionalist opposition seems to be less and less vocal, but at the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries an anti-traditionalist voices get momentum. Different personalities such as Muhammad bin Ali al Shawkani (d. 1832), Muhammad bin Abdul Wahab (d. 1792) etc. propagated what Ibnu Taimiya had left (Hoebink 1999).

Born at Najd to a devout Muslim family, Muhammad bin Abdil Wahhab became an adherent follower of Ibnu Taimiya. Like other 'reformists' he was also motivated by a critical approach to the dominant modes of knowledge and social norms. 'He argued that *Tawheed*[63] is not only about belief in the oneness of God as the Creator and Lord of the universe (*Tawheed ul rububiyya*), but also about holding Him as the master and the ultimate sovereign of life (*Tawheed ul uluhiyya*). It thus follows that the association of any other power or entity with God is *shirk*,[64] or a breach of *Tawheed*

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[61] *Kalam* is the science of principles of the faith- *ilmu usul ul din*

[62] To know about his views on Sufism etc. refer Homerin, Th E. (2011), *Ibnu Taimiya's Al Sufiyya wal Fuqara*, Arabica, T. 32, Fasc. 2 (Jul., 1985), pp. 219-244: BRILL, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/4056952

[63] Monotheism or Unity of God. The verb is *wahhada*

[64] Associating one except God in the his worship

(Ibid: 34). Taking these views in mind, Ibnu Abdil wahab launched his fierce aversion of *tasawwuf* and staunch opposition to traditionalists. Moreover, he strongly condemned as *shirk* the popular practices such as visiting the tombs of Sufis, beseeching them for intercession with God, seeking their blessings, and the construction of domed mausoleums for pious personalities, which were followed by Muslims for centuries (Hashmi 2009:727). The centuries-long heritage of jurisprudence (*fiqh*) that coalesced into four *Sunni* schools of law was also among the 'innovations' condemned by Ibnu Abdil Wahab. He rejected all jurisprudence on the ground that it did not adhere strictly to the letter of the *Qur'an* and the *Hadith*, even that of Ibn Hanbal (780–855) and his students. He also rejected the blind acceptance of authority in religious matters in general and thus came to oppose the generality of the *Ulama* for whom the medieval systems of Islam were made the last word in which they allowed no independent rethinking. Consequently, Ibn Abdil Wahab, along with other Muslim reformers of the eighteenth century, was one of the most important proponents of independent legal judgment (*ijtihad*) of his time. His *ijtihad*, however, was of a very conservative type, aimed at enforcing a literal reading of the *Qur'an* and *Hadith* (Ibid: 728; Rahman 1966: 197). Encouraging the exercise of independent reasoning, rather than merely analogical reasoning with regard to those problems which were not directly covered by the text, he opened the door for more liberal forces to interpret the text more freely than the principle of analogical reasoning as developed by medieval legalists would allow (Ibid: 198).

As the *Wahabi* opposition targeted the centuries-long credentials and heritage in the name of *shirk*, the movement was opposed not only by the masses but in the beginning even by many of the *Ulama* who wished to conserve the heritage of medieval Islam. According to Rahman, *Wahabi* revolt finds clear reminiscences with the *Kharijite* revolt of the early period of Islam: to seek to impose reform under the compulsion of an idealism through intolerant and fanatical methods (Ibid: 200). In his significant study namely *Wahhabism: A Critical Essay*, Hadmid Algar[65] discloses the very history of this movement and points to its aims and objectives. According to him, it is extreme or uncompromising form of *Sunni* Islam. Hence, at the very outset of the movement, it was stigmatized as the aberrant by the leading *Sunni* scholars of the day,

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[65] Algar born at England, pursued PhD from Cambridge in Islamic studies and working in the university of California from 1965.

because it rejected many of the traditional beliefs and practices of *Sunni* Islam and declared permissible warfare against all Muslims that disputed *Wahabi* teachings.[66] As Algar says the debut of *Wahabism* was nothing other than a movement that 'passed into history as a marginal and short-lived sectarian movement' (quoted Raza 2005: 243). After Ibnu Abdil Wahab, *Wahabism* has existed through the dim voices of people like Muhammad Muratada al Abidi (d. 1791) of Cairo, Muhammad bin Ali al Sanusi (1787-1859) of Libya, Abu al Thana' al Alusi (1802-1854) of Baghdad, Muhammad bin Ali al Shaukani (1760-1834) of Yemen, Uthman bin Fudio (1754-1817) of West Africa (Nafi 2004: 35).

According to the arguments of Ibnu Abdil Wahab, Islam is probably a monolithic, concrete, and Arab origin mode of life. The concept of *'urf* [67] in his view is not followed, though it has been supported by many scholars agreeing with all particular conditions. Henceforth, the tiny changes taking place in the implementation level of any teachings were considered as innovation and *shirk*. Therefore, the basic aim of his 'exclusive' mission was restoration of Islam to its original Arab purity from all of 'regional adulterations' and 'superstitious innovations'. 'Upon returning to the Arabian Peninsula, he embarked on a violent crusade to promote his radically puritanical 'fundamentalist' sect of Islam' (Aslan 2005: 241).

Being the puritanical and very orthodoxy, *Wahabism* by nineteenth century took a new turn in the manifestation of its modernist and reformist face, especially by the opening of its Egyptian version.[68] Henceforth, its fundamentalist and ultraconservative ideology was getting glorified and exemplified everywhere (Reza 2005). And it began to know as the continuity of *tajdid* that is what we call here as neo-*tajdid*ism. It is very clear in the following words of Sayyid Hussain Nasr:

> 'Only during the past few decades has a new phenomenon appeared which necessitates distinguishing rigorously between traditional Islam and, not only modernism, but also that spectrum of feeling, action and occasionally thought

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[66] Algar, Hamid (2002), *Wahhabism: A critical Essay*, North Haledon: Islamic Publications International; Algar, Hamid (2010), *Wahabism Oru Vimarshana Padanam* (Mal translation): Kozhikode: Islamic Publishing Bureau; http://www.amazon.com/gp/product/188999913X?ie=UTF8&tag=jrtvre20&linkCode

[67] Customs or routine of certain place

[68] The words like 'puritanical', 'ultraconservative' etc. regarding Wahabism were just adopted from Aslan, Reza. (2005), No *God but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam*, New York: Random House

that has been identified by Western scholarship and journalism as 'fundamentalist' or revivalist Islam. There were, needless to say, revivalist movements going back to the 12th/18th century. But this earlier 'fundamentalism' associated with *Wahabism* was more a truncated form of traditional Islam, in opposition to many aspects of the Islamic tradition and highly exoteric but still orthodox, rather than a deviation from the traditional norm. Despite the fact that in the name of reform such movements did much to weaken and impoverish traditional Islam, they could still be understood in terms of the dichotomy between the traditional and the modern, although their importance has been much overemphasized in Western scholarship at the expense of the truly traditional revivers of Islam' (1994: 12, 13).

II. Colonialism and Islamic Revival

What is the relation between Colonialism and contemporary Islamic revival that we call here neo-*tajdidism*? Is there any close attachment or not? If it is thus, then how colonialism influenced Islamic revival? Is there an apparent dissimilarity between Islamic and colonial values?

Many comprehensive studies and observations in this regard reveal that the so-called Islamic revival is not completely devoid of colonial motives and its influences. Although Muslim countries generally had confronted with colonialism, most of them became the recipients of colonial values during post-colonial years. By comparing the concept of *tajdid* with the contents of neo-*tajdidism*, we can find some alien components in the process of neo-*tajdidism*, which might have inflected from the colonial modernity. Though there were positive and negative influences, here one can assure that neo-*tajdidism* has a great role in making clear distinction between traditionalists and modernists among Muslims as we see nowadays.

Colonialism and Europeanization of Thoughts

The term colonialism is important in defining the specific form of cultural exploitation that developed with the expansion of Europe over the last 400 years (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 45). It comes always as the consequence of imperialism that leads to the ideological conquest. Etymologically meaning the 'implementing of

settlement on distant territory,' the term 'colonialism' represents the physical and practical conquest (Ibid). Post-renaissance enlightened situation was the key catalyst for Europe to make colonial voyages to different parts of the world. The main objective was the establishment of economical hegemony and materialization of cultural enslavement of minor countries. Making them 'colonized' and 'ignorant,' Europe made them dependents and tools for the acquisition of its benefits. Moreover, European ideals of secularism, pluralism, individual liberties, human rights, and (to a far lesser degree) democracy-the wonderful legacy of the Enlightenment that taken hundreds of years to evolve in Europe-were imposed on the colonized countries with no attempt to render them in terms the indigenous population would either recognize or understand (Aslan 2005: 223). In the same time, all of the colonial acts of conquest and exploitation of land and people were justified by colonizer in terms of higher principles or values such as a 'civilizing mission' or a 'white man's burden' to improve life for colonized people, reason (over tradition and age-old customs), and liberty from despotism. As a consequence, colonized people may found themselves driven out of their homelands, absorbed to new colonial order, or compelled to adopt anti colonial and revolutionary strategies of resistance (Campo 2009: 156). So, this imposed 'civilization' or 'culture' was become the only capital of colonized people instead of all of their independent potential, expertise and freedom of thinking. Finally, the situation reached a level that all of the indigenous commodities or thoughts were underestimated and abandoned as valueless while every thing that imported by Europe was considered as the symbol of progress and development. Unfortunately, by the time several prosperous and rich heritages of different parts of the world blamed as cheap and anti-progress. Even very high literate people in every religion and culture were considered as illiterates and enemies of letters.[69] But rather those who follow European way of life and style of thinking were acknowledged and appreciated. By this tragic transition, the criteria for determining the value, progress and victory was assessed by the adoption of Euro-centric concepts. However, needless to say that this change affected the religious groups very adversely and later these neo-concepts began to change their resolutions too.

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[69] Persian and Arabic Malayalam are tow examples in Indian milieu. By proclaiming English as official language, the colonial powers discouraged the study and spread of both languages, which were very rich with tremendous works and hundred-percentage literacy among its speakers (Robinson 2001; Kareem 1976).

Spread of modernity and Westernization

The terms like *modern, modernity, modernism* and *modernization* technically represent nothing other than Western and Westernization (Kane 2003).[70] Definitely it can be find out that these terms refer to the modes of social status 'that emerged in Europe from about the sixteenth century and extended their influence throughout the world in the wake of European exploration and colonization' (Ashcroft et al., 1998: 144). In this line, colonialism was a channel through which all European thoughts and ideologies were flown to the colonized world; modernity was of its part. European philosophy believes that by the French enlightenment the modernity considered as the superior period ever seen in the history of humanity. Here the superiority should be translated into a sense of superiority over those pre-modern societies and cultures that were 'locked' in the past, primitive and uncivilized people. So the emergence of modernity was the result of Euro-centric world view which emerged through the imperial and colonial expansion. In this view 'Europe considered itself as 'modern' and constructed the non-European as 'traditional', 'static', 'pre-historical'. The imposition of European model of historical change became the tool by which these societies were denied any internal dynamic or capacity for development' (Ibid 145). In another word, as Habermas states, the superiority of Europe was established by the replacement of divine providence with autonomous rational human mind, which effectively ended the veneration of tradition and paved the way for the Enlightenment philosophical project of developing a rational organization of everyday social life (quoted Ashcroft 146). Thus the rationality became the core feature of modern thought.

The very consequence of colonialism appeared in the form of inferiority complex among colonized people. Thus, the Western thoughts and cultures were implanted there in a great deal to patch up and compensate the gap of 'uncivilized', emulating what Europe has introduced. When religion, traditions and age-old customs felt them as hindrances in the way of attaining 'secular progress', some expressed their readiness to sacrifice 'superstitious' and 'uncivilized' beliefs. Some stood up reforming their religion in accordance with modern trends in order to be not beaten in

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[70] For details see Kane, Ousmane. (2003), *Muslim Modernity in Post Colonial Nigeria*, Leiden-Boston: Brill

this competition. Having European mode of education, the new generation kept the pace with the novelties and advancements. Thus gradually the religion and beliefs seemed as primitive and outdated, to them. The main factors that caused to a major change among colonized religious groups were just the components that have inherited from the renaissance and enlightenment that shook Europe in the leadership of Martin Luther. That factors are as follow: 1) questioning the authority, 2) giving much priority to reason, 3) giving emphasis on self will rather than looking the consensus, 4) being a secular or liberal minded in all things, 5) understanding religion as an age-old life scheme, 6) implementing gender equality and shouting for the freedom of women, 7) giving science much preference than God etc. By adopting all of these new tenets in the name of 'civilized' way of life, a new generation was born across most of the colonized countries.

Colonialism and Religious Reform Movements

Reformism was the byproduct of colonialism and modernity. Wherever colonialism could anchor, the reformist thoughts also have got roots there. As previously mentioned the spirit of reformism found its fuel from inferiority complex that created too many doubts like whether the religion or belief is updated or not. It is an interesting observation that most of the reform movements emerged across the world, including India, were only after the advent of colonialism. This is not the case of any particular religion. Religions like Hinduism, Christianity, Jainism, Buddhism, Sikh etc. had to face this phenomenon. The observations of Kenneth W. Jones in his work *Socio-religious reform movements in British India* substantiate this reality.[71] The acculturative movements organized among Hindus of Bengal and other north-eastern India, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab and the North-West, Andra Pradesh, Maharashtra, and south India in nineteen and twentieth centuries are examples. The *Brahmo Samaj* of Raja Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), Bijoy Krishna Goswami and his mission of Vaishnavite revival and Ramakrishna Math and his mission, *Radhasoami Satsang* of Swami Shiv Dayal (1818-1878), *Bharat Dharma Mahamandala* of Pandit Din Dayalu Sharma (b. 1863), *Arya Samaj* of Swami dayananda Saraswati (1824-1883), Swami

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[71] Jones discusses in this book about several reform movements of Muslims, Hindus, and Sikhs etc. that emerged in colonial India. He evaluates how colonialism has influenced it to formulate a particular personality in the after periods (Jones, Kenneth w. (2003), *Socio-religious reform movements in British India*, New York: Cambridge University

Narayana sampradaya (b. 1781) of Gujarat and his mission, *Satya Mahima Dharma* of Orissa, *Brahmo Samaj* of Bangalore, *Brahmo Samaj* of Mangalore, Swami Narayana Guru of Kerala are some Hindu reformers and reformist movements in the colonial period. The *Nirankaris* of Baba Dayal Das (1783-1855), The *Namdharis* of Daba Ram Singh (1816-1885), and series of *Singh sabhas* starting from Amritsar in different places are the transitional movements among Sikhs. *Rahnumai Mazdayasnan Sabha* of Gujarat is an example of Zoroastrian reformist attempt in colonial period. Moreover, in the case of Muslims, we can see too many movements that erupted in this particular period. Whatever may be the sudden cause to their emergence, it is an undeniable fact that the colonialism might have played a vital role in the formation of intellectual frameworks for each of these movements. The case of reform movements out side India also will not be much different.

In sum, the social reform movements of the 19th and 20th centuries were thanks to the Western impact on traditional society and a kind of response of the colonial calls. What may be the intention at the inception, the result of these movements was partial imitation of Western ideology not only in social development but also in religious believes and practices. Since the Western impact was firstly appeared in Bengal, the Western educated Bengalis were the first to raise the demands of reform, in India. Irrespective of religion this trend gradually passed to many during the later years

Colonialism and Reformist Thoughts in Muslim Countries

The Muslim world too had undergone to the interludes of European explorers and missionaries between the 16th and 20th centuries. By the end of 18th century when the Muslim empires- from the boundaries of the territorial European states- have broken down, the modern colonial expansion and colonization tightened the grip on Muslim countries. Gradually, as the part of the reorganization of world economy, Europe changed the terms of trade with Muslim countries and considered them major centres of exploitation. 'The process of colonization of the Islamic world can be divided into three phases: from 1820, when colonial power was already firmly established, to 1856, when Muslim countries struggled for recognition in the changing geopolitical reality; and, from 1856 to 1880 nearly all Muslim countries lost their economic and financial independence and became dependent on the Europeans. During the period from 1880 to 1910 most of these countries- apart from those Muslim countries

controlled by the Ottoman caliphate- were subject to direct colonial military and political control' (Malik 2009: 153-155). However, the campaign of colonial powers in this time was in a swift mode. By the end of 18th century, the French could successfully invade Egypt. French invasion under Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 was a turning point in the colonial history of Muslim countries. France invaded Algeria in 1830 and occupied Tunisia in 1881, followed by the British who marched into Egypt in 1882. The Dutch had colonized Indonesia long before this. And there were many other excursions as the West's program of colonization unfolded across the Muslim World' (Zayd 2006: 22). By the mid-20th century, around 90 percent of the Muslim world had fallen under direct colonial control. Muslims living in non-Arab regions, such as Hijaz in Western Arabia, Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, witnessed indirect forms of European colonial involvement (Campo 2009). Anyway, this colonial subservience was existed till the end of Second World War which affected the life in Europe and loosened the hold of the colonial powers over Africa, Asia, and Middle East.

However, centuries-long colonialism made a substantial change in Muslim countries. Not only in political and economical level, but also in cultural and ideological spheres undergoing for a big transformation. The colonial restructuring reflected very adversely in socio-psychological spheres of Muslim societies. Instead of the traditional system of society that stands for values and relations, new alternatives came dominant. Even in the formation of an Islamic society, there have emerged so many fundamental changes. The traditional concepts of the progress and development were reinterpreted. To recover the pristine ways of the forefathers, most of the traditional teachings were replaced with the intellectual products of modern civilization (Cooper 2004). In short, colonialism could win in dividing Islam to traditionalist and modernist. The responses to colonialism among Muslims can be summed up in the words of Jamal Malik as follow:

• Reform Islam in compatible with the modern time. Reinterpret *Qur'an* and *Hadith* discarding jurisprudential narration.

• Reform *Sufism*, which emerged in pastoral and tribal areas, and make a neo-*Sufism* integrated with reformist ideology.

• Islamic modernism, represented primarily by intellectuals, bureaucrats, and the military was the third one, which manifested the colonial worldview. Aligarh Movement in India, the Young Ottomans, and the so-called pan-Islamic movement were part of this colonial byproducts (2009: 153-155).

By importing the rationalist and secularist ideas of Western civilization, colonialism was forming a new generation with the same thought and aptitude in the land of Muslim countries. Egypt was an important observatory of this program. Creating skepticism in traditional Islam, colonialism could create a gap between religion and modern Muslim. The material situation of later period caused to broaden this gap. Materially educated Muslim elite group was another product of colonialism. They worked as the connecters between Islam and modernity.[72] Liberalizing view on Islamic prescriptions they envisaged a liberal Islam close with modern liberal ideology to resolve the problem. If it were considered as remedies among liberal Muslims, exactly it was creating a great trench in the understanding of Islam. According to Ahmad the impacts of colonial rule on the Muslim countries can be summarized as follows:

• Secularization: Secularization of the country, its political, economical, religious and social institutions. It imposed new social ethics taking inspiration from a worldview, which is completely opposite to the basis on which the Muslim society was built up.

• Dependence on the West: The new pattern of Western dominance not only in political rule but also through all of its institutional changes within colonized countries caused for complete dependence of Muslims on the West.

• Distinction between traditional and secular: The logical consequence of it was the bifurcation of education into two parallel streams of secular-modern and religious-traditional education, which resulted in the division of the society in to two groups: the modern secular elites and the traditional orthodox sects.

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[72] For further explanations in this regard refer: Bennet, Clinton. (2005), *Muslims and Modernity*, London: Continum; Haj, Shamira. (2009), *Reconfiguring Islamic Tradition*, California: Stanford University Press; Zaid, Nasar Abu. (2006), *Reformation of Islamic Thought*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University

• Leadership crisis: The consequence of this dual-faced situation led to a crisis of leadership. The traditional leadership of Muslim society was systematically destroyed and a foreign political leadership was imposed on them (Ahmad 1983: 218, 219).

Islam and Reformist Initiatives

Despite the impact of colonialism on the life and culture of Muslim community, the responses of the community in various levels to the colonialism were different. Taking stand from antagonistic or protagonist point of view all of them have produced their rate of connectivity with colonial values. It is a general truth that the onslaught of colonialism was a blow to the revivalist breakthrough of Islam. The world wide anti-colonial movements led by *Ulama* were the result of this sentiment. The resistance initiatives taken place in French Algeria, the Russian Empire's Caucasus region, Dutch Indonesia, the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, British Somalia, British India, and Italian Libya are examples (Campo 2009: 157).

But, the colonialism has taken more time to acquire and implement its long cherished projects in moulding up of a dedicated generation among Muslims fostering the Western thoughts. By the emergence of Western educated elite group the atmosphere had utterly changed and the colonial values were presented as the steps of progress and the model for the reorientation of Islamic themes. The skeptic and objectionable approach to the traditionalist Islamic symbols was a tragic phase in this series. Uprooting the support and respect of *Ulama* and *Sufis* from the minds of people, colonialism tried to present a new version of authority 'responsible' for the 'upliftment' of Muslim community. Taking *Ulama* far from their prescribed duty in the name of 'reform', it facilitated the easy access of Western values among Muslims through an official way.

The decline of Ottoman, Persian and Mughal empires and the rise of colonialism in their spaces created a sense of crisis in Muslim countries. However, the colonial interference paved the way for material and technological developments. Here we should think how Muslims approached or still approach the reformist initiatives in social, cultural, political and religious fields. For the convenience of discussion it can be divided as tow aspects: a) Social reform, b) Religious reform. Social reform means the progressive reformist attempts taken place in social set up, educational equipments

and political systems etc. Whenever it will not be against the fundamental teachings of Islam, there is no need to a second thinking in this regard. In the case of religious reform the name itself gives some erroneous remarks. As a comprehensive way of life in the case of Islam it is not need to reform but revive as the times come, that is what we discussed in the first chapter. In the case of Muslim world it is undeniable that colonialism had affected both of these aspects deeply. Socially and religiously it could influence modern Muslim society and as the result there have emerged so many reform movements taking advantage from the colonial values. Although most of these movements call for social and educational reforms, it is obvious that they also have concentrated on the religious reform. Measuring religious belief on the colonial yardstick, in this transitional period, several religious customs and rituals have been misinterpreted as superstitious. It is very evident that colonial liberal motives have become dominant today in determining the religiosity of customs.

Considering the response of Muslims of different time and space to the colonialism and its afterthoughts like modernization and secularism, we can classify the approaches of the people to the religion to six groups at minimum level. They are:

1. *Secularist Islamists*: Those who are completely immersed in the grip of colonialism and secularization. Logging to the Western influences they set aside the Islamic tenets. Musthafa Kamal (1881-1938) of Turkey is the best example. By assuming power in nineteen twenties, the Turkey nationalists under Kamal pursued a very secularist program. He 'abolished the sultanate and the caliphate, negotiated at Lausanne in 1923 a new treaty that recognized the sovereignty of the new Turkish Republic, separated state and religion, and guaranteed ethnic homogeneity by population exchanges of Turks and Greeks. Muslims became the quasi-totality of the population, but Islam disappeared from public life: Latin letters replaced Arabic ones, women were emancipated, veils and oriental dress were prohibited, and the bases were laid for independent industrialization. By the time of Kamal's death in 1938, the paths of Turks and Arabs had diverged forever' (Demant 2006: 26).

2. *Fundamentalist reformists*: Those who trace the 'scripturalist', 'literalist', 'conservative' and 'radical' way of thinking along with reformist demands like *Wahabis*. Though Ibnu Abdil Wahab lived in pre-colonial period, his successors were grown up to a most reformative level. Following an anti-traditionalistic way they have

demanded urgent reforms in Muslims' traditional customs and rituals alleging them as the hurdles in the way of progress (Haj 2009: 32, 33).

3. *Liberalist Islamists*: Those who follow neo-*tajdid*istic way of Islamism like Jamaludhin Afgani, Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida, they were advocates of Pan Islamism, Islamic modernism and liberal *Salafism* respectively (Bennet 2005: 20, 22; Zayd 2006). It will be discussed later in detail.

4. *Political Islamists*: Those who focus on the political side of Islam with stiff resistance to West and absorbing reforms in traditionalist approaches; as Bennett calls them as 'neo-traditionalists' (2005: 18). The pioneers of this philosophy were Maududi, Hasanul Banna (1906-1949) and Sayyid Qutub (1906-1966). Maududi founded *Jamaat-e-Islami* (1941) and while Banna founded *Ikhwanul Muslimun* (Muslim brotherhood-1928). They criticized the West but engaged with Western thought, rejected the progressive ideas of modernists and borrowed from them the apologetic approach to the West (Ibid). According to Maududi, the universe is an 'organized state' and a 'totalitarian system,' in which all powers are vested in Allah, the only ruler, the state of Islam or the Islamic State should represent the earthly manifestation of the cosmos (Zayd 2006: 52). Hence the democratic system is *taghut* and the voting is *haram*. According to Qutub who pursued his study in USA, the West's 'dissolute' and 'blasphemous' lifestyle, but equally its government. For democracy, the Western product par excellence, resulted from the Enlightenment's erroneous anthropocentric premise that Man belongs to himself. The sovereignty does *not* belong to Man but to God alone (Demant 2006: 100). Thus the first priority of man is to build an Islamic state.

5. *Revolutionist Islamists*: Those who follow *Shiite* way of life far from Western and close to Islamism. Tracing a third way neither East nor West it represents for a revolutionist breakthrough of anti-Westernism and Islamic modernity. Its leaders were Ayathullah Khomeini (1902-1989) who proclaimed 'make every place a *Karbala* and every day '*Ashura*' and Ali Shari'ati (1933-1977) who was a thinker who mixed Marxist, Third world views and *Shiite* mysticism to produce an eclectic Islamic liberation theology (Demant 2006: 115; Stockdale 2009: 358).

6. *Semi-reformist traditionalists*: Those who take a middle path between *Wahabi* Islam and Sufi Islam, like Deobandis or *Tablighi* groups. 'Withdrawing from Western influence they make little use of Western technology and restore Islamic institutions' (Bennet 2005: 18). Like most of Sunni Muslims they followed a *Mdhab* or school of thought, each understood to be based on four sources; *Qur'an*, *Hadith*, *Ijma'* and *Qiyas*. By following a law school they represented the jurisprudential position of *taqlid* or conformity. This position distinguished them form some other groups like *Ahl-e-Hadith*, who known as *ghair muqallid* (Metcalf 1982: 140, 141). At the same time, leaning to particular principles of *Wahabi* Islam they make some reforms in the *Sufistic* approach of Islam that make them different form *traditionalist revivalists*.

All of these groups deserve a much-detailed study, here we wish to focus only on those which have worked as the anvil of the liberation movements from the traditionalist outlook of Islam like fundamentalist reformists and liberalist Islamists as they were the basic faction cased for all kind of liberal interpretation of Islam.

III. Colonial Modernity and Emergence of 'New *Ulama*'

The modernity that was introduced by colonialism could the mere cause for the emergence of so-called Islamic reformation and the debut of Islamic intelligentsia who were in an intellectual appetite of the contemporary Islam to be gets reformed. The materially progressive situation followed by colonialism was a very critical and decisive juncture in the history of modern Islam. Though it was experienced as a positive movement, exactly it was a 'foreign force imposed upon the Muslim World from above by the dominant colonial European powers in the wake of the Ottoman Empire's deconstruction' (Zayd 2006: 22). The term colonial modernity 'comes to us masking both its origins within a distinct geographical space as well as an imagination almost entirely concerned with a description of change in Europe and America, what we refer to euphemistically as the West' (Menon 2002).[73] According to its philosophy, the religion is only a mode of self-fashioning and a social institution

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[73] The terminological interpretation of colonial modernity bears very vagueness in the contemporary writings. 'It is never very clear whether it is (i) a spatial term, i e, modernity occurring within a colony rather than the metropolis, or (ii) a temporal term, i e, modernity experienced while under colonialism or indeed (iii) some perversion of Modernity occurring in the colonies. Sometimes it is called upon as a discursive strategy out of a current interpretive paradigm centered on elemental units such as nations rather than relationships; tired oppositions between self/other, state/nation; and the tendency to disavow power differentials as in a 'simple anti-colonialism' and the 'double-binds of colonial discourse theories' (Menon 2002).

(Ibid). In such a situation the well-tempted groups of new *Ulama* were fascinated to pace with liberal progressive agenda served in the name of 'development'. They didn't think even the statement of the Egyptian feminist writer Nawal-e-Saadawi that the 'development is just another word for neocolonialism.....and the word 'aid' can be just as deceiving' (quoted Demant 2006: 7). Fighting to colonialism to defend the Islamic thought, instead of taking the traditional precedents as specimen they haven't more options to choose except 1) internalizing lessons from the Christian enlightenment and 2) the systematic formulation of 'Islamic modernism'. Though there was primitive Islamic model, both of these modern systems were given much preference by the *Ulama* as they thought that it could make a speedy recovery.

Precedents from Enlightenment

The Renaissance and the Enlightenment that transformed Europe as a centre of science and technology were the matters of great bewilderment for nineteenth century Muslim reformers. Seeing Muslim countries backward in such fields, the reformists thought that strict imitation of Europe may help. Muslims to transverse this dilemma and acquire its parallel position. Conducting studies on the condition of pre-renaissance Christianity and the initiatives, which brought changes that have taken by Martin Luther, reformists understood that the same situation is going on in Muslim society. They saw that all of the evil marks that Luther pointed in Christianity like traditionality, blind imitation, priesthood, papacy, superstitions etc. which allegedly caused for the intellectual stagnation, were also prevalent among Muslims. Thus in a colonially transformed situation they found a role model in both Enlightenment and Martin Luther. Moreover, the reformers and writers frequently sought for a Muslim Luther. 'The optimistic supporters of the modernist Islamic movement felt that it heralded the beginning of a Protestant-style Reformation. Hadi Atlasi (1875-1940) claimed that 'there was an urgent need for a Muslim Luther in order to save the Muslim world, but whatever the reason was, no such person appeared until' (Kurzman and Browers 2004: 5). Similarly Wilfred Scawen Blunt said that 'Muslim reformers including his friend Abduh, stand in close resemblance to the Reformers of Christianity; and some of the circumstances which have given them birth are so analogous to those which Europe encountered in fifteenth century that it is impossible not to draw in one's mind a parallel, leading to the conviction that Islam, too, will

work out for itself a Reformation' (Ibid). In the various statements of Afghani and Sir Sayyid, we can find call for a Muslim Luther and somewhere the Luther is being explained as themselves (Ibid: 4). Rashid Rida has 'cited the need to combine religious renewal and earthly renewal, the same way Europe has done with religious reformation and modernization'. Allama Iqbal also passed the same message as an imperative one while he says: 'we are today passing through a period similar to that of the protestant revolution in Europe, and the lesson which the rise and outcome of Luther's movement teaches should not be lost on us' (Ibid: 5). Abdu al Rahman al Kawakibi of Syria had 'firmly believed that Islam was in need of a movement similar to Protestantism in Christianity to return it to its original purity (Rahnema 1994: 3). According to Kai Hafez, the liberal reformist Islam in the West is often thought to be a carbon copy of the Christian Reformation and Luther is also an exemplary figure with respect to his clear profession of faith in secularism (2010: 39). In sum, Islam was seen much similar to the pre-renaissance, corrupted Christian philosophy itself. The modernists viewed 'Islam and Christianity, mosque and church, *faqih* and cleric as one and the same, which leads to their further assumption that Muslims need a Renaissance to free themselves from the shackles so that they can follow the Christians the road of progress, which of course include secularism. They regarded *ijtihad* as tailor-made for this endeavor for the path of the West can be followed quite easily (Alwani 1991: 134).

However, the determination of modernists to seek remedies and take model from Christianity was a great blow to the traditionalist concept of Islam. Compulsorily it caused for the accommodation of European liberalism and local nationalism (Aly & Wenner 1982) and sees traditional Islam similar to Catholic Christianity.

Islamic Modernism

Islamic modernism, as Kurzman opines, is a movement to reconcile Islamic faith with modern values such as nationalism, democracy, rights, rationality, science, equality, progress etc. (2002). Islamic modernism is distinguished from other Islamic movements by its enthusiasm for the emulation of the contemporary European social institutions (Ibid). Disappointing in the self-resurgence of Islamic community of nineteenth century the Muslim modernists like Jamaluddin Afghani (1839-1897), Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), and Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) planned

to reconcile the Islamic thought with Western ideology as a shortcut to get reformed and modernized to easy pace with Europe in all developments. In order to achieve this destination they 'argued that there was no fundamental incompatibility between modernity and its narrative of progress, and Islam as a religion. They tended toward a rationalist interpretation of the *Qur'an*, in which whatever appeared to be in contradiction to rationality could be interpreted symbolically and allegorically. Consequently, they argued that the meaning of the *Qur'an* was accessible to everyone. In other words, there was no need to rely on the technical and elaborate procedures of *tafsir,* in which the *Ulama* trained in the traditional Islamic sciences were conversant' (Mjeed 2009). As a result of these new interpretations people's approach to Islam became more liberal and they understood it only as a religion among different religions. Thus they began to adjust the new conditions and opt or integrate the colonial system with Islamic theology. 'Precondition for the ideologization of Islam was a renewed call for the reintroduction of independent reasoning (*ijtihad*) at the cost of adherence to one's school of law (*taqlid*). Timeless categories developed in the course of Western civilization were now regarded as immanently Islamic' (Malik 2009: 153-155). Moreover the Islamic modernism generated a series of modern institutions, pedagogies, news papers, translations, and interpretations etc. which disseminate Western thoughts in order to liberalize the mentality of Muslims and broaden their outlooks. All these caused for the rise of a completely liberal Muslim group.

Western Education and Rise of Liberal *Ulama*

Believing that European model can uplift Muslim community from their backwardness, the *Ulama* began to set out to Western countries in the search of their science and other branches of knowledge. After the invasion of Egypt by Napoleon this door was extensively opened toward France and by that, many Egyptians went there seeking new experience of Western education. 'By 1860 there had come into existence little groups of officials, officers and teachers, alive to the importance of reforming the structure of the empire, and convinced that it could not be done unless some at least of the forms of European society were borrowed (Haurani 1984: 67). Subsequently small gangs from Tunis, Turkey and Egypt came forward to the materialization of this duty. In Constantinople there had already this kind of initiatives

that have started by writers of the first half of the nineteenth century like Sadik Rifat Pasha, Ziya Pasha and Namik Kamal etc. They tried to justify the adoption of Western institutions in Islamic terms (Ibid: 68). Shaykh Refaa Rafi al-Tahtawi (1801-1873), a graduate of Al Azhar was the prominent scholar who sent as an *imam* to the first Egyptian military mission to France to acquire modern training (Zayd 2006: 24). Staying five years in France from 1826 to 1831 he was verily fascinated to its culture and history. 'Although he was as assigned the duty of *imam* he threw himself into study with enthusiasm and success'. He acquired a precise knowledge in French language and read more books written by the French thinkers. However, 'the thought of the French enlightenment left a permanent mark on his personality and through him on the Egyptian mind' (Ibid: 70-71). After returning Egypt he questioned the traditionality of Islam and argued for the reinterpretation of Islamic texts in accordance with the modern time. He tried 'to reconcile the republic with the *Umma* (community of believers), secular law with the *shari'a* (Islamic law), the *Ulama* (religious scholars) with the republican legislator and argued that Muslims had failed to develop theories of government; they saw the executive only as a guardian of Islamic law and spiritual guidance'[74] He propagated extensively the Western values among Muslims, especially through his writings. Khayr al Din Pasha of Tunis (born between 1820-1830) and Butrus al Bustani (1819-1883) are the other important personalities of the first generation who have set off to exchange Western thoughts in Muslim countries. Albert Hourani deals with it very pervasively in his work *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age*.[75] The uncontrolled influx of the Muslims to the Western education caused to the weakening of their beliefs.

However, by the 'final of nineteenth century the result was the development of a new educated class looking at itself and the world with eyes sharpened by Western teachers, and communicating what it saw in new ways'. Due to the constant interactions with the West and the Westernization and modernization of significant sectors in Muslim societies, there emerged a group of 'secular intellectuals' possibly 'inspired by their counterparts in the evolving modern societies of Western Europe and North America'. This new class was entirely different form traditionalist *Ulama*

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[74] For details see: *Westernization* http://science.jrank.org/pages/8153/Westernization-Middle-East.html

[75] Hourani (1984), in its fourth chapter titled as *'The first Generation: Tahtawi, Khayr al Din, and Bustani'* describes all parts of the topic very deeply.

in their vision and perception and was very close to a Western worldview (Esposito and Voll 2001: 12, 13). In sum, by nurturing an ambition to the Western type of progress in the mind of modern *Ulama*, colonialism was scoring great victory in creating a new generation as their descendants on the same notion. Whatever was the intention of this group, 'their reaction, however, was not a call for renewed Islamization of society and state following the example of the foundation era, but for modernization Islam itself' (Donk 2006).

IV. Architects of Neo-*tajdidism*: From Social Reform to Religious Reform

As previously mentioned, the new intellectuals of nineteenth century were not only focused on the amendments of social and educational atmosphere of Muslims but they had also understood the religion as a field which necessitates reform. In this part we examine briefly the pioneers of neo-*tajdidism*, their thoughts and reformist initiatives in religious level.

Jamaluddin Afghani and Pan-Islamism

Afghani (1839-1897) was one of the earliest figures of nineteenth century who dared to question the centuries-old principles of traditionalist Islam in the name of reformism. Even in his public active life, there remains something mysterious which about his life and perspectives. Even his birthplace is yet not known by historians. Some says that 'he could not have been Afghani, but was born and given a *Shi'i* education in Iran' (Keddie 1994: 13; Hourani 1984: 108). As he spent most of his life in *Sunni* populated countries, he was hiding. Over the next thirty years, he was traveling to or residing in different countries like Istanbul, Cairo, Paris, London, Tehran, and St. Petersburg, as he was frequently being forced to relocate because of his reformist views and political activities (Hashmi 2009: 13). Traversing Muslim countries he was propagating his pan Islamic agenda and a modern style-rationalist interpretation of Islam in a modernist and pragmatic direction and his political activism have been of great importance to the modern Muslim world (Esposito and Voll 2001: 18). However, rejecting both pure traditional Islam and apparent imperial domination he 'became a pioneer in the reinterpretation of Islam with an emphasis on

qualities needed in the modern world such as the use of human reason, political activism, military and political strength' (Keddie 1994: 12).

Afghani was more politically oriented in all of his works than most of Muslim modernists of his age. The major expressions of this modernist position were presented by intellectuals who accepted the fact of foreign (non-Muslim) rule in their society and worked to create an effectively modern interpretation of Islam (Esposito and Voll 2001: 19). The two important ways that Afghani resorted to make changes were 'using a Freemasonic lodge as a vehicle for political intrigue and influencing people through oratory' (Keddie 1994: 17). According to him, Islam was only a civilization or a source of solidarity against the encroachment of Western Government (Ibid: 23). The theological discussions and jurisprudential laws were got scant attention. *Ulama* and spirituality were out of consideration. Afghani like Sir Sayyid viewed *Ulama* as the major impediment in the way towards the progress of Muslim community. He blamed them for stifling independent thoughts and forbidding rational interventions in the limits of laws and meaning of scriptures. Accusing them as the enemies of Islam, he often mocked them as a 'very narrow wick on top of which is a very small flame that neither lights its surroundings nor gives light to others' (Aslan 2005: 230). The surprising thing in the case of Afghani is that the source of inspiration for his reformist thoughts was not the foundation era of Islam, but was inspired by the tenth to fourteenth centuries of (Greek) philosophy and free-thinking flourished by *Mu'tazilites* and similar factions in Islam (Gregorian 2003: 34).

Afghani was in a state of a protestant reformation in Muslim world on the Lutheran ideology, in order to finish '*Ulama* hegemony' and 'save Islam' from traditional clutches. Many of his writings and speeches would enhance this observation 'According to al-Afghani's interpretation of Martin Luther, Christian European society had declined and lost its vigor because of submission to Church authority. So Luther began a revival based on application of human reason to religious sources. Citing François Guizot, al-Afghani wrote:

'One of the most significant causes influencing Europe in its path to civilization was the appearance of a sect in this country that said: we have the right to investigate the sources of our beliefs, and demand proof for them. And when this sect gained power and its ideas spread, the minds of the Europeans were freed from the malady of

ignorance and stupidity, and they were stimulated into an intellectual circuit and returned to the study of scientific subjects and worked hard to acquire the elements of civilization.' (Gesink 2010: 73).

Afghani had already commented that Islam needed a Martin Luther to eradicate mistaken notions which have taken roots in the minds of the populace and of some of the theologians alike. Some of his associates believed that he wanted to emerge in that role. Afghani said that the Protestant model of advancement was natural for Islam. According to him the true spirit of Islam was 'progress and evolution', the assimilation of new ideas, the advancement of culture and civilization as European civilization was done in its progressive way (Ibid: 73; Rejwan 2000: 48, 49; Keddie 1994: 26; Hourani 1984: 122). In the case of *ijtihad* Afghani went one critical step further. Like Tahtawi he subtly redefined *taqlid* and *ijtihad*. The *Qur'an*, he said, had been sent down to be understood and interpreted by humans using their own powers of reasoning. So that anyone with a reasonable degree of religious learning could interpret the *Qur'an*, as long as one was sane. According to his interpretations, Muslims need a 'radical departure from the existing theory of juristic expertise, which required memorization of the *Qur'an* as well as lengthy study of grammar, the sources of law, theology, jurisprudence, and the relevant books of precedents, all received from the lips of someone whose own orally delivered training connected him through the chain of transmitters to the original authors (Gensik 2010: 74; Hourani 1984: 127). He noted that 'if Muslims imitate Europeans they do not become like them, for the words and acts of Europeans only have meaning because they spring from certain principles understood and accepted. At the same time, if a Muslim simply repeats the words of his predecessors he will not acquire the true spirit of Islam' (Hourani 1984: 127-128).

In 1884 Afghani met Muhammad Abduh from Paris and together they organized a secret society pledged to unity and reform of Islam. The Arabic periodical *Urwat al Wuthqa* was the result, which spreaded their reformist ideas and anti traditional ideologies. Abduh influenced Afghani especially in his liberal thoughts in Islamic fundamentals (Hourani 1984: 109). In his travels Afghani importantly had noticed to make contacts with Western intellectuals which has caused later to form his own mentality in such a mode. When he was in Istanbul his high 'contacts were with

leading Westernizers and secularists' (Keddie 1994: 15). All of these travels and meetings influenced him heavily and caused to take an anti traditional stand entire his life.

Muhammad Abduh and Islamic Modernism

Abduh (1849-1905) was an Egyptian scholar, religious reformer and advocate of modernist reinterpretation of Islam. He graduated from Al Azhar, Cairo in 1877, where he later became teacher and examined his reformist projects. It is said that 'he was one of the first Arabic-speaking Muslims to experience the West at first hand. Although he grew up in a purely Egyptian environment, he spent time in France and other European countries, learned French, and read deeply in nineteenth-century European social and political thought' (Sedgwick 2010: 12). Exiled from France he returned to Egypt in 1887 where his teachings and moderate views won him many followers (Adamec 2009: 8). Heavily influenced by Afghani who had brought the idea of a new and modern interpretation of Islam to Egypt, Abduh adopted a synthesis of classical rationalism and modern socio political awareness with self-experiences from different European states. This enabled him to re-examine the basic sources of Islamic knowledge, the *Qur'an* and the *Sunna*, as well as the structure of Islamic theology. According to Abduh this integration of Islam and West prepared the ground for what would be known as the *islah* (reformation) movement (Zayd 2006: 31). In his case, this was called the *salafiyya* as it was founded by him and Afghani in Egyptian version of modernist project (Aslan 2005: 233). Gesink says that 'the well-known reformers often called themselves *Muslihun* (reformers) or *Muhaddithun* (modernists). They did not yet use the term '*Salafi*' by which Abduh and his followers have been known now' (2010).

Unlike Afghani the fields of reform for Abduh were religious and educational rather than political.[76] The change, he thought, was possible by discarding the traditional ways of religion and education. But in bringing change in Muslim countries the exact impetus that Abduh received was nothing else than that of Afghani. Understanding Islam as a culture or civilization he also found models from the West (Haddad 1994: 59). 'Conjuring new meanings and attaching them to old Islamic concepts, Abduh

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[76] According to Afghani he hoped the Islamic reform will be applicable by a political revolution uniting them under one Muslim state (Haj 2009: 76).

infused Islam with liberal and democratic qualities that it simply lacked. Traditional religious concepts like *maslaha, shura,* and *ijma* in Abduh's hands falsely embodied the modern political meanings of utility, parliamentary democracy, and public opinion' (Haj 2009: 70). According to Hourani this kind of Islamic revivalism is fabrication of what is truly Islamic as he says 'it was, of course, easy in this way to distort if not destroy the precise meaning of the Islamic concepts, that which distinguishes Islam from other religions and even from non-religious humanism. Probably his conservative critics were uneasily aware: of there was bound to be something arbitrary in the selection and the approximation. Once the traditional interpretation of Islam was abandoned, and the way open to private judgment, it was difficult if not impossible to say what was in accordance with Islam and what was not' (1984: 70).

The life of Abduh as Mufti in an Egyptian tribunal starting from 1899 has brought out many of his liberal approaches in Islamic law. In this time his most attention was to liberalize the Islamic judiciary system. As part of this, he firstly concerned with the status of women and advocated the changes in family law and equal opportunities in all spheres (Zimney 2009: 6). Moreover, he issued 'liberal *fatwas* proclaiming it legal to eat the meat of animals slaughtered by Christians and Jews; discouraging polygamy, as it would require equal treatment by a man of each wife, which was impossible; and fighting the misuse of *talaq*, divorce of women by men' (Adamec 2009: 8).

According to Abduh, the most fundamental reasons for the decline of Muslim *Umma* were mysticism, lack of reasoning, *taqlid*, ignorant *Ulama* and corrupted rulers. Hence his entire reformist project was envisaged to remove these blockades. The solutions that he suggests to the intellectual recovery of Muslims are: reinterpretation of Islamic law according to the modern time and adoption of the means of progress that led Europe to the heights of its development. (Hourani 1984: 1949-1951).

Though the apparent face of reformist project of Muhammad Abduh is returning to *Qur'an* and *Sunna*, his works and thoughts explicitly shows 'his tolerance for and general amenability toward European progressive principles and culture'. 'Viewing him through the prism of this exclusive European version of secularism Albert Hourani, gives him the enigmatic label of a 'liberal *salafi*' that is, one who combined

a liberal sensibility and openness to Western positivist thought with a *salafi* temperament'. Admitting his attempt to reconcile between Islam and modernity, Hourani argues 'that Abduh's effort was destined not only to result in eclecticism but, more seriously, to also lead him to distort the 'authentic' Islam for future generations' (Haj 2009: 68, 69). It will not be unfair to say that Abduh was deeply influenced by the European especially the French philosophy from his early age. The ideas of French Enlightenment were got by his time a commonplace of thought among the younger generation of Egypt; the knowledge of French was widespread, Montesquieu and Voltaire had been translated. The books which he read were mainly those of English and French thinkers of his day who tried to apply the methods of the natural science to the human nature like Wilfred Blunt and Spencer etc. Moreover, 'it may not be fanciful indeed to think of Abduh's ideas as being constructed on a framework of Comtean positivism. The starting point of Comte's thought was the French Revolution, when the rationalist elite, having destroyed the rule of the priesthood, had then almost destroyed the civilized order' (Hourani 1984: 139, 140). According to Comte a new system with new belief can be reached by extending the rational methods of natural sciences to society and developing a rational sociology which should also be a rational system of social morality. 'It was, Hourani says, Abduh's purpose to show that Islam contained in itself the potentialities of this rational religion, this social science and moral code which could serve as the basis of modern life; and to create the elite who should guard and interpret it- a new type of *Ulama* who could articulate and teach the real Islam and so provide the basis for a stable and progressive society, a 'middle group' between the traditional and revolutionary forces to which Comte had pointed, and which could so easily be discerned in modern Islamic society (Ibid: 140).

Abduh stressed on the use of reason and rationality in the judicial rulings and reinterpretation of Islamic laws; thus even he was accused by others as the neo-*Mu'tazilite* (Haddad 1994: 45). In another words, he was influenced by *Mu'tazilism* also, regarding his statement in the first edition of *Risalat ul tawhid*, supporting the theory of *Mu'tazili* claim on creation of *Qur'an*, though it was removed in later editions (Hourani 1984: 142). He has strongly rejected the possibility of *taqlid* in the Islamic laws and advocated the adoption of independent reasoning and judgment (*ijtihad*) in revising Islamic law. In his *Risala* he has written that what was given in

revelation to the prophets should be rationally possessed (Adamec 2009: 8). By the crusade against *taqlid* he mostly targeted the established *Ulama* whom he accused of 'wasting the best of the *Din*' with their endless quibbles 'over superfluous semantics and obsolescent phonetics,' leaving unattended a community in a dire state of degeneration and stagnation (Haj 2009: 79). In the case of exegesis, Abduh followed a liberal way. The very base of his social and political reform was the reinterpretation of *Qur'an* according to the modern time. Interpreting Islam as the champion of progress and development, he stressed on some points that should be kept in exegesis. That are: 1) Muslims should not imitate their forebears in interpreting the *Qur'an*, but must be authentic and true to their own understanding. 2) Reason and reflection should be utilized in interpreting the *Qur'an* (Haddad 1994: 47). 'In his *Tafsir al-Manar* he elaborated the concept of the *Qur'an* as a 'text'. Hence, whatever seemed irrational or contradictory to logic and science in the *Qur'an* must be understood as reflecting the Arab vision of the world at that time. All verses referring to superstitions like witchcraft and the evil eye were to be explained as expressions of Arab beliefs. Moreover, literary figures of speech (like 'metaphor' and 'allegory') appear in *Tafsir al-Manar* as the basis of a rational explanation for all miraculous events and deeds mentioned in the *Qur'an*. Hence, Abduh explained the verses in which angels are sent down from heaven to fight the *kuffar* (infidels) as an expression of encouragement; they were meant to comfort the believers and to help towards victory' (Zayd 2006: 32).

Moreover, pacing with the liberal mindedness and Western rationality Abduh traversed the traditional interpretation of *Qur'an* and *Hadith* and adopted a very secular stand on various verses, which has nothing to do with Islamic teachings, in his different works and speeches. Some examples are given below:

• In the meaning of *Surat ul Fil* (105) he interpreted *Jin* as microbe and germs, *Twair ul Ababil* (birds in flocks) as flies and mosquitoes, *Hijarat ul Sijjil* (stones of backed clay) as germs of leprosy. In some other places he interprets *Shura* as democracy that was brought by the West and *Nubuwwat* as genius. In addition he issues *fatwas* legalizing interests coming from investment funds in the saving banks (Bakkar 2009: 75, 76).

• Muhammad Abduh writes concerning the issue of the permissible number of wives for a man: 'It is required from the *Ulama* to revise this issue. The *Din* was revealed for the welfare of the people and their good and its basis is to prevent harm and destruction. So if there is something that evokes corruption at an age, that was not such previously, then without doubt the rules should be changed and modified in accordance with the present' (*Tafseer al Manar* 4/349-350).

• Giving preference of *Aql* to *Naql* he says: 'except for a very few who can be ignored that if *Aql* contradicts *Naql*, then what is proven by *Aql* has to be taken' (al-Islam wan-Nasraniyah: 56) Giving precedence to *Aql* over sayings of Prophet he says: 'Anyway, it is required from us to dust off the commands in the *Hadith* and not let it direct our *Aqida*. We take what is in the texts of the *Qur'an* and what is in accordance with the *Aql*' (*Tafseer Juz Amma*: 186).

• Rejecting the acceptance of *Aahad Hadith* in the matters of *Aqida* he says: 'About the *Hadith* which speaks about Maryam and 'Isa that the evil does not touch them, and the *Hadith* which speaks about the *Shaytan* of the Prophet accepting Islam, and the removal of the evil notions from his heart - these are from *dhanni* (unsure) reports because they are from *Aahad Hadith* which speak about the world of the unseen, and *Iman* in the unseen comes under *Aqida*, and no *dhanni* can be accepted . We are not responsible to have faith in information from those *Hdiths* in our *Aqida* (*Tafseer al Manar*: 3/292).

• Rejecting the implementation of worldly-related things from *Hadiths* he says: 'What comes from *Hadiths* relating to this world like the issues of politics are pure worldly issues and not *Din*. It was so even during the time of the Prophet and thus it is matter subject to Shura (consultation), *Ra'y* (opinion) and *ijtihad* (and therefore can be), accepted, rejected, modified and made additions to (*Al Islam wal Sultan al Diniya*: 104).

• Rejecting the prohibition of women ruler-ship he says: 'What we have in our heritage about the issue of the ruler-ship of women is an Islamic thought and *fiqhi* opinion and *fiqhi Ijtihad* and it is not from Allah'. Commenting on the *Hadith* 'No people will ever prosper who place a woman in authority over them' he says: 'It is a political prophecy from the Prophet about the failure of the Majus, as they were the

ones who were ruled by a woman. It is not a command of prohibition for the leadership of women, neither general nor specific. It was an exceptional case (*Al Islam wal-Mustaqbil*: 282, 232)[77] (Kayum 2010).

Muhammad Rashid Rida and *Salafism*

Rashid Rida (1865-1935) was the well-known figure of modernist *Salafism* who represents for the liberalist presentation of Wahabi Islam. Born to a Syrian family Rida acquired traditional Islamic doctrine and law along with European languages and natural sciences. As a young man he was deeply impressed by the *Salafi* reformist movements initiated by Abduh and Afghani who argue for reinterpretation of traditionalist Islam in accordance with the modern time (Huffaker 2009: 581). His reformist views began to shape in 1884-1885 when he firstly exposed to Afghani's and Abduh's journal *Al Urwat al Wuthqa* from the bookshelf of his father. From the moment, the contents influenced him and lit a spark in his mind as he began to ponder over the recovery of Muslim's bygone prosperity. As part, he called for the restoration of the caliphate as a remedy for the corrupt regimes. Later he moved away from Afghani's Pan-Islamism to his own Pan-Arabism and he was considered an early proponent of Arab Nationalism (Ibid). The personal interaction with Abduh at Cairo in 1897 made Rida very close to the reformist ideology which was running by his preceded leaders. Taking cue from them in 1898 he launched *Al Manar*, first as weekly and then as monthly journal to propagate the message of Abduh and Afghani.[78] Within this span of time, he had totally transformed and grown as a spokesperson of his mentors. Like his role models, he also argued for the reinterpretation of Islamic law in the light of reason and saw *taqlid* as the root cause of Muslim backwardness (Hashmi 2009: 597; Adams 1968: 179).

According to Rashid Rida, the significant matters that Muslim countries have been lacking were activity and positive efforts as well as reason centered endeavors. Europeans do have this dynamism more than anyone else in the modern world, and

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[77] All these examples are taken from (Kayum 2010)

[78] *Al-Manar* contains quite a substantial amount of writings and information on modernist and reformist Islam in its nearly thirty thousand pages from 1898 to 1935. After Rida's death, his immediate heirs published two issues. Then in 1939, the Association of Muslim Brotherhood, an heir in the call of Islamic reform in the form of popular organization, published the issues of the last volume until 1940. The government suppressed it, with the other journals of the Brotherhood in 1941(Yasushi 2006: 7).

that is why they conquered the world. Though he has not a direct relation with Europe like his master Abduh had, it is undeniable that European values have fascinated him. However, he had a close contact with the European Alfred Mitchell Innes, the under secretary of State for Finance and they had discussed more things on different topics (Hourani 1984: 228, 235). Malcolm Kerr, the author of an authoritative book on the Islamic reformism of Abduh and Rashid Rida,[79] wrote that 'Rashid Rida and others of his school, whatever their intentions may have been, have facilitated the accomplishment of a great undertaking of secular reform in Islamic countries'. As he says, according to Rida the Islamic revival was far from anything 'traditional', because the term 'traditional' indicates the continuity from the past. But his 'revival' was apparently presumes a discontinuity from the past (Yasushi 2006: 5, 6). The legal thought of both Abduh and Rida, which concerns itself with concepts of utility, need and necessity, Kerr argues, is influenced by the Western understanding of 'natural law' and 'utilitarianism'. For Abduh the natural law is the moral code prescribed by *Shari'a* and by sound human faculties. Rida's theories of jurisprudence generally follow logically from Abduh's concept of the identity of the natural law with Shari'a. He adopted this concept and built upon it a liberal method of legal reasoning, in which the guiding principle was *maslaha* (Ibrahim 2006: 165).

The pivotal field of reform to Rida was the religion. Delving to centuries old rituals and observations, he made a thorough reform in the name of innovation (Adams 1968: 187). As *taqlid* and traditional customs in Islam, he staunchly confronted the doctrines of *tasawwuf* also. Seeing the development of mystical thoughts and its practice in *Sunni* Islam he alleged that it is hailed from Zoroastrianism and nothing to do with Islam, as he writes in *Al Manar*: 'to corrupt the religion of the Arabs and pull down the pillars of their kingdom by internal dissension, so that by this means they could restore the rule of the Zoroastrians and the domination of their religion to which the Arabs had put an end in Islam' (Hourani 1984: 232). More over he lambasted heavily the *Ulama* and Sufis and opposed Sufi orders, performance of *Zikrs*, celebrating *Moulids* of Sufis, seeking help from them, reciting Qur'an from their *Maqbaras* etc. He alleged that these all are *shirk* and it was the main cause to the backwardness of

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[79] See Malcolm Kerr (1966), Islamic Reform: *The political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida*, Berkeley: University of California Press

Muslim because it has completely made them retrogressive from receiving novel vibrant thoughts and emotions (Adams 1964: 189).

Like Abduh, Rida was a proponent of interest through bank money. While questions were risen about Abduh's *fatwa* which apparently allowed taking interest from the saving account established through post offices in Egypt, he was strongly assigned with the opinion of his Master, even after the Muslim jurists prohibited this type of transaction as it is described as a usurious contact included in what the *Qur'anic* prohibition called riba (Ibrahim 2006: 191; Hourani 1984: 238). In the case of listening music and playing musical instruments and eating the meat of animals slaughtered by Christians and Jews, Rida followed his master's view of legality. *Fatawas* of Abduh give more examples in this regard.[80]

Ideologically speaking the exact idea that Abduh and Rida wanted to put forward was quite different. With the word *Salaf,* he meant in a general way 'the creators of the central tradition of Muslim thought and devotion'. But Rida was more rigid and exclusive in his formulations than Abduh had been.[81] Therefore, the Wahabi element in his thought was more prominent than in that of Abduh and Afghani (Ibid: 230). According to Abu Zayd 'if Qasim Amin, Ali Abd al Raziq and his brother Mustafa, Taha Husayn, Khalid Muhammad Khalid, Amin al Khuli and others represent the liberal aspect of Abduh's discourse, Rida represented the salafi aspect, preferring to follow the traditional school of thought. Since he did not oppose Qasim Amin's liberal ideas while his teacher Abduh was still alive, his salafi attitude became manifest only in 1925, when Ali Abd al Raziq's book was published' (2006: 46). Therefore, Rida played a crucial role in alternating Abduh's *Salafism* with *Wahabism*. Gradually he became great supporter of *Wahabism*, particularly after it gained the helm of Hijaz. This is evident from his *Al Wahhabiyyun wal Hijaz*, a collection of articles published in *Al-Manar* and the daily newspaper *Al-Ahram*. Later parallel to the previous thoughts he aimed at the rehabilitation of authors like Ibnu Taimiya and Ibn al Qayyim etc. (Ibid). However, until his death in 1935 he strongly stood for the cause of Wahabi Islam.

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[80] Ibrahim, Yasir S. (2006), Rashid Rida and Maqasid al Shari'a, in *Studia Islamica*, No. 102/103 (2006), pp. 157-198, Maisonneuve & LaroseStable gives more examples in this regard

[81] Abduh and Afghani advocated for pan Islamism where Sunni and Shia will be integrated contrary to Rida, he said Wahabi Islam is the best.

Conclusion: Consequences of Neo-*tajdidism* and Muslim Thought

As previously mentioned, the exact result of colonialism in Muslim world was the emergence of new *Ulama* with modern/Western perspectives as official religious persons. In all sense, it was a great blow to the traditional understanding of Islam and textual experience of religion. A major component that worked vehemently in differentiating the pro-colonial Islam from the post-colonial was the yardstick of reason or rationality. Instead of regarding transcendence or spirituality as a base of high position of a religion, these official persons of Islam were resorted only to the empirical ways in understanding religion and value of its teachings.

However, with the extensive influence of the trio-reformist alliance, Afghani, Abduh and Rida (though the reformist ideology of three was different) began to spread worldwide, the results began to appear in various ways across the world. Especially, a lot of disciples and admirers of Abduh and other modernists became dominant in political, literal and socio-cultural fields. Several prominent writers and cultural activists like Qasim Amin (1865-1908), Ahmad Lutfi al Sayyid (1872-1963), Ali Abdu al Raziq (1888-1966), Salama Musa (1887-1958), Taha Husain (1889-1973), Hifni Bey Nasif (1856-1919), Mustafa Lutfi al Manfaluti (1876-1924), Muhammad Hafiz Bey Ibrahim (1873-1932), Muhammad Husain Hykal (1888-1956), Sayed Amir Ali (1849-1928), Naguib Mahfouz (1911-2006), Hassan al Turabi (b. 1932), Fatima Mernissi (b. 1940), Amina Wadud (b. 1952) came out and began to represent Islam in international level from different areas of the world. Pacing with the pulses of the modern world they approached Islam in a liberal sense and presented in a most liberal one through their works and lectures. Naturally the self-interpretation of Islamic text became common trend. Meanwhile, several books were released promulgating the very secular and liberal views in the name of Islam. *Qur'an* was reinterpreted many times in accordance with their own covets and surroundings.

At end of this chapter, we can briefly sum up the challenges of modernists on traditional Islam as follows: 1. With this new liberal modern outlook, there emerged the notion that only the Qur'an and the Hadith are true sources. 2. It questioned the existence of Sufis, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* and their contributions in traditional Islamic fields. 3. *Taqlid* was interpreted as the prime cause for the stagnation of Muslim *Umma* and imitation of West was glorified as the sole way to get out of this dilemma.

4. *Ijtihad* was presented as the way of liberal reasoning in religion. 5. Permission was given everybody to reinterpret *Qur'an* in the light of reason and self-knowledge. 6. Islam was considered as a religion among other different world religions and the 'progress' was measured in Western terms. 7. The traditional authority was questioned where the reason or rationality usurped the post. 8. Gender equality and human rights like Western values were glorified and Islam often was questioned on the name of its penal code and human rights. 9. Islam was reformed riding on the lines, which the Europe has showed, and it was characterized with the name of Islamic *tajdid*, which was introduced by Prophet. Moreover, today we can see several categories among Muslims themselves in accordance with their attachment with practical Islam like moderate Muslims, liberal Muslims, fundamentalist Muslims, and extremist Muslims etc. The paradox here is that all of these fractions believe that only they are on the right way and the traditional Islam tends to become unnoticed everywhere except among the so-called obscurantist and retrogressive groups.

PART TWO

REVIVAL AND REFORM AMONG KERALA MUSLIMS:

TRACING THE MOTIVES OF CONTEMPORARY TRENDS

Chapter: III

Revivalist Tradition and Continuity of Islamic Thought

Introduction

In the preceding chapters, attempts were made to seek the history and concept of revival and reform in Islam and contemporary world. Having experienced the dichotomy between both meanings in the context of tradition and modernity, the present chapter tries to explain mainly the revivalist tradition and continuity of Islamic thought in Kerala throughout different centuries. Dividing the chapter to three major parts; vision of awakening, mission of awakening and areas of awakening, it tries to sketch out the main catalysts of Islamic revival in Kerala. It substantiates the role of *Sufis*, *Sayyids*, *Ulama* and *Umara* in facilitating a stubborn infrastructure in the religious and educational awakening of Kerala Muslims. In addition, as one of the major element it also castes light on the organizational platforms of Islamic revival, where it deals with the modern Islamic activities, educational explosion and spiritual leadership engineered by the Islamic organizations in Kerala. However, this part tries to reveal the role of traditional Islam and *Ulama* and educational system in the revivalist boost of Kerala Muslims.

I. Vision of Islamic Awakening

The origin of ideas and contents of Islamic revival in Kerala can be exactly traced back to the Arabian Peninsula in the heydays of Islamic revivalism during the time of Prophet. Due to the maritime trade relations with the coast of Malabar, the concept of *tajdid* in the region have direct imprints from Arabia. The mutual trade relations until the pre-Muhammadan period have been beefed up to a prosperous level that has enhanced the frequency of inter voyages which can't be considered merely as the means of transportations of commodities rather the transmittances of cultures and undercurrents of believes (Shah 1972: 1). Thus it can be assumed that the traditional distinctions which were exchanged through generations have clear resemblances with

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Arab Muslims especially with those Arabs who lived in the first centuries. The uninterrupted mercantile bonds started from the time of Solomon, rather their counterparts in India and overseas, are much enough to prove that Islam might have reached here in the time of Prophet himself. The fundamental components that differentiate Kerala Muslims from North Indian Muslims substantiate this argument.

It is said that in the first half of seventeenth century while the Prophet was sending envoys probably in ninth and tenth years of *Hijra* to kings of various countries inviting them to Islam, one of them was also sent to the king of Kodungallur (Muhammad 1996: 47). On this account, before the mission of Cheraman Perumal set off Arabia, Islam has its appearance here extending another way of life. The incessant influx of Arabs to the shore of Malabar is considered as another powerful reason to the possible advent of Islam in the Prophetic period. According to K. Shreedharan, 'Arabs were known as seafarers even before the birth of Islam, but they seem to have multiplied their efforts at oceanic commerce after the advent of Islam' (quoted by Mohamed 1995). Therefore, the commerce and trade have played a considerable role in the spread of Islam, as the merchants themselves were spirited Muslims and propagators. So it can be true that 'the history of the origin of Muslims in Kerala dates back to the time when trade relations began between countries around the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea and the Costal Towns of Kerala' (Kabeer n.d.: 9).

However, the precision of time in the advent of Islam in Kerala was much-disputed one, even though the contents and applicability of what Islam had put forward was so clear and unambiguous. In another word, the persisting controversy in this regard itself may be the clear indication of in which level the Muslims were aware on the continuity of their tradition that extends directly to the Prophet and his companions. It is doubtless to say that this direct traditionality was overwhelmingly seen in the life and culture of Kerala Muslims in the later centuries too. Contrary to its north Indian counterparts, it was one of the peculiarities of Kerala Islam. The presence of *Sahabas*, *Tabi'in*, *Sufis*, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* with their vibrant leadership and spiritual guidance, was the power of Kerala Muslims for ever.

Social Background and Islamic Interventions

The social condition of people where Islam has set afoot was considerably deplorable, especially in Kerala-like regions where non-Muslim regimes were in rule. Evaluating the causes of rapid spread of Islam in this land, historians mention the rampant caste system as a major reason that motivated the downtrodden sects to convert to Islam. The most significant thing behind it was 'the social and economic backwardness of the native tribes who had been living a life of slavery under the rigid yoke of high cast Hindus for many centuries' (Samad 1998: 7). The strict adherence of *Chaturvarna* has divided people into various castes and classes. There was not any excuse for them unless renouncing this mode of life. The four-folded division of Hindu community has created many limitations even in their freedom and rights. The pollution by low cast was considered as a major problem for high casts. As Logan mentions 'by those whose very approach within certain defined distances causes atmospheric pollution to those of the higher castes, and by people who only pollute by actual contact (Logan 2004: 144). Thus, the status of men from low castes was considered to be below the animals. At this time of social injustice, the advent of Islam was considered as liberating force that will afford every one social justice and equity. 'By becoming Muslims they could at least enjoy the freedom of movement and the right to free labour and worship. The Muslims also received and respected them as equals irrespective of their earlier religion or low casts (Kabeer n.d.: 41). As Logan says, the 'conversion to Muhammadanism has also had a most marked effect in freeing the slave caste from their former burdens. By conversion, a *Cheruman* obtains a vertical mobility in the social hierarchy, and if he is in consequence bullied or beaten the influence of the whole Muhammadan community comes to his aid' (2004: 178).

Another important thing is that what Tarachand mentions. According to him, during seventh and eighth centuries South India was greatly agitated by the conflicts of religions. Neo-Hinduism was struggling with Buddhism and Jainism for the upper hand. Politically too, it was a period of unsettlement and upheavals (1941: 48). This also might have caused the conversion of people to Islam as the foreign traders as well as the envoys already presented it as an egalitarian way of life.

This was the time that the Arabs were kept their continuous contact with Kerala that was generally known as Malabar, Malibar, Manibar, Mulibar and Munibar among

them in that time (Mohammad 2007: 13). If there was, a vast history for their contacts this time enjoyed a powerful and fruitful relation lasting too many prospects and positives.

Early Islamic Revivalist Attempts

Beyond the controversies exist on the time of Cheraman Perumal tradition and advent of Malik Dinar Mission, all historians undoubtedly agree on the conversion of last *Chera* king and the missionary works of Malik bin Dinar and his companions have took a great part in the revivalist history of Islam in south India. Zainuddin Makhdum, Umar bin Muhammad Suhrawardi, Zaid Muhammad, Seyd Mohideen Shah, K.K. Kareem, Dr. C.K. Kareem, and majority of later historians have spent major portions in their works to portray these traditional beliefs.[82] Logan and Miller also refer to these extensively circulated stories. Even Dr. Herman Gundart and M.G.S. Narayan do not dare to question the credibility of this vocal history; rather, according to them it comes to the centre of discussion only regarding the time it has happened.

Apart from the former Muslim traders, the caravans visiting the mount of Adam in Ceylon may be the next bearers of the Islamic message to the land of Malabar. Because of Kodungallur was well-known port and the then capital of Malabar, travelers were used to set down here and take rest to the further voyage. Thus, when the caravan en rout to Ceylon led by *Shaykh* Sahrudhin bin Taqiyuddin also reached Malabar, they met then king Cheraman Perumal, and handed over new messages of Prophet of Arabia and the message of the inevitability of its embracement (Kareem 1999). According to the observance of Major Rowlandson, in the Persian translation of *Tuhfatul Mujahidin* (England 1898), it too was the part of missionaries sent by Prophet Muhammad to the different part of the world (Kunhi 1988: 10). Shaykh Zainuddin, the ever first historian of Kerala, gives an elaborated account of this part. Being satisfied on the conversation with *Shaykh*, Perumal asked to call on him on their return journey from their visit to the footprint of Adam. Thus prior to the departure he divided the kingdom to several provinces and set clear boundaries for each them; then appointing the governors for each province and wrote out detailed instructions in order to avoid the encroachments upon others territories (2006: 29, 30).

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[82] *Tuhafatul Mujahideen, Rihlatul Muluk, Kerala Muslim History* (Mal), *Islam in Kerala, Great Mappila Literary Heritage* (Mal), *Ancient Kerala and the Emergence of Muslims* (Mal) are respectively their works.

After the completion of all preliminary duties, he embarked with *Shaykh* to Arabia and embraced Islam in the hands of Prophet. Herman Gundart in his *Keralolpathi* agrees with this conversion that it has happened in the time of Prophet (Kabeer n.d.:23). Arakkal records also come in accordance with this observance (Muhammad 1996: 49). En rout to back Perumal stayed with *Shaykh* in Shahar ul Mukalla, where a group, in the leadership of Malik bin Dinar going to Malabar with the mission of preaching Islam, joined them. Meanwhile the king fell ill and passed away after entrusting the responsibility of propagation in Malabar through an official letter to Malabar kings.

Thus the mission of Malik bin Dinar reached Malabar. It has consisted of Sharaf bin Malik, Malik bin Dinar, Malik bin Habib, his wife Qamariyyah and their children and friends. According to Rihlat ul Muluk,[83] the number of people in the group was 44 including 12 relatives of the leader and 20 persons who knew *Qur'an* by heart and some others form Basara. In the opinion of Suhrawardi the emergence of Arakkal Muslim dynasty was assigned to the first converted man by the hand of Saifuddin Muhammad Ali, who accompanied Perumal from Darmadum and became Muslim (Shah 1972: 7). Getting full support form the local kings, they build up as the centre for the pedagogical activities. First of all, they decided to build up mosques as the first mosque in Kodungallur by the all favour of its king. Later they completed the work of building mosques respectively in Kollam, Ezhimala, Barkur, Mangalore, Kasaragod, Sreekandapuram, Darmadum, Pantalayani and Chaliyam. Malik bin Habib was in the duty of construction. Appointing a learned man in major centres from their mission he organized a very systematic and well arranged system that will help easy access of Islam to hearts of residents and thanked God to find the divine light of Islam having taken over so much space in the abysmal darkness of disbelief (Makhdum 2006: 32). By the completion of duty Malik bin Dinar and his few followers left for Khurasan where he died and the rest remained here in Islamic propagation activities.

The *Masjids* worked as the crucial centers in assuring the true nature of Islam through its scholars among the downtrodden people. *Masjids* and its scholarly leaders also enhanced the confidence of that people and conveyed one kind of pride and dignity in

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[83] A seminal work regarding the origin and growth of Kerala Muslims written by Umar bin Muhammad Suhrawardi, a Sufi and well-known propagator lived in Mahe. He had written so many books in Arabic and Persian (Kareem 1978: 129).

becoming Muslim. As a result Makhdum explains, many places in Malabar like Calicut, Veliyankod, Tirurangadi, Tanur, Ponnani, Parappanangadi, Paravanna, the localities surrounding Chaliyam port, Kakkad, Tikkodi, other localities surrounding Pantalayani, localities surrounding Daramadum, Valappattanam, Nadapuram, on the south of Kodungallur, Kochi, Vypeen, Pallippuram and several coastal areas grew to town and became thickly populated with Muslims (Ibid 45).

Later Missionaries of Revivalist Agenda

The revivalist initiatives in the later period were very gradual as well as organized. Zamorin's[84] friendship with Muslims attracted so many scholars and *Sufis* to this land in order to lead a tranquil life. Cultured Muslim Arabs, who migrated to the land earlier also, opened up roads broadly. Even though there are no meticulous and even nominal studies on this period that extends from eighth to fourteenth centuries, it can be calculated from the later historical inferences and empirical clues of different travelers that it was a time of highly rushed with the frequent advents of large numbers of *Sufi* scholars and religious activists. As previously mentioned the coming of *Sahabas* and *tabi'in* was in the first stage of this period. The belief of Kerala Muslims that Mugheerat bin Shu'ba, one of the companion of Prophet has reached Calicut and spent there a while, will strengthens this tradition. Moreover, even during the time of early caliphs of Madina (632-661) and the *Umayyid* caliphs of Damascus (661-750) also there might have taken place enormous contact physically or mentally by the knowledgeable foreign scholars. Because of the Mount of Adam was an old and vibrant pilgrimage centre, any way it was not beyond the probabilities.

The documents on *Sufi* scholar Ali of Kufa who had been buried at the tomb of Peringathur near Tellichery is an opening that will cast light on the energetic Islamic thought of first decade of third century *Hijra*. According to *Rihlat ul Muluk*, his arrival was in the year of 208 AH. (824 A.D). He was an influential *Sufi* propagator responsible for spread of Islam in North Malabar. It is said that a lot of Hindu saints

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[84] Zamorins were the emperors of Calicut from eleventh to sixteenth century. In this duration, the growth and prosperity of Muslims were related with them in many senses. Under his rule Muslims enjoyed all religious freedom and propagated it in his own cost. There has not any hindrance in converting to Muslims. The converted were given all protection and respect. It is said that Zamorin even promulgated an order demanding the conversion to Islam of one or two male members from each fisherman family in order to fortify the Royal Navy under Arab training (M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis*, quoted by Kabeer n.d.: 38). Shaykh Zainuddin gives much detail in this regard. See *Tuhfat al Mujahidin* (2006: 44, 45, 46).

and tribal people have espoused Islam through him. The Hindu sage Pakanar was of his time (Shah 1972: 12). The tombs seen in the *Mayyith Kunnu* (burial mount) at Pantalayini Kollam in northern Malabar also were obvious remarks for the immense presence of Muslims in the eighth century Malabar. An inscription in one of them reads that 'Ali bin Udthorman was obliged to leave this world forever to the one which is everlasting and which receives the spirits of all, in the year 166 of *Hijra* (782 A.D)'. The presence of a number of old tomb stones there explicitly speak of possible large settlement of Muslims there in the second century of *Hijra* (Kunju 1995: 20). Another possibility of Muslim presence is the discovery of four gold coins from Kothamangalam in Eranakualam which were later identified as issued by *Umayya* Caliphs (661-750). As Rowlandson opines in the time of *Umayya* caliph Walid I (705-715), the Arab immigrants also established themselves in Malabar and engaged extensively in trade here (Shah 1972: 5). The Tarisappally copper plates dated as 849 A.D. also give the indications on the presence of Muslims here in that time (Kabeer n.d.: 16). While evaluating each of the proofs given here in a chronological sense, one can firmly state that the Muslim community has an inevitable continuity of history, which did not break by any ebb of the time after its inception had marked.

However, the mode of life that developed by the native Muslims with the support of Islamic teaching was very lofty and follow worthy. The role of *Sufis* and scholastic Arabian missionaries in the formation of this ground root is undeniable. An unprecedented system of life gets formed here in these centuries. Thus, Muslims became precedents for the later generations. As the historians called, really it was the golden age for Muslims in Malabar. In another word, it was the exact paradigm of Islamic revivalism in the ever history Kerala Muslims. According to Zainuddin, 'in this course of time the inhabitants began to embrace Islam day by day. Soon, Islam spread rapidly all over the region and Muslim population began to grow, and soon the cities of Malabar heralded with the settlement of Muslims in big numbers'. In this time for Muslims, even though there wasn't any ruling, because they had enjoyed all kind of respect and regards from Hindu rulers. This was because of the construction and development of the country was taken place largely through the Muslims. Hence the rulers facilitated them to organize Friday congregation prayers and the celebrations like *'Id*. Even the remuneration for the *mu'addin*s and *Qazis* was given by the non-Muslim government. It also made special arrangements for implementing

among the Muslims their own religious rules and regulations. In greater part of Malabar, whoever neglects the *jumu'ah* was being punished or made to pay fine (2006: 45, 46). As Bahauddin observes, the first eight centuries of Islam in Kerala was peaceful and steady. The trade with Arab world has brought prosperity and each state vied with other to attract each other. In this time even the *Qazis* were paid from the treasury of the country (1992: 24). According to Miller, 'the first eight centuries of Mappila growth following the establishment of Islam in Kerala were marked by a calm forward movement. The peaceful contact and development, stands in sharp contrast to the progress of Islam in North India' (1992: 51). The vibrant situation of Muslims in Malabar between ninth and fourteenth centuries also can be read out from different travelogues of like Ibnu Qurdadbeh (850 A.D.), Ms'udi (950 A.D.), Al Idrisi (1153 A.D.), Rashiduddin (1340 A.D.), Mahuan (1405 A.D.), Abdur Razaq (1442 A.D.) and Ibnu Batuta (1342). The latter gives much detail on the religious prosperity of Malabar Muslims in fourteenth century. His great work *Rihlatu bin Batuta* deeply touches the Islamic vibrancy mentioning many towns and cities from Mangalore to Trivandrum. He had given the names of important *Sufis* who gave leadership in religious activities of Malabar during his visit. *Shaykh* Avista of Basarur, *Shaykh* Shihabuddin Gazeruni of Calicut, *Qazi* Qazvini and Muhammad Shah Bandar and Faqruddin of Kollam are eminent among them (Randthani 2009). In Mas'udi's opinion while he visited Kerala the Muslim population of Seymut, located somewhere between Cannanore and Manglore was 10,000. As Miller evaluates, allowing for some exaggeration here nevertheless this indicates a significant growth of native Muslims in the coastal area before the end of the tenth century. In addition, the specific factors consisted in the growth of Muslim community up to the time of European encroachment was immigration, intermarriage, missionary, the support of Zamorin and personal advantages (1992: 52, 53).

In sum, the revivalist value that ever seen in Kerala Muslim history was that of first eight centuries. The ideas and principles, which were applied here in accordance with the formation of a new generation were absolutely authentic and directly extend to the prime sources of Prophet and his companions. By the good leadership and timely guidance of *Sufi* school of thoughts and scholastic intervention, it obtained an ideal position among general society of the land. Actually, it was the heyday of the vision of Islamic revival in ever Kerala experience to be followed forever and everywhere.

II. Mission of Islamic Awakening

The Islamic revivalism in Kerala after fourteenth century till the date can be summarized as the result of dedicated engagements of predominantly five collective efforts; that of *Sufis*, *Ulama*, *Sadat*, *Umara* and religious organizational platforms. Though they are interrelated in much sense, the critical evaluation of their creative social and religious interferences supposedly can reveal what were the exact pushing components that led the community to a better level of Islamic thought and knowledge. As some studies done in this regard are in a holistic level, the discriminative understanding may help delve to the core of issue to be taken for granted. Instead of resorting to an historical review, it would be better to follow an analytical preview in order to bring out the catalysts and undercurrents that worked there.

Particularly with the colonial intervention has begun, the spirit of we-feeling mentality in religious level has started working among Muslims in accordance with the thought of protecting *Din* from all spurious alterations. In the previous centuries, though there were some sporadic precedents, the continuity and collectivity were seemingly assigned less consideration. The apparent change from the harmonious atmosphere of Zamorin to the calamitous phase of the religiously fanatics has created some necessary precautious awareness among later *Ulama* group. Understanding this transforming situation as the inception of counter attacks to the unity of Islam they also responded timely and naturally every one realized their duties to be done and came up with defensive measures.

Because of the Islamic community was constructed on an egalitarian set up, the tentative sorting as *Sufis*, *Ulama*, *Sayyids* and *Umara* could not understand as a divisive hierarchical methodology, rather basing on features, jobs and routines the people can be stratified anyhow in accordance with understanding all of them distinctively. Being different organs of same body, these parts played a substantial role in the precise formation of an Islamic community tracing a close attachment with religious teaching in Kerala milieu. That is why, in any course of time the stand of community was determined according to this body, and the movement of it was on their own consensus. Therefore, I try here to mark the decisive imprints they have

scribbled in the social change and religious consciousness of Islamic community in Kerala through different complicated centuries. Because it is an exhausting business to portray all contributions they have done in this platform I prefer to experiment with some significant tips in a deductive method to easily designate their part in the revivalist initiatives among Muslim community.

a) *Sufis*

Tasawwuf or Sufism has a considerable role in the spread of revivalist thought among Kerala Muslims as elsewhere, especially in the other parts of India and non-Muslim countries. 'Their peaceful means of propagation and simple pious life attracted a number of people to Islam.' Because of the Sufis have led a popular life and participated in the happiness and grievances of people they were the inevitable part of the spiritual life of Mappila community.[85] The people also were led a life fully in association with the *Sufis* seeking their blessings and visiting their shrines for the favour of the Al Mighty (Randathani 2007: 34).

It is pitiable that in the great work on the Mappila Muslims of Kerala in an Islamic trend, Miller does not dare delve to the influential and deep-rooted *Sufi* tradition of Malabar Muslims observing that it is not evident in south India, while he says:

> "There is a little information on which to base an evaluation of the relative importance of missionary activity for Muslim growth during this period (until sixteenth century). The extensive *Sufi* missionary activity known elsewhere in the history of Indian Islam is not evident in south India. There may be *Sufi* overtones in the work of Malik ibn Dinar and his co-workers. Reading back from the Mappila respect for outside teachers that continued in to the nineteenth century and the veneration of saints that continues to the present it may be surmised that *Sufi* activity was at least a minor element in the process of the community's growth. The fact that Mappila pious poetry commemorates twelfth century Muslim saints such as al Jilani and al Rifa'i and the fact that the thirteenth century witnessed some *Sufi* activity in the

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[85] Mappila is a name refers to indicate the Muslims of Kerala. The origin of it is not settled, but it appears to have been basically a title of respect. In the partial forms *maha* and *pilla*, two Malayalam terms, respectively means 'great' and 'child'. The foreigners may have used it to call them as sign of honor (Miller 1992: 30, 31).

neighboring Tamil Nadu indicates that this influence may have entered after the twelfth century" (1992: 53).

This statement has had possibly as the result of the less availability of materials on *Sufi* Islam in Kerala[86] or fully resorting merely the materials prepared by the anti *Sufi* movements that working here for decades and depending their own perspectives in this regard. While there were about forty *Sayyid* families and more than ten *Sufi* orders that have done their extensive missionary activities here for centuries, from the very inception that has got set up in an organized manner and while the Mappila Muslims have a history of deep association with *Sufi* scholars and their *Maqams*.[87] It, in another word, probably the result of a preoccupation that *Sufism* in general is very inclusive, inactive and closed face of Islam as pervasively it has presented by Orientalists while the Kerala *Sufism* is just opposite of this assumption.[88]

However, the history of Kerala Muslims is directly related with *Sufism*. Because of the lack of seminal works on the topic, it still lies beyond clarity. Though there are a few odd studies in this regard,[89] it owes many limitations and deficiencies, especially while it fails in taking an impassionate expression.

The documents of Suhrawardi give possibly some early forms of *Sufi* orientations in Malabar. Apart from the famous ten mosques which were built in the very inception of Islamic arrival, he had submitted eighteen more mosques and their *qazis*. According to him the *qazis* appointed there in later time were Jafer bin Sulaiman, Abdulla bin Dinar, Jafer bin Malik, Habib bin Malik, Hasan bin Malik, Abudulla bin Malik, Jabir bin Malik, Hameed bin Malik, Ali bin Jabeer, Abdul Majeed bin Malik, Jubair bin Haris, Ahmad, Misyab, Aasim, Buraidath, Zubair, Ubaidath and Kasim (Shah 1972: 9, 10). As the need of time, considering mosques as centres of Islamic

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[86] This is because of as Kunju mentions, all the history of Kerala Muslim has been written by many writers. But they failed to mention any such activity as Sufism, Tariqas and missionary activity. Really it facilitated few of the later writer to negate even the existence of Sufism here (1989: 20).

[87] *Maqam* means the abode of Sufi people where they have been buried. It derived from Arabic verb *a'qama*, means staying

[88] The Sufis of Kerala like Zainuddin Maqdum, Mampuram Tangal and Veliyankod Umar Qasi were very active and men of pragmatic theories. The later historians were presenting them as just politicians and warriors. It caused many writers to misunderstand that Sufism hasn't root in among Kerala Muslims (Malayamma 2009).

[89] The book *'Sufism in Keala'* written by Dr. Kunjali. V (2004, Calicut: Publication Division University of Calicut) is an example. Though it is an important work on Kerala Sufis, it bears some fundamental problems that starts from the author personally as he himself wasn't a 'protagonist of Sufism' as he disclose in the preface of the book, while he is in totally aversion in respecting the Sufis and their *Maqams* (p: 8). Anyhow it gives valuable information on Sufism in Kerala along with its limitations.

vibrancy they might have worked well for the upliftment of community. And after their death the Muslims developed their graves. as shrines, as we can see much of them even in these days. The famous *Maqam* of Muhammad bin Malik in *Malik Dinar Great Juma Masjid* at Kasargod might be one of them.[90]

Conceding many statements regarding *Sufism* Dr. Kunhali says that the spread of Islam in Kerala was definitely through the interventions of *Sufis*. The names of *Masjids* through out of the Kerala like *Rifa'i Masjid, Shadhuli Masjid* and *Muhyiddin Masjid* do substantiate this argument. It is said that while the Arab traders had visited Kerala from the first centuries of Islam they had taken even one Sufi scholar with them to quench their religious doubts regarding the day-to-day life. To find out suitable solutions for every problem they confront in the journey, was their prescribed duty. Because of the voyage was very dangerous they were very pious and retained close connections with *Sufis* themselves and *Sufi Khankhahs* in their native places and in Kerala as well. The *Sufi Khankhahs* in different places also facilitated the easy spread of Islam. It is believed that when Abul Fazl has written *Ini-Akberi*, there were fourteen Sufi orders in north India. Nevertheless, in the same time there were more than fourteen orders in Kerala that are very creative in their intellectual domain (n.d.: 21, 22).

It is believed that *Sufism* took an organizational set up approximately in twelfth century by the attempts of Shaykh Muhyuddin Abdul Qadir Jilani (1077-1166) and by Hujjat ul Islam Abu Hamid al Gazzali (1055-1111). Where Gazzali has emphasized it by support of prime sources in a lot of works and his life too, Jilani enhanced it to a level of systemized order (*tariqas*) and way of collective spiritual initiative. Junaid bin Muhammad Abu al-Qasim al-Khazzaz al-Baghdadi (830-910) had already Sufi notions in order to protect the spiritual aspect of Islam. By the time, it began to spread all over the world by Jilani's disciples in different names. And later emerged so many branches and sub branches by passage of time and somewhere few of them assumed leading power also. *Qadiriyya, Suhrawardiyya, Rifa'iyya, Shaduliyya, Madyaniyya,*

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[90] For detailed information, see Malyamma, Moyin Hudawi. (2008), *The History of Kasargod Muslims,*(Mal), Chattanchal: Disha Book Cell

Kubraviyya, Yasaviyya, Mawlaviyya, Naqshabandiyya, Chisthiyya are some examples for important *Sufi* orders.[91]

Almost the same time, the *Sufi* overtones might have reached in Kerala also (Randathani 2007: 37). As the result of the migration of *Sufis* to the far destinations, some missionaries stranded the shore of Malabar. 'The Sufi orders of Arab or Mesopotamian origin like Rifa'is, Ba-Alawis and Ba-Faqihs and the Qadiri order (of Jilani) naturally spread from their place of origin by sea'. Because of the traders were also *Sufis* the mission became so easy (Kunjali 2004: 69).

Ibnu Batuta gives references to many *Sufis* he met during his travel through different Malabar localities. At Hily (Ezhimala), he came to meet 'a virtuous theologian, Sa'id by name, a native of Maddashau'. At Cannanore he was the guest of a theologian from Baghdad, 'a man of great merit, named Sarsary, after a village ten miles from Baghdad, on the road to Kufah'. He met at Calicut Shaykh Shahabuddin of Qazarun, a great saint, at the hermitage. 'The people of India and China vow and send offerings to him'. At Quilon, on the last lap of his journey in Kerala, Ibnu Batuta spent some days in the hermitage of Shaykh Fakhruddin, 'son of Shaykh Shahabuddin al Qazaruni the superior of the hermitage of Calicut' (Kunju 1989: 21).

Sufis and *Sufi* Orders among Kerala Muslims

By the passage of time there have reached more than fourteen Sufi orders in Kerala for the revivalist initiatives. Qadiri, Rifa'i, Chisthi, Suhrawardi, Naqshabandi, Shahuli, Ba 'Alawi, Ba Faqih, 'Aydarusi and Kazeruni etc. are those deserve very significance among them. Most of these have very deep-rooted history and genealogy among Kerala Muslims. In the spiritual purification of each individual in community, the role of these *tariqas* or *Sufi* orders is worth mentioning.

Because of the superiority, generally all *tariqas* claim their adherence with Qadiri order. Though some orders have seemingly an early history here, the very influential

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[91] To know more on the emergence of Sufism refer Earnest, Call W. (2004), Sufism, Richard C. Martin (ed.) *Encyclopedia of Islam and Muslim World*, USA: Macmillan Reference, Thomson, Gale; Trimingham, J. Spencer. (1971), *The Sufi Orders in Islam*. London: Oxford University Press; Ernst, Carl W. (1997), *Guide to Sufism*. Boston: Shambhala Publications.

order was Qadiri itself, as it had become a wave surge among Kerala Muslims in last some span of time.

Ponnani Makhdums were the towering personalities in the arena of *Sufism*. By their arrival in the second half of the fifteenth century, Ponnani became the religious and spiritual centre of Kerala Muslims. Hailing from Hadarmout they had been living in Koramandal (Ma'bar) fore times. The Qadiri Sufi order already had reached there through the missionaries. By the advent of first Makhdum, Shaykh Zainuddin bin Ali (1467-1521) at the behest of Shaykh Farideuddin bin Abd il Qadir Al Khurasani, a well-known disciple of Abdul Qadir Jilani, Ponnani also became the centre of Qadiri order (Shah 1972: 43). Henceforth Kerala Muslims were witnessing a new life of spirituality. His book in *Sufi* literature *Hidayat al Adkiya ila Tariqat al Awliya* was the culmination of this new experience. Having considered as the *Sufi* manual of Malabar, it depicts the spiritual colour that influenced Kerala Muslims then. Moreover, this 'spiritual guide' later worked well silently among Muslims and actually became a guiding light for the upcoming generation. The graduates from Ponnani *Dars* spread out all over Kerala, propagated this order, and invited people to a good life. This caused for the rapid spread of this message. Thus every one who comes to the world of *Sufism*, began to study *Al Adkiya,* as a booklet of Sufi fundamentals. In the time of Abd al Aziz Makhdum (d. 1585), his son, it became much popular. The emergence of Qazi Muhammad (d. 1616), his disciple and the Qazi of Calicut, was a legendary event in the break through of *Sufi* thought among Kerala Muslims. Being a well-known Qadiri Sufi, he propagated these thoughts everywhere by life experience and writings. His great work *Muhyaddin Mala*,[92] the seminal work in the Sufi literature that composed in approximately 1607, has a considerable role in implanting *Sufism* in the hearts of local people from the sixteenth century. It is said that for centuries it was routinely recited among Kerala Muslims and learnt by heart from the childish period. Even during the proposal time for marriage, grooms were used to enquire whether bride had studied from *Mala* or not and the ability to recite *Mala* was considered as a merit.

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[92] *Malas* are devotional songs which piously praise the admirable events from the glorious life of holy men (Abu 1970: 62)

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Makhdumi *Ulama*, if they were Sufis, weren't the mere adherents of Qadiri order every time, rather in later period we can see them as the followers of different orders like Suhrawardi, Chishti and Rifa'i etc. According to the references given by Abd al Aziz Makhdum (d. 1586) his father Zainuddin first also was follower of Chishti order too.

Mampuram *Sayyids* were the very influential *Sufis* they opened a way of popular and dynamic style of *Sufism* in Kerala. Fundamentally if they were Qadiris they were renowned in the name of Ba 'Alawi *Sadats* as it was a branch of Qadiri order. Ba 'Alawi *Sayyids* of Yemen were nurturers of this order. While Shaykh Jifri (1726-1808) and Hasan Jifri (d. 1767) have set afoot in Malabar in 1741 and 1754 respectively this order has reached Kerala too (Kareem 1957: 18-25). At the same time Sayyid Abdul Rahman al 'Aidarusi (d. 1751) of Hadarmout, a relative of Shaykh Jifri had established his centre at Ponnani. By the time, all of them became the leading spiritual leaders and the people particularly lower castes moved in flocks and embraced Islam in their hands (Randathani 2007: 37). Hailing from the same order Sayyid 'Alawi Mauladdawila (1753-1844), popularly known as Mampuram *Tangal*, led the *tariqa* secretly after reaching Malabar in 1767. Under his leadership, the order got a prosperous and progressive vision that attracted several *Sufis* and Ulama endorsing his charismatic personality. Though Mampuram *Tangal* was generally seen as a social reformer and stringent opponent of colonialism, his Sufi world was very vibrant and enthusiastic meantime. He wasn't just a preacher of *Sufism,* rather he had enjoyed the apex of Sufi positions, namely *Qutub ul Zaman*[93] (axis of the age). There were so many disciples led a *Sufistic* life following his guidance. For example, some of them are Veliyankod Umar Qazi (d. 1273 H), Baithan Muhammad Musliyar (d. 1267 H), Avukkoya Musliyar (d. 1292 H), Panakkad Sayyid Hussain *Tangal* (d. 1302 H), Chalilakathu Qusayyu Haji (d. 1280 H), Puthupparampil Kunhali (d. 1277 H), Sayyid Abdur Rahman Ahdal (d. 1298 H), Sayyid Abdul Qadir Ahdal (d. 1329 H), Sayyid Ali al Kharidi (d. 1270 H), Sayyid Hussain Jifri (d. 1270 H), Qazi Zainuddin Makhdumi (d. 1299 H), Qazi Kunjahammad Musliyar (d. 1313 H), Kuzhippuram Qazi Kunjahammad Musliyar (d. 1288 H), Elikkunnu Kunjahammad Musliyar (d. 1290 H), Mudikkod Qazi Muhammad Kutti Musliyar (d. 1288 H), Unni Ahmad (d.

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[93] It is a Sufi concept indicates that: in all the time there will be an extreme common leader for all of the spiritual men (*Auliyas*) of that time. Being the prime and chief point he will lead all of the Sufis in the world.

1276 H), Muhammad Haris Turab *Tangal*, Qazi Muhyiddin bin Abd il Salam. His son Sayyid Fasal Pookoya *Tangal* also was on the same *Sufi* order and his disciple (Malayamma 2009: 114-164).

Rifaʻi and Chishti orders also had a deep root among Kerala Muslims. The influential *Rifaʻi Mala* and *Rifaʻi Ratheeb* substantiate this reality. Even today these are being recited in the houses Mappila Muslims. Being the advent was through Maldives, there have appeared several items of spiritual arts and rituals like *Ratheebs* and *Kuthu Ratheeb*, which will be helpful to enhance the rate of spirituality in the hearts of believers.

Suhrawardi order has an elaborated revivalist history in Kerala. According to the available documents it extends to the sixteenth century back. Abdul Qadir Sani (d. 1574) known as *Porathel Shaykh* was the greatest *Sufi* scholar who preached it here in the early time. He was born possibly at Valappattanam in Kannanur and laying his last rest at Porathel. It is said that his father was a prestigious king from Hamadan and later he renounced the kingship and rushed to Valappattanam, an old centre of *Sufis* and scholars, to lead a *Sufi* life. Qazi of Valappattanam respected him with a warm welcome and married him from a good family. Abdul Qadir is said to be born from that wife. There are several stories that imply his spiritual highness and dignity, especially regarding his travels with *dervishes* and getting *ijaza*[94] and their respect, not only form Kerala but also form the different parts of the World. Being an adherent of Suhrawardi *tariqa* he had moulded an ideal generation of spiritual quality in his life span. He had a number of *murids* form different parts of India. Many of his *murids* are getting their last rest in Porathel it self.[95] It is said that *Purathel Shaykh* was known as Abdul Qadir Sani because the Qadiri was the predominant order in that time. Thus, he selected the name of Abdul Qadir Jilani as a status. He is reported to have meet Muhammad Bakri (898-952 H) at Makka. Another prominent *Shaykh* of Suhrawardi *Silsila* was Shaykh Wajihuddin Abdur Rahman al Ummani, one of the Makhdums of Ponnani. After him the position of *Khalifa* was assumed by Shaykh Kamaluddin Balafatani, generally known as *Kallay Shaykh*, and his son Shaykh Nuruddin. The later was born at Vengad and spent his revivalist life at Kallay as his father. His tomb

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[94] It is a Sufi term regarding giving a Sufi or a scholar to their disciples sanctions to do something or reciting something like any specific offerings etc.or joining them to their Sufi order.
[95] See *Panditha Keralam (Historical Study)*, (1997), Samastha Kerala Ulama Conference, Calicut

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is now in Chaliyam. *Nuruddin Mala* composed in 1976 gives the names of all Shaykhs of Suhrawardi Tariqa. Muhammad Kamaluddin Hamadani was the 49th man in this *Silsila* (Kunhali 2004: 80). Muhammad bin Umar Suhrawardi, the author of *Rihlathul Muluk*, also was a *Sufi* propagator on the root of Suhrawardi. He spent his life on the outskirts of Mahe, where he was a great preacher. He has done several works in Arabic and Persian. *Rihlathul Muluk* gives a detailed account on the genesis and growth of Islam in Malabar (Kareem 1978: 129). Valappattanam in Kannanur was very famous for scholar and *qazi* families from the very early centuries of Islam. Ahmed Jalaluddin of Bukhara was one who illuminated it with his fathomless knowledge. He has come there by 1498 from Bukhara and became the mentor of native tribes. He and his descendants had an influential position among Kerala Muslims. Muhammad Moula who born at Kavarathi Island in 1724, belonged to his fifth generation. Muhammad Moula is reported to have missionary activities through out Kerala in his time and he constructed the Chembitta Palli of Cochin for the same purpose. He lies buried in Kannanur. It is said that the Bukhara *Sayyids* in Kerala are probably Suhrawardis of Hamadani branch.

As Kunhali observes the available materials clearly speak of the wide spread acceptance of Naqshabandi *tariqa* among Kerala Muslims in the bygone days. (2004: 84). Nunjeri Kunjahammad Shaykh was one of the first preachers of this *Sufi* order in Kerala. He was born at Nunjeri in Kannanur in 1237 H. Acquired knowledge from different *Sufi* scholars of that time like Shaykh Muhammad Hamadani of Purathel, Sayyid Muhammad Balafatani of Valappattanam and Kunjahammad Kutty Musliyar of Menakam. Later he left for Makka to Hajj, received the orders of Shadhuli and Naqshabandi from the great *Sufi Shaykh* of Makka, Shaykh Yahya Daghastani, and spent there twelve years under his spiritual guidance. Subsequently Daghastani sent him to Malabar respecting him providing the leadership of Naqshabandi and Shadhuli orders. According to the advice of Shaykh he preached it through out Kerala and collected several scholars under him. While he was returning from another *Hajj* he died from the ship and was cremated in the shore of Goa. Shaykh Abdur Rahman of Tanur (d. 1904), one of the renowned leader of Naqshabandi *Sufi* order in Kerala, was an important disciple of Nunjeri Shaykh. After the teacher's demise Shaykh Abdru Rahman came to leadership and constructing a mosque at Tanur he started his missionary works in Malabar. His family was already a *Sufi* family that migrated from

Yemen to the shore of Kundapuram in Karnataka. From where in the later period they dispersed to the various parts of the world in order to the propagation of Islam. Thus one of the families came to the older Mahe and settled there. Shaykh Abdur Rahman was born in 1257 H to the spiritual leader of that time Shaykh Ali Mai-Alawi hailing from the same family at Mahe. He studied from different great scholars of that time from Tirurangadi, Ponnani and Tanur. So at the behest of Awukkoya Musliyar he was assumed the post of teachership in the *Dars* of Tanur Juma Masjid and henceforth he started his scholastic works. *Al Ifadat al Qudsiyya fi Ikhtilafi Turuqi al Sufiyya*, and *Asrar al Muhaqiqin fi Ma'rifati Rabbil 'Alamin* are the significant *Sufi* philosophical studies he has done. He died in 1322 H and buried in the courtyard of Shaykinte Palli in Tanur (Nellikkuthu 1997: 68-78). A poem named *Saifuddin Mala* composed in 1327 H on Shaykh Abdur Rahman gives the detailed explanation on his Sufi life. According to *Mala* he was the 36th Shaykh of the Naqshabandi order.

Moreover, there were many *Sufis* in different times led a mystical life and propagated egalitarianism that history has didn't focus them in a deserved manner. Following a solitary life or limiting themselves in particular circles, they created silent revolutions in accordance to moulding spiritually empowered communities. Shaykh Farid Awlia probably lived in seventh century *Hijra* can be considered as one of them. According to the available documents he was in the forefronts of *Awliyas* who had visited Kerala from the early times. As the first missionary has done he also traveled through out of Kerala and built many mosques in needed places. Encountering with caste system he worked for the betterment of downtrodden sects and invoked them to the tranquil shore of Islam. There still remain some ambiguities regarding the departure of Shaykh. Some historians say that he was no more in 664 H and buried at Kanhiramuttam in South Kerala. According to the other group he was belonged to Delhi and he was died there. The spiritual leader renowned in Kerala in the name of Farid Awlia is one of his *murid*.[96] Fariduddin Qalwandi buried in Fort Cochin, Ai al Bakri buried in the Maqam of Parampil Palli at Calicut, Sayyid Islamil Bukhari of Manjanadi near Manjeshwar, Abdur Rasaq Mastan (d. 1971) of Kaniyapuram buried at the shore of Periyar near Perubavur, Shaykh Muhammad al Himmasi (d. 930 H) buried at Idiyangara Mosque of Calicut, Muhammad Jamalullaili (d. 1230 H) of Indonesia buried at Kadalundi, Kunjahammad Musliyar (d. 1914) of Perumpadappu

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[96] See *Panditha Keralam (Historical Study)*, (1997), Samastha Kerala Ulama Conference, Calicut

Puthan Palli, Shaykh Abu Bakr of Aluwaye and Shaykh Abu Bakr of Madavur are few of other *Sufi* scholars influenced Kerala Muslims in a deep level.

However, the number of un-referred *tariqas* here is more than that of referred here and the number of *Sufis* mentioned is less than not mentioned here. That is why, the juxtaposition of all these data assures that the *Sufi* tradition of Kerala is deep rooted and dissolved in its life and culture in a level that it could be never distinguished.

Influence of Sufism in the Life and Culture of Kerala Muslims

Contrary to many of its counterparts the life of Kerala Muslims is directly related with *Sufism* in much sense. In the style of worshiping, eating, clothing, customs, rituals, arts etc. it is apparently evident. Even in the starting of a Majlis they routinely submit vocal offerings on the late *Sufi* people reciting *Fathiha*, *Mu'awwidathaini*, *Yaseen*, *Ayat al Kursi* etc. Without the commemoration of *Sufis* they dare to do nothing. In the opening session of new Mosques, houses, and trade centers they have been doing the same. In the other hand, they demand to be all of these like significant events done by the hands of any *Sufi* men seeking *barakah*.

The divine heartedness and spiritual mentality got by hereditary from the *Sufis* of last centuries is the basic reason that motivates Kerala Muslims to follow this kind of ways. Being unbroken by the ebb of time and invasion of modernity, they still fight to retain the continuity of this system in order to protect the Islamic thought in every moment of the every day life. Tracing the system they become fully dedicated to the Al mighty understanding *Sufis* in high positions. .

The scores of literatures that were produced by *Sufis* had a leading role in perpetuating a spiritual trend and *Sufi* culture among Muslims. Especially *Al Adkiya*, the manual of *Sufism* in Malabar, which was studied from Madrasa level, and *Muhyaddin Mala*, the devotional anthem of Qadiri order, were the guiding lights to those who seek the spiritual way. Even today the verses of these two poetic works are still on tongues of old people, though it is being reduced among locals by the effect of modernity. *Maslak al Atqiya* of Abdul Aziz Makhdum (d. 1586), *Qasida fi Bayan il Tasawwuf*, *Qasida fi Bayan il Faqir* and *Kanz ul Barahin* of Shaykh Jifri (d. 1807) are some other examples which spiritually influenced the later Muslims. *Dikrs, Ratheebs,*

Kuthu Ratheebs and *Aurads* composed for different reasons also do its spiritual duty with vibrancy. It is interesting that in different *Masjids* in the remote areas of Kerala, even today, there are being conducted daily, weekly, monthly or annual *Dikr Halqas* or *Ratheebs* that are established by any *Sufis* in the bygone days, especially in the mosques that situated in seashore or outskirts of the country. These practices may have been established in that days related with the removal of any contagious disease like leprosy or as defense from natural calamities etc. *Malas*, *Moulids* with its different contents work well in the retaining of spiritual thought among Kerala Muslims. *Muhyaddin Mala*, *Rifa'i Mala*, *Nafeesath Mala*, *Manjakkulam Mala* have their own imprints in the spiritual formation of community. Visiting *Maqams* and participating in *Urus* and *Nerchas* are also an integral part of Kerala Muslim life. From Kasargod to Tiruvanadapuram there are scores of *Maqams* containing the tombs of spiritual people that quench the spiritual thirst of local people. *Nerchas*[97] and *Urus* like Mampuram *Urus*, Veliyankod Umar Qazi *Urus*, Ullal *Sayyid* Madani *Urus*, Kasargod Malik Dinar *Urus*, Athinjal Umar Samarqandi *Urus*, Idiyangara Appavanibha *Nercha*, and Madavoor C.M. Valiyullahi *Urus* are considered as the gatherings of taking stock of bygone life and communal harmony. So, it would not be inappropriate to say that without understanding of its *Sufi* or spiritual touch the understanding of Kerala Muslims will remain incomplete.

b) *Ulamas*

The traditionally educated Muslim religious scholars, the *'Ulama* (singular: *'alim*), are one of the basic pillars of an Islamic community. Getting deep experiences in religious sciences such as *Qur'an*, *Hadith*, *Qur'an*ic commentaries, jurisprudence, and theology they become responsible to undertake the mode of *tajdid* that was presented by Prophets (Gleave 2004: 707). In the Kerala experience also, from the very inception of Islamic history they have tried their best to lead the same way and resuscitate the Islamic thought everywhere with its pristine purity. Being the heirs of Prophets and continuity of *Ahl ul Swuffa* tradition, it plays a pivotal role in the construction of an Islamic spirited community.

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[97] See Dale, Stephen F. & Gangadhran, M. (1995), Nercca: Saint-Martyr Worship Among the Muslims of Kerala, in Engineer, Asghrali. (ed.), *Kerala Muslims A Historical Perspective*, Delhi: Ajanta Publication

In a chronological sense, we can classify the *Ulama* of Kerala as three sections: *Ulama* of pre-colonial period, colonial-period and post-colonial period. In each of these phases, they were of various outlooks regarding the espousal of forms and styles to the dissemination of Islamic teaching. The *Imams* in these mosques, which built by Malik bin Dinar were seemingly the first group of *Ulama* who did their duty here in an ideal form. After that, as previously mentioned, many religious educational centres might have emerged and worked here in its full swing under the leadership of foreigners. Ibnu Batuta gives clues on some religious educational centres like in Mangalore under Qazi Badruddin Ma'bari, and in Ezhimala under Khatib Hussain and Hasan Vasan, where the students also get stipends (Kareem 1978: 131-132).

Formation of *Ulama* Identity

Ulama, got an Islamic identity directly from the scholars came from Arab countries, the homeland of Islam. The missionaries and traders set afoot in Kerala has a considerable role in the set up of knowledge system and personality development of *Ulama* wing. Moreover, the Makhdums basically hail from Yemen deserves the credit of systemizing Islamic studies in Kerala territories. A significant thing, which takes very importance in the educational history of Muslim, is the long and inseparable attachment of Yemeni scholars, *Sufis* and *Ulama* with Kerala, in the moulding of a Muslim mind in a traditional way. By the debut of Makhdums as the path-breakers of religious studies in Kerala this attachment was once more concreted (Zubair 2011).[98]

Coming to Ponnani, Zainuddin Makhdum Senior (1467-1521) established a planned system in the scenario of Kerala Muslim religious education. Taking experiences from Calicut, Mecca and Al-Azhar, Egypt, where he had studied, Makhdum tended to make a comprehensive syllabus and a well-structured system full-fledged education. Constructing the Grand Mosque of Ponnani, he also facilitated to the study and accommodation especially to those who come from remote areas. He selected the *Kitabs* of the Islamic scholars as textbooks and even composed more than twenty

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[98] It is believed that the first forefathers of Makhdum family come from south Yamane was landed in Ma'bar and Kayalpattanam in Tamil Nadu in about sixth century Hijra. Subsequently Shaykh Ahmad al Ma'bari and his son Ali al Ma'bari came Cochin and settled there propagating Islam. Zainuddin Ibrahim, another son of Ahmad, was going to take over the Qazi position in Cochin, then invited to Ponnani as Qazi. He invited his cosine Zainuddin Makhdum senior to Ponnani to pursue his higher studies in Islamic subjects. Coming of Zainuddin Makhdum senior was a turning point in the Islamic history of Ponnani and the religious studies of Kerala Muslims. (Randathani, 1998: pp 65-71).

books like *Murshid ul Tullab* and *Siraj ul Qulub* in different faculties to educate the young generation. His global contacts with international scholars like Sakariyya al Anasari (824-926 H), Jamal al Din al Suyuti (911 H), Nuruddin Mahalli and Kamaluddin Mahalli have influenced Kerala Muslim education very well. Zainuddin Makhdum junior (938-1028 H) was another scholar who continued the educational projects started by his Senior. Tracing the same way of Makhdum senior he also made a world wide contact in religious and political level. Spending ten years in Mecca he returned Ponnani and joined hand with the program of *Ulama* training with his new additions (Millier 1992: 260). It is said that, meanwhile the great jurisprudent Ibnu Hajar al Haitami (909-973 H) of Mecca visited Ponnani and became another feather in progress of Kerala Muslim religious education. Being the author of world famous books, totally different of contents, *Fatah ul Muʻin* (*fiqh*), *Tuhafat ul Mujahidin* (Kerala History) and *Irshad ul Ibad* (*tasawwuf*), spending 36 creative years in Ponnani *Dars* he created a gang of completely varied potentials. By the time Ponnai became the centre of Muslim learning and began to known as 'little Mecca of Malabar'. In the later centuries, there came a series of genius Makhdum *Ulama* who headed the project of Islamic education at Ponnani. In this course of time a number of students not only from Malabar and Laccadive Islands, but also from Mecca, Medina, Baghdad, Yemen, Syria, Indonesia, Singapore, and Malaysia reached Ponnani for higher studies.[99] Thus 'sitting by the lamb' in the mosque of Ponnani and receiving the title of 'Musliyar' became the symbol of 'being a scholar in Islamic studies' in Kerala experience (Shah 1972: 47-48, Miller 1992: 261). The graduates from Ponnani were the leaders of Kerala Muslims for centuries. All of the *Ulama* till the emergence of twentieth century were, any how, related with Ponnani. So, in the later period, study of 'Ponnani modal' was spread all over Kerala and the 'Ponnani syllabus' or 'Makhdumi syllabus' also got much popularity everywhere. This explosion of knowledge led Kerala Muslims to a new horizon. After the decline of Ponnani, *Baqiyat ul Salihat* of Vellure (1869), Tamil Nadu, *Darul Uloom* of Deoband, U.P. (1866), and *Jamia Nizamiyya* of Hyderabad (1876) were the resorts of higher education for Kerala Muslims. However, by the half of nineteenth century the

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[99] See Pasha, Kamal. (1995), Muslim Religious Education, in Engineer, Asghar Ali (ed.), *Kerala Muslims A Historical Perspective*, Delhi:Ajanta Publication; *Keraleeya Panditanmar*, (2007), Risala Special issue, Calicut: Markkaz al Saqafah, Karanthur

eruption of indigenous Arabic colleges has started, with new experiences of Islamic knowledge and combined education.

Before the rise of Ponnani, the centres of Muslim learning in Kerala are believed Kodungallur, South Kollam, Panthalayani Kollam and Chaliyam etc. Like Ponnani, once in history Kozhikode also led a leading role in the spreading of religious education. The *Qazi* tradition of Calicut substantiates this continuity.[100] In later centuries Kasargod, Ichilangod, Tanur, Tirurangadi, Veliyankod, Kizhur, Vazhakkad, Parappanangadi, Trikkarippur, Nadapuram, Kundur, Mannarkkad, Cherpullasseri, Adhur, Angadimugar, Turuthi etc. became the centers of dissemination of Islamic education.[101] In the later time some *Ulama* families also came out taking the responsibility of Islamic preaching like Odakkal *Ulama* family, Cherusseri *Ulama* family and Fazfari family etc. All of these abode of knowledge and scholars formulated a good and valuable identity for *Ulama* in Kerala.

Ulama: Educating a Powerful Generation

In the Kerala experience the *Darses*[102] were the centres of socialization of community and factory of talented students. All of the religious awareness and value centered social awakening that have witnessed Kerala Muslims so far, were started by the impetus given from *Darses*. The new educational institutions and Arabic Colleges also erupted from the same motivation. Even the spirit of anti colonialism and bellicosity against imperialism were emerged from *Dars* itself. It is interesting to find that the 'reformers' whom Kerala Muslims have been witnessed in later centuries also were the products of *Palli Darses*. Until the emergence of the sectarian sentiments it was treated collectively as the focal centers of Kerala Muslim revivalism. The most powerful and talented scholars educated form different *Darses* were the cornerstones of social change and religious movements emerged as response to the demand of time. The vibrant *Ulama* like *Qazis* of Calicut, teachers of Ponnani *Dars* and other leaders of various local *Darses* like Veliyankod Umar Qazi (1179-1273 H), Parappanangadi

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[100] Parappil, P.P. Mammad Koya. (1994), *The history of Calicut Muslims* (Mal), Calicut: Focus Publications

[101] For details on Palli Darses (Mosque colleges) and their roles in Kerala Muslim education refer: Moulawi, T.K. Abdulla. (1961), *Keralathile Palli Darsukal, Smastayude Tanurile Kendra Madarasa* (no author), Abdur Rahiman (1961), *Vazhakkad Darul Ulum*, in Sammelana Special of Samastha Kerala Islammata Vidyabhiasa Board, Second Conference, Chelari; Chelari; Malayamma, Moyin Hudawi (2008), Kasargotte Palli Darsukal in *History of Kasargod Muslims* (Mal), Chattanchal: Disha Book Cell; Faizi ,CK Abdur Rahman. (2008), *Paramparyathinte jnhana Mathrka (Modal of Traditional Education)*, in Sunni Jilla Souvenir, Malappuram

[102] Centres of higher education, run in mosques under the guidance of genius scholars.

Avukkoya Musliyar (1222-1292 H), Kasargod Qazi Abdulla Haji (1261-1337 H), Kizhur Qazi Sa'id Musliyar (d. 1289 H), Ahmad al Shirazi (1269-1326 H), Chalilakathu Kunjahammad Haji (1283-1338 H), Qutubi Muhammad Musliyar (1299-...H), Pangil Ahmad Kutty Musliyar (1305-1365 H) and Ahmad Koya al Shaliyati (1302-1374 H) were very influential personalities in the formation Kerala Muslim thought that prevails today (Nellikkuthu 1997).

Darses do its best for the socialization and higher education of an upcoming generation. The students come from different family backgrounds were being accommodated with the high culture of *Dars* atmosphere. Getting frequent training to follow the Islamic way of life all become same in culture and behavior in an elevated position. Because of being always in the suzerainty of teachers and getting regular instructions in proper times they never went astray from the discipline. The timely guidance helps them to develop a good personality. In the field of study also *Dars* system helps students to acquire deep knowledge devoid of doubts and speculations. The presence of senior students becomes more helpful for the juniors. The movements to different houses for meals and the interactions with different aged people help them to be matured and to develop them self as socially privileged status. Because of there are no clerks, office boys, manager etc. most of them get chances to deal with organizing programs, administration system, controlling power and managing capacity. Thus by completing the course every student become capable to lead or manage another institution or *Mahallus* in a proper way. After the completion of study from Ponnani most of them have started separate *Darses* in their preferable areas and localities in different parts of Kerala (Pasha 2005).

Ulama and Social Inclusiveness

Because of they were responsible for leading community socially in general and religiously in particular, *Ulama* were aware of keeping regular rapports with public. Being the leaders in all religious ceremonies in definite circles they were accessible for all any time. Moreover, with the traffic of people seeking remedies for their personal problems they have been given opportunities to make an inclusive association with needy people too. By the public speeches and necessary instructions in congregational days, they could convey their messages to the people who go

through the different walks of life. Thus the vibrancy of the *Ulama* was considered as the vibrancy of the community too.

Generally, the *Ulama* sustained their authority through the institutions that continue for centuries; *Ustad* (teacher), *Mudarris* (lecture), *Waiz* (preacher), *Imam* (leader), *Khthib* (preacher), *Qazi* (judge) and *Mufti* (jurist consultant) etc. All of these institutions compel them to make an inclusive and fruitful engagement with people. However, many *Ulama* of Kerala have proved their charismatic expertise in various fields also, beside these readymade platforms, like extensive educational works, social welfare activities and long-term projects for the empowerment of Muslim community. Abdul Bari Musliyar (1298-1385 H) of Valakkualam, M.M. Bashir Musliyar (1929-1987) of Cherur and C.H. Aidarus Musliyar (1930-1994) of Puthupparamba were some notables of this kind.[103]

Qazis and *Muftis* were very powerful and influential presence in Mappila community. Because of there were some fundamental differences between two, the duties of the both also were slightly different. *Qazis* get more chances to social interventions than *Muftis*. *Muftis* only 'provide information to the questioner as to what the juridical moral status or value (*hukm*) of specific act is'. However, *Qazis* were those who apply the established rulings (Moosa 2004: 557). But among Mappilas because of most of *Muftis* were *Qazis* too and vise versa, all powers were also vested in both groups. Mostly all of the official and important religious and social obligations have been conducting in the presence of *Qazis*. Form the early time of Islam there is a continuous history of *Qazis* in Kerala. This tradition is continuing even now with its own dignity. In the case of continuity, the *Qazis* of Kasargod, Valappattanam and Calicut are most mention worthy. The *Muftis* also had a continuous history among Kerala Muslims. Most of the *Ulama* were *Muftis*. The key of social equilibrium was in the hands of *Muftis*. People resort them as a final option in the search of remedies. Thus the *fatwa* will bridge the gap that may broken and reinstall peace and tranquility that form a societal stability. According to the authors of *Mahataya Sahitya Paramparyam* few of great *Muftis* in the last time were Purathel Shaykh *Tangal*, Qazi Muhyuddin of Calicut, Putiyakathu Kammukkutti Musliyar, Kunhamutti Haji of

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[103] See *Basheer Musliyar Smaranika* (1987), Bahjat al Ulama: Katameri; *C.H. Aidarus Musliyar Smaranika* (1995), Chemmad: Darul Huda

Calicut, Qazi Abdulla Haji of Thellichery, Shaykh Ahmad Makhdum, Putiyakathu Ahmad Musliyar, Navarakulangarakathu Kunjahammad Kuttiy Musliyar (1978: 280-284). Other few latest Muftis are Kanniyatu Ahmad Musliyar (d. 1993), E.K. Abu Bakr Musliyar (d. 1996), and Cherusseri Zainuddin Musliyar (b. 1937).

Thus, when we take the stock of Kerala Muslim awakening, we can reach in the point that the role of *Ulama* is inseparable from the revivalist history of Kerala Islam. Starting from *Othupallis*, *Darses*, Arabic colleges, and Universities, they have done a landmark leap in the educational and cultural level and created a conducive atmosphere for the healthy discussions in this regard. Apart from education social, religious, political, and even anti-colonial spheres also were tactically defended by them. If they were criticized heavily later their role in the moulding of a new Kerala was unique and undeniable.

c) *Sayyids*

Sayyids are commonly used to refer the descendants of Prophets Muhammad, normally through his grandson Al Husain. *Ahl ul Bait* (people of the house) is another name used in this regard regularly. Generally, they were the very respected and unique personalities worth of distinguished qualities in different aspects of the life (Gleave 2004a: 611, Campo 2004: 26). It is doubtless to say that, in the history of Muslims, they had great roles to play because they had been given several key posts to lead, everywhere and every time. It was proved by their decisive interventions and precise suggestions in definite times.

Sayyids have played a very important role in the socio cultural history of Kerala Muslims. Not only in religious revivalism but also in political and social awakening it is highly evident. To denote *Sayyids*, the term *'Tangals'* is extensively used among *Malayali* people.[104] Classifying Kerala Muslims to different categories both Miller and Dale have tried to substantiate the prevalent standard of *Sayyids* as an influential existence in Kerala Muslim History (Dale 1980: 111; Miller 1992: 255). According to Dale, *'tannals* were the leaders of the community; they were men who usually claimed to be *Sayyids*, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, as a few important families identifiably were.... These men were usually well-versed in traditional

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[104] *Malayali* is those who speak Malayalam language, the official language of Kerala.

Islamic scholarship, and many maintained close contact with Arabia, through their families, commercial connections, or by performing the Hajj' (1980: 111). Though the mainstream historians didn't identify them as the key actors of history in the olden days, now various studies have come out focusing on *Sayyids* and their role in social and political change and their charismatic leadership in other fields.[105]

Hadhrami *Sayyids* and Kerala Muslims

According to the available documents all *Sayyid* families reached Kerala were from Hadarmout, Yemen, except Bukhari it was from Bukhara of Uzbakistan. All of these families have a remarkable imprint in the progressive and revivalist history of Kerala Muslims. Irrespective of religious or cultural fields, *Sayyids* have spread their works and interventions to all arenas that are helpful for humanity. That is why, in Kerala milieu *Sayyids* were not leaders of Muslims only but non Muslims too.[106] They used to visit those leaders seeking favours.

It is doubtless to say that the Hadramis have a considerable role in the moulding of Kerala Muslim culture and its intellectualism. Starting trade relations centuries back, it has made an influential contact with Malabar. As far as its relation with India is concerned it is said that it had relations in pre-colonial, colonial and postcolonial time that extends from nine to nineteenth centuries. Consequently 'It saw a gradual increase in the number of the Hadrami migrants, who landed in the region and engaged in trade, shipping, ship building, scholarship, missionary activities, diplomacy and even local politics. From the nineteenth century onwards there was a rapid growth of the Hadrami Diaspora in Malabar and South India, particularly after opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 and the introduction of the steam boats that facilitated shipping in the Red Sea and the India Ocean' (Randathani 2010). From the eighteenth century onwards the migration of *Sayyid* families also started and it was continued in the later centuries. Originating gradual and sporadic in Indian Ocean region it was swiftly spread out and prevailed everywhere like Malaysia, Indonesia, Zanzibar, Mecca, Egypt, Sri Lanka, Surat, Baroda, Kongan, Ahmadabad, Bijapur,

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[105] See Panikkar K.N. (2001), *Agaist Lord and State: Religion and Peasant Uprisings in Malabar, 1836-1921*, Oxford: University Press; Gangadhran M. (2007), Mappila Padanangal, Calicut: Vajanam Books;
[106] Mampuram Sayyids are the great examples. Even today, Hindu believers visit the *Maqam* of Sayyid Alawi Mauladdawila of Mampuram. His son Sayyid Fadl also was very amicable with them (Kareem 1957).

Hyderabad, Malabar and Malay Archipelago etc. and some married indigenous women and was created a new *Muwalladun* generation.

Tarim was the proper location where the *Sayyid* families have collectively stayed in Hadarmaut. It lies roughly at the boundary of the Shanafir and Bani Zanna confederations. It is said that it was named so for Tarim bin Hadarmout (Ho 2006: 35, 36). Sayyids of Hadarmout extend to a common ancestor, Ahmad bin 'Isa al Muhajir (the migrant). Because of political, social and economical bad conditions he left his homeland in Basra, Iraq and traveled in the Hejaz and Yemen and finally entered Hadarmout in 932 AD. According to the genealogies Al Muhajir is a ninth generation descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and the others in the genealogy were Fatima, Husain, Zainul Abidin, Muhammad Baqir, Jafer Swadiq, *Sayyid* Ali Ariz, Muhammad, and Ahmad bin 'Isa. After the death of Al Muhajir his son, Ubaidullah was the leader of this family. Eventually the *Sayyid* family entered in to relations with Hadrami locals and it began to spread everywhere (Ibid: 37-40). The family name 'Ba 'Alawi' was refers to a grandson of Ahmad bin 'Isa named 'Alawi (bin Ubaidillah bin Ahmad), a great scholar and influential lead from the family. Over the time, his descendants became a large, influential, and tightly-knit religious stratum with several segmentary sub branches known by a family name usually derived from the founder (Bang 2003: 12).

Subsequently, it is believed that, from these families about forty families have set afoot in Kerala after the sea voyage from eighteenth century onwards and began to spread there getting married with indigenous women. By the very short time this population has considerably increased and *Sayyids* became the strength of Kerala Muslims in all sense. These are some important families they reached Malabar from Hadarmout: Ba-Faqih (Koilandy), Al-Faqih (Koilandy), Bil-Faqih (Koilandy), Al-haddad (Malabar), Shahabuddin (Panakkad), Mashhur (Eranad), Idid (Tirurangadi), Jilani (Eranad), Jamalullaili (Chaliyam), Mushayyaq (Tanur), Ahdal (Calicut), Jifri (Calicut) Musava (Ponnani), Aydarus (Ponnani), Saqaf (Chavakkad), Alu-Junaid (Tanur), Al-Manfur (Calicut), Ba-Shaiban (Chavakkad), Hamdun (North Malabar) Mauladdawila (Mamburam), Maula-Khaila (Eranad), Habshi (Kuttippuram), Alu-Dahab (North Malabar), Juhum (Mahi), Shatiri (Koilandy), Turabi (Tirurangadi), Ba-Hasan (Koilandy), Al-Aqil (Malabar), Fadhaq (malabar), Ba-Hashim (Malabar), Ba-

Hasan (Chaliyam), Banu Sahl (North Malabar), Ba-Salim (North Malabar).[107] All these families have their own history regarding the revivalist history of Kerala Muslims. Because of the lack of enough documentation, most of the creative history of these families is unknown. But its influences and consequences are mostly evident in the contemporary Muslim community in Kerala.

Important *Sayyid* Families and Influential Interventions

According to the available documents the first *Sayyid* family landed Kerala was Jifri, that reached in eighteenth century. 'The line was established by Sayyid Shaykh Jifri (1726-1808) of Hadarmout, who had become a Meccan Mufti. In 1746,[108] he came to Kerala to propagate the message of Islam. He was welcomed in a friendly way by the Zamorin of Calicut, who deeded him a tax-free plot of land in the city. Noted for his religious knowledge, zeal and piety, he died in 1808 and was buried in Calicut'. He was in a closed relation with Tipu Sultan. 'After some years Hasan Jifri followed him to Malabar. From Calicut he moved to Ponnani where he associated briefly with the Ponnani Makhdum college. He soon made Tirurangadi his headquarters, from where he conducted preaching missions and sent his disciples on similar programs to various parts of Malabar. He married in to a local family and took up residence at Mampuram, where he died in 1767' (Miller 1992: 255). Sayyid Hussain jifri of Kodinhi (d. 1270 H) is another one who reached Kerala from Hadarmout. Jifri family has spread all over Kerala, especially in Malabar. However, the advent of Jifris opened a new horizon of cultural, political, and religious orientation in front of Kerala Muslims. Getting organized and collective mentality Muslims acknowledged their leadership, appreciated their commanding power, and take it for granted in all progressive measures. The influence of Jifris was heavily evident in all political, social, cultural, and religious arenas with leading capacity. Naturally, it facilitated for the emergence of a well-equipped community in the later period.[109]

Mauladdawila is the very influential *Sayyid* family that has a live history in the revivalist breakthrough of Kerala Muslims. Sayyid Alawi (1753-18844) of

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[107] Qazi Abdur Rahman bin Muhammad bin Husayn. (1911), *Shams al Zahir*, Hyderabad, quoted by Randathani 2007: 46, 47).

[108] The year of his death and the arrival in Kerala is differently recorded in different sources. Some says that 1805 and 1755 respectively. In another opinion he reached here in 1748.

[109] For further studies in this regard see (Parappil 1994), (Kareem 1978), (Miller 1992), (Dale 1980), (Malayamma 2009), (Kareem 1957), (Kareem 2004), (Gangadharan 2007), (Konnaru 2004)

Mampuram and his son Sayyid Fadl (1824-1901) were the charismatic figures of this family. Sayyid Alawi (generally known as Mampuram *Tangal*) reached Kerala in 1767 in his seventeenth age and quickly followed the path of his illustrious uncles.[110] Working for the upliftment of Muslim community rapidly he achieved an undying reputation and even now holds a firm place as the greatest Mappila *Sufis* (Miller 1992: 256). Taking Mampuram as the centre of his activities he moulded a new generation on the staunch adherence of Islamic preaching. His life and outlooks were follow-worthy for Muslims in all sense. Moreover, he had made a good relation with Hindus also. Establishing mosques in different parts of Eranad and Valluvanad he mainly focused on the spread of Islam in the inner regions of Malabar, rather than coastal territories (Gangadharan 2007: 67). He also participated in the constant struggle against colonialism through spiritual exhortation and encouragement. According to K.N. Panikkar the important teachings of Mampuram *Tangal* was 'that they initiated a process of revitalization and regeneration among the Mappilas. His efforts were mainly addressed to the purification of religious practices and the creation of a sense of solidarity among Muslims. He traveled extensively, delivering religious discourses in different parts of the district where he helped to establish new and renovate old mosques. He stressed the importance of unity and urged strict compliance with the tenants of Islam. His emphasis was on self purification- a jihad against *Nafs* -which he considered essential for the advance of the community' (2001: 62). Thus ideas of *Tangal* that contributed to an accentuation of Mappila religiosity, was boarded on a revivalist stance and upliftment to a respectful existence. Getting very short years in the energetic period in Malabar, his son Sayyid Fadl also made a remarkable intervention in the revivalist breakthrough of Kerala Muslims. Because of he was exiled to Arabia this Sayyid family hasn't long history in this land. But the history created both members of this family in circumscribed period was very larger and influential than that of ever seen in Kerala Muslim history.

The Shihabuddin *Sayyid* family bears a significant space in the History of Kerala Muslims. In the different areas of Muslim life they have marked their own imprint which has turned later as the steps to the heights of revivalism. Hailing from Tarim of Hadarmout the first Shihabuddin who reached Kerala was Sayyid Ali al Hadrami

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[110] There are different opinions whether both are his uncles or not. The un published documents of Nellikkuthu Muhammadali Musliyar give a satisfying detail. See (Malayamma 2009)

(1159-1212 H). Regarding the dissemination of Islamic preaching in the year of 1181 H, he set afoot at Calicut, spent few days with Shaykh Jifri, later moved to Valappattanam and stayed there. Making marital knot with Arakkal royal family, he started the family life. He had two sons from that wife; Husain and Abdulla. It was the root that through this the Shihabuddin family has spread across Kerala. From this the very influential root it extends through Shaykh Husain Shihabuddin (d. 1235 H), his son Muhlar Shihabuddin (1212-1258 H), his son Husain Aatakkoya *Tangal* (1239-1302), his son Muhammad Koyanhi Koya *Tangal* (1337 H), his son P.M.S.A. Pookkoya *Tangal* (1917-1975) and his son Sayyid Muhammadali Shihab *Tangal* (1936-2009). However, all of these family members have a critical role in the progressive history of Muslims, few of them were inseparable bricks of Kerala Muslim community that have bridged the gaps of departed generations. Sayyid Husain Aatakkoya *Tangal* was a great scholar and anti-colonial fighter. He was a colleague of Sayyid Fadl of Mampuram in anti-British battles. Later he was attributed by British army as the promoter of Trikkalur outbreak and sentenced for life imprisonment in 1882 at the Vellure central Jail, where he passed away (Kareem 1978: 206). P.M.S.A. Pookkoya *Tangal* was a peerless leader ever later Kerala has produced. In the words of Miller he 'was not only the undoubted head of the traditional religious leaders, but whose influence went beyond this group. His authority derived from his charismatic position, but along with he combined great natural ability. Personally gentle, he translated his status as a venerated member of a saintly family into strong political power. He served both as president of the *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat ul Ulama* and as president of the political party of Kerala state Muslim League. Loved and respected by ordinary Mappilas, he was able to command the Muslim masses in Kerala to a greater extent than any other individual of his generation' (1992: 299). His elder son Sayyid Muhammadali Shihad *Tangal*, stranding in the way of father, was another influential person from the same family. His leadership in religion and politics was a unique experience for Kerala Muslims.[111] Sayyid Ahmad Shihabuddin Imbichikkoya *Tangal* (1922-1999), the former Qazi of Calicut, is another note worthy person from the same family.

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[111] For details on Shehabuddin Sayyid family and its members refer *Shihab Tangal Smaraka Grantham* (2010) by Chandrika; *Samasthayum Panakkad Kudumpavum* (2010) by Samasta Kerala Jamiyyat al Ulama

Some influential *Sayyid* scholars of different families are Sayyid Abdur Rahman Bafaqi *Tangal* (1905-1973), Sayyid Umar Bafaqi *Tangal* (1921-2008), Sayyid Ahmad Jalaluddin Bukhari (reached Kerala from Bukhara in 1521) of Valappattanam, Sayyid Muhammad Bukhari (d. 1077 H) of Paravanna, Sayyid Islmail Bukhari (1048-1133 H) of Karuvantiruti), Sayyid Muhammad Bukhari (1170-1256 H) of Konnaru, Muhammad Moula al Bukhari (1144-1207 H) of Kannur, Sayyid Ahmad al Bukhari (1238 H) of Bukhara Katappuram, Sayyid Hamid Koyamma *Tangal* (1918-2005) of Bukhara Katappuram.

The life and contributions of *Sayyid* families have influenced the progressive history of Kerala Muslims. 'Their unquestioned leadership helped the community in achieving its present status. These divines were themselves conscious of their responsibility as a religious duty' (Kunhali 2004: 119). The dual leaderships of same persons as religious and political supremes have resulted in making a positive change among Muslims. It has helped to empower them politically while not averting slightly from the real teachings of Islam as these leaders were both religious spiritual and socio-political guides of the community in the region. *Sayyids* have played a major role in keeping the community away from the communal riots spread elsewhere in the country as they promoted communal harmony and spread of peace and tranquility everywhere. Moreover, in many sense *Sayyids* were the key actors of political and educational empowerment. Even their charismatic presence itself was the big motivation for Muslim communities in the colonial struggles, spiritually and religiously they were the guiding beacons for the community. Thus, their persistent strives for the revival of traditional Islam is a matter of significance in all sense.

d) *Umara/Ulama-Umara duality*

Amir (plural: *Umara*) is from the Arabic term *amara*, meaning to command. It is also used as the title of a military commander, a nobleman, chief, prince, or ruler. During early Islamic periods, this title was given to the heads of ruling families, high Arab officials, and governors (Adamec 2009: 35). The term '*Umara*' in our usage gets some supports and references from these lexicon narratives.

The technical meaning of *Umara* in Kerala is those religious and creative non-*Ulama* people who are interested in logging on various Islamic activities, facilitating for

Islamic teachings, supervising the organization of Islamic initiatives and helping to find out enough financial support for the easy run up of these institutions, guiding and coordinating the philanthropists, well-wishers and rich men. In all sense, the *Umara* were the subordinates of *Ulama* in the functioning of new Islamic initiatives. While the *Ulama* render religious support and its outlook, *Umara* submit the material helps and practical ideas. Because of their wide experiences, they can bring out pragmatic thoughts and envisage how to implement a project in a level that will be useful for the Muslim community. Thus the *Umara* were an inevitable part of the history of Islamic revivalism in Kerala.

It is doubtless to say that *Umara* has played a decisive role in making Muslim community a creative one. We can't find any institutions or organizations in Kerala without the sincere interventions of *Umara* that have worked behind it. Their favouring mentality and energetic mindedness in Islamic fields especially educational and social activities were the power of Muslim community. Strong religiosity, unique leading power, and economic competence were the fundamental qualities of *Umara* group that helped them to come up with this considerable situation. Helping *Ulama* in the materialization of new projects, finding practicability of their thoughts, and reconciliation of social issues were their duties. Some members of Koyappathody family of Vazhakkad who gave leadership for the formation of *Darul Ulum* in 1871, Hasan Kutty Haji of Kizhur who constructed the Pazhayotta mosque that has turned later as the great centre of Islamic education in north Malabar, Kallatra Abdul Qadir Haji (d. 1983) who gave all support for the construction of *Sa'diyya* Arabic college (1971) in Kasargod, Koduvayil Bappu Haji (d. 1966) who spent money and land for the construction of *Jamai Nuriyya* (1963) in Pattikkad, Dr. U. Bapputty Haji (1929-2003) who spent all of his life and time for organization of a combined educational movement constructing *Darul Huda* (1983) in Chemmad, are some latest examples in this regard.[112]

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[112] For details, refer *Koyappathody Family* in *Islamika vijhana Kosham*, vol 8, p 641, 642 Calicut: Islamic Publishing House; Malayamma, Moyin Hudawi. (2008), *Kizhurum Kasargodinte jhana paramparyavum* in *Kasargod Muslim History*, pp 172-182, 304, Chattanchal: Disha Book Cell; *Al Munir* 2009, pp 278-282, Pattikkad: Jamia Nuriyya; *Bapputti Haji Vazhiyorukkiya Jividam* (2004), Chemmad: Darul Huda; Malayamma, Moyin Hudawi. (2009), *Bapputti Haji: Karmam Nizhal Ninna Jividam*, Chemmad: Asas Book Cell

The formation of '*Mahallu*'[113] system has facilitated a well-equipped combined initiative for the *Ulama-Umara* duality. *Mahallu* in its technical sense is a system of organizing and maintaining community and communal consciousness in a collective way and use it for the upliftment of community in all aspects, designating particular boundaries and limits geographically. 'It is a particular tendency of Muslim community in all spaces where they live with the particular civilizational notion. In other words, this is the micro level effort to establish religious republics as parallel to what we see in actual Islamic countries' (Madappalli 2010). Centralizing the mosque a definite circle is being considered as a *Mahallu*, whether it consisted of some or many houses. The *Mahallu* will be governed by the *Mahallu* Committee. It will be included of a *Qazi*, *Khatib*, *Imam* and other teachers of Madrasa. *Mahallu* representatives will censor all of the religious and cultural ceremonies conducted in *Mahallu* area and will make controls in following the un-Islamic ways. Thus, as an Islamic country will bring up a good Islamic set up and naturally a good generation. Definitely, this system is the living example of the victory of the combined initiatives of *Ulama-Umara* dualism in Kerala.

The collective endeavors of *Ulama* and *Umara* have a deep-rooted history among Kerala Muslims. The major catalyst worked behind most of the contemporary achievements, definitely is this dualism. The extensive enrolments of *Umara* in the Islamic activities have caused for the motivation of scores of people to come out and associate with the Islamic initiatives. Thus the role of *Umara* in the revivalist history of Kerala Muslim is definitely crucial.

e) *Organizational Platform*

By the twentieth century, Kerala Muslim revivalism took an organized institutional form and adopted strict measures to preserve its revivalist values, which have been transmitted through its ancestors. More than an organization with modern trends, it was the collective initiative for keeping the teachings of *Sufis*, *Sayyids*, and *Ulama* alive with its traditional purity and disseminate it to the new generations with the same authenticity that has followed from the Prophetic period. Thus it was nothing more than the mixture and composite of what it was before in a dispersive manner.

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[113] The term may derived form the Arab term *Halla*, means descend or come down. Then the *zarf makan* will the place where people will stay down.

This organizational breakthrough was a new era of Islamic revivalism among Kerala Muslims.

As everywhere in Muslim countries, in Kerala also the response to the tragic intervention of colonialism was different. By the bloody end of Malabar uprisings in 1921, there were minimum three kinds of stands to get out of the prevalent pathetic situation. The first group of some elites and so-called intellectuals manifested their fraud courage to espouse the modernity and western culture in its full sense that has introduced by colonialism and deprive religion, understanding it as the prime cause for the backwardness of Muslim community. The second group was of some modern and religious educated team who was already influenced by the fundamentalist and reformist ideology absorbed from the Saudi *Wahabism* and the Egyptian *Salafism*. It came out demanding for the reformist version of Islam, rejecting the entire traditional heritage, accusing the centuries-old religious leadership as corrupted, alleging its followers as deviated from *Tawheed* and reinterpreting religious texts according to the observations of neo-*tajdidists*. This group presented one kind of Islam that is fully deprived of spiritual values and esoteric aspects, criticizing *Ulama*, *Sufis*, *Sayyids* and the transmitted knowledges and rituals through these people. The third response was from the traditional *Ulama*, *Sayyids* and *Sufis* who were preserving Islam without undergoing any innovative changes for centuries. 'They had to protect the Muslim community from the infiltrations and influences of western un-Islamic culture on one hand, and to defend the traditional Islam from being absorbed by the modernist, fundamentalist, and puritanical as well as reformist versions of religion on the other hand. To face both the challenges simultaneously, the spiritual leadership thought of reinvigorating the Islamic education, of spreading the grand heritage of knowledge, of organizing to protect the traditional rites and rituals, and of making the public more religious and more sensitive towards new interpretations. *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat ul-Ulama* (All Kerala Ulama Organization) was the result of this traditional response.'[114]

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[114] *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat ul-Ulama* (an introducing book), (2008), Published by Samasta Kerala Islam matha Vidyabhyasa Board, Samastalayam, Chelari, Malappuram

Samasta as a Revivalist Movement

When the post-1921 condiion of Kerala Muslims was worsened in all sense and the religious reformist outfits have started to seize the opportunity to spread their ideas lambasting traditional Islam and the *Ulama* group, the scholars woke up and worked timely to organize to defend Kerala Islamic tradition and to wage a revivalist movement against the new 'ideologies'. Thus, one of the eminent Sunni scholar Pangil Ahmad Kutty Musliyar (1305-1365 H), who was already started counter campaigns against neo-*tajdidism*, along with some other *Ulama*, met Varakkal Sayyid Abdur Rahman Ba-Alawi Mullakkoya *Tangal* (1840-1932) a great *Sufi* and renowned scholar of the time, and discussed the need of an organizational movement to defend the traditional Islam and dislodge the allegations of reformists. At the behest of *Tangal* one tentative committee was formed to study the issue and spread the message to every scholars of Kerala, after getting together in Calicut Great Juma Masjid in the presence of some major *Ulama* and society leaders.[115] 'A year later on June 26, 1926 a bigger convention was called at Calicut Town Hall, where the *Ulama* organization was reorganized and adopted a full-fledged organizational set-up in the name of *Samasta Kerala Jami'yyat ul-Ulama*. The convention nominated Varkkal Mullakkoya *Tangal* as *Samasta*'s first president while Pangil Ahmed Kutty Musliyar, Muhammed Abdul Bari Musliyar, KM Abdul Qadir Musliyar and KP Muhammad Meeran Musliyar became vice presidents, and PV Muhammad Musliyar and PK Muhammad Musliyar became secretaries in the first committee. *Samasta*'s supreme body including the working committee consisted of 40 eminent scholars of the time who were drawn purely on the basis of their scholarship in Islam, religious piety, faithfulness and devoutness. They are called *Mushawara* members.[116] On November 14, 1934, *Samasta* was registered as the government approved its bylaw, which was agreed upon after deep and wide scholarly discussions held in various *Mushawara* meets and in consultation with law experts' (Zubair 2006).

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[115] In this meeting that is organized in 1925 K.P. Muhammad Meeran Muliyar and Parol Husain Moulawi was elected as the president and secretary of the tentative organization (Faizy, P.P. Muhammad. (2004), *Samasta*, Tirurangadi: Samasta Tirurangadi Taluk Committee

[116] 'Mushawara members' mean members for consultation, drawn from the *Qur'anic* order to seek scholarly advices in matters. From its inception, Samasta often convenes the Mushawara meeting to discuss various issues concerning the religion and community (Zubair 2006).

According to the bylaw[117], the main aims and objectives of *Samasta* are: a) to propagate and spread the rites and beliefs of Islam according to the real view of *Ahlu Sunna wal-Jma'a*, b) to legally prevent the organizations and campaigns which are against the rites and believes of *Ahlu Sunna wal-Jama'a*, c) to look after all rights and powers of Muslim community, d) to promote and encourage religious education and do the needful for the secular education that will be compatible with religious beliefs and culture, e) to work for the welfare and progress of the Muslim society in general by eliminating superstitions, anarchy, immorality and disunity.

First of all, *Ulama* of *Samasta* tended to organize public conferences in different places through out of Kerala in order to spread its message to the local people. Between 1927 and 1944, it convened 15 annual conferences at various places attracting immense public attention (Ibid). The later conferences conducted Karyavattam (1945), Meenjanta (1947), Valancheri (1950), Badagara (1951), Tanur (1954), Kakkad (1961), Kasargod (1963), Tirunnavaya (1972), Kozhikode (1985) were very important in the history of *Samasta*. The resolutions passed in these conferences were its ideological battle against the opponents. The resolutions against the reformist organizations like *Jam'iyyat al Ulama* (*Mujahid* group), *Jamat-e-Islami*, *Tablig Jma'ath*, *Ahmadiyya Jama'ath* and fake *tariqats* like *Chottur*, *Korur*, *Nurisha* and *Aluwaye* were very crucial and historic in the revivalist history of *Samasta*. Apart form conferences many unofficial meetings, gatherings, dialogues, and discussions also were conducted in this regard. All of these frequent dialogues weakened the activities of *Bida'is* and conveyed to the common people the message to keep vigil from the tricky fascination of their temptations.

By 1950 when its foundation has consolidated in all level *Samasta* turned to the 'creative' activities from its former 'defensive' stands and started to think about Madrasas, colleges, educational institutions etc. Forming sub-organizations, it strengthened its focus on education and introduced new systematical projects. *Samasta Kerala Islamic Educational Board* (SKIEB) was its first sub-organization. Its formation was at the behest of Sayyid Abdur Rahman Bafaqi *Tangal* when Government banned the provision of Islamic education in school level. In the

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[117] These are taken from *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat ul-Ulama* (an introducing book), (2008), Published by Samasta Kerala Islam matha Vidyabhyasa Board, Samastalayam, Chelari, Malappuram

Karyavattam conference held in 1945, he urged the *Ulama* to start Madrasas across the state preparing a good syllabus from one to ten classes along with the regular schooling. After a serious deliberation in this regard in 1951, the *Ulama* convened at Valakkulam Juma Masjid in the chair of Abdul Bari Musliyar (1881-1965) and formed this organization after enough discussions. Paravanna Muhyuddin Kutty Musliyar (1898-1957) and K.P. Usman Sahib (1919-1998) were president and general secretary respectively. In March 1952 the board called for application for Madrasa recognition and the board working committee held on August 26 1952 recognized first ten Madrasas. After that, a number of Madrasas came to recognition was on amazing increase. The rate of increase can be understood from the following series: 1956 (149), 1961 (746), 1966 (1838), 1971 (2694), 1976 (3586), 1986 (5648), 1991 (6440), 1996 (7003), 2001 (7865), 2006 (8466), 2008 (8713). All of these Madrasas have classes at least until fifth standard. According to the documents of 2008 there are 4886 Madrasas which have classes up to 7th, 1493 Madrasas which have classes up to 10th and 312 Madrasas which have up to +2 standards. 'Now the Madrasas of the board have spread across the states and nations like Andaman Nicobar Islands, Tamil Nadu, Pondichery, Karnataka, Lakshdeep, Maharashtra, Malaysia, U.A.E, Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, and Oman. It conducts systematic training classes, *Hizb*, Lower, Higher and Secondary examinations to make the teachers more capable and well equipped. There are inspectors named as *Mufathish* to visit each and every Madrasa, they examine standard of the education, check up the physical condition and atmosphere of the Madrasa, give necessary recommendations to teachers and Madrasa managing committee and report the functioning of each Madrasa to the board. There are 105 inspectors, seven tutors to train the teachers, and six *Qur'an* reciters to conduct *Hizb* classes. There is also an association of Madrasa inspectors named *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat al Mufatisheen.*[118] *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat al Mu'allimeen* is another sub-organization works under *Samasta*. It is teachers' association under the board, which has 16 district braches and 392 range level committees other than the central committee. As of July 2006, 1,004,650 students are studying in *Samasta's* recognized Madrasa, and 78,709 teachers working there. Moreover, there are many sub organizations working for youths, students, *Mahallu*

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[118] It is taken from *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat ul-Ulama* (an introducing book), (2008), Published by Samasta Kerala Islam matha Vidyabhyasa Board, Samastalayam, Chelari, Malappuram

system, employees etc. that do their best and guide people to win their religious and material rights and needs.[119]

Influence of *Samasta* in the Life of Kerala Muslims

More than a name of an organization, *Samasta* was the mode of life for Kerala Muslims. In another word it represents the 'Kerala model' of Islam. It has played a great role in the formation of outlooks and worldview of its every individual. Tracing the exact traditionalist way of thought, it has dissolved in the life and culture of Muslim Keralites. According to the Kerala Muslims, *Ulama*, *Sayyids* and *Sufis* are the most respected personalities. In contrast to all its counterparts, this respect has united them as the pearls in the same thread. This collectivism and unity under the leadership of religious scholars is the basic secret of Kerala Muslim progress and awakening. The intensive practicability of traditional Islam among Kerala Muslims it self is the biggest example for in which level *Samasta* has influenced them. Not only in some aspect of life but in all aspects, especially in thinking, working, exchanging, and evaluating styles it has espoused them heavily.

In educational level *Samasta* introduced a great change that led to a rapid leap to the progress and awareness. Instead of eschewing rapport with religion and following secular studies, it facilitated for higher studies giving priority to religious study as well. This type of studies that stresses religiosity and social awareness, opened a new chapter in Kerala educational experience. This type of education persuaded Muslims to unite and gather under a powerful political banner. The political awareness led the community to make available of their rights and demands within their reach. Any way *Samasta* has key role in guiding all these movements in its adequate directions. The large popularity of *Samasta* was one of the big character in the positive social changes of Kerala Muslim. To understand the relevance of *Samasta* and its influence on the moulding of a powerful community in Kerala that claims the biggest literacy rate in the country, it is enough to make a comparative glance to the Muslims of north India and Kerala. Because of lacking a holistic scholastic organization, its educational and

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[119] The materials depended to write this portion are: *Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat ul-Ulama* (an introducing book), (2008), Published by Samasta Kerala Islam matha Vidyabhyasa Board, Samastalayam, Chelari, Malappuram; Zubair K(2006), *Development and Modernity of Religious Education in Kerala: Role of Samasta Kerala Jam'iyyat al Ulama*, CAAS, SL, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi; Faziy, P.P. Muhammad. (2004), *Samasta*, Tirurangadi: Samasta Tirurangadi Taluk

political power is going stratified and dispersed without making it helpful and fruitful for the all-level development of the community (Sikand 2007; 2009; 2008).

III. Areas of Islamic Awakening

Without keeping aloof from the social and political issues, *Ulama* had set out to tackle all problems concerning the Muslim community. Because of that the religion has acquired an unquestionable status in their minds, *Ulama* wrere very sincere to forsee problems with the same coin. The oppositions came from social, political, cultural, educational, and religious fields were defeated identifying the harshness of its anti religious characters. Thus the creative and energetic inclusiveness of *Ulama* made a new version of revivalist history in the significant breakthrough of Kerala Muslims. A very brief sketch of these activities is understood from the following passage:

Socio-cultural Revival

a) *Caste System and Social Stratification*: was a major problem *Ulama* had to encounter with it in the field of propagation from the inception of Islam in Kerala. Because of the spread of Islam was at a time when the caste system was rampant everywhere, *Ulama* needed to take much strains to overcome these discriminative ideologies. When Islam was practiced in the life of *Sufis*, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* the victims of *Chaturvarna* attracted to Islam and flocked to embrace it (Samad 1998: 7, 8).

b) *Against Hindu Cultural Adaptation*: As most of the historians counted, the self-conversion was the important reason for the rapid growth of Islam in Kerala (Miller 1992: 57). Its major population that time was Hinuds, along with its different castes and classes. Most of the conversions were taking place among these downtrodden people. While huge numbers of people came collectively to receive Islam and live collectively as they were before, there was also possibility of remaining cultural remnants with them. Especially, some converts have continued with their customary obligations to their *Janmis* even after Islam. It means that even though the religion they espoused has changed, the social system they were living in wasn't actually changed. Realizing this tragic condition *Ulama* received stubborn measures to eradicate this adaptation and unwanted devotedness. Even in the time of Mampuram

Sayyids this type of purification was conducted very regularly. According to records in this duration, those depressed people in the cruel treatment of caste and class have heavily converted to Islam on their own whims. Shaykh Jifri of Calicut and Hasan Jifri of Mampuram have played a great role in keeping the religion from alien cultural adaptations. Sayyid Alawi *Tangal* and Sayyid Fadl *Tangal* have stern stands in these regard. According to Bahauddin, Sayyid Fadl 'instructed the Muslims not to plough on Fridays, not to eat food left over after festivals in caste Hindu houses and to address caste Hindus on equal terms and not to use special honourable terms while addressing them. These edicts seem to have been meant for the new converts who used to hang around caste Hindu houses to get whatever left over food was available and used to address them in a reverential manner as they used to do before conversion (1992: 123). However, *Ulama* have kept vigilant in the infiltration of non-Islamic practices to Islam in all time and received very critical and meticulous methods in this regard. The activities of Tippu Sultan are also most worth mentioning in this regard (Miller 1992: 90; Engineer 1995: 103; Koya 1983: 53; Kunhali 2004: 70).

c) *Against colonialism and imperialism*: Because of consisting of several anti Islamic components, the *Ulama* were very cautious on colonialism from its early time. As previously mentioned, till the advent of Portuguese to Malabar the social, religious, and political atmosphere was very calm and quiet. By the moment that Vasco da Gama set afoot at Calicut in 1498 the situation has utterly changed and their anti-Islamism explicitly came out. All of the atrocities committed by them were pronouncing the intensity of their enmity toward Muslims (Koya 1983: 24). The *Ulama* themselves were responsible to resist these attacks, because its impact was heavily on religion, especially Islam and Muslims. Naturally, a great wing in the leadership of Zainuddin Makhdum senior (d. 1521), who was teaching in Ponnani *Dars*, was formed and bravely defended. His great anti colonial work *Tahreelu Ahlil Eeman ala Jihadi 'Abadat il-Sulban* (inciting the people of faith to fight the bearers of crosses) was the manifesto of anti-colonial literature in Malabar. In all sense, it incited the people to come out and fight against cultural imperialism and anti-Islamic activities. Zainuddin Makhdum junior (d. 1581) also enhanced the anti-British movement through his manuscript *Tuhfat al Mujahideen 'ala Akhbari al Burtughaliyyin* (presentation of fighters on the information of Portuguese). Both of these books worked well in community and caused for the formation of a series of

battalion that exists until the last drop of colonialism leave the country. Kunjali Marakkars, the hereditary admirals of Zamorin were a remarkable chapter in this regard.[120] *Fatah al Mubeen* of Qazi Muhammad, *Saif ul Battar* of Sayyid Alawi, *Uddat ul Umara* of Sayyid Fadl and *Muhimmat ul Mu'mineen* of Aminummantakathu Pareekkutti Musliyar (d. 1942) are some other remarkable anti-colonial literatures that influenced Kerala Muslims.[121] In another hand, *Ulama* and *Sufis* were the main characters of anti-colonial wars every time in Kerala history. The great *Sufi* of Calicut Shaykh Abul Wafa Shams ul Din Muhammad was an uncompromised warrior of anti colonialism. By the emergence of British, the anti-colonial wars were getting a most harsh face. Mampuram Sayyid Family has played a decisive role in getting them the fiasco of resistance. Consequently, Sayyid Fadl, the great champion of anti-colonialism, was even persuaded by British administrators to go into exile to Arabia (Miller 1992: 256). Umar Qazi (1757-1852) was another nightmare of British army in Malabar. Panakkad Sayyid Husain *Tangal* (d. 1884/85), Tirurangadi Ali Musliyar (d. 1922), Variyankunnathu Kunjahammad Haji, Pangil Ahmad Kutty Musliyar are few other notable personalities marked their own imprints in this fields.

Rather than political aggression and geographical encroachment, cultural imperialism was the major danger that *Ulama* have foreseen during their initiatives. Importing European ideologies Britain was moulding a novel generation that has western mind and Indian complexion. *Ulama* forecasted this tragedy and controlled the Muslims from being trapped in the fascination of British materialism. The anti-colonial waves led by *Ulama* were not related with politics itself but in cultural, economical, educational fields etc., also these were deeply evident.

d) *Against Christian missionaries*: Christian missionary was another major danger in the time of colonialism. Keeping pace with the armed militaries, they were propagating Christianity among Keralites, especially solitarily living Muslim families. The *Ulama* were not unaware of this pitfall too. All the references of *Ulama* including Makhdums and Mampuram *Sayyids* in their anti colonial works were the words like *Nasara* or *Ahl ul Sulban*, are the biggest proof that all were focusing in their fighting

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[120] For details see Narayanan, M.T. (1995), Kunjalis: The Muslim Admirals of Calicut, in Engineer, Asgharali. (ed.), *Kerala Muslims A Historical Perspective*, Delhi: Anjanta

[121] For details on anti colonial literatures refer Hamza, C. (1998), pp 33-39; Randathani, Dr. Hussain. (2007a), pp 39-43; Mandalamkunnu, Zainuddin. (2008), pp 104-109, Malayamma, Moyin Hudawi. (2008), pp 255-271

against the Christian missionaries. In the later history also there were several names who dedicated their lives only to dislodge the arguments of Christianity here. Though the scholar Sanaulla Maqdi *Tangal* (1847-1921) was an ardent anti-traditionalist, his endeavors in anti Christian propaganda is mention worthy. Shamsul Ulama E.K. Abu Bakr Musliyar (1914-1996) is another remarkable personality in this case. His great lectures against Christian missionaries from Manjeri were historic. Several Christians had converted to Islam on the spot in this time.[122]

Religious revival

From the very inception, Kerala Muslims were staunch adherents of traditional Islam. *Qur'an*, *Hadith*, *fiqh*, *tasawwuf*, *aqida* and its specialized *Imams* or scholars were given much preference in their pursuit of knowledge. Indigenous *Sufis* and *fuqaha* were followed and epitomized by people. However, it is noteworthy that the tradition was followed up only after the very conspicuous and scrutinizing authentication of well-versed *Ulama* who learned in particular topics. Hence, any alien spirits did not dilute Islam that was practiced largely among Muslims which were taken directly from *Sahabas* and *Tabi'in*. Thus, seeking the favour of *Sufis* after and before their demise, believing they can help through Al mighty, praying for deceased people, visiting the tombs of *Sufis*, remembering deceased people in certain days, celebrating the birthday of Prophet, reciting *Malas* and *Mouluds* commemorating the glorious lives and goodness of Prophets, *Sahabas* and *Sufis*, following *Sufi* style of life, reciting *Qunut*[123] in the prayer of *Subh*, offering Friday *Khutuba* in Arabic language etc., were not considered as part of alien ideologies. Because of early scholars and Hadrami *Sayyids* were ardent adherents of these traditions for centuries, the indigenous people need not a rethinking in this regard. In another hand, thousands of world famous scholars not only form Kerala but also Muslim countries from the inception of Islam were the promoters of all these practices as a shortcut to our nearness to the Al mighty. It is interesting to find that only after the emergence of colonialism was the power of *Sufis*, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* questioned and reinterpreted as alien to Islam.

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[122] See Cherusseri, Zainuddin Musliyar. (2005), *Shamsul Ulama: Views and Personality* (Mal), Calicut: Shifa Books; Nellikkuthu, Muhammad Ali Musliyar. (1997), *Malayalathile Maharadhanmar*, Calicut: Irshad Book Stall
[123] Certain offering or *Dikr* or prayer (*Dua*) which has come in Hadith

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In the case of Kerala, whenever pitfalls and cleavages have created in this tradition, *Ulama* have come out with stiff resistance and precautions. Therefore, until the eighteenth century there have not emerged any kinds of collective deviations from the exact teachings of traditional Islam except few sporadic odd events, which have been countered by *Ulama*.

a) *Shiite influence*: It is believed that the first cleavage that emerged in Kerala Islam was the *Shiite* influence probably came from Maharashtra or Karnataka contacts. It might have spread from the military of Tipu Sultan, which was comprised of many *Shiite* people. Ishtiyaq Shah, one of the later members of Kondoty *Sayyids*, also might have a leading role in this regard.

The contact between *Shi'ism* and Kondoty *Tangals* generally is still a controversial thing in Kerala Muslim History. The main question rises here is wherefrom this contact will start and where it end. Though there are rare studies on this topic, it is criticized that all are partial and taken on misunderstandings; a comprehensive investigation in this regard is yet to come out. According to the available documents, Muhammad Shah (1687-1766) was the pioneer of this *Sayyid* family in Kerala. He was born at Kardan near Mumbai and became a great *Sufi* of Qadiri order, roaming through Baithul Muqaddas, Egypt etc., he reached Kerala and began to stay in Kondoty from 1717. He led a life of *Sufi*, influenced a number of people, and moulded a good generation before his departure in 1766. Most of available documents made a vain attempt to establish a long contact between him and Tippu Sultan (1750-1799) who reigned Malabar from 1783 to 1791. Some other writers tried to establish possible contacts between him and Hyder Ali (1720-1782) who reigned Malabar from 1763 to 1782. It is doubtless to say that Kerala historians have mistaken in understanding that who is Muhammad Shah and what was his time and mission precisely.[124] At the same time, one cannot deny that there were pro-*Shiites* in the successors of Muhammad Shah who advocated *shiism* among Kerala Muslims.

However, in response to this deviation Shaykh Jifri came out, met the then leader of Kondoty *Tariqa*, and issued a Fatwa that it has a close relation with *Shiism* after conducting a comprehensive study on what he represented. Later the issue grew as

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[124] See Kareem, K.K.M.A, *Hasrath Muhammad Shah*; Kareem, K.K.M.A. (1987), PP 191-196; Miller (1992) pp 257-258; Dale (1980) pp 115-116; Randathani, Dr Hussain. (2007) pp 49-65

major controversy between advocates of Kondoty *Tangals* and Ponnani scholars. It was called as *Kondoty-Ponnani Kaitharkkam*. This controversy produced several books and poems in this regard. *Kanzul Barahin* of Shaykh Jifri was very important one of this kind. *Fatwas* were collected for this purpose even from the scholars of abroad also. Eventually, the followers of *Kondoty Kai* were bnned entering Sunni Masjids and making proposals from *Sunni* families. Lasting about two centuries, this problem was come to an end by the harsh moments of Malabar rebellion in 1921. The intellectual and religious stand of *Ulama* in this case was very decisive and fruitful.

b) *Against fake Tariqas*: Even though *Tasawwuf* was supported and motivated by *Ulama* they were not unaware of its exploitation. It is a general fact that spirituality has been exploited every time and everywhere. Nevertheless, the *Ulama* had realized it seriously and issued *Fatwas* to make people aware of being entrapped in the fascination of this spurious spirituality.

1) *Korul Tariqa* was one of them. Puthanveettil Mammad of Korul near Koduvally was the chief founding leader of this so-called *Tariqa*. Arguing as the *Khlifa* of Naqshabandi order he had allowed many non-*Shara'i* practices. Realizing it as a rising threat to the pure concept of Islamic spirituality the great scholar of the time Chalilakathu Kunjahammad Haji (d. 1919) responded timely and proclaimed it as an un-Islamic one, after conducting a serious study, releasing in a *Fatwa* issued in 1912. After the emergence of *Samasta* the *Ulama* too opposed it vehemently.

2) *Chottur Tariqa* was another one spread by a tailor Muhyiddin, native of Kannanur, especially in the surroundings of Kalpakanjeri, Puthanathani, Valavannur etc. from Malappuram district. He primly argued that he was the *Ghaus* and *Qutub* of that time. In the book *Ishtihar ul Tanbeeh* published in 1930, his followers argued that there is difference in the mode of practicing five time prayers in *Shari'a* and *Tariqa*. This book was comprised of 24 questions in this regard. Then the *Ulama* rose up and questioned the authenticity of their arguments. Cheriyamundam Kunjippokkar Musliyar, one of founding leaders of *Samasta*, published a counting work *Hidayat ul Mutalattikh bi Ghavayat il Mutashayyikh* answering all of their questions. In the fourth annual conference convened at Mannarkkad in 1930, the *Ulama* council of *Samasta* passed a resolution against *Chottur tariqa* and ordered people to keep away from following it.

3) *Nurisha Tariqa*: It was spread by Nurisha *Tangal* came from Hyderabad. Conducting a great *tariqa* conference at Thellichery in 8, 9, 10 April, 1955 it got a gradual access among Kerala Muslims, though there had arisen some oppositions from traditional *Ulama*. Later when its *Khalifas* became rampant in their distinguished practices, which has nothing to do with Islam, *Ulama* received very staunch measures and demaded people to be vigilant on following it.

4) *Shamsiyya Tariqa*: It came form Lakshadive Islands in seventies, advacating the success of spirituallity. It possessed an identity in Kerala related with an Arabic college at Allur near Valavannur. When its un-Islamic elements were found by scholars, it was questioned and discouraged among Muslims. In the *Mushawara* convened at Velimukku in 1978 the *Ulama* came up and annulled its acceptability in all sense. The scholars like Kottumala Abu Bakr Musliyar (d. 1987), Kanniyathu Ahmad Musliyar (d. 1993) E.K. Abu Bakr Musliyar (d. 1996) have done much in this regard.

5) *Aluwaye Tariqa*: It was the latest one that people were ordered to keep away from it by the *Ulama* of Kerala. Yusuf Sultan of *Aluway* was the chief of this faction. Arguing as the Shaykh of Qadiri *Sufi* order he gathered people and began to give them his own messages. When it caused to create skepticism on the concept of spirituality that people were experienced before, *Samasta* ordered a study and brought out the veracity of the issue. Thus in 2005 it was promulgated as the composite of un-Islamic elements and Muslims should keep away from its following.

c) *Against Bida'i (innovational) movements*: 1) Against *Wahabism*: Vakkom Abdul Qadir Moulavi was the first introducer of *Wahabism* in Kerala. As he was good reader of *A-Manar* of Rashid Rida, he had become an anti-traditionalist and an ardent believer of *Wahabi* fundamentalist thoughts. *Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam*, which was founded at Kodungallur in 1922 was the first platform through which *Wahabism* got popularity. By covening first annual conference at Kodungallur in 1923 and third conference at Calicut in 1925 in the chair of Vakkom, it has begun to make a grip in Kerala. *Ulama* felt that it is a great threat to the traditional teachings of Islam which was followed for centuries and was nurtured under the guidance of eminent scholars. Thus *Samasta* was organized and a collective defense of traditional Islam started. Conferences, counter-speeches and debates were the decisive channels that *Ulama*

resorted to oppose *Wahabism*. In the annual conferences of *Samasta* the *Mushawara* passed several resolutions against their allegations. Besides, the *Ulamas* like Qutubi Muhammad Musliyar (1877-1966), Kanniyathu Ahmad Musliyar, Paravanna Muhyiddin Kutty Musliyar (1898-1957), Pangil Ahmad Kutty Musliyar, Rsheeduddin Musa Musliyar (d. 1948), Abd al Qadir Fadfari (d. 1363 H), Pathi Abd al Qadir Musliyar (d. 1959), E.K. Abu Bakr Musliyar, Kottumala Abu Bakr Musliyar, E.K. Hasan Musliyar (d. 1982) etc., led a vehement anti-*Wahabi* campaign and tried to uproot their innovative ideologies in different times. The debates conducted in Nadapuram (1933), Kodiyathur (1944), Nediyiruppu (1949), Parappanangadi (1950), Poonur (1951), Vazhakkad (1966), Thanalur (1970), Poodur in Palakkad (1974), Kuttichira (1976), Kottappuram (1983) etc. are the very remarkable and fruitful events in the history of anti-*Wahabi* campaign among Kerala Muslims.

2) Against *Ahmadiyya Jama'at*: Though the Qadiyanism has reached Kerala during the lifetime of Mirza Ahmad (1835-1908) itself, the counter defense also had started the same time. Kannanur was its first centre and B. Kunjahammad was one of its earliest leaders in Kerala. In 1913 there had a great debate between him and Chalilakathu Kunjahammad Haji. This might be the first ever debate conducted in Kerala in this regard. Chalilakathu has wrote a book namely *Qadiyani Vada Khandanam* as a reply to their work *Tuhfat al Malabar*. *Samasta* was one of the first Islamic organizations in the world that declared the Ahmadiyya group as non Muslims, embarrassing even the reformists who later followed the suit after the global Muslim scholars and organizations including Saudi based *Rabitat al Alam al Islami* issued the *Fatwa* of *Kufriyya* against them. Even in the first conference conducted in 1927 at Tanur, *Samasta* scholars have made speeches against Qadiyanism. In the sixth conference that conducted in 1933 at Feroke, *Samasta* officially proclaimed Qadiyanism as non-Islamic movement. Palot Musakutty Haji, Kaderi Muhammad Musliyar (1906-1985) and E.K. Abu Bakr Musliyar were the eminent personalities who fought against Qadiyanis through out of their life.

3) Against *Jama'at-e-Islami*: It was founded by Abul A'la Maududi (1903-1979) in August 26, 1941. Its first *Qayyim* and propagator in Kerala was V.P. Muhammad Ali of Edayur. Since the early thirties, itself the ideas of Maududi have been known in Kerala through his own monthly *Tarjumanul Qur'an*. From the inception the monthly

was sent at free of cost to those who know Urdu. Muhammad Ali, who was already a *Wahabi*, was one them. Naturally, it began to attract him and he began to contact Moududi from the year that *Jama'at* was founded. Later he visited him and stayed there two years. After returning Kerala around 1944 he started to spread its messages covertly and made a circle within short period. In 1946 he formed *Jam'iayyat al Mustarshidin* as a platform to his novel ideas. In 1948 in the second annual conference he proclaimed it as the first unit of Jama'at-e-islami in Kerala (Samad 1998). However, the political Islam of Maududi has to face stiff oppositions from Ulama. They tried to reveal the un-Islamic elements in new organization. In 1950 *Samasta* proclaimed its twentieth conference to convene in Valanjery, the birthplace of *Jama'at* in Kerala. In this conference E.K. Abu Bakr Musliyar made fantastic speech disclosing the problems in the Urdu books of Maududi. Consequently, this anti-voice spread across Kerala and in the leadership of *Samasta Ulama* it made a major breakthrough. The debates conducted in Wayanad (1951), Karnataka (1951), Kozhikode (1956) etc. are remarkable events in the early anti-*Jama'at* movement among Kerala Muslims.

4) Against *Tabligh Jama'at*: Tabligh is a movement started by Muhammad Ilyas (1885-1944) among the Mewati Muslims during the second quarter of twentieth century. From the early fifties it has started contacts with Kerala Muslims in much sense. At first the Ulama of Kerala did not take the movement seriously and even some of them viewed it as another from of *Wahabism*. But later on, when relentless and untiring sacrifices of certain people under the leadership of Muhammad Musa of Kanjar, Todupuzha, generally known as Musa Moulana, found success and movement became little popular among people (Samad 1998: 148). Then the *Ulama* woke up and studied about the ideology of the movement. In 1965 *Samasta* convened *Mushawara* under the chair of Kanniyath Ahmad Musliyar and entrusted a gang comprised of four members to make a comprehensive study on the issue. In the next meeting on the basis of study result *Samasta* reached in a determination that *Tabligh* also traces the similar ideology of *Wahabism* especially in the innovational trends; thus it should be put away. Consolidating this resolution E.K. Abu Bakr Musliyar wrote a study series in the then mouthpiece of *Samasta, Sunni Times* on this topic. That is why still it could not make a landmark victory in among Kerala Muslims.

d) Against modernist-reformist voices: As the result of the influence of Egyptian rationalism and Wahabi Puritanism, a new generation had emerged in Kerala Islam. Advocating for fundamental changes in Islamic theology they were representing for the modern alternative of Islam. Thoughts of C.N. Ahmad Moulavi, Chekannur Moulavi and ideology of Muslim Educational Society (M.E.S) at a perticular period were of this kind. The timely intervention of Ulama and staunch resolutions and further measures received against them were the least causes that deserted them in all sense.

Literal and Cognitive Revival

Arabic and Arabic-Malayalam have played a decisive role in the literal and cognitive revival of Kerala Muslims. Contrary to all of its counterparts, it has had a spectacular achievement in both of languages, especially in educational and aesthetic aspects. Rather than just a language to transmit ideas, it has influenced them culturally and emotionally. In another hand, the spiritual and material atmosphere of Mappila Muslims in the last five centuries was the inculcation and dissemination of what their life has acquired from both of these sources. Hence one kind of spiritual value was seen everywhere in their social, cultural, educational, literal and political aspects as well.

The impact of Arabic language on the life and culture of Kerala Muslims is tremendous and inseparable. Because of frequent contacts with foreign *Sufis*, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* as well as traders, even the locals had made a severe acquaintance with it. That is why most of the books have been written in the last five centuries was in Arabic. In different faculties such as *Qur'an*, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, *Sufism*, theology, history, philosophy, poems, *Moulid* literature etc. there are thousands of books that has influenced and being influencing the life of Kerala Muslims. The contributions of Makhdumi scholars, Mampram Sayyids and Kozhikode Qazis in different fields are worth mentioning.[125] The significant works like *Fatah al Mu'in*, *Al Adkiya'*, *Al 'Umdah*, *Murshid al Tullab*, *Irshad al 'Ibad*; *Manqus Maulid* are few selected examples that have already accustomed and dissolved in the day to day life of Kerala Muslims. It is most intrusting to know that some Keralite scholars themselves are

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[125] Muhammad, Prof: K.M. (2005), *Contribution of Kerala to Arabic Literature*, Kozhikode: Tirurangadi Book Stall, it will give detailed information on the contributions of Muslims in different areas of knowledge.

authors of many books that are still studied in *Darses* and Arabic colleges. If the books are scattered in different fields, the main object of writing was purification of human mind and guidance of the up coming generation.

Role of Arabic-Malayalam literature: Arabic-Malayalam literature was nothing other than the centuries-long life expression of Kerala Muslims. Starting from the pre-colonial period it was creating a religious oriented world mostly circulated on Islam and Muslims. The mental state of this period can be assessed from the following statements. Duarte Barbosa says that 'if the King of Portugal had not discovered India, Malabar would already have been in the hands of Moors' (quoted Miller 1992: 74). Shuranattu Kunjan Pillai says that 'if the successors of Arakkal Ali Rajas of Kannanur could rule Kerala in the later centuries, the official script of Malayalam would have been of Arabic-Malayalam' (Kareem 1998). It shows that in how much level the Muslim presence and Arabic-Malayalam as their language has influenced this area from when it has emerged here. 'Arabic Malayalam was a mode of transliterating Malayalam into sophisticated Arabic script.' 'This script was the chief medium of education for the Malabar Muslims till recent times. It helped them preserve, though indirectly, the purity attributed to Arabic. Matters related to religious belief and codes of conduct were taught and assimilated in this medium' (Karassery 1995: 169, 170). It was not confined to religious instructions only, but in due course it had entered into the daily life of the people.

The literature of Arabic-Malayalam was the prosperous branch of literature in Kerala. It has produced hundreds of books in theology, history, astronomy, mathematics, dictionaries etc. On the basis of production it can be divided as prose and poems. In prose items, there have come so many items like *Tarjamas*, commentaries, translations, novels, stories etc. *Tarjamas* are the narrative books that describe the day-to-day religious obligations of Muslims like prayers and fast. Commentaries on *Qur'an* and *Hadith* also weren't less in number. The intrusting thing was the translation of almost all important books written by important scholars especially in *fiqh* and *tasawwuf* were available in Arabic-Malayalam like *Tuhfa, Mahalli, Sharhu Jauharatu al Tauhid, Sirat al Nabi, Keemiya' al Sa'ada* etc. It is said that six years before the first Malayalam novel *Indulekha* by Chandu Menon was published in 1889, the translation of *Chahar Dervesh* written by Amir Khusru in Persian, was published

in Arabic-Malayalam. Besides this one, there were about fifty other novels also. Few of them are *Alavuddin*, *Qamar zaman*, *Shamsuzzaman*, *Umarayyar*, *Ameer Hamza*, *Gulzanober*, *Zubaida*, *Zainaba*, *Kilr Nabiye Kanda Nabeesa* etc. (Kareem 1978; 1998).

In the case of poem it can be divided into several items, like *Malappattukal* (devotional songs), *Padappattukal* (war songs), *Kissappattukal* (historical songs), *Klayanappattukal* (marital songs) etc. There were probably thousands of songs all of these kinds. According to the available documents, the first Arabic-Malayalam work was *Muhyiddin Malaya* by Qazi Muhammad of Calicut, written in 1607. *Malas* are devotional songs that praise the attributes of Sufis, Shaykhs, divines, martyrs etc. *Muhyiddin Mala* was the attributes of Abdul Qadir Jilani in the background of Qadiri Sufi order. It was followed by several *Malas* in the same style. For example, *Rifa'i Mala* (1812), *Badar Mala*, *Nafisath Mala*, *Shaduli Mala*, *Shahul Hameed Mala*, *Manjakkulam Mala*, *Mahmood Mala* (1872), *Siddiq Mala*, *Hamzathu Mala* (1879), *Suhrawardi Mala*, *Mampuram Mala*, *Jifri Mala*, *Mkhdum Mala*, *Muthu Mala*, *Uswathu Mala*, *Mu'jizathu Mala*, *Safala Mala*, *Kottappalli Mala*, *Puthiya Muhyiddin Mala*, *Shaykh Nuruddin Mala*, *Malappuram Mala*, *Jamalullaili Mala*, *Minnuri Mala*, *Qudrathu Mala*, *Cehmbiricka Mala*, *Sayyid Madani Mala* etc. Each of them has its own duties and influence in the community. The common discussions in this item were spirituality, religiosity, Sufi attachments, ways of salvation, need of *Tariqa* etc. In another word, it was the heartbeats of Kerala Muslims of that time.

Padappattukal have an influential role in the life and thoughts of Kerala Muslims. Especially in the time of colonial invasion, these were the power source of Mappila warriors. Being of the contents of Islamic wars, colonial atrocities and the inevitability of encounter, it has incited them to lead an unprecedented breakthrough. *Padappattukal* are of two kinds; on the foreign wars and indigenous wars. For example: *Badar Pdappattu* (1876), *Uhd Pdappattu*, *Chakkiri Badar* (1907), *Fatahu al Saham*, *Hunain Padappattu* (1875), *Saqoom Padappattu*, *Karbala Yudda Kavyam* (1883), *Karbala Jaza*, *Makkam Fatah* (1879), *Bahnas Padappattu* (1841), *Fath Kisra wa Qaisar*, *Khandak Padappattu* (1820), *Tabuk Padappattu* (1820), *Greece Padappattu* (1879), *Malappuram padappattu* (1879), *Pazhaya Cherur Padappattu*

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(1842), *Cherur Chindu, Mannarkkad Padappattu, Manjeri Padappattu, Malabar Lahalappattu, Khilafathu Lahalappattu*.

Kissappattukal or *Charithra Kavyangal* are the songs that disclose the stories and life stories of Prophets, Sufis, Ulamas etc. There were several historic songs have emerged in the last century. It represents that in how much level they were aware of the histories of their forefathers. For example: *Hijrathunnabi* (1887), *Ibrahim Nabi Kissappattu, Yusuf Nabi Kissappattu, Sualaiman Nabi Charithram* (1847), *Danial Nabi Kissappattu, Isa Nabi Kissappattu, Hijra Pattu* (1887), *Ayishathu Mala* (1886), *Thahirathu Mala, Mi'raj Pattu, Madh Majeed Mala, Wafathu Kissappattu, Minathul Bari* (1881), *Akhbarul Hind, Malik bin Dinar Kissappattu* (1883), *Ibrahim bin Adham Kissappattu, Misri Kavyam* (1894), *Saddum Pattu* (1880), *Wafathul Fathima* (1881), *Karamathu Mala* (1864), *Madinathu Najjar Kissappattu* (1785), *Jafar Tayyar Pattu* and *Ahmad al Kabir al Rifa'i Kissappattu* (1826).

Besides these, there were different kinds of songs related with various life aspects of Kerala Muslims. *Kalyana Pattukal, Oppana Pattukal, Mailanji Pattukal* are few of them. The intrusting thing here is that all of Muslim life was poetic and it has a religious colour. Religiosity was predominant everywhere in social institutions.

Development of periodical literature was another important phase among Kerala Muslims. There were several magazines being published weekly and monthly. It had a considerable role in educating contemporary people. The aesthetic art items like *Oppana, Duf Muttu, Arabana Muttu,* and *Kolkkali* are other forms that have a religious colour and influence in the daily life of Muslims.

The important thing to be mention here is Arabic-Malayalam has won in creating a religious awareness and a cognitive revival among Kerala Muslims. All of its items were those bridging between self and Islamic teaching or its history. Thus, one can find out that the role of Arabic-Malayalam literature was a basic factor in the revival of Kerala Muslims.[126]

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[126] Detailed informations on Arabic-Malayalam literature are available on Kareem (1978); Muhammadali, V.P. (2007); Lathif, N.K.A. (2010); Karuvarakkundu, O.M. (1995); Miller (1992), Karassery, M.N. (1995)

Educational Revival

The educational system that followed among Kerala Muslims was very conspicuous and fruitful. Rather than quantity of education, quality was provided much preference. Hence, the transformation from the traditional way of imparting education wasn't an impediment in its progress, though it has espoused gradually and made a remarkable revolution taking its own side.

Maktab, W'az and *Dars* systems were the old channels that extensively followed among Kerala Muslims. Though it has technical limitations related with time and progress, the cheap and valuable infrastructure they kept it were sufficient for that level study. *Maktabs* that are well known as *Othupallis* in Kerala were the very primary stage of this category. These were the centers mostly found outside or adjacent to the mosque imparting a sort of primary study of religious and Arabic education for young Muslim girls and boys. *Wa'azes*, the preaching, were the public educating system that constitute the secondary level of education. There were conducted continuous *wa'az* programs lasting thirty or forty days among Kerala Muslims about three or four decades ago. According to locals, they were very influential and fruitful method to understand the Islamic rules and regulations related with the day-to-day life. *Darses* were the system of higher education started among Kerala Muslims probably from the advent of Islam in this land. Ponnai and Kozhikode (Chaliyam) were the prestigious centers that produced thousands of scholars who were the key characters in disseminating Islamic knowledge across Kerala through out of centuries. High level subjects like *Tafsifr, Hadith, Fiqh, Tasawwuf, Balagha, Mantiq* and *Ilm al Falak* etc. were studied in *Darses*. Hence the graduates from *Darse* were capable of treating any problems in Islamic sense (Zaubair 2006). Thousands of *Darses* and their branches emerged through different times played a substantial role in the propagation of Islam. Looking to the serious and comprehensive set up of *Darses* and the tremendous changes thy have done here, one can say that they were the primary centers of Islamic revivalism in Kerala.

Later three of these institutions got upgraded and took the position of Madrasas, lecturings and Arabic colleges. Receiving impetus from *Darul Uloom,* Deoband started in 1867 and *Baqiyat al Salihat,* Vellure started in 1883, some new reforms began to work in the traditional Muslim education of Kerala Muslims. *Tanmiyat ul*

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Uloom Madrasa of Vazakkad was the pioneering figure in this series. Though it has started simply in 1871 by the famous Koyappathody family, only by the enrolment of the great scholar Chalilakathu Kunjahammad Haji it got a systematic structure. Adapting the advanced way of infrastructure in classroom and a balanced system in syllabus he systemized and invigorated religious education. Kindling light from the Vazakkad model several initiatives have started in different places. Meanwhile there has been prevailed the thought of reforming *Othupallis* to an advanced level. Many sporadic attempts were also started. *Ma'danul Uloom Madrasa* of Kannanur started in 1911 by AM. Koyakkunhi was of this kind (Pasha 1995).

As previously mentioned the advent of *Samasta* to the educational thought was the historic venture in the religious education of Kerala Muslims. By the organization of *Samasta* Kerala educational board in 1951, it became first and foremost organization ever seen in Kerala history in running Madrasas most systematically and scientifically (Ibid: 144). It was years before *Kerala Nadwat al Mujahidin* and *Kerala Jama'at-e-Islami* was started their Madrasa boards[127]. According to Miller 'the Madrasa is the wonder and strength of Mappila Islam. In 1900 there were 6, 285 *Sunni* Madrasas in Kerala, employing more than 42,575 teachers and serving 911,460 students' (1992: 234). Now the number of Madrasas that *Samasta* is running has reached 9031 to the date 19/05/2011.[128] Describing the background and workability he continues 'When the Kerala government banned the teaching of religion in state supported schools, the *Samastha Jam'iyyat al 'Ulama* reorganized religious education under its own board of education and set out to establish a Madrasa in every Muslim village. It produced new text books, appointed inspectors, granted leaving certificates, and successfully effected a saturation program in religious education for Mappila children (Ibid: 234, 235).

Arabic colleges are another wonder that play a desicive role in the enriching of traditional education among Kerala Muslims. By the second half of twentieth century Kerala witnessed a mushrooming trend in the growth of Arabic colleges. Arabic colleges are the higher educational centers parallel to the *Dars* system, with application of modern educational developments and extra curricular activities.

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[127] KNM started Madrasa board in 1955 and *Jama 'at-e-islami* started in 1979. It was concentrated mainly on Arts and Islamic courses (Pasha 1995: 142, 143).
[128] The Madrasas of AP faction also come about four thousands.

Generally we can classify the contemporary Arabic colleges of Kerala to two parts; pure *Shari'ath* colleges and combined educational institutions. Commonly if all Arabic colleges are called *Shari'ath* colleges, here it means the colleges that give priority only to the religious subjects, though there are other subjects also nominally. Some of this kind colleges are *Quwwat al Islam Arabic college* of Talipparamba (1950), *Ma'unat al Islam Arabic college* of Ponnani (1958), *Ihya'u al Sunna Arabic college* of Othukkungal (1961) *Jamia Nuriyya* of Pattikkad (1963), *Jamia Wahabiyya* of Wandoor (1966), *Jannat al Uloom Arabic college* of Palakkad (1967), *Anwariyya Arabic college* of Pottachira (1969), *Jamia Sa'diyya Arabic college* of Kalanad (1971), *Rahmaniyya college* of Katameri (1962), *Anwar al Islam Arabic college* of Tirurkkad (1973), *Dar al Uloom* of Sultan Batheri (1975), *Rasheediyya college* of Edavannappara (1976), *Darussalam college* of Nandi (1976), *Dar al Najath Islamic centre* of Karuvarakkundu (1977), *Markz al Saqafat al Sunniyya* of Karanthur (1978), *Kottumala Abubakr Musliyar Islamic centre* of Kalambadi (1987), *Markaz* of Kundur (1990). These institutions took a large part in the dissemination traditional education in Kerala. Its graduates are the leading scholars of time.

Combined educational institutions are the second group. It was a new phase in the growth of Arabic colleges and system of imparting Islamic education in Kerala. Instead of giving priority only to religious subjects, it treated secular subjects also with its own priority. Their destination was moulding up of a powerful and scholastic Islamic generation well versed in religious and secular education, equipped with science and technology that can response to the demands of time. Starting by the emergence of Darul Huda movement in 1983 at Chemmad it has got a booming growth among Kerala Muslims. Experiencing the expertise of its celebrated products and the quality of education it imparts it has become a new trend in Kerala Muslim educational style. Hence, within few years more than fifteen undergraduate colleges have started to follow the same system and syllabus. Now this co-ordination of colleges has upgraded as an Islamic university by the by the Federation of Islamic Universities, Cairo. Modeling this experiment of this modernization of traditional Islamic education there have emerged several parallel streams also. The co-ordination of Islamic colleges is worth mentioning one. More than twenty colleges from the different parts of Kerala pursue the same line.

However, among the cries of 'tradition' and 'modernity', the traditional Islamic educational system in Kerala has assumed a remarkable breakthrough and yielded new horizons of growth. Nevertheless, the surprising thing is all of these transformations are being done only after the sincere focus on the essence of traditionality of Islam and its view on education. Here, it is doubtless to say that the different systems of imparting education in Kerala have become a new feather in the cap of Islamic revivalism among Kerala Muslims.

Conclusion

The substantialization of *Tajdid* in Kerala milieu wasn't nothing other than the invigoration of traditional Islam. The vibrancy and novelty of traditional values were the basic soul of Islamic revivalism. The vision that guided the community and their transformations in centuries were directly given by the Prophet and his companions. The visionaries like Sufis, *Sayyids*, and *Ulama* were the mission of Islamic awakening in Kerala. They paved a way of sincerity and wholeheartedness to the preaching of Islam. Spirituality, leadership, and knowledge provided by them respectively were the components that heavily caused for the materialization of an Islamic change. Instead of modifying life and culture with alien seemingly progressive components, the only work done here was delving to the depth of meaning that already taught. Thus, Kerala retained the continuity of Islamic thought with the revivalist tradition.

Fundamentalist Reform and Impact of Neo-*tajdid*ism

Introduction

A paradoxical fact is that wherever colonialism has anchored, socio-religious reformist movements have erupted there. The studies on the reasons and backgrounds of different reformist movements in various parts of the world can substantiate this observation. In the case of Arab Muslim countries as well as Indian subcontinent it is very evident. Taking inspiration directly or indirectly all of such movements actually were the collective responses of the society to receive transformations by the times (Osella & Osella 2007; Robinson 2001; Metcalf 1982; Sanyal 1996). The passion of novelty and aversion of antiquity are the fundamental features of a society, whether it is trained by religion or not. Thus the recurrence of the same history by the eighteenth century in the case of Kerala too wasn't a coincidence. Pacing with the reformist initiatives in the world level, henceforth, it also made a breakthrough in social, political, economical, cultural and religious aspects. Possibly it is considered as the 'renaissance' of Kerala and its march 'towards a new society' (Kurien 1994; Elayidon 2009; Menon 2008).

As a social process the reform was an infectious and all-encompassing phenomenon that will not leave any certain area or society untouched. Naturally it got a swift growth and rapidly spread everywhere as a symbol of prestige escaping from the quagmire of oldness. The social institutions especially the religion, was the most affected area by this new trend. It was believed that by re-forming religion eschewing its outdated principles, which was popular in the bygone days the people would be getting an opening to tackle and interfere in all things on their own whims; supposedly, it was the secret behind the European victory. However, finally it is to say that by the eighteenth century in Kerala this progress-labeled 'civilizing trend' started to reform centuries-old Islamic theology also.

As we discussed in the preceding chapter Kerala has been accommodating a very rich religious social atmosphere stuffed with religious rituals and customs. More than adapting prevalent alien customs as heavily criticized, there was being created a vernacular Islam retaining its pristine entity. Leaving a complex official face as allegedly somewhere happened, it was practiced here in a very local and popular sense, i.e. the day to day life, mutual interactions, social engagements, culture, arts all were Islamized with Islamic motives. All of the human thoughts, sentiments, interventions, gatherings and even festivals were Islamicaly coloured and adorned. The *Malas, Moulids, Ratibs, Duff muttu, Kolkkali, Arabana Muttu*, and *Urus* all were its vernacular representations. As the writers like Miller (1992), Dale (1984), and Osella & Osella (2007) criticize, there wasn't illegal veneration or creation of idols as they presented it in a secular sense. Actually here was missing its transcendental side. Hence there is little to surprise to be reformed these rituals, dubbing as superstitions in a time colonial values were very pervasively spread everywhere.

Needless to say that the demand to reform rose against the Kerala Muslim tradition by the advent of colonialism wasn't on the basis of its socially or religiously low standard or backwardness, but it was found unfit to the criteria of 'civilizing' which was adopted from the out side. It can be found that the responses of Kerala people to the reform or colonialism were very different. Someone supported it completely while other rejected it similarly. The third group was generally anti colonial but partially pro colonial government as a system of governance only. In the same time they were very conscious to keep aloof from the influence of colonial values. The final one is those who apparently disagreed with the colonial invasion but heavily influenced by colonial values. In the case of reform movements in Kerala the final group was very active. Among Muslims it was represented for purification. The purification was by uprooting 'uncivilized' rituals from the traditional Islam. In another word, instead of inclusive revivalism, exclusive reformism was taken place. However, the great irony to be remarked here is the harboring of fundamentalism and reformism in a same court.

It is worth mentioning that the postcolonial indigenous historians and their historiography have played a decisive role in the creation of an anti traditional atmosphere in Kerala Muslim history. Denigrating the contributions of traditionalists,

they have fabricated a new 'reformist world' as the modernist version of Islam. By deliberate attempts of this kind, all the cultural and religious achievements which have taken place before the nineteenth century were dubbed as *jahiliyya* and all of its advocates were called *mushriks*. Because of the scarcity of considerable historical works marking the traditionalist imprints in the construction of a powerful modern Muslim society, the later historians and researchers have compelled to resort these partial writings to conduct other historical studies. Such approaches and the traditional contempt kept against *ulama* group have caused to sprout an anti traditionalist sentiment among the younger generations.[129]

In sum, Muslim reformism or Islamic reformism in Kerala milieu represents a so called awakening followed by some definite reasons that will be discussed later, especially colonialism. Started by Sanaulla Makti *Tangal* (1847-1921) and Vakkom Abdul Qadir Moulavi (1873-1932) this initiative grew as a movement and conquered the minds of certain educated elite group and spread through different part of Kerala. Taking the tags like Kerala *Salafism*, Kerala *Wahabism* or Mujahid faction it represented the anti traditionalist or modernist Islam. Like different Muslim movements erupted in Kerala, *Wahabism* also marked its own imprint on the modern history of Kerala Muslims. Moreover, it enjoys the pioneering leadership for calling people to the reformist Islam with the motto of reinterpretation of *Qur'an* in the light of self-reasoning (Kurzman 2002).

However, in this chapter I would like to critically approach the *Salafi*st reformism in the background of traditional Islam in Kerala milieu. This study will try to depict the inspirations that the reform concept has taken from, what its advocates have represented among Kerala Muslims, challenging the traditionalist Islam, what they could put forward as an alternative or what was the consequences of reformist Islam in Kerala milieu. For the convenience of discussion, the chapter has divided in two parts. The first part will discuss the genesis and spread of reformism among Kerala Muslims and the second part will deal with the major transitions, which have confronted by reformism that takes it far from its fundamentals.

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[129] The writings of Maqdi Tangal, Vakkom Moulavi, C.N. Ahmad Moulavi, K.K. Muhammad Abdul Karim, and Dr. Ibrahim Kunju are probably of this kind.

Reformism in Formation

I. Vision of Reform

As of various reform movements of the world, it can be found out that the exact reasons of Kerala Muslim reformism, which was pioneered by Vakkom Moulavi and Makti *Tangal* also were very divergent and multifarious. It is undeniable that the national and international religious and social changes of that time might have influenced by this movement. The features and characteristics owned by this movement substantiate this reality. One can assuredly say that it also has taken inspirations and motives from the indigenous social and political movements which were prevalent in that time (Osella & Osella 2007: 320). However, one can easily find that this movement has taken inspiration heavily from at least four centers that are as follow:

a) Colonialism:

Though colonialism has set afoot in the land of Kerala by the landing of Vasco da Gama at Calicut in May 1498, its very influential intervention with Kerala Islamic culture had commenced by the invasion of British in 1792 (Menon 2008: 176; Kunju 1989: 83). Adopting highly stringent measures against the Muslims, for they were the supporters of Tippu Sultan, it consternated the Muslim population entirely and thought of new projects to discourage them from the frontline of antagonistic wars as they were the very dangerous opponents of British rule in south India. Moreover, following the inherited contempt of Islam, European Christianity was very serious and cynic on Muslim community, especially to sterilize them intellectually and religiously to be their subservients here forever (Muhammad 1996: 164).

European colonialism has treated traditionalist Islam of Kerala with heavy rate of aversion and contempt. By the emergence, it had targeted Sufis, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* as they were the central figures of Muslim community. Killing, exiling in huge numbers or accusing them fanatics, colonialism was materializing its divisive and separatist policy to present them as the 'uncivilized moors'. Moreover, it has much focused on creating contempt among Muslims to their own tradition and sterilizing them ideally

by introducing new criteria of progress and victory. Intellectual disarmament was the important card that colonialism used to demoralize Muslim community. Naturally *Tasawwuf* and similar subjects were considered as the stagnating disciplines. However, 'because of their opposition to the British, the Muslims had set their face firmly against the western education. The hostile attitude of the government to the Muslims, on account of their violent opposition to their rule, and their turning away from western education', have kept away from the blind imitation of European culture (Aziz 1992: 17). At the same time the English education and western ideology was popularized by British as the liberating progressive literatures. In sum, Mappilas were pulled back from their traditional rich heritage and its cultural representations and re-educated on the modern style of education (Bahauddin 1992: 94-131). By making English the official language in 1835 the vernaculars and its literatures were underestimated and the men of Persian and Arabic-Malayalam literacy and knowledge were ostracized as illiterates. Thus scores of Arabic-Malayalam books were out of fashion and some of them were banned or burned in the allegation of spreading fanaticism (Rahman 1977, Robinson 2001; Kareem 1978: 71). At that time, only the English educated or English speaking people were considered dignified and prestigious among society. Naturally an elite group was emerged and they represented for moderates among Muslims. Like Sir Sayyid in north India, Kerala also witnessed for the emergence of a new type of *Ulama* cooperating with colonialism in the spreading of their rules and regulations. Their apologetic cultural and educational activism has a considerable role in the later emerged socio-religious reformist movements. Thus the colonial inspirations and motives were very evident in the so called Kerala Muslim reformism.

b) Indigenous socio-religious reform movements:

Kerala Muslim reformism has much influenced by the indigenous socio-religious reformist movements also, especially among Hindus in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The later studies in this regard have brought out several documents regarding the close contacts among them ideally and philosophically. Moreover, the common features which have been seen generally among the movements of that time also were included with the same rate. According to Osella & Osella 'The reformist programs articulated from the end of the 19th century onwards by various Hindu and

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Christian communities have much in common with similar processes taking place amongst Kerala Muslims; all are responding to and reflecting upon similar historical contingencies and also reacting to each other (2007: 320). Hence, from a Kerala perspective, the Islamic reformism was not at all a peculiar and certain-featured, but, it has a liberal or all-encompassing quality as it was seen among most of the socio-religious movements in the world (Ibid).

Historically speaking, the social situation of Kerala was very backward in the 18th and 19th centuries. The social structure was not 'based on the principles of social freedom and equality. Its chief characteristic was the deep chasm which separated the high castes from the low castes'. Much more than the caste system, the institution of sub caste has perpetuated the social exclusiveness and effectively prevented the social mobility. Neither inter-marriage nor inter- dining was permitted between members of the various sub castes (Menon 2008: 307, 309). By the spread of modern education and liberal ideas the backward communities began to think of freedom. The work of Christian missionaries and the spread of western education helped bring about a radical social change. Exactly the western education was working as the catalyst agent. Thus by the early decades of 20th century Kerala witnessed the beginning of many powerful socio-religious reform movements. The reformers like Sri Narayana Guru (1856-1928), Chattampi Swamikal (1853-1924), Brahmananda Sivayogi (1852-1929), Ayyankali (1863-1941) and Swami Vagbhatananda (1885-1939) etc. fought severely against the cast system and other social evils. Subsequently, taking inspiration from these movements there emerged some communal organizations also like Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam (S.N.D.P) in 1903 and Nayar Service Society (N.S.S) in 1914. The former was led by Dr. Palpu and Kumaranasan and the later by Mannath Padmanabhan. The interesting thing is that all of these reformist movements emerged in south Kerala, wherefrom was the emergence of Muslim reformism also. The common areas of reform mostly focused by all of these movements were the social evils included untouchability, sub-caste barriers, observance of irrational social practices; and all of them provided effective leadership to many other reform activities like eradication of old customs, penance, pilgrimage, idol worship, *purdah* system among Namboothiri women and other irrational customs sanctioned by Hindu scriptures. They also championed the cause of social reform by advocating changes in the system of inheritance, widow marriage, prohibition of

liquor and child marriage, female education, and temple entry. Moreover, there also rose the demand for modern education and to popularize the study of English (Ibid: 312-318; Pillai 2009). According to MGS Narayanan, 'the social reforms in the form of the Sree Narayana Movement, the Yogakshema Movement, the Nayar Service Society Movement, the Sahodaran Ayyappan Movement, and numerous other cast movements brought about an egalitarian psychological climate. There was a vigorous literary renaissance that produced novels like Indulekha, the poetry of Asan, Vallathol and Ulloor and the prose writings of Swadeshabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai, CV Raman Pillai, VT Bhattathirippadu, and a host of others. News papers, magazines and books produced a new awareness among the public about the need of changes in society. There were vigorous and successful attempts to abolish caste inequalities, which indirectly strengthened caste loyalties and caste competition. A positive result was the emergence of internal reforms within every community, leading towards the spread of literacy and social concern and the rise of status for women' (Narayanan 2003).

Being the birth and life quite amidst these reform movements and reformers, the Muslim reformer Vakkom Abdul Qadir Moulavi (1873-1932) also might have been inspired and motivated by their social and religious reformist activities. The enormous similarities between his and their reformist initiatives and the philosophy and criteria that he had used for this purpose, substantiate this reality. In the later studies on revival and reform among Kerala Muslims, even his followers have admitted these resemblances. Moreover, the 'anti-reformist' studies have heavily criticized and questioned this possibility, because it has enabled exactly a Hindu type of reform (Muneer 2003: 65; Rahman 2007: 49; Zainuddin 2007: 144; Rahman 2009: 92; Osella & Osella 2007: 332; Sharafudeen 1983: 40-43)).

c) Egyptian *Salafism*

The Egyptian liberalist *Salafism* which commenced by Afghani and Abduh and culminated in Rashid Rida was another important motive worked behind Kerala Muslim reformism. As we discussed in the second chapter, its liberal perspectives in different things have mostly reflected in the movements of Kerala. It is said that Vakkom Abdul Qadir Moulavi has already subscribed for *Al-Manar* which was published from Egypt by Rashid Rida. He was informed of it firstly by an unexpected

meeting with an Arabic scholar visited Kerala and a long discussion on different matters of contemporary Muslim world. Meanwhile he handed over some copies of *Al-Manar* and shared some reformist experiences (Kannu 1982: 3). As Samad says, Moulavi has taken up the marvelous task of theological reform only after 1916. At that time, he was regularly reading *Al-Manar* Arabic monthly started by Rashid Rida, on the line of his master's tradition, Muhammad Abduh (1998: 66). Moulavi himself has written about his enjoyable meeting with this moment: 'the moment I saw *Al-Manar*, I felt the most gracious moment in my life. It gave new insight and vision to my soul' (Kannu 1982: 5). After that Moulavi paid much attention to the different works of Rashid Rida and his mentors like *Tafsir ul Manar* and etc.

However, it was the second biggest challenge confronted by the traditional Islam in Kerala after the advent of colonialism. More than just a Saudi *Wahabism*, the Egyptian *Salafism* was more liberal and critical. The broad perspective of Islamism represented by Abduh and Afghani was very deeply evident there (Kutty 1997: 8; Samad 1998). It has played a considerable role in the rapid modernization of Kerala Islam and change in the traditional understanding of Islamic rulings. Reinterpretation of *Qur'an* in the light of reason was its highest agenda (Hourani 1984).

d) Saudi *Wahabism*

The influence of Saudi *Wahabism* also was seen in the Kerala Muslim reformism. The message of *Wahabi* movement started in Saudi Arabia in the 18th century by Muhammad bin Abd al Wahab (1703–1792) spread to India just after his death. The Indian *Wahabi* movement was founded by Syed Ahmed Brelavi (1789-1831) belonging to Rai Baraili. When he saw Islam is so traditional and Sufistic, superstitious in his view, he steered Indian Islam to its more fundamentalist roots similar to the Arabian *Wahabi* movement. However, some have observed that the Brelavi *Wahabis* had no direct contact with their counterparts in Arabia. Its aim was to establish Muslim sovereignty in India or a *Dar ul Islam* (Hebbar 2011). Later it spread to different parts and influenced several leaders like Muhammad Shah Ismail Dehlawi, Ashrafali Thanawi, Rashid Ahmad Gangohi, Qasim Nanuthawi and Allam Shibili Numani.

It is said that by the end of 18th or first of 19th century the *Salafi* stalwarts of north India, Ahmad Barailwi and Ismail Dehlawi had reached Alappuzha, one of the southern districts of Kerala, for the dissemination of their *Wahabi* message. Their important focus was on the north Indian *Settu* families living in the outskirts of Aalappuzha and Cochin for years and then real Keralites. The attempts of Allama Abdul Kareem, a *Wahabi* ideologist hailed from Batkal, Karnataka, who was serving as a Kadi and Khatib in the mosque of Setts in Cochin, also caused for the spread of *Wahabi* thoughts in south Kerala in later period. Writing commentaries for several works of Ibnu Taimiya he has propagated *Wahabi* Islam among the elite grope of south Kerala (Islam Vol. IV 2001: 1257). The reformism emerged in wake of the 1921 Mappila Lahala,[130] also had significant contacts with north Indian pan-Islamism through connections established within the *Khlilafath* Movements (Osella & Osella 2007: 331; Dale 1980; Miller 1992).

The influence of Saudi *Wahabi* Islam in Kerala has caused the emergence of more revisionists in traditional Islam. It has led the scholars to the frequent debates and speeches and counter-speeches long weeks and more.

II. Mission of Reform

The apparent difference between the concept of Islamic *tajdid* and what has been practiced in the name of Kerala model Islamic reformism today, definitely gives some inferences that something has went wrong in the process of modernist *tajdid* in Kerala milieu. Being response to the concept of modernity or tradition, it is seen that somewhere very narrow or very broad approaches have been received. The pivotal cause for this was the diversified inspirations that have motivated this phenomenon. However, delving to the intellectual background of contemporary Kerala Muslim reformism one can definitely designate that the main problems are related with the mission or the agents that have set off to the materialization of this historical event. In the case of modernist reformism it can be briefed up that there are mainly five components that concreted the basement of the contemporary anti-traditional situation. Those are as follows:

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[130] *Lahala* (Mal) means riot

a) Liberal *Salafists*

As we discussed above the Egyptian liberal *Salafism* was a major character in the formation of Kerala Muslim reformism. The blind imitation of novel thoughts introduced by Afghani, Abduh, and Rashid Rida caused the rapid emergence of *Salafist* liberalism or liberal *Salafism* in Kerala also (Miller 1992: 270). Vakkom Abdul Qadir Moulavi (1873-1932) generally known as Vakkom Moulavi and his disciples were the representatives of this new movement. Instead of the traditionalist orientation of Islam its stress was on the modernist reading of *Qur'an* and Islamic law. The life and contribution of Vakkom Moulavi itself was the exact representation of liberal *Salafism* in Kerala.

Vakkom Moulavi was the father of so-called Muslim renaissance and 'Islamic modernism' in Kerala (Kutty 1997; Samad 1998). Born at Vakkom, Trivandrum District, and benefiting from an economically comfortable and intellectually vital home life, he became a scholar in Arabic, Persian, Urdu and Malayalam (Miller 1992: 270). On the completion of education, he turned to business or similar professions that were prevalent among the younger generation of his time. Once upon a time he came out and began to shout for religious and social reform. The major catalysts that worked behind this emergence were probably three, the socio-religious milieu of Travancor, the fascination to the European education and the liberalist theology of Egyptian *Salafism*.

Being in the midst of different reformers of 19th and 20th century Vakkom Moulavi was heavily influenced by their reformist ideas and remedies. According to Samad, these movements for social resurgence especially the movement initiated by Sri Narayana Guru have inspired him. Moreover, Guru and Father Samuel Daniel, a Christian reformer, were regular visitors of Moulavi's house. Hence the young Moulavi got an opportunity to have a close look on the fast developing renaissance movements among the various communities and have personal contacts with its leaders (1998: 57). Seeing them, fighting for social freedom and human rights being motivated by colonial values, Moulavi thought that the same route is most worthiest to follow and applicable among Muslims also. While those like Mannath Pathmanabhan and Sahodaran Ayyappan and others claimed for the availing of European education, temple entry for women and their public interventions etc. he

also claimed the same in Muslim community (Kannu 1981: 13; Menon 2008: 318; Pillai 2009: 165; Sharafudeen 1983: 40; Mohammed 2007: 56). According to Menon, Moulavi also founded such organizations as the Travancore Muslim Mahajana Sabha and Chirankil Taluk Muslim Samajam on the same pattern of the communal organization started by Ezhavas and the Nairs, for carrying on active work for the social uplift of the Muslims and dissemination of liberal ideas among them (2008: 318-319). However, on the basis of these accounts naturally one can think that the main project of Vakkom Moulavi was 'to make changes and reforms' in general society and Islam in equal preference, rather than stressing is it Islamically based or not; otherwise, want to understand him as a social reformer just like Guru and and Chattampi Swamikal etc., for most of his works were similar to them. The focus of his news paper in the editorship of Ramakrishna pillai, *Swadeshabhimani* will substantiate it. That may the reason why Shridhara Menon included him among the reformers of Kerala in his survey of Kerala history (Ibid).

The main slogan of Vakkom Moulavi's reformist agenda was 'to learn English and to take European education'. It was the same of other contemporary reformers' too. According to him it was the key remedy for all social and religious backwardness that have been faced by Kerala people, especially Muslims. Hence the prime duty of his different papers and magazines also was the dissemination of English education. B. Kalyani Amma's article 'The duty of Muslim ladies' in his *Muslim*[131] was of this kind. The decision, how Kerala Muslim women would be and how they would not be, was taken by this author. K. Ramakrishna Pillai and O.M. Cheriyan were the other chief writers of *Muslim* and motivators of Muslims in Moulavi's dream. Moulavi also was influenced by the reformist thoughts of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who come up with Alighar Movement. In his writings in *Muslim* he has appreciated the stand of Sir Sayyid. His aim was to receive in south the light that was kindled by Sir Sayyid in north (Kannu 1981: 63-65; Samad 1998: 3).

The liberalist theology introduced by Vakkom Moulavi inspired by Egyptian *Salafism* was his reformist project in Kerala Muslim's theological platform. The four journals introduced by him were the main channels he depended for it: *Swadeshabhimani* (1905-1910), *Muslim* (1906-1917), *Al-Islam* (1918), *Deepika* (1931-19032). All of

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[131] *Muslim* was a magazine published by Vakkom Moulavi

these were mainly focused on secular education, modern culture, theological reform and the women energetivity (Kurzman 2002: 314). *Islam Dharma Paripalana Sangam* (IDPS) was an organizational initiative started by him in 1918 to the same destination. The interesting thing that it was organized just after the emergence of *Shri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam* (SNDP) in 1903 (Kunju 1989: 241).

More than being a representative of revivalist Islam, Vakkom Moulavi was an advocate of liberalist Salafism in Kerala. Freethinking was his motto. *Al-Manar* was his very important theological hand book or constitution. He never wanted to be a *Wahabi* or puritan follower of *Wahabi* fundamentalism (Shakoor 1981: 4). Rather he was the preacher of modernist thoughts of Abduh and Rashid Rida. Hence, his religious view was that of them exactly. As Miller says, he was heavily influenced by Abduh's attack on *taqlid*, his effort to integrate Islam and modern culture, his return only to *Qur'an* and *Sunna*, his criticism of legalistic divisiveness, and his attempt to establish a moderately rational approach to revealed theology (1992: 271). Through *Al-Manar* Vakkom Moulavi also became familiar with the ideas of other Islamic reformers, ranging from Afghani to Ibnu Abdil Wahab. He may not have had intimate knowledge of each one, but he was impressed by their overall commitment to the principle of 'neo *Tawheed*' concept (Ibid). *Al Islam* was the Kerala version of *Al-Manar*. Through its limited issues he propagated the liberalist ideology of *Salafist* Islam. But unfortunately, it couldn't win popularity among traditionalist Muslims, rather he was vehemently opposed and rejected. Consequently, he changed the language and started in Arabic-Malayalam, but, the destiny wasn't different (Kannu 1982: 32; Kunju 1989: 240). In Millers word, 'the direct influence of the Egyptian reform was severely confined to Vakkom and immediate coterie, and there is no indication of a continuing widespread contact. However, the impetus was there, and the reform fed on a new spirit developing among Mappilas as a result of secular education and modern life influences. Although differed from the aggressive Puritanism of the Arabian *Wahabi* reform.... In the end the movement was neither the Puritanism of Wahabies nor the 'neo-*Mu'tazilism'* of the culture oriented north Indian Muslim reformers of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although it shared aspects of both' (1992: 274).

In short, the consequence of reformist attempts of Vakkom Moulavi was the emergence of an English educated elite group with secular vision and the departure of Sufi concept of Islam and transcendental values. According to him Reformism was focusing on the repudiation of 'backward' Islamic custom through religious learning and 'modern' education, holds far wider significance as a necessary aspect of the modern outlook of the Muslim middle classes and as normatised part of a distinctively 'progressive' Malayali identity (Osella & Osella 2007: 338) Vakkom Moulavi was just a specimen for the liberalist *Salafists* in Kerala. Followed by him a long series of modernist *Salafists* have appeared with the same vision. Their perspective was far from that of *Wahabis*. Being fundamentalists it was incorporated by them with modernist Islam. The radical face of Saudi Islam and modernist face of Egyptian Islam apparently was seen in the offsprings.

b) Colonial apologetic fundamentalists

Those who stand for colonialist interests along with the notion of reforming Islam in the modernist spirit was the second group represented in that contemporary Islamic reformism in Kerala. Contrary to the liberal *Salafists*, its fundamental motive was colonial values and the aim was moderation between tradition and modernity. Like Sir Sayyid and his mission, this group advocated for the liberal approach to religion and subservient dealings with the colonial set ups. The fanatic or mad desire to English language or European education and exceeding contempt to the traditional religious faculties were the prime catalysts worked seriously behind this trend. Sanaullah Makti *Tangal* and his mission were the representatives of this wing in Kerala Muslim history.

Makti *Tangal* (1847-1921) was a decisive pioneering character in the so-called Kerala Muslim reformism. Like Vakkom Moulavi he also was a path-breaker in this field. Even though, in the case of reformist perspectives, both were on different platforms. The catalysts of both were utterly different. The most fascinated areas by Makti *Tangal* were colonially presented updates. This loyalty was an important reason for the rise of his various reformist thoughts. Born at Veliyankod in Malappuram District, he pursued his early education from Chavakkad and the higher studies from Kokkur, Maranchery and Ponnani. He was well-versed in different languages like English, Urdu, Persian, Tamil and Malayalam. Being an educated he got job in British

Government as Excise Inspector. His father also was a British employer (Kareem 1997: 10; Mohammed 2007: 54).

Being a multi-faceted personality, Makti *Tangal* mainly represented four points in his socio-religious reformist activism; anti-missionary works, pro-colonial interference, secularist learning and anti-traditionalism. In three of the initiatives except first one, his main target was denigration of traditionalist Islam and its authorities from different point of view. Rather, in the first one he has commendable history through out of Kerala.[132] But, the pathetic thing is that he could not organize a collective follow ups and followers in the first field, contrary to the other three of them. There were so many troops to materialize his liberal thoughts.

However, the pro-colonial stand of Makti *Tangal* has vehemently been criticized and questioned for he was called as one of the advocates of post-colonial reformism. Most of the historians and writers have seldom touch in this regard and this kind of write-ups also very less. According to Gangadharan, though he was against missionaries, he was not against Christians. He didn't oppose British Government, though he had already known the missionaries are being run by it. Rather, instead of opposing them he was receiving their job and education (2007: 14). So, Makti *Tangal* was a big expectation for and tool in the hands of British personnels to perpetualize their colonial whims among Mappilas. As a tool in their hand, British had used him frequently to tranquilize Muslim community from the frontline of anti-colonial wars. Being tempted by their offers and educational exposures he was very obedient to their rulings. Himself gives its many references in his autobiography '*Makti Manaklesham*' and other books like '*Raja Baktiyum Deshabhimanavum*'. He says: it is known by everybody that the people are fighting and killing the British people and believe that they would be rewarded if they were killed in this regard; the losses causes by this wars affect both British and civilians. Finally, when a riot was erupted in 1896 I was called by British Government and sent preaching to discourage and withdraw them from the warfronts, traveling nooks and corners of Malappuram' (2006: 504). In the

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[132] In the anti-Christian missionary activities the contribution of Makti Tangal was very significant one. When the constant attacks of missionaries of heavily rose against Islam, he led a crusade against them and wrote about forty books and pamphlets in this regard. Traveling every nook and corner of Kerala he had conducted lectures against Christianism. Among his greatest anti-missionary works are *Katora Kutaram, Parkkalitha Porkkalam, Christiya Vayadappu, Suvishesha Nasam, Madyapanam Mashiha Mathabhimanam, Yudaso Pilathoso?, Maseeh Matha Mula Nasam, Christiya Manapoorva Mosanam, Neethiyalochana, Christiya Mooda-Proudi Darpanam* etc. (Samad 1998: 44; Kunju 1989: 227-228).

autobiography he makes it more clear narrating his further histories starting from 1884. He says that he had spent much time preaching in different places and writing many articles to retreat and pull back Muslims from the anti-colonial wars (Ibid: 698, 699). In such activities Makti *Tangal* wasn't just a tool, formed it by chance, rather, it was done by him deliberately. Because in his various writings, he have made tremendous attempts to justify his pro-colonial activities and its leadership. Some times, reciting Qur'an he gives references of *ulul 'amr* to British personnel. According to him, as the fear in God and purity in life, the submissiveness to British personnel also is mandatory to Muslims (Ibid: 508). As he says, 'government job also has some thing positive to do in the submissiveness to God. It is the part of human *Bakthi* to him. Moreover, it brings Muslims very loyal to Government and it reconciles between them. Those who have no Governmental job, thy will not be given much *Bakthi* and enough power' (Ibid: 506). Thus Makti *Tangal* was justifying colonialism and its offers. In the life of Raja Rama Mohan Roy and Sir Sayyid also have the same phase (Taramel 2007: 43). However, this liability was very evident in his total reformist thoughts and perspectives.

His exceeded ambition to the secular learning was of this kind. Being considered as the Sir Sayyid of Kerala, Makti *Tangal* was just like him in his most of liberal qualities. He called upon his followers to be educated on modern style and to be 'civilized' by receiving its trainings (Pillai 2009: 168). He published several monthlies and articles in this regard; *Sathya Prakasham* (1888), *Paropakari*, *Tuhfat al Akhyar*, *Turkey Samacharam* (1909). He motivated the study of English and Malayalam languages among Muslims. As per his concerns in his writings, by the study of both languages all the problems confronted by them will be reduced. He discouraged the complete study of Qur'an in Madrasas and requested to study *fiqh* and *Qur'an* in Malayalam translation (Kareem 1997). His article on Muslim education titled *Muslim Janavum Vidyabhyasavum*[133] discloses his perspectives in this regard. Here he heinously lambastes *ulama* or Musliyars those teach in Madrasas. He never agrees with the Muslims' trend to go to colleges or *Dars*es in herds to religious studies, rather, he advocated for secular studies in a great deal. He motivated mixed education to girls and boys and discouraged separate facilities to girls (Makti 2006). In 1889 he organized a cultural organization named *Muhammadiya Sabha* in order to

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[133] See Makti Tangal compiled works by KKMA Kareem, p 438 (Makti 2006).

mobilize youths to implement his reformist ideas and views. Especially he focused on the moulding up of a new generation of modern educated Muslim group for the reconciliation of tradition and modernity. However, most of his reforms were through the line of his colonial experiences and modern tastes.

Makti *Tangal* was stringent antagonist of *Tasawwuf* and Sufism. He criticized all the *tariqas* like *Rifaʻi*, *Qadiri*, *Naqshabandi*, *Chishti* and *Shaduli* etc. which were prevalent strongly in his lifetime. He wrote a pamphlet entitled '*La Moujudin La-point*' mocking Sufis and their disciples. He observed *ulama* as the chief cause to the backwardness of Muslim community. In short, the diversified views of Makti *Tangal*, in the colonial pretext, have caused to make a concept of 'broad Islam' among Kerala Muslims. His writings were its illuminations. The 'great America' concept and 'great Europe' concept are examples from his books that help to realize the core of his thoughts in Islamic perspective (Makti 2006: 497, 500).

Mahin Hamadani Shaykh: In the time of Makti *Tangal* and after, this apologetic group has got much popularity and it has caused to the creation of a new *ulama* wing. Muhammad Mahin Hamadani (d. 1922) was one of them. If he was of the same time, there were many similarities in their perspectives. Born in Vatutala, he pursued his education from Kodungallur, Vellore and Ponnani in a traditional way. Later he was attracted to reformism and began to write in *Swadeshabhimani* and *Muslim* of Vakkom Moulavi. Organizing *Lajnatul Hamadani Sabha* at Azhikkod and *Lajnatul Islam Samgam* at Eriyad, he became a pioneering leader to the organizing set up of Kerala Muslim reformism (Kunju 1989: 233, 234). By organizing *Nishpaksha Sangam* that later turned as Ikya Sangam, he became an integral part of Kerala reformism. His plan to build an Alighar model institution in Aluway in order to spread his reformist thoughts, promoting secular education, was not materialized till his death (Pilla 2009: 169; Mohammed 2007: 54; Kutty 1997: 7). However, the notion that left by this apologetic group has a creative role in the perspective-formation of later reformist movements. According to them learning of English was mandatory to be a 'real' Muslim.

c) English educated elite group:

The English elitism that was heavily promoted and fostered by the chief architects of reformism, Vakkom Moulavi and Makti *Tangal*, has played a decisive role in the growth of so-called Islamic reformism in Kerala milieu. Instead of orthodox responses toward the study of 'colonial language' in its own sense, the English language and European education were presented here as the compulsory one to be a good Muslim in that time. The mockeries of Makti *Tangal* towards those who have no in-depth knowledge in Malayalam language were of this kind. Being the prime motto 'possess English language and European education', the reformist movements caused to the rapid production of a new circle of English educated group that directs religion and its followers on their own whims and wishes. Exactly it was the recurrence of post-colonial Egyptian history in Kerala milieu. Just like the emergence of the western educated *Ulama* group, Kerala was firstly witnessing to the rise of an English educated elitism in the name of Muslims' religious upliftment.

Islam and Modern Age Society: It was one of the 'successful' results of colonial and Egyptian inspired modern reformism represented by Makti *Tangal* and Vakkom Moulavi respectively. This was a great problem caused to the rise of much uproar among Kerala Muslims and exactly that caused the disclosure the real colour of Kerala reformism. However, it is undeniable that most of its leaders had a powerful relation with reformist group in Kerala.

The Islam and Modern Age Society (IMAS) was a reformist organization[134] formed by a few Muslims of leftist or modernist leanings in 25 September 1970 at a meeting conducted in the Town Hall of Calicut, to reform Islamic *Shari'a* in accordance with modern time. Among its founding leaders were Mankada T. Abdul Aziz Moulavi[135], K.M. Bahauddin, E.V. Usman Koya, and Chekannur Moulavi (Miller 1992: 214). N.P. Muhammad, Pakkar Koya, E.A. Koya, N.M. Koyakkutty, Musa Bakkar, Chekkutti Haji were other prominent leaders (Malik 2009: 31). At such a public meeting held in Calicut they demanded the reform of Islamic *Shari'a* and questioned the nature of transmission of the Qur'an. Holding a copy of Qur'an Pro: Mankada Abdul Aziz asked there: 'is this the actual *Qur'an* of the Muhammad the Prophet?'

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[134] It was born and died within a few weeks.
[135] Mankata was the top most leader of KNM Madavoor faction till his death

Subsequently, IMAS had no longer existence. It was dissolved and deserted by all of its members, but its core group carried on their struggle, which was not with the Islamic *Shariʻa* as such, but with the un-Islamic sections of the Indian *Shariʻa*, as Chekannur Moulavi has explained later. 'It provoked a major controversy and revealed a hitherto unarticulated movement in the community. It adopted what in the Mappila context was a liberal position, primarily demanding reform of the *Shariʻa* for Indian Muslims. It urged the formation of a commission to study the matter and develop the uniform civil code foreseen in the Indian constitution. Emphasizing need for change in the laws of polygamy, divorce, inheritance and *waqf* control, in particular, it pointed out that reforms of this type had been brought in to effect in many Islamic nations' (Ibid). In a memorandum submitted to the then President of India on December 19, 1970, they mentioned that 'in India, owing to the particular circumstances and over-anxiety of the politician not to arouse the opposition from the orthodox sections of the minority community, the *Shariʻa* reforms had been delayed, to the great disadvantage of Muslims' (Ibid). However, because of stiff opposition from all sides the theoreticians of this group could not get a grip among Kerala Muslims, rather it was dissolved and dispersed.

MES Journal and reformist agenda: Muslim Educational Society (M.E.S) was a collective endeavor that promotes modern education among Mappila Muslims (Sikkand 2009). It was formed in 1964 by a group of young Muslims, mainly doctors.[136] Being a new initiative motivated by reformism, naturally there arose so many questions and doubts regarding Islamic *Shariʻa* and its progress concept. Because of the lack of religious knowledge and excess of reformist ambitions, the reformist solutions got dominance in most of the discussions. When the representatives of Modern Age Society got dominance in MES and some of it began to support it ideologically, this religious reformist thought spuriously emerged out. It also caused for much uproar in Kerala, religious level.

The problem of MES was as Miller says: some of its leading members also have held membership in the IMAS. The chief organizer of the IMAS, Mankada Abdul Aziz was also serving as editor of the *MES Journal*, where he had written: 'Islam has never

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[136] The founders were Dr. PK. Abdul Ghafoor, Dr. K. Muhammad Kutty, Dr. MA. Abdulla, Dr. K. Moidu, and Dr. M. Bavakkunji (Miller 1992: 211)

been opposed to bringing about needed change in religious matters (1992: 215). Naturally, the *Journal* was used for the secularist reformist purposes. The most dangerous one that unleashed much uproar among Kerala Muslims 'was a news report in the Journal concerning a handwritten copy of the *Qur'an* purported to be in a Tashkent Museum. The news item quoted the claim that this was one of the three original copies of the *Qur'an*, prepared under the direction of Caliph Usman. The controversy related to the choice of words in the text of the report, namely: 'The Holy *Qur'an* of Hazrat Usman is kept in a special box in the Uzbek Historical Museum in Tashkent', and 'after the death of the Prophet all his words were gathered and were put in the form of a book, it is believed'. It was alleged that both statements affirmed the human authorship of the *Qur'an'* (Ibid).

The publication of this article was considered as a reformist challenge to Islam and it was followed by a whole lot of heated controversies. Alleging MES's deviation from its Islam centered neutrality, 'Muslim League leader Sayyid Abdur Rahman Bafaqi *Tangal* and his chief associates resigned their MES membership. In December, 1970, they officially barred all its workers from associating with the MES, which was sabotaging the Islamic faith.' They 'called upon the Muslims to rise against the 'reformists' in the community, who threatened the basic tenets of Islam, and the religious leaders were encouraged to carry on 'incessant propaganda' against the offenders' (Ibid: 216).

d) Rationalist revisionists

Another team exalted for their reformist agenda in Kerala reformist Islam, was rationalist revisionists. Reason was their only criterion to understand the authenticity of even Islamic texts. Being very liberal in perspectives, they interpreted *Qur'an* and *Hadith* on their own reason and what those are not compatible with reason, voluntarily avoided. C.N. Ahmed Moulavi and P.K. Muhammad Abul Hasan alias Chekanur Moulavi were two different faces of this group. Both of them were products of Kerala reformism.

C.N. and his anti-Traditionism: C.N. (1905-1993) was very notorious to the *Hadith* rejection and self-interpretation of Qur'an and *Hadith* on self-reasoning in the Kerala Muslim history. Born at Cherur in Malappuram District, he acquired his knowledge

from Jamaliya College of Madras and Baqiyat of Velure. He completed *Afzal ul Ulama* degree from University of Madras in 1931. Because of wide contacts and his close relations with various reformists and his personal aptitude, he was very rationalistic and liberal in approaching the authentic texts. In 1949 he published a magazine entitled *Ansari* to disseminate his progressive thoughts (Kareem 1978: 611-614). Though it has stopped by only fourteen issues, it was most helpful to him to expose his revisionist ideas. His *Qur'an* translation that was released by 1961 was most dangerous one. It was the exact culmination of his extreme liberality and rationalism, because, it was the embodiment of 'many incorrect and marred interpretations'. He has 'opposed its superhuman nature and has changed its basic teachings'. He questioned the miracles of Prophets (*Mu'jizat*) and reinterpreted many of verses based on his own reason. His interpretation of the parting of the Red Sea in two sides to the Prophet Moses is cited as a good example in this connection. 'With vivid imagination he reconstructs the crossing of the Red Sea as a natural event, dependent on Moses' Knowledge of the existing shallows. Steadily probing his way with his rod, Moses, who had passed the way before , led the Israelites safely through, while Pharaoh's soldiers, lacking similar knowledge and probably blinded with drink, plunged into the deeps' (Miller 1992: 278). In the case of *Sura* 4: 158-159[137] which deals with the ascension of Prophet 'Isa or taking up to God. According to C.N. it is only an allegorical usage, exactly it was not happened. He was similarly free in dealing with the Hadith also. In the translation of *Bukhari* which was released in 1970 he has included only 2182 *Hadithes*. The rest are avoided because of its incompatibility with his reason. The *Hadithes* deal with the advent of *Dajjal*, punishment in Hear-after, and the signs of Last Day etc. were fabricated and avoidable. In defending his use of reason, he has replied to the wrath of *Ulama* that the *Qur'an* itself has said people to trace the way of reason.

Chekanur Moulavi and Qur'an Sunnath Society: More than a rationalist revisionist, Chekanur Moulavi (d. 1993) was also a destructor Islamic theology. Born at Chekanur in Malappuram District, he pursued his education fro Darses and Baqiyat College of Velure in a traditional way. Attracted to reformist ideology later he joined *Jama'at-e-Islami* and taught in Jamia Islamiyya of Santhapuram; and then joined Mujahid

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[137] 'They did not really slay him, but God took him up to Himself. And God is Mighty, Wise! And there shall not be one of the people of the Book but shall believe in him before his death, and in the day of resurrection he shall be a witness against them' (Quran 4: 158-159).

movement and taught in Jamia Nadwiyya of Edavanna from 1965, wherefrom started his very dangerous anti-Islamic thoughts. Firstly he questioned the concept of *Ijama'* and *Qiyas* in Islam. In 1967 he published a monthly entitled *Nireekshanam* in order to propagate his revisionist views. After two years it was stopped because of financial problems. In 1970 along with many English educated elites he organized 'Islam and Modern Age Society' questioning Islamic *Shari'a* and its authenticity, as mentioned above. Later he went indulging in Islamic *Shari'a* and injected skepticism in most of the fundamentals of Islam; thus he curtailed five time prayer to three and rejected all *Hadiths* and depended on only *Qur'an* to live, reinterpreting it on his own self-reasoning. Thus, *Chekanurism* was emerged. There was particular style of prayers, fast, *Hajj* and other rituals to his group. He was very fond of *Shiism*. In 1990 *'Qur'an and Sunnath Society'* was organized in order to popularize his 'new ism'. In 1993 he was disappeared or murdered by unknown because of his constant attack on Islamic theology.[138]

e) Fundamentalist revisionists

It represents a group of religious scholars, traditionally educated and fascinated to reformism. The fundamental duty of this group was justifying reformism, finding proofs from traditional texts. In another word, it was the amalgamation of Egyptian rationalism and Saudi Puritanism. The paradoxical crux of contemporary Kerala Muslim reformism was this conservative approach and modernist exposure. Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Moulavi *alias* K.M. Moulavi (1886-1964) was the leader of this group. E.K. Moulavi (1879-1974)[139], K.Umar Moulavi (1917-2000), A.V. Abdussalam Moulavi, K.P. Muhammad Moulavi, A. Alawi Moulavi MCC Abdur Rahman Moulavi and MCC Abdullah Moulavi etc were those who have motivated by his activities. However, this group has played a great role in popularizing Wahabi reformism among local people, especially through their local speeches, debates, counter-debates, face-to-face programs and writings etc. It was generally known as the second generation of pioneering leaders of Kerala Muslim reformism, except in

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[138] For further reading see *Chekanurism: Oru Polichezhuthu* (Malik 2009), Feroke, Calicut; Moulavi, M.P. Muhammadunni. (n.d.) *Chekanur Moulavi: Jeevithavum Sandeshavum*, Kondotty: Vara Publication

[139] EK Moulavi also has a distinguished role in reformist history of Kerala Muslims. Being an Arabic lecture in Ernakulam, he supported activities of *Aikya Samgam* and participated in debates against traditionalists. He has authored a variety of works, including Al Islam, Islam and Communism, and wrote articles in *Al Murshid* and *Al Ithihad*, Malayalam and Arabic Malayalam journals respectively (Miller 1992: 274).

the case of KM Moulavi, he was a powerful channel that connects both of these generations.

K.M. Moulavi and legalization of Bank interest: Born at Tirurangadi, the centre of anti-colonial wars, KM Moulavi pursued his study in *Darses* of Tirurangadi, Paravanna and later joined Darul Uloom of Vazhakkad under the principalship of the great scholar Chalilakath Kunjahammad Haji (d. 1919). He fervidly joined *Khilafat* movement when it was launched in 1920. In 1921 when a prohibitory order was served on him and other *Khilafat* leaders by Malabar collector, he fled to Kondungallur in Tiru-Cochin fearing from detention. This journey from north to south brought a drastic change in the life of KM Moulavi. South was then in a brink of a change from traditional to anti-tradiotional or modern phase, by the tireless works of Vakkom Moulavi and Hamadani Shaykh etc. as we have previously discussed. As Moidu Moulavi mentions, 'it has changed him from the traditional designation of Tayyil Muhammad Kutty Musliyar to the modern tag of KM Moulavi' (Moidu Moulavi 2005: 16).

In Kodungallur he made a deep contact with Vakkom Moulavi, and within a small period he was completely influenced by him. Its reflections were highly evident in his further thoughts and perspectives. He red the books like *Ahl al Sunnati wal Jama'a*[140] and *Lauu' al Swabah* of Vakkom Moulavi. So, Vakkom became his admirable *ustad* and mentor (Kareem 2005: 102). Through him KM Moulavi realized the peculiarity of Rashid Rida and *Manarist* thoughts. Thus he began reading of *Al-Manar* and internalizing what was produced by modernists from Egypt like his *mentor* was doing before (Umar Moulavi 2010: 54). By a short time, there have appeared considerable changes in the perspectives of KM Moulavi and he became very fond of Egyptian liberal thoughts. Reading the skeptic articles of *Al-Manar* he propagated it among his followers and also re-wrote it as articles in his magazines. He also tried to translate the book of Rashid Rida entitled *Al Wahyul Muhammadi* to Malayalam.

Most interesting thing here is, when Rashid Rida has published an article in *Al-Manar* legalizing the interest avails from Bank, KM Moulavi also blindly presented it in Kerala version, established a 'Muslim Bank' and composed a booklet in the name of

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[140] It is the book of Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi, translated by Vakkom Moulavi to Malayalam

Risalatun fil Bank in Arabic Malayalam justifying interest. Naturally, it invited heavy criticism and opposition not only from antagonists but also from colleagues and followers. When Seethi Sahib, a supporter, has defended it in the magazine *Aykyam*, MCC Abdur Rahman Moulavi, the brother-in-law of KM Moulavi, wrote a counter in *Al-Ameen*.[141] Consequently, it released several articles in this regard. Muhammad Abdur Rahman Sahib also was a strong antagonist of this *heelat ul riba* stand of *Aykya Sangam*.[142] As Moidu Moulavi observes, however, it became a great blow to the growth of reformism in Kerala and finally they compelled to repeal it (1981: 125-126). After eleven years of hiding, KM Moulavi returned Malabar in 1933 and introduced reformism in Malabar also with enormous enthusiasm, though it has reached there before nominally. It caused the rise of a new wing supporting reformist ideology in north-wards of Kerala too. His speeches, articles and books have considerable role in the spread of reformism in Malabar. His books like *Al Vilayat wal Karama, Islamum Sthreekalum, Ma'ashira Vili, Jumu'a Khutuba, Al Du'au' wal 'Ibadah, Fath al Qawi fi Raddi ala al Furtawi* were very controversial among Kerala Muslims.

f) Organizational platform

The liberal Muslim reformism in Kerala, obtained an organizational set up only by 1922. Even though, its ground works have already done by its pioneers from the second half of nineteenth century. Naturally, since the inspiration was colonial, the centre of both Hindu socio-religious reforms and liberal Muslim reformism was same; south Kerala. Kodungallur's space as a venue for the Muslim reformist ventures was nothing other than a coincidence. However, the every pace of reformist agenda that moved further was very tactical and pre-planned. The different phases of its organizational restructurings make it very clear.

Kodungallur was the centre of Muslim elite groups.[143] Hamadani Shaykh was a pioneering reformist activist of this area for years. It is said that there were used to

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[141] New paper in the editorship of Muhammad Abdurahman Sahib

[142] See *Ente Kootukaran* by E. Moidu Moulavi, p. 199; Moidu Moulavi (1981), *Moulaviyude Admakada*, Sahithya Sahakarana Samgam, National Book Stall, Kottayam

[143] Sparks of Wahabi or rationalist reformism have already reached there by the pioneers of Wahabi thoughts. The people like Kattapurathu Seethi Muhammad, father of KM Seethi Sahib were already received reformist thoughts from somewhere. It was the main reason worked behind the victory of *Nispaksha Samgam* and then *Aikya Samgam*.

break out familial problems frequently. However, in 1922 Hamadani Shaykh called up on a conference including eleven Muslim leaders of them, where *Nispaksh Samgam* was organized in order to keep them away from disputes and squabbles. It was the time of *Khilafat* movements in Malabar. When the British atrocities were arisen over normality several people have taken refuge in Kodungallur, as it was under kingship. Thus, EK Moulavi and MCC Abdur Rahman Moulavi have already reached there. When KM Moulavi has arrived and made a contact with Vakkom Moulavi, the chief brain of liberal *Salafism* in Kerala, the situation in Kondungallur changed again. Taking advantage from the collectivity of *Nispaksha Samgam*, Vakkom and KM Moulavies opened their Egyptian reformist agenda in Kerala milieu publicly. For this purpose, at the same year, one more conference was convened in Kondungallur and wherein the *Aikya Samgam* was organized in order to the dissemination of their reformist formulas. As Umar Moulavi has mentioned in *Al-Murshid*[144], 'because of Kodungallur was the propagation area of Sanaulla Makti *Tangal*, the activities of Aikya Samgam was very easy there. The leaders like Kattapurathu Seethi Muhammad, his son KM Seethi Sahib, Manappattu P. Kunji Muhammad Haji, K.K. Muhammad Abdur Rahman Sahib, Puthanveetil KM Kunju Muhammad Sahib those who have studied *Tawhid* from Makti *Tangal*, and the Malabarites like KM Moulavi, EK Moulavi, TK Muhammad Moulavi and E Moidu Moulavi have played a significant role in this victory'. Getting an organizational set up, as a movement against traditionalist Islam, *Aikya Samgam*, gradually unveiled its reformist face and started attacking traditional symbols. By its first annual conference held at Eriyad in 1923 in the presidency of Vakkom Moulavi, its liberal reformist agenda completely came out and they began to question the centuries-old rituals and customs of Islam. Applying Egyptian liberalism in Kerala milieu they tried to create skepticism in the credibility of Ulama, Sayyids and Sufis, through whom Islam had enjoyed its heydays in Kerala. In the second annual conference held at Aluwaye, *Kerala Jama'iyyatul Ulama* was formed in order to attract traditional Muslims. Subsequent annual conferences were held at Calicut (1925), Tellichery (1926), Cannanore (1927), Tirur (1928), Ernakulam (1929), Tirvandrum (1930), Malappuram (1931), Kasargode (1932), and again at Eriyad (1933), and Cannanore (1934). These conferences were landmarks in the history of reformism, because the resolutions

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[144] See *Al Murshid* Arabic Malayalam Monthly, August Issue, 1966

against traditional 'institutions' were arised and passed from them. Anyway, by the end of twelve years of *Aikya Samgam*, reformists have pronounced all of its aims and objectives targeting the 'acceptability' of traditional Islam. Because of the activities of *Jam 'iyyatul Ulama* and *Aikya Samgam* to be done were same, by 1934 the later was dissolved and former became the main platform of reformism. In the following years the activities were generally in a slow mode. Thus, by 1950 *Jam 'iyyatul Ulama* was reorganized and a general platform was formed for all in the name of *Kerala Nadwatul Mujahideen* (KNM). Subsequently its sub-organizations also began to be formed; thus its educational board came to existence in 1955 and firstly 26 Madrasas were recognized under the under the board. Targeting the spread of messages and increment of its popularity, KNM also has kept its routine to conduct public meetings in most of the years.[145] Through different journals and magazines it also conveyed its messages to its adherents[146] (Kunju 1989; Mohammed 2007; Kutty 1995; Kutty 1997; Kareem 2005; Moidu Moulavi 1981; Umar Moulavi 2010; Islam Vol. IV 2001).

However, the rise of reformism was vehemently resisted by traditional *Sunnis*.[147] Thus, frequent debates and counter speeches have started in every nook and corner of Kerala. In the programs both of the groups tried to substantiate their arguments (Miller 1992: 276).

III. Areas of Reform

Instead of applying the concept of *tajdid* in its textual sense, what was happened in the name of reformism among Kerala Muslims was the leveling of its social and religious condition with the ideas of Egyptian modernism. Being influenced by the indigenous socio-religious reformist movements, Saudi-*Wahabism* and colonial values, its influences also were evident in its practical reforming process. Hence, emerging in the first decades of twentieth century, reformism has to proclaim that all the Muslims who have been living on the earth of Kerala till the date were *Mushriks* and those who are following this reformist ideology only are 'real Muslims', just like

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[145] For example: Kozhikode (1952-55), Ottappalam (1956), Kalpakanjeri (1957), Bepure (1958), Cochin (1959), Randathani (1960), Kozhikode (1961-62), Kinasseri (1964), Thirunavaya (1966), Palakkad (1967), Pulikkal (1979), Feroke (1982), Kuttippuram (1987), Palakkad (1992), Kannanore (1996)

[146] In the passage of time its different journals were *Al Irshad, Al Islah, Muslim Aikyam, Aikyam, Al Murshid, Al Manar, Al Ithihad* etc.

[147] Traditional Muslims of Kerala generally called as *Sunnis*. It means those who follow Prophetic *Sunna* (Miller 1992)

British imperialism has promulgated that all those living in the colonies are 'uncivilized' and 'illiterate' unless they adapt the European culture and English education. As we previously mentioned the reform process that was celebrated here was nothing other than the obfuscation of centuries-old Islamic history and culture, rituals and customs and introducing a very modern and rational alternative. The interesting paradox is the reforms implemented there were very different from the ideology of Saudi sponsored *Wahabism.*

As we discussed above 'the myth of *Jahiliyya*' was also an instrumental character in Kerala Muslim reformism too. Putting a duration of thirteen centuries; its scholars and their contributions, in a 'created darkness', colonial modernism was presenting new parameters to gauge the 'divinity' of Islamic teachings. The first thing that happened here, just like in European reformation, was questioning the authority. Thus, the *Ulama, Sayyids,* Sufis and *Umara* were underestimated and their religious leadership and stand were questioned. This undermining philosophy was a major blow to the continuing Islamic tradition. Because of the reason or rationality was the judge here, such an interpretation was vigorously appreciated among the elite groups, as the result of colonialism was deep-rooted firstly only among the educated and elite team of a community. Another interesting thing to be understood here is what was worked in Kerala in the disguise of reformism was the modernism.

Religious reform: However, because of the basic and fundamental principle is the changing of a society, the first initiation that conducted in the field of reform in Kerala milieu was religious reconfiguration. Using the common catch-word of most of the reform movements in the world -back to texts, it also began to work out in Kerala Islam. But, it is pathetic to say that, instead of returning to texts in an understanding level, what was happened here was approaching them directly and reinterpreting it on the basis of self-reasoning, as it was the very basic feature of modern reformist movements.

The result was most of the fundamental concept of Islam was presented in a new outlook and something has been reconstructed according to the new trend of the colonial thought. *Tawheed, Shirk, Istighasa, Tawassul, Shafa'athu, Ijtihad, Taqlid* etc. were redefined according to Egyptian modernism. Consequently, some kind of reason was used in understanding of Islamic teachings. The Prophet was understood

as common man and concepts of like *Waliyy* and *Karamath* were denied. *Nercha*, *Barakathu edukkal*, *Urukku*, *Manthram*, *Elassu*, *Dikr*, *Dikr Halqa* were considered as *Bid'athu*. *Qunuthu* in *Subah* prayer, twenty *rak'aths* of *Taraweeh*, collective *Du'a* after prayers were curtailed. *Jumu'a* and *Jama'ath* for women in public mosques were established. Visiting the *Maqbaras* of *Sufis*, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* was opposed. Reciting *Qur'an* beside deceased, pray for them near their graves, pronouncing *Talqin* and *Tasbeeth* near their graves while they are being buried, pray for them in particular days were proclaimed anti-Islamic. The eventful moments like *Baraathu ravu*, *Hajj ravu*, *Irupathezham ravu*, *Mi'raj ravu* were underestimated. Women freedom, *Zakat* committee, *Hilal* committee were popularized. The remembering of Prophet in his birthday, reciting *Qur'an*, *Hadith* and poems written on his life and contributions was staunchly opposed (Kareem 1978; Irivetti 2002). In sum, because of the parameters of quality or value has changed, the practical Islam or cultural Islam was being replaced by 'rationalist Islam'.

Moreover, emulating the principles of Egyptian modernism the *tasawwuf* was interpreted alien to Islam. Because of Kerala owned a Sufi Islam its every part were criticized and questioned. Even the proof was asked for the heartily love to the Prophet. Till the twentieth century *Tariqa* was a common phenomenon regarding Kerala Muslims. Everyone had some connection with any *Shaykh* and *Tariqa*. The Sufi orders like *Qadiri*, *Shadhuli*, *Naqshabandi*, *Rifa'i* were very influential in localities. Mosques and *Khankhahs* were echoed with the divine reminiscences and offerings. Thus the religious life was very systematic and punctual. Even now it can be extensively seen that in many parts of Kerala, especially coastal areas, there are particular *Aurads* and *Ratheebs* which are prescribed by Sufi *Shaykhs* concerning any certain occasions. It conveys the message of thorough Islamic thought of people in that period. Plethora of books also was released in Kerala regarding Sufism and *tasawwuf*. Most of the *Ulama* have written at least one book in this regard. But, by the advent of reformism the *tasawwuf* was heavily criticized and attacks were unleashed to separate it from the practical life. It caused to a large extent for the decrement of its influence from the life of Kerala Muslims (Kunhali 2004).

Socio-cultural reform: Centuries-long Islamic experience has endowed Kerala a distinguished culture and a rich heritage. It was the result of the integration of Islamic

thought with the life, culture, thoughts, arts, aesthetics, and their surroundings of Muslims. In another word, it was the result of a constant collective attempt of a community to reconcile Islamic culture with the entire expressions of human life. Hence, they weren't needed to restore an alien culture to get mental or physical refreshment; rather there were considerable alternatives within Islamic circle itself. It is worth mentioning that even the development of culture and arts taken place in this period was much related with Islamic civilization. However, these cultural embodiments and literary expressions have enabled to form an Islamic atmosphere among Mappila Muslims. *Malas, Moulids, Rateeb, Qutubiyyat, Haddad* etc. were the different forms of its expressions. It was considered as the main reasons for the good maintenance of Muslim community. More than a material manifestation, they have a foundational role in the formation of a religious community in Kerala. In such a period even the treatments, drugs for diseases and solutions for the social problems, all were through the verses of *Qur'an*. The Islamic festivals and other important occasions of life were celebrated with divine remembrances. But, by the advent of reformism all these were ostracized as different derivations of *Shirk* and contrary to Islamic teachings. To that perspective, it was superstitious fabrications that pull back Muslim community from their prestigious past. In order to this notion they proclaimed war against this kind of trust purifying occasions. However, the reformists couldn't suggest any alternative to this mode of Islamic thought, rather than making them more close to the western style of life and enjoyment. Definitely, because of the lack of a substitute, naturally they came across new updates of amusements. Instead of memorial songs and stories of prophets and Sufis, the sounds rising now from the Mappila houses in night time are of cinematic dances, music, movies and other time-consuming and aberrating items.

Literal and cognitive reform: The Arabic Malayalam, that produced thousands of books in different areas, was the biggest heritage of Kerala Muslims for centuries. Along with its literal preference, it has a substantial role in educating Muslim community on various aspects of life and culture. It is a matter of surprise that there were nothing that was untouched by Arabic Malayalam. More than a spatial language, it had spread all over Kerala as a cultural symbol and mode of life inseparable from day-to-day engagements. Even though, reformism did all what it could do to separate it from the life of Muslims. Alleging as the source of *Shirk*, they tried to paralyze this

cultural and cognitive tradition and obfuscate its centuries-long history. Presenting it as a mode of obsolete way of expression and out dated thoughts they were introducing new thoughts from colonial literature. It is needless to say that, however, the loss that has caused by the reformist attack on Arabic Malayalam was very pathetic and eye-opening. By the half of twentieth century the continuity of this rich heritage was coming to a gradual end, though there were nominal exceptions in later period. It is real to say that there has hardly appeared seminal works in Islamic subjects among Muslims after they eschewed Arabic Malayalam, which would deeply touch the hearts. In contrast, the major contribution of reformists as its alternative was the translated works of foreign modernist writers. These translations have played a great role in the moulding of anti-traditional Muslim mentality today.

Educational reform: Education was an important field focused by reformists. But their approaches to the traditional sciences were very pathetic and condemnable. Instead of bringing amendments in the medium of conveying, they were making radical changes in the contents of religious sciences itself. Generally the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were the time of up-surging modernism. By the colonial initiatives it was prevailed everywhere, especially in their colonies. In the case of Kerala it was very rampant. If it were the creation of west, the good parts of modernization were adapted and accommodated by Muslims, even though it was after deep discussions or years-long experimentations among pious *Ulama* groups. Because of their fathomless religious conviction any reforms were not accepted blindly. Whatever it was, *Ulama* had evaluated its pros and cons seriously, before it was proclaimed legal one.[148] That is why, the *Ulama* couldn't pace with the modernity by time. Hence, there was no any chance to change their stands or it hasn't proved as mistaken anywhere. But, in the case of reformists, it was just opposite. Their existence itself was on the adaptation of modernism in its real sense, whatever will be its ends. Their aspiration to pace with the western modernity was the main cause to make them anti-traditionalists. The important thing to be understood here is the Muslim reformism introduced in Kerala was just another name of modernism. It can be easily understood if we ready to make a comparable study between their reform

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[148] The inclusion of black board and chalk is an example. Being it a colonial mode of teaching, when it was considered, some useful things are there, thy adapted it after enough discussions. It was firstly emulated in Darul Uloom, Deoband, which was instituted just against British colonialism, then in Baqiyat Arabic college, Vellure and then in Darul Uloom, Vazhakkad. Chalilakathu Kunjahammad Haji introduced it Kerala, because he has studied at Vellure.

initiatives and what was introduced by western modernity. Enormous similarities can be seen there.

However, based on traditional values, the reformist initiatives of Kerala Muslim education should be evaluated on both of its religious and secular level. The *Darses*, from where most of the reformist leaders had educated, were the pivotal centers of Kerala Muslim religious education for centuries. But, by the emergence of reformism it was considered as a rotten educating system and abandoned this age-old system of education. The alternative was colleges of Arabic language and culture. But, its focus was merely paid on the language study and literal enjoyment, which was not appropriate to mould a powerful *Ulama* wing, as we see in successful traditional experience. Though the reformist movements had started many Arabic colleges in Kerala, thanks to its modernist outlook, their orientation also was on modernist motives.[149] Instead of fostering a secular educated *Ulama* group, religious educated secular team was the result. Hence, instead of strengthening Islamic fields, there was emerged a style of strengthening secular fields by finding or exploiting the loopholes of Islamic rulings. Here mostly the religious educations were reduced to on getting an *Afzal ul Ulama* degree and a Governmental job (Moulavi 2007: 275). The concept of traditional *Alim* was seldom materialized. The big problem the reformists confront today is this scarcity of *Ulama* troop, studied thoroughly in *Qur'an*, *Hadith* and its commentaries. The trend of depending translations of texts, whether it is of *Qur'an*, *Hadith* or any other jurisprudential works, rather than referring the authentic commentaries has created more problems in religious study. The importance of comprehensive Arabic grammatical study comes here relevant. This is why, the *Nahv* was importantly studied in *Darses*, though there arose stiff oppositions from the reformists, allegedly as it is a time wasting program. It should be realized that by only being an expert in Arabic language, the Islamic texts cannot be internalized in its full swing. The way of traditional understanding is most important and traceable one in approaching *Kitabs* meticulously.

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[149] For example: Rouzathul Uloom Arabic College Feroke, Madeenathul Uloom Arabic College Pulikkal, Sullamussalam Arabic College Arecode, Ansar Arabic College Valavannur, Anwarul Islam Arabic College Kuniyil, Anwarul Islam Women Arabic College Mongam, Darul Uloom Arabic College Vazhakkad. These colleges are affiliated to the University of Calicut and recognized by the Government of Kerala (Kutty 1995: 78). Jamiya Nadwiyya, Edavanna and Jamiya Salafiyya, Pulikkal are two higher Islamic educational institutions.

In the case of Madrasa education, the reformists started thinking seriously and established their educational board in 1955, though there were some sporadic experiments before. Actually, it was four years later the traditional *Ulama* started its educational board and registered hundreds of Madrasas. The contribution of Chalilakathu Kunjahammad Haji, a traditional scholar, was most significant in getting a systematic idea in Madrasa education.[150] His most practical and scientific reforms were pragmatic and commendable in this field. Establishing *Islahul Uloom Madrasa* at Tanur in 1924, the traditional *Ulama* passed a resolution to unite all Madrasas in Kerala working under *Nizamiyya* syllabus to organize a board and to centralize the examination. But, the materialization was in fifties. However, the reformists today run about 800 Madrasas in different parts of Kerala. In such a level its contributions are really commendable.

Because of Egyptian modernism was the role-model, in the case of women, reformists were more liberal. Just like indigenous socio-reformist movements frequently demanded, they also demanded for the women freedom, women education and women mosque entry. It is obvious that, more than the implementation of Islamic perspective in women's case, it was the response of modernism itself. To understand the reality of this statement, we want to know the stand of Saudi *Wahabism* in the women education. It is famous that they allowed them to study secular education only in the near past. At the same time they were not allowed so far to study the subjects like engineering, chemistry, astronomy, geology etc. The Muftis like Ibnu Baz says that women have to study only the religious sciences not the material sciences, because it will not benefit in her life (*Fatawa Islamiyya* Vol. IV: 235; Sullami 2003 :125, 126). In the case of traditional *Ulama* of Kerala it is undeniable that they observed very strict stands in the matter of women education. But, here it should be added that they did not disallow them from getting educated in Islamic circle. The best example for this is that the traditional *Ulama* had run women Madrasas (*Madrasatul Banath*) even before 1950. The secondly registered Madrasa in the Madrasa educational board in 1950 was *Madrasatul Banat* of Paravanna Muhyuddin Kutty Musliyar (Faizy 2004: 107). Today there are several Islamic women colleges running under their auspice.

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[150] Chalilakathu Kunjahammad Haji (d. 1919) was not a Salfi as the reformists argue. But, sometimes themselves admit he was not a Salafi thinker. See (Kutty 1997: 12), (Irivetti 2002: 58).

English language and European education was another field deeply focused by reformists. They believed that the only way to get out of the 'sorry situation' of the Muslims is to adapt English education. In such a loyal manner the English education was not supported by the *Ulama*. Rather, they were boycotting it because of its colonial colour and assumable loyalty. It does not mean that the Muslims are against English language and secular education as the reformists try to highlight it. In contrary, there were many traditional *Ulama* who were well-versed in English language and secular education as well. Moreover, the resolution passed in the case of *Islahul Uloom* College in 1928 also was promoting English language study as well as Malayalam. The constitution of *Samasta* recognized in 1930, also supports the secular education which is supporting and helpful to the religion (Faizy 2004; Zubair 2006). Moreover, here it is mention worthy that Abdul Bari Musliyar (d. 1965), one of the president of *Samasta*, had run a public school in his homeland Valakkulam at his own building, even before nineteen fifties and it is still going on properly under the Government of Kerala. He was a very talented scholar in English, Urdu, Persian and Malayalam languages as well as other subjects. There are many examples for schools and educational centers started work on behalf of traditional Muslims in such a period. The history of most of the Mappila schools which have constructed under British rule, especially in Malappuram can be seen in a similar perspective.

However, it can be observed that the contemporary educational achievements of Kerala Muslims were not the result of any particular faction working under the banner of 'reformism'. Even though, their contribution in this field was a matter of significance. But, it would have been better to understand it as a response to modernity itself, just like else where, there never emerged such reformist initiatives. Because of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were the period of spread of western mode of education, naturally it has reached Kerala too. But, the role of reformists was merely intensifying the insertion of western education among Muslims replacing with Islamic education. Feeling complex in traditional educational contents and its conveying system, they were getting relief changing the preference of Muslims to English education. The problem here was the formula of only the 'English education' can bring out the Muslim community out of the 'uncivilized' and '*Shirki*' condition. It is needless to say that this inspiration has caused to the abandonment of a handful traditional Islamic heritage.

PART: II

Reformism in Transition

From the inception of reformism, it was a pressure group in Kerala milieu. More than questioning the prevalent systems, there wasn't any well-arranged perspective to be guided further. Though its emergence was opposing the traditional concept of *taqlid*, its existence was nothing other than the emulation of Egyptian modernism. Hence, it has undergone too many decisive transformations even in its ideology. The dual face formula which it has represented for a long period was the main cause for this instability. Because of it was created as the response of modernity, the fluctuations of modernism was regularly seen in its activism. Generally, we can say that it was nothing less than an abode of free thinking. Due to this flexible stand, there have come dominant several liberal outfits. All of them have their own outlooks on religious matters.[151] The chief catalyst which has worked behind this 'dividing trend' was the smoulderning Egyptian neo-*tajdidism*. Because of it has an explosive character, its consequences were far reaching. Thus thanks to its political, religious and spiritual bankruptcy so many inner splits have been taken place. However, here we can brief up them as the emergence of political Islam, the division of AP-Madavoor factions and the latest tendency of realizing the bankruptcy of their own ideology and spirituality. More than giving a historical explanation, in this part I would like to sketch out the prime reasons and undercurrents which led to these necessary separations. By finding these reasons we can understand what are the important problems the modernist reformism is suffering from and where it will go further intellectually.

Smouldering Egyptian neo-*Tajdid*ism

Contrary to any other counterparts, the reformist project applied in Kerala was the result of the strict combination of Egyptian modernism and Saudi *Wahabism*. However, due to the constant and direct contacts of *Manarists*, the modernist ideology was the most dominant in cultural and educational spectrum of Kerala Muslims. The fundamentals of Egyptian modernism were not in a close relation with the *Salafi Manhaj* represented by the adherents of Wahabism. Even though, the luminaries of

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[151] Previously we have discussed all of these groups

both section Afghani, Abduh, Rashid Rida, Ibnu Abdil Wahab, Ibnu Baz, Ibnu Qayyim and Sanusi all are presented here on a same platform in Kerala. The problem in this combination can be understood by conducting a study on the accessibility of Abduh and Afghani in Gulf countries. It is obvious that most of them consider Afghani only as an agent of Europe spreading western civilization in Muslim countries (Sullami 2003:25). Being his prominent disciple the understanding of Abduh also wasn't in a different level. However, the identity all they have got in Kerala was of the pioneers of reformist Islam. That is why, the duty of reformist *Ulama* of Kerala was to reconcile their different ideas in a united form. Thus the Islam studied in Kerala was the composite of Egyptian modernism and Saudi Puritanism. Hence, this combination was a smouldering phenomenon in Kerala reformist Islam. This dichotomy and mismatch continued as a burning issue for ever in Kerala reformist history. Sometimes it has exploded and sometime it has exposed more apologetic to the liberal surroundings.

a) Emergence of political Islam

One of necessary divisions of Kerala Muslim reformism was the emergence of political Islam in the name of *Jamaat-e-Islami* in 1946. Though there may have seen different reasons for its emergence in national and international level, its rapid growth in Kerala milieu was for another reasons. The concept of *Tawheed* presented in Kerala was not a pristine form of Islamic thought, but it was the composite idea of Afghani, Abduh, Rashid Rida and Ibnu Abdil Wahab. Because of all were of different opinions in this regard, the result was the creation of a neo-*Tawheed* concept. The emergence of political Islam with a new concept of *Tawheed* was taking this gap.

In another word, if we trace back the reasons for the split of reformism in Kerala and the emergence of *Jamaat-e-Islami*, we can reach the point that it was only the explosion of Abduh's political thought embedded in Kerala reformism. Because, Abduh was the central theme of liberal *Salafi* Islam and political Islam. Rashid Rida has taken the spirit of his *Salafist* ideology and Hasanul Banna (d. 1949) adapted his activist political ideology and applied it in the founding of Muslim Brotherhood (Zimney 2009: 6). The Islam prevailed in reformist Kerala was Abduh oriented one, it was the mixture of both ideas. Naturally a division between them in Kerala was most

expected. By the emergence of both political and rationalist Islamic fractions in different time, it was materialized.

Political Islam was launched in Kerala when V.P. Muhammadali (d. 1959) who has met Moududi from Pattankot, has organized *Jama'at al Mustarshideen* in 1946 at Valancheri. Then a big group in the leadership of K.C. Abdulla Moulavi came out of *Salafi* reformism and supported *Jamaat-e-Islami* and worked hard to spread Moududi thoughts all over Kerala. K.C and VKM Issuddeen Moulavi were its first *Nazims*. By the first annual conference of *Jama'at al Mustarshideen* in 1947 conducted at Valanjeri, it appeared publicly and began targeting to recruit its followers. After the demise of Muhammadali Sahib in 1959, the leadership of the movement was in the hands of KC for many years.

Tawheed itself was the main focus of *Jamaat* also. According to them the theocracy was the fundamental one. The legislation must be by God and not be manual. Thus the materialization of a theocratic country or *Hukumat-e-Ilahi* was their basic aim. The obeisance to an un-Islamic government was considered as *Shirk*. So, they were not permitted to obey Indian Government and its legislations. Pursuing governmental job and sending children in government schools were understood as *Shirk*. However, by setting afoot among Kerala Muslims, most of its adherents were compelled to resign their jobs, tear their certificates and call back their children from schools. So, *Jamaat* was very conservative and obscurantist in accommodating social changes in a modern world. Alleging anti-democratic activities *Jamaat* was banned in 1975. When the ban was withdrew in 1977 there has come radical changes in all aspects; they began to obey Government, participate in election, accepting government jobs and sending children in government schools etc. The later history of *Jamaat* was very liberal and flexible. Because of it has not a strict prescriptions touching all walks of life, the liberal and personal path was followed by its adherents. In Kerala the approach of *Jamaat* to traditional Islam was not much different from that of Wahabi Islam. *Ijtihad* was highly appreciated and self interpretation of *Qur'an* and *Hadith* was motivated. Islam was mostly understood from translated works. For conducting *ijtihad* and *Khutuba* there particular trainings and courses were developed. *Jamaat* also has a substantial role in the developing of a reformist Islam in Kerala. Rising queries against traditionalist symbols it has tried to introduce a most liberal and

political Islam. Tracing the rout of Maududi, Hasanul Banna and Sayyid Qutub it also finally reached to the liberal and rational ideology Muhammad Abduh. That is why any could be observed considerable differences between *jamaat* reformism and Wahabi reformism.[152]

b) Division of A.P and Madavoor Factions

By August 2002 the Egyptian neo-*Tajdid*ism which was smouldering in the composite ideology of Kerala Muslim reformism exploded once again. Thus the never-integrated ideologies came out separate to be remained ever independently. As we previously mentioned the Egyptian liberalism and Saudi *Wahabism* were seeking a self-existence and self-identity in Kerala milieu. Because of they were in the two poles of a bar, it couldn't unite together due to its extreme disparities. But, among the reformists in Kerala it was accommodated as a single unit for long years. Though it has split to the emergence of *Jamaat*, this ideological dichotomy wasn't noticed considerably. However, an ideological mismatch was still burning in the corridors of Kerala Muslim reformism.

However, making an end to this continuing disunity, ultimately in 2002, it split into two after some years of internal differences, called *A. P. Mujahid* and *Madavoor Mujahids*.[153] Though both factions raised organizational as well as theological differences were raised as the reason for the split, the post-split inter debates assure that the ideological disparity was the chief component in division. Both factions are well functional and active but the Madavoor faction is seen more flexible, rational and liberal than the AP faction, especially in social, political and religious circles. The Madvoor faction is now affiliated to recently-formed *Indian Islahi Movement* and the AP faction is working in co-operation with *Ahl al Hadith*, an all-India *Islahi* outfit.[154]

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[152] The motive of *Jamaat* in reforming Islam was not different from that of Wahabism too. So, not repeating here what has written in the case of Wahabi reformism once more; especially its reformist activities in socio-cultural, religious and educational fields. There are several Madrasa and Islamic institutions run under Jamaat. Important of them are: *Islamiyya* College of Shanthapuram, *Islahiyya* College of Chendamangallur, *Ilahiyya* College of Tirurkkad, *Islamiyya* College of Vadanappalli, and *Aliya* College of Kasargod.

[153] These names derived from the name of chief characters of both factions, AP Abdul Qadir Moulavi and Dr. Hussain Madavoor. The former sometimes called as KNM faction or Moulavi faction.

[154] The official '*AP faction*', has TP Abdulla Koya Madani as President and AP Abdul Qader Moulavi as General Secretary and the"*Madavur faction*" is led by Dr. EK Ahammad Kutty as President and CP Ummar Sullami as General Secretary.

Searching the root-causes of this reformist division and hearing the echoes of the post-split debates one can dispassionately understand that it was the split of Egyptian liberalism from Saudi *Wahabism*, which were jointly coming in Kerala for decades. AP faction represented the Saudi *Wahabism* that argues for bringing some corrections in their believes which were misunderstandingly accommodated among Kerala Muslims for decades, especially believing in *Jin, Shaytan, Sihr*, and help of *Malak* and *Jin* etc.[155] Madavoor faction stiffly opposed these attempts to steer the Mujahid movement toward the normative stricture of Saudi *Salafism* (Osella & Osella 2007: 332). Rather, they represented for Egyptian liberalism and argued that all these are un-Islamic and *Shirk*. Abdussalam Sullami, a scholar of Madavoor faction, writes that *Jin, Shaytan* and *Sihr* etc. are only some superstitions accommodated among Sunni Muslims of Kerala, which have no proof in *Qur'an* and *Hadith* and even they have no existence in reality. The references of these names in *Qur'an* and *Hadith* only give the meaning of bad things, disturbances, mosquitoes, germs, fungus, bacteria, virus, imaginations, magic, and mesmerism etc. (Sullami 2007).[156] However, really it was come from the believes of Muhammad Abduh and his followers. Both of Abduh and Rashid Rida have given the same meaning and interpretations for these controversial words in their *Tafseer ul Manar*. Madavoor faction differentiates from official KNM group not only by these limited subjects but in various religious matters. Tracing the thoughts of Abduh, Afghani and Rashid Rida they were trying to consolidate the liberal ideas of Egyptian modernism in Kerala Islam. Moreover, they have motivated self-interpretation of *Qur'an* and *Hadith* in the light of reason. Hence, they have kept different opinions in *Isra', Mi'raj* and *Siraat* etc. Because of giving more preference to reason such matters were interpreted critically.

Gulf *Salafism* and Kerala *Wahabism* were utterly different passages so far. There were several differences between them in various rituals and customs. In the book '*Gulf Salafism and Mujahid Movement*' (*Mal*) M.I. Muhammadali Sullami has tried to delineate it in a vast deal.[157] Though the KNM has made attempts to maintain a close relation with Gulf *Salafism* peripherally, especially for the sake of economic

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[155] See *Islah Monthly*, April, 2007, p: 42; December, 2006, p: 4; February, 2007, p: 7; April, 2007, p: 10
[156] To know more about the believes of Madavoor faction see Sullami, A. Abdussalam. (2007), *Junnu, Pishachu, Sihr: Vishwasavum Andaviswasavum*, Kozhikode: Yuwata Book House

[157] For further details see Sullami, MI Muhammadali (2003), *Gulf Salafisavum and Mujahid Prasthanavum*, Arecode: Al Furqan Publication

purposes, the problems in the complete espousal of its preachings is still remains. By the split and later corrections in the understanding of *Tawheed*, they have made it clear that for eight decades Kerala Muslim reformists were looming in darkness, negating the existence of *Jin*, *Shaytan* and *Sihr* etc. At the same time in all such things Madavoor faction was only following the *Mujahid* tradition of Kerala history. However, the activities of both factions have caused to create more problems in the belief of Kerala Muslims.

c) Realizing the bankruptcy of ideology

By the split, reformists have started to ponder on the bankruptcy of Egyptian neo-*tajdidism* and its bad effects on the different walks Kerala Muslims. Not only official faction but the dissident group too have begun introspections on the deficiencies of the religious reform project they have applied here. The new trend that have introduced among Kerala Muslims by the last decade in the label of 'reformism: under trial' and 'reformism: a critical analysis' etc. definitely put them on tender hook and resistant mood. By continuous debates and rich writings criticizing the dubious formulas of reformists and deconstructing their reformist ideology, the traditional Muslims have come out highlighting the invincibility of traditional heritage and incompetence of its fundamental views. This re or de-constructing trend has helped the public to a great deal to understand the veracity of reformist arguments. For decades the genesis of reformism in Kerala was introduced through the different official writings of reformists only from the time of Makti *Tangal*. By rising questions against this limitation, reformists have compelled to rethink and include the traditional scholars like Zainuddin Makhdums, Mampuram *Tangal*, Umar Qasi etc in their list.[158] These types of transformations have begun to persuade them to think on their spirituality and transcendental fields. However, as we discussed in the first chapter of this study, a growth industry in the books and periodical literature on Islamic revival has generated now in Kerala too. The best seller now in Kerala is the books written on Kerala Muslim reformism and its critical studies.

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[158] See *Shabab Weekly* issue 24, book 33, January 22, 2010; issue 25, book 33, January 29, 2010

Conclusion

The reformism which has emerged in Kerala by the second half of nineteenth century, challenging the centuries-old principles of traditional Islam was targeting the institution of a liberal and modern version of Islam. Instead of taking inspiration from authentic texts and Islamic history, its motive was mostly taken from colonial values, indigenous socio-religious reform movements, Egyptian liberal *Salafism* and Saudi *Wahabism* etc. The propagators of this new ideology in Kerala were liberal *Salafists*, colonial apologetic fundamentalists, liberalist revisionists and fundamentalist revisionists etc. Taking *Tawheed* as the centre of all discussions it formulated several new theories which has nothing to do with traditional Islam and its authentic literatures. By splitting in 2002 two versions as most conservative and most liberal, itself has proved that their *Tawheed* interpretations in last eight decades were not factual and true. In sum, questioning the Islamic authority; *Sayyids*, Sufis and *Ulama*, what has taken place in Kerala in the name of reformism was only the introduction of Egyptian neo-*tajdidism* and its liberal and modernist perspectives.

Conclusion

Revival and reform are very basic concepts related to human life, culture and civilization. In the case of a religious community, it attracts much importance in all aspects of its being. By the passing of time and due to the lack of frequent guidance, every community normally gets corrupted or derailed from its prescribed life manual. The corruption affects them personally or socially. However, every religion or ideology has prescribed some particular rules to stay away from deterioration and keep its pristine purity intact. In Islam, this particular process can be called *tajdid*. The Prophet has been reported saying that on the head of every century Al mighty would send a *mujaddid* to revive the Muslim community from all kinds socio-religious decadence. It has a very powerful and systematic history through out every century in Muslim world, from the inception of Islamic era till the date. But, by the rise of colonialism and emergence of western thoughts in Muslim countries by nineteenth and twentieth centuries the concept of 'progress' and 'development' was utterly changed and *tajdid* was replaced by 'reform' and subsequently it was substantiated by *Qur'an*ic verses, using the term *islah*. The *islah* concept used in the same meaning of modern reform was very far from both of *islah* and *tajdid* that Islam represents for. In the post-colonial period, the parameter of progress in Muslim countries also became almost that of the west.

At the same time, Kerala also witnessed all these changes and subsequently it witnessed the clash between tradition and modernity. Moreover, the religious reform of Kerala Muslim has a direct connection with Egyptian modernism, which has close relation with the West. Thus, receiving inspiration from both of these trends along with the indigenous socio-religious reform movements and Saudi *Wahabi* movement, a parallel Muslim movement emerged in Kerala against traditional Islam, which has centuries-long history on the soil of Kerala. Questioning the authority and following the rational and liberal methods for the religious purposes, it represented a 'pure Islam' and 'new version of *Tawheed*' in the backdrop of Western modernity. Instead of accommodating traditional values to preserve the Islamic concepts, it presented colonial values in Islamic perspectives, like rethinking traditional Islam and reinterpretation of Islamic texts in the light of self-reasoning.

However, both of these traditional and reformist channels are still clashing with each other in Kerala, claiming the credit for the contemporary Kerala Muslim awakening and prosperity. In the backdrop of a possible comprehensive and uncompassionate evaluation of the motives and inspirations of the contemporary Muslim revivalist status of Kerala, what clearly appears in the mind of a researcher is that the role of traditionalists dominates that of the reformists in almost all aspects of making an Islamic awakening among Kerala Muslims. Taking inspiration from the prophetic mission directly, they could retain a traditional thought and organize an Islamic culture in accordance with an Islamic spirit in Kerala milieu. The most appreciable point here is it has already built up a stubborn stand in approaching 'social change' and other 'changes' taking place in surroundings in the wake of new trends like colonialism, modernity and post-modernity etc. But rather, it is undeniable that the reformists were only those who have represented the leveling of the situation of Islamic community with that of other indigenous, local communities and participated in their socio-religious reformist movements, copying their ideas, methods and mode of application in Muslim community and reforming it in accordance with that time and surrounding. In this sense, the reformists have done much to present Islam as one of the outfits of reformist ideology like *Tiyyas, Pulayas* and *Brahmins* etc. Due to these particular perspectives, a war broke out against superstitions and social evils in Kerala Islam too in the same period and within same ideology.

Substantiating these observations, the researcher necessarily assumes that the reformists in Kerala represented a liberal Islam and traditionalists a Sufistic Islam. The latter gets more priority than former because of some specific reasons: It represents a traditional Islam and keeps the continuity of Islamic thought. It organized a vernacular Islamic system and formed an Islamic culture with the possible use of all Islamic admissible qualities. It considers Sufis, *Sayyids* and *Ulama* as the patrons of Islamic culture. It blindly does not imitate the un-Islamic elements, concepts of material progress, and western educational philosophy etc. unless followed by very meticulous experiments and discussions. And it keeps a powerful progressive Islamic perspective and stand in this regard. Ideologically it does not compromise with western modernity in any sense. It promotes a spiritual and Sufistic life, this apart, it represents a dynamic and energetic Islamic intellectualism.

At the same time, the reformist Islam in Kerala is possibly apologetic for several characters as previously mentioned. It represents colonialism in considering Kerala Muslims as 'uncivilized' and in the clutch of *Jahiliyya* and will get 'civilized' only by following the colonial values; in excessive aspiration for western education and thinking that the English education is the only remedy to get Muslims out of their contemporary intellectual dilemma; in the liberal perspectives, especially in religion and society, like: gender equality, human rights, freedom of expression and freewill; all in the new parameters of the 'progress', which is not Islamic but probably of the west. It represents indigenous socio-religious reform movements in the incessant war against old customs, rituals, superstitions etc.; in fighting for women and their mosque entry; in fighting against vernacular Islamic system. It represents Egyptian modernism in the reinterpretation of fundamental texts and rethinking of traditional Islam; in questioning the authority and aversion of the traditional *Ulama*; in applying reason and rationality in religious believes and questioning the existence of unseen matters like *Jin*, *Shaytan* and *Sihr* etc.; in transforming the concept of *tajdid* as 'reform' in modern sense.

However, concluding this study, I would like to assert that, after the dreadful end of Malabar rebellion and the onslaught of colonialism and religious reformist movements, Kerala Muslims are currently in a transition period. Raising questions against the Islamic tradition and rich heritage of last five centuries by 1921, the colonialists as well as reformists have introduced an apologetic culture in Kerala Islam. Inspired by that culture and tradition, for last half of the century, Kerala Muslims have been in a swift march to recover that lost golden past and rich heritage keeping pace with the modern time. Making enviable breakthrough in educational and social level, it has skipped several hazardous blockades within a short period. It is probable that hardly within a century it can win its destination marking a great achievement for the Muslim *Umma*. Unlike any other organization, it will be the victory of traditional Islam in Kerala.

Glossary[159]

'alim (pl. 'ulama): a learned scholar

'aql: reason, intellect.

'ilm (pl. 'ulum): Knowledge; religious learning; science(s).

'ulama (sing. 'alim): religious scholars; those with formal training in the religious sciences, especially but not exclusively in Islamic law and hadith.

'ahyā revival, rebirth, revitalization

'aslaha restore, ameliorate, correct

Ahl-i Hadith: The people of hadith. The Ahl-e-Hadith, who emerged in late-nineteenth-century colonial India, denied the authority of all schools of Sunni law and insisted rather on the exclusive and unmediated authority of the Qur'an and *Hadith* as the sources of all guidance. (zaman)

Al Aqidah: theology

al islah fil fikr al islami the reforms in the Islamic thought

al islahu al dini religious reformation, reform

ba'atha rise, send

Barelawi: The doctrinal orientation associated with Ahmad Rida Khan (d. 1921) of Bareilly, a town in Uttar Pradesh in northern India; an adherent of this orientation. The Barelawis lay special emphasis on ritualized forms of devotion to the Prophet as well as to the memory of other holy persons. Their ritual practices, which are often associated with Sufi shrines, are strongly opposed by the "reformist" Deobandis. (zaman)

Bid'a innovations

caliphate or *khilafa:* government or state of the successors to the Prophet.

Deoband, Deobandi, Deobandism: The doctrinal orientation associated with the madrasa of Deoband, a small town in Uttar Pradesh in northern India; an adherent of this movement. The Deobandi movement, which emerged in late-nineteenth-century colonial India, lays stress on a renewed commitment to hadith and sacred law as the basis of a "reformed" and reinvigorated Islamic identity. The Deobandis define themselves against other Sunni groups in the Indian subcontinent, notably the Barelawis and the Ahl-i Hadith, as well as against the Shi'a and the Ahmadis. (zaman).

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[159] Some definitions and explanations are taken from Zaman (2002), *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change,* and Roberson (2005), *Shaping the Current Islamic Reformation*

dhikr: a sufi meeting for the recollection of God's name.

Din: faith, religion

Fatwa: A legal opinion issued by a jurisconsult

Fiqh: Islamic law and jurisprudence

Fuqaha (pl. *faqih*): scholars of law (*fiqh*)

Hadith: Traditions attributed to the Prophet Muhammad; regarded by Muslims as second to the Qur'an as a source of religious guidance and law.

Hanafi: A school of Sunni law named after Abu Hanifa (d. 767).

Hanbali: A school of Sunni law named after Ahmad b. Hanbal (d. 855)

ihya' ul sunna (revival of tradition

ihya': revival

Imam: Leader or head of the community; those descendants of 'Ali who are regarded by the Shi'a as their infallible guides; the term is also used for the person leading the ritual prayers.

imatat al bid'a (elimination of innovation).

islah: reform, reformation

Islamism: political Islam.

Isnad: Chain of transmission that forms an essential part of any report relating the words or deeds of the Prophet Muhammad (hadith).

Jaddada renew, regenerate, and rejuvenate

Jahiliyya: "The age of ignorance"; designation for the era before the advent of Islam; also used in the twentieth century by certain Islamist thinkers to assert that their coreligionists were living in a new age of unbelief or apostasy.

Khilafa: "Deputyship"; the caliphate.

Madhhab: School of law; or school of thought, school of jurisprudence

Madrasa: Institution of higher Islamic learning. In Kerala it is generally using for the centre of primary Islamic education

Masjid: Mosque.

Maulavi, Mawlana: A term used to designate a religious scholar;

Mawlid al-Nabiyy: the celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birth.

Mufti: A jurisconsult; one who issues legal opinions

mujtahid: A practitioner of *ijtihad*

Mullah, Molla, Mollakka: A religious scholar.

muqallid: A practitioner of *taqlid*

Murîd: follower of a sufi shaykh,

Mutaallim: Islamic student

Qadi, Qazi: Muslim judge who rules according to the *shari'*a

Qadiyani: A doctrinal orientation that emerged in late-nineteenth-century India and is defined most notably by the belief of its adherents (the Ahmadis) in the prophethood of the movement's founder, Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (d. 1908). Other Muslims consider the Ahmadis heretical or non-Muslim on account of this belief, which contravenes the Islamic doctrine that Muhammad was the last of God's prophets. (zaman)

ra'y: Opinion; in the early history of Islamic law, it designated a mode of argumentation based on informed personal reasoning.

Sahaba: The Companions of the Prophet Muhammad.

Salafi (salafiyya): refers to the practices of the early years of Islam, which remain influential until the present time.

Sayyid: a title referring to descent from the Prophet.

shari'a: The totality of Islamic legal and ethical norms; the sacred lawof Islam.

shaykh: A religious scholar; a Sufi master.

shari'a: Islamic Law, God's Law, religious Law.

Shaykh: elder, religious or tribal leader.

Shi'a (sing. Shi'i): Community of Muslims who, unlike the Sunnis, believe that after the death of the Prophet infallible religious guidance must continue in the person of the imams, who are divinely designated to lead the community in religious and political matters. There are several subdivisions within the Shi'a, of which the historically most important are the Ithna 'ashariyya and the Isma'iliyya.

Silsila: chain, the genealogy of leaders of a given sufi network traced back to the Prophet.

Sufi orders *(tariqa)*: one that is led by a Sufi *Shaykh* who is a well-trained Muslim spiritual leader and will have any number of adherents

Sunna: The normative example of the Prophet, usually expressed in the form of reports relating his teachings and conduct.

Sunnis: Those professing adherance to the sunna of the Prophet and to the agreed upon norms and practices of the universal Muslim community. The Sunnis constitute the overwhelming majority of the Muslim people worldwide. Sunnis in Kerala are those who are not adherents of *Wahabism* and *Jamaat-e-islami*.

Tafsir: explanation, interpretation, commentary on the Qur'an.

tajdid ul Din Religious renewal, religious revival

tajdid: renewal

Taqlid: following the legal rulings of earlier scholars, or of the school of law to which one professes adherence.

tariqa (pl *turuq):* order or brotherhood, usually a Sufi order.

Umma: The worldwide community of Muslims

usul al-fiqh: The sources of the law; the principles of the science of jurisprudence and the methodology of legal reasoning.

Usul: general principles, roots

Wahabi: An adherent of the puritanical teachings of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1791).

Wahy: revelation for the God.

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