

**Spiritual Leadership in Anti-Colonial Struggle:
An Analytical Study of Life and Works of Qazi
Muhammad Al-Kalikuti (1550-1617)**

*Dissertation Submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfilment of requirements for
the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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DECLARATION

20th July 2009

I declare that the dissertation entitled "Spiritual leadership in Anti-Colonial Struggle: An Analytical Study of Life and Works of Qazi Muhammad Al-Kalikuti (1550-1617)" submitted by me is in the partial fulfilment 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 it is my original research work.

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Darul Huda Islamic Academy

*The ever green garden of Knowledge, in which as a butterfly I
fluttered*

For long period of 12 years,

sucking the nectar of lore.

It still continues to stand as a beacon shedding light

In my journey ahead.

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Muneer

Chapter II

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The role played by spiritual leadership in the whole realms of Islamic ideology and in the whole spaces wherever its message reached since its emergence till date is verily tremendous, due to the mammoth importance Islam attaches to the spiritual side of religion but without negating the required share of that of material aspect. Academics and scholars have discussed thoroughly the major part played by them across the length and breadth of the world in shaping the world polity and causing revolutionary changes in the political spheres, apart from the great imprints they left on the religious front. The annals of Islamic history from the beginning testify that spiritual leaders of Muslims were their social heads and political commanders as well to a considerable extent, and we read this right from the history of prophet Muhammad (S).

As far as the history of Islam and Muslims till date is concerned, truly in the light of sound evidences, it has been in constant threat from alien powers which emerged to subjugate the land, property, human strength and to cap it all, to raze down their distinct religious identity and avowedly preserved belief structure. Since it was a prime question of belief and loyalty to the ethos of religion, coupled with the sincere patriotism, naturally they have been at unyielding war with those powers of colonial dominations so that to safeguard their coveted religious and material possessions. As the precise and non-biased documents of history endorse, in these massive movements of resistance which marked the life of Muslims in various stages of its survival, too, the role of the Muslim spiritual leadership is truly unquestionable.

Thareeqat movements or Sufi orders are substantially a later period organizational set up of an already existed spiritual stream of thinking which no way can be dispossessed from the fabric of Islamic ideology. At the core of the origin of this revolutionary platform, one can verily find the towering religious personalities like Shaykh Abdul Qader Jeelani, who is said to be caused primarily for triggering it with sole aim of social and religious revival and rejuvenation. As some Muslim reformist persons argue, *Thareeqat* movement and *Tasawwuf* was not a mystical means to push people in to the dark corridors of unconscious slumber and oblivion

and make them deplorable, deprived of whole creativity. On the contrary, original Sufism is a great revolutionary movement, which succeeded largely in realizing enormous social headways of the community by virtue of the smooth application of unstained religious interventions without deviating from the substance of the ideology. Hence, it can be said that sidetracking the highly positive role played by Sufism in the religious revivalist realms and social reorganizing measures, one cannot read the history of Islam all through the 14 centuries of its existence being loyal to the facts fully. The same state of fact can be traced from the battlefronts arranged by various individual Muslim communities, irrespective of time and space, in their unflinching resistance against different colonial powers emerged in different colour and form. Since it was a pressing social reality and inevitable religious duty as philosophically envisaged by Sufis, history is witness that they refused to remain mere recluses or ascetics, but time to time rose to the level of being active unsurpassable obstacles to the inroads of colonialism, along with the influential anti-colonial message they passed to Muslim mass which substantially helped organize them against the alien powers using their maximum potentials. Several ample instances can be picked up from the live pages of history to prove this factor satisfactorily. In Indonesia, which is the largest Muslims populated state in the world, when it came under the colonial subjugation of Dutch government (1825-1830), it was really Sufis and *Thareeqat* movements that enabled believers to wage one of the strong resistances against it and continue in the warfront with abiding confidence and consistency. The freedom struggle broke out in Sumatra Island; in the year 1821 was actually named a 'war of scholars'.

Even in the independence movement of Algeria no one can overlook the increased presence of Sufi saints about which *Alija Izzet Begovic*, the known late Muslim thinker and former president of Bosnia, elaborates in one of his remarkable article. "The movement of *Amir Abdul Qadir* which was literally extinguished by French colonial powers after 15 years long stiff encounter (1932-47) was really a pure Islamic movement. His father was an efficient soldier and a leading initiator of *Qadiree* Sufi order in his time. "The war led by me is not an Arab one or an Algerian war, but a pure Islamic war against unjustifiable foreign colonialism." Thus it was often reiterated by *Amir Abdul Qadir*. In *Somalian* independence battle front

we meet with great figures like Muhammad Abdulla who was a member and strong advocate of *Sahili Thareeqat* Movement. And the warriors who left an illuminated imprint in the freedom struggles of Libya and its leaders were mainly of *Sanussi* Sufi order. According to *Begovic*, who made extensive studies in this area, barring four countries, in all Muslim counties those who led and fought stiff war against alien invaders to emancipate the victimised community from the colonisers cruel clutches were real spiritual leaders. The names of *Omar Mukhtar* in Libya, *Abdul Qadir Al-Jazairi* in *Aljeeria* are some evergreen names in this regard. *Fazlu Rahman*, a reputed historian who made vast studies on different aspect of Islam and world Muslims also has reached in to similar conclusion about the role Sufis and spiritual leaders in this realm. Indicating to this area of fact, he writes in his book titled 'Islam', "The Sufi organizations were a kind of bulwark against the state authority, especially since 5th/11th century when the political unity of Islamic world began to crumble. And Sufism in its organized form, functioned as a protest against political tyranny. This has been pre-eminently the case both in medieval Turkey and in modern times in North and West Africa and eastern Sudan. In Africa the Sufi orders of various kinds have constantly put up a fierce military resistance against the penetration of European colonial powers." The most noteworthy factor regarding this influential element in the history of Muslim resistance movements is that, the leadership was never confined to that of physical, but, rather more it permeated deep and wide to that of ideological and intellectual and energised the public using their vast stock of endless intellectual, instructional, literary and oratory and many other feasible potentials. Though the influence of Sufi and spiritual elements in determining the political struggle of India has been traced by many authentic and scholarly works, scanty attempts have been conducted to explore this in the political and religious life of Mappila Muslims of Kerala.

Mappila Muslims are a unique collection of indigenous Muslim community in south west coast of India, who emerged and lived keeping obvious anthropological distinction and socio-cultural significance, sharing a common history of uncompromising sense of liberation with Muslims of many other contemporary regions. Mappila Muslims of Kerala have a rich heritage and vibrant history. According to many reliable sources, Islam came there in the very age of prophet of

Muhammad itself and spread all over the area within decades. They were business men, social reformers, military commanders and naval heads. Throughout the history as *Rolland E. Miller* noted, the community stood forth not only as an enlightened class but strove for the well being of the secular society as a whole. Though some prominent official historians, most probably because of the lack of enough exposure to the sufficient documents, have miserably overlooked or ignored, the true history of Kerala speaks loudly that the overall leadership of Muslim community was since the earlier times secure and safe in the hands of spiritual heads and it was truly endorsed by the rulers of the period. As *Dr. Kunhali* who made a genuine study about 'Sufism in Kerala', concluded, Sufi spiritual leadership was vibrant and amply influential in the Muslim life of Kerala for it left a lasting imprint on all walks of their life. Moreover, "they were never mere recluses or ascetics. They engaged in their professions and took service to man as one injunction of Sufism." In the case of Kerala most of the *Ulama* were having active participation in Sufism and they themselves had been the chief initiators of many prominent Sufi orders. Especially in Malabar, at large, these two categories are usually intertwined or complementary and *Ulama* kept the true and impeccable distinction of being Sufi and spiritual leaders and vice versa simultaneously, thus enjoying massive popularity and unquestioned following amidst Mappila Muslims. In Kerala the contributions of three distinct families are quite impressive in this respect. They are *Makhdums of Ponnani*, *Ba Alavi Sayyids of Mampuram*, and the *Qazis of Calicut*. In the history of entire spheres of Mappila living, especially in their relentless struggle, against the rigorous invasions of colonial powers, their role and involvement is predominantly evident. The most noteworthy factor regarding the life and message of these influential personalities is that they at the same time great scholars, authors, *Qazis* and political mobilizers. Therefore their literary creations, religious and spiritual dictates and counsels and intellectual guidance have been a major player both directly and indirectly in their life time and afterwards in the process of organizing, energizing, mobilizing and stimulating Muslim community throughout Kerala.

Being a member in Mappila Muslim community, an intense desire formed and grew up in my mind after reading some of the works which pursue in detail the

revolutionary history and different poises of *Mappila Muslims*' historic life saga, written by both natives and foreigners, to make an attempt as my own to explore some least explored area of the services provided by them, so that to be a humble tribute paid by a loyal successor to his legendary forefathers. Fortunately, the way opened up before me to actualise at least the commencement of this long cherished dream project as I got admission for research in the reputed faculty of Arabic in J.N.U. with the endless grace of Allah Almighty. Naturally, when started serious thinking in search of finding out an apt and appropriate topic for the proposed M.Phil dissertation, my mind concentrated on the area related with Mappila Muslim community's great, vibrant and meantime diverse mission and lofty contributions. Consequently, name of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* came to my mind as a result of days' long serious contemplation in this regard on my part, and much advantageous negotiations held with some of my very insightful and thinking senior friends. And the subject got finalised with genuine additions and corrections made as per the valuable instructions of my supervisor till it got the present shape, though I am not fully contented that I have been able to be duly loyal to the subject, compared to the mammoth services rendered by them in the shaping and reshaping its identity with respect to the demand of time being perfectly alert not to be robbed of the substantial attire of the fundamental belief structure.

Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti (D.1025 A.H.) is a true representative of Mappila spiritual leadership who lived in the last half of 16th century A.D. and first half of 17th century. He is a household name in the quarters of *Mappilas* but unfortunately that popularity is confined to a single area of his diverse career. Mostly he is known amidst the Mappila sphere even now as the author of *Muhyiddin Mala* and very few is aware of anything beyond it in this regard and it is more pathetic that all those who are aware about this aspect must not have found time to seriously ponder over the wide and variegated potentials that this wonderful literary creation in Arabic Malayalam opens up before us. Hence it is evident that if someone take up with the duty of locating the place of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* in the array of spiritual leadership among Mappila Muslims by exploring the various elements and different stages of his life and his diverse career and rich contributions, which I have tied to execute with this study, can be seen as really a relevant attempt, since no exhaustive

research work in this regard has been taken place yet, though some slide remarks and limited statements and not so-sufficient studies about his life and some specific works have found place in different works.

Qazi Muhammad is a sixteenth and seventeenth century representative of the famous *Qazi Family of Calicut* which has played like *Makhdum's Ponnani* and *Alvi Sayyids*, leading and radical roles to create social awareness and enlightenment among Malabar Muslims. Eminent leaders emerged in this family are well remembered for their apt leadership to the Muslim community, for their unmistakable but creative directions provided even to the contemporary non-Muslim rulers and for their rich contributions to the literary, social, spiritual and cultural realms of society. Especially, in Calicut, the services of this Qazi family, whose roots date back to *Malik bin Habib*, one among the group of *Malik bin Dinar* who is believed to be the first to come to India with the flames of Islam, enabled thoroughly to sustain social integrity, communal harmony, religious awakening and fierce anti-colonial feeling through the many centuries over. *Qazi Muhammad* like a towering figure emerged in this familial stream and with full potentials and possibilities preserved the revolutionary tradition upheld by the family through last many years being in the hands of different exceptionally talented and enormously pious forefathers. Truly to say he was an unparalleled scholar, philosopher, judge, *Shaykh of Qadiriyya* Sufi esoteric order, and moreover a gifted poet and man of literature. As his time was a witness to the sweltering phase *Portuguese* invasion in *Malabar*, necessarily his role extended substantially to that side also. Through his dynamic physical interventions and effective literary creations he has been an inspiring presence for the Mappila Muslims in their exhaustive struggles against all the colonial powers who tried to impose their might up on Kerala during his life and after.

So in order to effectively evaluate the multiple contributions of *Qazi Muhammad* and measure the extent of its impact, I have set the following objectives in the present study.

- 1) To examine the origin and features of Mappila Muslim community so that to be helpful in assessing the place of Sufi spiritual leadership in its life's framework.

2) To look in the place and importance of spiritual leadership in Mappila life and its passages and its role in the anti-colonial struggles and movements.

3) To explore the contributions of *Qazi* family of Calicut towards this movement and find the place of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* among them and his literary, spiritual and other diverse contributions.

4) To make a focussed study on the two specially important poetic works of Qazi Muhammad, i.e. the direct anti-colonial war song, Fathul Mubin and Arabic-Malayalam Sufi Mystical poem, Muhyiddin Mala and look in the direct and indirect influence it exerted in Mappila life and its anti-colonial movements. And it is also mention-worthy that, all through the study my focus will not be on the language and literary eminence and qualities of the works but, on content and subject matter, as the core of the topic demands it.

Apart from the introduction and conclusion, this study is divided in to three core chapters. In the first chapter an attempt is made to trace the history of the origin and developmental stages of Mappila Muslim community in Kerala and their characteristic features so that to find out and identify clearly the place and importance enjoyed by spiritual leadership in its whole spheres. The chapter is subdivided in to several relevant titles, so that to explore the significance of spiritual leadership and their special distinction with respect to the behavioural patterns and observance structure and above all method of diverse activism so that to implement their revolutionary ideas in community according to the changing needs and imperatives of them. These sub titles are 1) Mappila Muslims: Genesis and growth 2) Five centuries of colonial domination 3) Mappila character 4) Scope and extent of spiritual leadership in the living sphere of Mappila Muslims 5) *Sayyid Qabilas* or *Ahlu Bait* 6) Mosques and *Palli Darses* 7) Public sermons 8) Influential role of literature 9) Spiritual leadership in ant-colonial struggle 10) Predominant figures of Mappila spiritual leadership during colonial period. Under these ten sub titles I have tries to briefly analyse the whole extent of the distinction related with Mappila living and the role of spiritual leadership in its various realms, especially in the sphere of war it fought against colonial invasions so that to make up a background to analyse effectively and identify the significance of the role played by *Qazi Muhammad*

which has been made in the second and third chapters. And I hope it has been at large successful to provide needed general idea in this respect.

The second chapter is wholly spent to treat the life and works of *Qazi Muhammad* excluding two very important poems which are discussed in the third chapter separately. In order to locate his right space in the sphere of Mappila leadership and precisely identify the relevance of whole range of his activism, at first the history of his familial stream is examined in brief in the chapter and in turn the chapter moves to his life and its various poises and faces. Several sub titles are brought in this chapter also so that to separately meantime connectedly deal with each and every relevant area concerning his life and multifarious activities. Those sub titles are 1) Qazi family and Calicut 2) Politico-religious atmosphere in the 16th century, Calicut. This is brought because while analysing the life and message of a personality, it is naturally essential to examine at least in general, the religious and political climate of the period in which he lived and went through the stages of his personality formation and to observe the socio-cultural elements which left its impact on the different stages his life and mission. 3) *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti and his contributions*. This subtitle is again sub divided in to several relevant ones; they are 1) Birth early life and education 2) Diverse career, hectic mission, and superb vision. 4) Multifarious literature and its implications. Under this sub title I have tried my best to critically examine each and every book of him which became available and I have tried to focus my observation in the light of the theme I raise in this dissertation namely, spiritual leadership in anti-colonial struggle. But I am sure that even after all these attempts these accounts and observations given here haven't been exhaustive mainly because of the unavailability of many essential materials and works of his own which are largely manuscripts and many of them have either perished or kept in some private water tight archives which are not open to public so that be a beneficial asset. However, I have tried my best and possible most so that to get enough materials and to do the task sufficiently well in according to the available materials.

The third core chapter in this study is a focussed study on the two most important poetic works, Fathul Mubin in Arabic and Muhyiddin Mala in Arabic Malayalam

which have a special say and significance concerning the major argument of the study. Considering the importance of the two poems several sub titles are given to treat relevant aspects and implications of it. And the chapter is divided in two parts for the convenience of detailed critical examination. The first part deals with Arabic poem, Fathul Mubin, which apart from an introductory note is further divided in certain relevant subtitles i.e. Language, theme and message. Meantime the second part is also again sub divided into different titles excluding introduction. An unwarranted controversy has erupted recently from some quarters regarding the authorship of the Muhyiddin Mala saying that it is not really his work. Neither the argument was much grave nor it seems that those who raised it are so sincere in their stand, it needs an explanation on the part of the student who tries to critically examine it at first to substantiate the authorship Qazi Muhammad, so I have, before plunging in to down-to-earth descriptions about the content of the poem, given a sub title treatment to refute the bases of their argument in the light of sound evidences and documents. That sub title is contention about the authorship of the Muhyiddin Mala. Then other relevant titles are brought i.e. Arabic Malayalam as the language of Muhyiddin Mala, Content and controversy, Impact of Muhyiddin Mala on neighbouring states and finally impact of Muhyiddin Mala on anti-colonial struggle, which is crux of the second part of the third chapter. With the examination of the poem in detail and depth, I have tries my best to trace its places in the long drawn anti-colonial struggle led by Mappila Muslim community.

An extensive survey of a wide range of books, research papers and sound oral traditions have been conducted by the researcher so that to reach in to the verified conclusions at its maximum possible best, while preparing the first core chapter of the dissertation, since it's an area of increased confusions and plethora of opinions. With the laborious scrutiny of earlier studies held about the history of Mappila Muslims, it is clearly understood that, though a number of attempts and its products in the form of excellent literatures have been made and brought out, by both native and foreign authors, even all of it have not been adequately able to cover whole areas related with the quite revolutionary Mappila living, so it necessarily demands more exhaustive researches and explorations, especially the Sufi esoteric affiliations Mappila Muslims lively kept in their living so far. A wide range of diverse literature

prepared by Mappila spiritual leadership of all time can be traced or it needs to be unearthed and subjected to critical reading so that to appreciate well the philosophical background of them, since it is a inalienable meantime mammoth area of *Mappilas*, as it has been clear from my humble search in this regard.

Meantime, for the second chapter, I have found much difficulty due to the severe scarcity of published materials and consequently had to rely up on different manuscripts which are verily scattered in various private libraries and book archives for which I had to hold days long wandering, knocking at the doors of its keepers and patrons. And it was sad experience in this regard that many of the patrons of such private familial collections are not either aware of the high value of the knowledge they are patronising or being aware are not interested to be it a live source so that to be beneficial for genuine researchers and students. As a result of this seemingly obscurantist behaviour, I confess that I haven't been able to enter smoothly to all necessary archives and manuscripts which were inevitable for the exhaustive study in this area. Moreover, the desired extensive conversation with the contemporary scholarly representative of *Qazi Family* of Calicut and one of the great grand sons of Qazi Muhammad first, *Nalakath Muhammad Koya* (He passed away in 2009), couldn't materialize at a targeted level best due to the acute hearing problem and many other physical impairment he suffered, which also created big road block in the way of research.

After all, the wholehearted assistance very sincerely extended by respected *Abdull Koya Tangal*, the one among the living sons of former Calicut senior Qazi, and great scholar *Ahmed Shihabuddin Imbichi Koya Tangal*, who is now the patron of the abundant manuscript collections of the his father, made a different note in my near to frustration search for primary materials. I couldn't help remember that, if he hadn't opened up generously the doors of the invaluable archive before me wide and days sat with me to go from pages to pages seeking for the unpublished works of *Qazi Muhammad*, I couldn't have been any way able to complete this attempt even in this way. I collected maximum possible manuscript works of *Qazi Muhammad* from this collection and many other valuable details and documents regarding this family both from the writing records of the former senior Qazi and from conversation

with *Abdull Koya Tangal*. Moreover, the archives of *Nalakath Muhammad Koya*, many other private book collections and university and college libraries and especially the invaluable written records of late *Nellikuth Muhammad Musliyar* also have been very much helpful in the seemingly successful completion of the second chapter. Meantime, the only pioneering published research works in area of Arabic literature in Kerala, made by Prof. *K.M. Muhammad* and *Dr. Vereran Moydin*, are worthy of special mentioning due to the several priceless documents it provided and the fitting directions it imparted while analysing the Arabic literary contributions of Mappila Muslims. However, in the light of the hard earned documents I have stove every nerve to present a possibly comprehensive analytical picture about the vibrant contributions of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* in this chapter. For the third chapter, though generally materials were available, all of which had its own proposed dimensions sometimes naturally conflicted with my arguments, still I have made an attempt in the chapter to substantiate my argument according to the practical tradition of major Mappila Sunni Muslims and their belief structures who are essentially the takers of the devotional and spiritual ideology preached and propagated by *Qazi Muhammad* and it was necessarily in the wake of several undeniable historical documents. However, I am satisfied, that, on the basis of the available works and sources I have been able to make my argument sound and irrefutable due to the abundance of positive points and absence of negative elements, , though I haven't been able to explore the whole corpus of writings of the *Qazi Muhammad*. Still, being a beginner's initial step in the field of research studies, it is likely to slip in to the frame and content of study, many deviations, childish notions and immature calculations and conclusions, but hope it won't be to such an extent that it would cause to mar the gravity and grain of the research content. With sincere prayers to Almighty Allah to make this attempt a highly rewarding one in here and hereafter and a stepping stone to the heights of innumerable creative achievements ahead, I humbly submit this to the minds that care.

Chapter II

SPIRITUAL LEADERSHIP AND ITS IMPACT ON ANTI-COLONIAL STRUGGLE AS REFLECTED IN THE LIFE OF MAPPILA MUSLIMS OF KERALA: AN OVERVIEW

Spiritual Leadership and its Impact in Anti-Colonial Struggle as Reflected in the Life of Mappila Muslims of Kerala: An Overview

“Allah does not forbid you to treat kindly and act equitably towards those who have neither fought you in the matter of religion nor driven you out of your homes. Indeed Allah loves the just.’ He only forbids you to take for friends those who fought you in the matter of religion, and drove you out of your homes, and cooperated with others in your expulsion. Those who take them for friends are indeed the wrong-doers” (Qur’an 60 8-9)

In the above mentioned verses of the Qur’an one can read the direct proclamation of the Stand point of Islamic ideology towards the colonial moves from whichever sides it is rising head. In tune with the grain of this ideal and sometimes not, many resistant movements have emerged among variant individual Muslim communities of the world in different time and space. Mappila Muslim community of Kerala also has to narrate such a history of living in the shade of colonialism for a lengthy period of time and developing a stiff resistant movement both for self defense and for the liberation of land. *Mappilas* had to go through different stages and forms of crises imposed by various alien hands and native *Brahmanical* feudal landlordism that was purely intolerable in terms of the egalitarian perspective of Islam.

In view of this great reality as whole credible documents of history testify, *Mappilas* carried out a saga of long struggle marked with marvelous consistency and continuity. This chapter is an attempt to trace the undercurrents of these long drawn struggles and its sound ideological back ground which maintained its vigour and valour in rain and shine, in the light of available literature and sound credible oral tradition and to make this venture factually and contextually easy possible, the examination of the origin, development and features of this separate community seem necessary. Hence a method of developing ideas from basic through the introduction of origin and features of the community is accepted here.

Mappila Muslims: Genesis and Growth

Though not too much in number, Mappila Muslims of Kerala are a distinct segment of society who left a lasting imprint in the mirror of world history. They are a unique collection of indigenous Muslim community in the south west coast of India, who emerged and lived keeping obvious anthropological exclusivity and socio-cultural significance, sharing a common history of uncompromising sense of liberation with Muslims of many other contemporary regions. The history of Mappila Muslims rightly commence from the period of the advent of Islam into their soil .In the light of a whole lot of reliable sources, though dissents exist, Islam is believed to have reached in the land of Kerala in the same period it emerged and began to spread in Arabia in the time of prophet Muhammad(s). P A Syed Mohammed the famous historian of Kerala, writes shedding light to the advent of Islam in Kerala ‘It can be safely concluded in the wake of the strict assessment and keen observation of the evidences found and documents historical researches explored, that Islam reached in Kerala in 7th century AD the same time it rose head and spread in Arabia¹ Nadvi’s assertion that it is an open fact that long before Muslims settled in Northern India, there were Muslim localities in southern India² is also clearly indicative to this fact.

The traditional story regarding the spread of Islam in Malabar³ is connected with the conversion of a native ruler called *Cheraman Perumal* who is said to have gone to Mecca and embraced Islam at the feet of Prophet Muhammad (s). This story of conversion is clearly given in *Tarikh Zuhurul Islam Fi Malaibar*, one of the earliest manuscripts traced as evidence on the genesis of Islam in Kerala, written by *Muhammad Bin Malik* “that a group of pilgrims led by *Zahiruddin Bin Taqiyudeen* while going to visit the feet of Adam in *Celon* landed at *Kodungallure* met the

¹ Syed Muhammed,P.A, Kerala Muslim history page. 43(mal)(Alhuda Book,Kozhikode)

² S .S Nadvi, The Muslim colonies in India before Muslim conquest, page. 478(1934)

³ Malbar means a territory of hills and mountains. It is believed that Albiruni (973A.D-1050 A.D) is the first historian to call the western coast of India with the name Malabar. However in the old usage of the term it denotes the whole modern Kerala and some other areas from outside. Malabar in the Map with the Arab geographers is the territory extending from Gokarnam to Kanyakumari, foreigners even today use the word to mean Kerala as a whole.(Tuhfatul Mujahideen,trans,eng,p98) But today the term is mainly used to denote some northern districts of Kerala, ié, Palagat, Malappuram, Kozhikode, wayanad, Kannur, Kasargode. This area is the concentration of *Mappila* Muslims.

Chera king.The team explained the mission of Prophet Mohammed to the king .They also told him the miracles of Prophet including the splitting of the moon which the king himself had witnessed. The king was attracted to the faith and he told the team his desire to embrace *Islam*. When the team returned after their pilgrimage to the foot of Adam, the king accompanied them to Arabia. The king is said to have met prophet at Jeddah on Thursday 27th *Shawwal*, six years before *Hijrah* (617 A.D.)⁴ *William Logan* in his *Malabar Manual* considering the dissents regarding the rise of Islam in Kerala reaches to the conclusion that ‘there is good reason for thinking that this traditional account regarding the introduction of Muhammedanism into Malabar is reliable⁵. The Mappila historians to give sound support to their argument cites the tradition recorded by *Hakim* in his *Musthadrak*⁶ that a king of India gave a gift of ginger packed up in a jar to prophet and he distributed it among his companions.

However it is evident that Kerala had live and strong trade relation with Arabs many centuries before the advent of Islam happened there. There are evidences well enough to prove that the root of this great connection stretches back to the time prior to prophet Suleiman. Therefore there is no difficulty in agreeing upon the explanations and analysis regarding the earliest arrival of Islam in Kerala and the positive response that *Keralites* had shown towards these message bearers. *K.M.Bahaudeen* one of the *Keralite* historians made extensive researches in this regard, testifies that there was no particular difficulty in reaching Islam in Kerala coast as early as possible, as Kerala contacts with Persians, Babylonians and Arabs continued for centuries. There were established trade routes and settlements of these people in the trading centres of Kerala. It was there for natural that Islam should travel at the earliest to Kerala along with Arab traders⁷. The traders from Yemen and *Hadramauth*, who had centuries long trade relation with Kerala prior to the advent of Islam is believed to be the prominent missionaries who worked behind the

⁴ Thareeq zuhrul Islam, quoted from Randathani Dr,Hussain,*Mappila* Muslims A study on society And Anticolonial struggles ,page 25

⁵ Logan William,Malabar Manual vol 1 p 195

⁶ Hakim ,Musthadrak Vol v,p .35,quoted in mahathaya *Mappila* parambryam,C.N Ahmed moulavi and KK Muhamed Abdul karim Calicut 1978,p 115-16

⁷ Bahaudeen,K.M,Kerala muslims a long struggle p.18

Islamisation process in this land⁸. However these historical elements point to the fact that Kerala is blessed to have received the message of Islam from its direct source and it was made possible there by the mission of those people who had straight access to pool in to the sea of its lore. We cannot help saying that these factual elements had its mega impact in the shaping process of the core of Kerala Muslim community and in keeping them distinct in expression of individual personality and religious face especially in the observance structure and performance pattern

The origin of the term Mappila which characterizes the Muslim community in Kerala widely is derived as the result their inseparable contact with Arabs. However this term was in prevalence even before the coming of Islam in Kerala. The section that was given birth through the marital relation with Arabs was actually termed *Mappilas*. Earlier they were not Muslims. But as the message of Islam reached in Kerala these *Mappilas* were the first people to embrace it⁹ It means Mappila community came into existence through the marriage of local women and Arab sailors and traders with total protection and patronage native rulers also. The word Mappila is the combination two Dravidian words, *Maha* (great) and *Pilla* ¹⁰(child). The offspring of born to Arab fathers are given this honorific title as a mark of respect.¹¹

However it can be safely stated while analysing the growth of this distinct community that Islam had to come to this region without any political help whatsoever and remained rooted in the soil for centuries away from the turmoil of Mahmud's invasion of India, and the struggle between the cross and crescent in the world of west¹². Voices we hear from the writings of historians and chroniclers who spoke about the spread and community formation of Muslims in the soil of Kerala

⁸ Syed Mohammed P.A.Kerala Muslim History (mal) p 44

⁹ Randathani Dr,Hussain,*Mappila* Malabar 12

¹⁰ Pilla is a term of endearment and intimacy and the Naires of Travencore even now use this honorary title with their names.The Christians of Travencore are also called *Mappilas*.As quoted from Randathani Dr,Hussain,*Mappila* Muslims A study on society And Anticolonial struggles ,page 19

¹¹ Randathani Dr,Hussain,*Mappila* Muslims A study on society And Anticolonial struggles ,page n 11

¹² Elliot &Dowson,History of India as told by its own historians,vol-ii London,1867 p 118 quoted from *Mappilas* of Malabar,muhammed koya ,S.M.p 20

are almost equal and identical. It can be read as follows, the soil was very much fertile here for the rapid spread of Islam it was obviously due to many reasons. The first and foremost one was the warm and cordial relations Arabs had developed with Kerala from many centuries ago as, I noted above, another reason was the eminence, purity and highness of the personality and the traits of those who carried the message in to this land.

It should be remembered here that the message of prophetic propagation was first carried into this land by a group of pious and spiritually enlightened section of people who were going to see the foot print of *Adam(A)* in Ceylon. If it was the beginning, the initiation of the mission of propagation was accelerated by the coming of *Malik bin Dinar* and his group with the letter of the converted local *King Cherama*. *Thuhfathul Mujahideen* endorses this event, a few years later, the party consisting of *Sharaf bin Malik Malik Bin Dinar* and *Malik bin Habib*, his wife *Qamariyya* their children and friends set on their voyage to Malabar. They reached the coast of *Kodungallure* after several days of voyage. They handed the letter the king had given them to the ruler of the place they did not disclose the news of the king's death to them. Obliging the directions in the letter the ruler of the place gave lands and estates for their use.

Following this they settled down and built a mosque there¹³ *Malik bin Dinar* at whose efforts Islam accelerated its growth in Malabar is said to be the disciple of *Hasan al Basari*, a sufi preacher in Iraq¹⁴ *Malik* was responsible for a systematised missionary work after constructing Mosques at different parts of Malabar. Another reason was the pathetic state of social stratification existed in the living public sphere of Kerala people The lower castes who suffered under the existing social order welcomed Islam as a chance to secure some degree of social freedom As Logan states 'conversion to *Muhammednism* has had a marked effect in freeing the slave caste in Malabar from their former burghers'¹⁵ S.M Mohammed Koya writes 'there was a willing acceptance of new faith by large numbers on whom the existing

¹³ Thuhfat al-mujahidin, Makhdam shaykh Zainuddin translation into English by Muhammed Husain Nainar p,31

¹⁴ Randathani Dr, Hussain, *Mappila Muslims A study on society And Anticolonial struggles* ,page 34-5

¹⁵ W.logan, *Malaba manual* vol.p 197

social order pressed heavily'.¹⁶ Another major catalyst worked behind the speedy growth of this community into an undeniable presence in the land of Kerala can be easily traced as the resounding support these preachers enjoyed on the part of the local kings. Muhammad Koya quotes Thomas Arnold in his *Mappilas of Malabar* 'the encouragement and the support extended by rulers were also instrumental in promoting conversions to Islam.

The Zamorines of Calicut deliberately encouraged the lower class to become Muslims in order to have sufficient sailors to man his warship and to this end he ordered that in every family of fisherman in his dominion one or more male members be brought up by Muslims¹⁷ Syed Mohammed writes 'Islamic missionary activities started in Kerala based *Kodungallure* and it got momentum in 8th and 9th centuries in speedy pace in southern and northern parts of Kerala. In southern Kerala strong Muslim centres and settlements emerged like *Punthura, southern Paravur, poovar, Thiruvakode Kulachal, Thangapattanam, Kottar,* in southern parts of *Quilon*, and in southern parts of Malabar, *Kodungallure, Chettuva, Chavakkadu, pallipuram, Edavanakkal Kochi, Aluva* and in central Malabar *Chaliyam, Kozhikode, Parappangadi, Thirurangadi, Tanur, Paravanna, Ponnani, Veliyankode, and in north Malabar Mangalore Kasarkode, Payayangadi, Nadapuram, quilandi, Thikkoti.*¹⁸

In short from these above mentioned sequences it is possible to read the states, phases and drives of the earlier growth and development of Mappila Muslims of Kerala, a "community generated by immigrant Arab traders and mariners"

Five Centuries of Colonial Domination

Subsequent dreary attempts to appropriate the economic bases of the area and dominate its cultural traits and ravage its distinctions, is indeed a very decisive phase in the history of whole Kerala society in general and the Muslim community in particular. To grasp the importance of this period with respect to the life passages of

¹⁶ Mohammed Koya S.M, *Mappilas of Malabar*, studies social and cultural history p.7

¹⁷ Arnold, preaching of Islam p226 quoted in Muhammad Koya p.8

¹⁸ Syed Mohammed P.A. Kerala Muslim History (mal) p 65

Mappila Muslims it demands an assessment of the factors and elements which touch these dominations and consequent events.

“Colonialism is the extension of a nation's sovereignty over territory beyond its borders by the establishment of either settler or exploitation colonies in which indigenous population are directly ruled, displaced, or exterminated. Colonizing nations generally dominate the resources, labour, and markets of the colonial territory and may also impose socio-cultural, religious, and linguistic structures on the indigenous population.”¹⁹

“The practice by which a powerful country controls another country or other countries.”²⁰

In view of the above definitions or any other authentic definition, and looking at the meaning and content of the colonialism, the advent of Islam or the emergence Mappila Muslim Community in Kerala cannot be termed or taken for granted as colonial domineering event, but as it is obvious from the aforesaid articulations, it was a formative process from within through a peaceful assimilation of native and foreign without compulsion or coercion. Evidences are complete to prove that the chapter of the colonial invasion in this land marks its beginning towards the close of 15th century with the advent of *Vasco Da Gama*, the first Portuguese to reach Kerala .Since he anchored his ship in Arabian sea and set feet in *Kappad*, a small locality just north of Calicut on 20th may 1498²¹ the period of colonial domination continued unabatedly to the moment of the declaration of Indian independence in the year 1947, Aug 14,through different hands; from Portuguese , Dutch, French, to British. This extended span of foreign domination in Kerala has had obvious impact in the life and practices of Mappila Muslims than any other communities then prevalent in the social sphere of Kerala due to many reasons. In the reading of authentic historical documents it becomes conspicuous that these reasons have its tremendous impact in all socio religious cultural economic and political spheres.

¹⁹ [http:// www.en.wikipedia.org.com](http://www.en.wikipedia.org.com)

²⁰ Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary online edition

²¹ W,Logan,Malbar Manual, (mal trans) p.316

“A new layer of dark clouds appeared to bleak the crystal clear horizon of Kerala when it was all set to bid farewell to 15th century A.D. which was then blessed to have a quite systematised social life with great communal harmony and trans societal cooperation and inter-communal collaborations, though it was a little bit politically uncertain.”²² Thus Syed Mohammed characterizes the advent of Portuguese. In his opinion this invasion essentially becomes instrumental in messing up and dismantling the existing harmonious structure of society from the grass root level and those who bore the big brunt of this intrusion were Muslims as they were by all means the major target. Summarising the condition at the close of this period, *K.M.Panikkar* states: Malabar was leading a comparatively happy, though politically isolated, life, in many ways her organisation was primitive, but she had evolved a system in which trade flourished, different communities lived together without friction, and absolute religious toleration existed²³.

The economic cause that threatened *Mappilas* is very clear to understand as the fact is well known that the commercial nerve centres of area then was mainly in the hands of them and they had enjoyed full security, stability and cooperation from all parts so far. This was openly and directly targeted by the new arrival. Indicating to this area of reality the Portuguese historian Barbosa, says” they continued to thrive until the Portuguese came to India”²⁴. Though economic factor was the most important drive, there were many other equally important undercurrents of impulses included in the list. It was the religious motivation and beyond. In the words of Miller “the medieval theory of that the Pope had direct dominion over all the kingdoms of the earth had been expressed in a series of Papal bulls. The king of the Portugal was granted the power to conquer the kingdoms of Mohammedans and the Pagans, and to possess their goods. This charter called *padroado* was conditional. The obligation was placed on the Portuguese to propagate the catholic religion in all new lands discovered by them as a condition of being allowed to hold them in conquest with the papal sanction and benediction”²⁵. The Portuguese attitude was

²² Syed, Muhammed P.A. op,cit,p.74

²³ Panikkar,K.M,Portugese p.24

²⁴ Barbosa,Duarte Barbosa,P.78 Quoted from Miller *Mappila* Muslims of Kerala,p.60

²⁵ Miller,E.Rolland, *Mappila* Muslims Of Kerala:A study in Islamic Trends.P.61

typified in the proposal of *Afonso D'albuquerque*²⁶ to the king of Portugal to send a contingent of troops to *Madinah* and seize the corpse of Prophet Mohammed and hold it to Ransom for the liberation of Jerusalem²⁷ However in this time of religious and economic subjugation the assertion of *Mappila* Muslim identity and the unflinching demonstration of their great vibrancy and endless creativity was evident to a great extent. The adventurous boldness, abiding and unwavering consistency, and above all the wondrous unravelling of true and spirited patriotism on the part of *Mappila* Muslim community in the mission of countering the merciless atrocities perpetrated by Portuguese colonisers all around Kerala during this very decisive period is enough cause to attract the pinpoint of our observation and researches to some extent to this least explored areas. This search will necessarily lead us to the spiritual leadership of that period which provided the overall guidance and directions for the successful survival of the community members. The multi-layered role of this influential leadership will be related later in this chapter.

When Portuguese colonisers lost their ground and grip in Kerala soil after long lasted 150 years vandalism, there appeared another power from abroad to dominate over the spheres where the former tried to tighten their hold. The Dutch colonial aspirant were to follow the Portuguese and it was towards the last phase of 16th century AD, in the year 1673²⁸ But there were apparent variations in the objectives and the patterns and approaches adopted by them in the mission of exposition of their intentions and execution of plans, in spite of being it essentially same. Hence, the major Dutch target too were Muslims, but unlike Portuguese invaders, they operated not the bloody ways of dreary wars and stiff encounters to shatter and seize the wand of influence exerted by *Mappilas*, but they strategically attempted to exploit the diplomatic weak points of the native provincial rulers and thus win their hearts and lasting support and through which to defuse the potential defensive and resistant movements on the part of politically culturally and religiously vigilant *Mappil* Muslims. It is very much remarkable that the advent of Dutch happened in Kerala in a very crucial stage of *Mappila* Muslim history as they had started then to

²⁶ Afonso D'Albuquerque is another Portuguese navy commander who reached in Kerala following the arrival of Gama in the year 1500 A.D.

²⁷ Afonso Da'albuquerque, Commentaries, vol 1, p.271, quoted from Ibrahim Kunhu, p.30

²⁸ Miller, E. Rolland, *Mappila* Muslims Of Kerala: A study in Islamic Trends. P.77

lead an independent living separated from the Zamorines due to the undesirable events blurred the cordial relations at the final stage of Portuguese colonization, still community had kept its great patriotic spirit and strictly disciplined life patterns intact²⁹. Though there were one page written by French in the book of the colonial domination in the land of Kerala it is not mentioned here as its importance is not as strong as it is with the former or later.

The third major foreign power came to Kerala with boundless desires which stretched from economy to missionary and wrecked serious havoc on the social cultural and political fabric of the land and people were none but British, whose domination had ultimately pervaded almost all provinces of the Subcontinent. The intentions of British colonisers who appeared in the sub continent towards the close 17th century A.D., though were externally expressed as mere widening of economic ties with different countries and prima facia the same was understood by the native peoples, it slowly but steadily began to disclose its covert objectives and thus it touched harmfully on the belief structures, life patterns and above all cultural distinctions beyond the mighty raids it held and kept conducting to wrestle the nerve centres of political power all over the country.

Like the former invaders, Kerala was one among the prime destinations of the British colonial aspirants too and naturally but necessarily Mappila Muslims became their formidable opponents in the land as all the authentic historical analyses amply assert. British advent which grew to obvious domination and ultimately to absolute ruling position, become rampant in the land till the end of the first half of 20th century A.D and during this long years of domination in the land of Kerala, the Kaleidoscope of resistant movement and liberation struggles are substantially marked with massive presence of Mappila Muslims and their unparallel dynamics to serve the cause of land, people and culture. All Mappila Historians both native and foreign have endorsed this aspect of the legendary role of *Mappilas* in the battlefield for the cause of redeeming lost land and identity. Dale describes this movement as “it was the *Mappilas*’ willingness to challenge the existing order, particularly when

²⁹ Syed Mohammed P.A. Kerala Muslim History (mal) p.113



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it was mobilised by Ulama³⁰ Miller discussing the Mappila Intervention against British domination states, “The discontent of the Mappila eventuated a series of violent out breaks that occurred intermittently throughout the nineteenth century. These disturbances represented a continuing problem for the British administrators, resulting in a variety of reports and opinions as to their implications and the repressive measures required to maintain control. For *Mappilas* the outbreaks were an expression of futility, heroic but unproductive”³¹ It is very much remarkable in the history of Kerala that the British occupied the territory of Malabar which was the heart land of Mappila Muslims form Mysurean Muslim ruler *Haider Ali* and *Tipu*. This element of replacement of a Muslim ruler to foreigner also had strong bearing on the formation and leading of the resistant movement in the British period. The strong role of community leadership, who time to time formed, renewed and revised policies and issued directions to the followers in view of the demand of the contexts are evident to great extent in the different phases of British period too.

However the keen observations of the facts and figures underlying the centuries long colonial domination of the strong Mappila concentrations of Malabar will definitely expose some interesting elements before a researcher that,(First) Mappila Muslims had grown up and formed into a well-knit, strong stable and secure community and were a vibrant partner in the nation building process in Kerala especially in Malabar without any frictions or conflicts but with complete peace and confluence, and unfortunately this stability was dangerously questioned by the advent of colonisers. (Second) Many foreign powers from Portuguese to British came successively to this land with prime aim of economic bases and all of it grew to political dominations and cultural assaults and in each and every foreign colonial mission Muslims were targeted most violently and substantially.(third) having the powerful basis of a religious philosophy and sense of strong patriotism and due to the unignorable social and political significance Mappila Muslims demonstrated unmatched vibrancy, dynamics and unflinching consistency,(fourth)All of these highly disciplined meantime consistent resistant movements were right from the

³⁰ Dale Stephen Federick, Islamic society on the south Asian Frontiers: The *Mappilas* of Malabar, p.117

³¹ Miller, E. Rolland, *Mappila Muslims Of Kerala: A study in Islamic Trends*. P.108-9

beginning till end totally conceptualised, shaped and further guided by the religious leaders or they had a unique role whose words deeds, decrees, doctrines, writings and above all the blessings have been the drives that shaped their living and survival. During this long span of time one can find many great families towering figures and important socio-cultural and religious institution of which detailed descriptions will be made superlatively as it is the core of the chapter.

Mappila Character

In the attempt to locate the cultural traits, attitudes and personal and social characteristics of a community emerged and developed in a particular region, it is very much essential to trace the context from which that society take shape and the sources or roots from which it adopted its building blocks. In view of the Mappila Muslim community of Kerala, while looking into their character and descriptions, this element is very much significant³². The coming of Islam, as stated above, into this land was from Arabia and it was either in the life time of Prophet or a little later in the time of his companions. This fact clearly denotes that Kerala people had direct access to the treasure of lore propagated by Prophet Mohammed. And the missionary who worked here must had had the opportunity to hear and receive this message directly from the mouth of the Prophet(s) This factual element had tremendous influence in the consideration of Mappila character. Mujeeb, one among famous Indian historians, writes while comparing and contrasting different Muslim individual communities in various regions of the sub- continent; that, “Southern India presents a curiously different picture. Here Islam came directly from Arabia through Arab trades, and in matters of doctrine the Muslims remained very largely unaffected by the environment. On the other hand, in dress in food in manners their assimilation with the non- Muslims has been quite considerable”³³. The tradition of Mappila Muslims were relatively different from that of North Indians and it was mainly due to this cause. Mark Woodward states that “Kerala was influenced primarily by Arab tradition while Deccan was dominated by Indo-.Persian religion

³² Farook college golden jubilee souvenir, p.14

³³ M, Mujeeb, The Indian Muslims, p.18

and political orders”³⁴ Miller says, “the Arab affinity has affected and continues to affect the language, religion and culture of *Mappilas* more profoundly than any other Indian Muslims”³⁵

As a result of the above mentioned factor, Muslim community in Kerala right from the beginning were strictly religious but were never ready to tear apart the ties they had from ancient times wherever it was harmless to their new beliefs and practices . In the formation of the *Mappilas* in to a distinct community having peculiar character and unique identity, apart from the reckless contents of Islamic ideology, the distinctiveness of the land and the loftiness of the hands that carried the message and sweated to spread it also have become substantially instrumental and influential.

From this logical and historical background only I think one can come to the details of the observations regarding the characters of this community. Among the most striking elements which Mappila Muslim community kept more or less intact throughout their history can be summed up as extreme religious devotion, close adherence to Shariah, veneration of saints, consistency, honesty, piety and some harmless adaptation from local culture³⁶. Mappila had uniqueness in their linguistic, cultural and literary areas too. The importance *Mappilas* had given to Arabic language in their life and practices and the formation of a separate language called Arabic-Malayalam to solve the bars while performing an active Islam³⁷ also demand special reference here. It is interesting to note that some of the scholars of Arabic did not know how to read and write Malayalam, their mother tongue³⁸. Pointing out to the importance of Arabic –Malayalam dialect in the life Mappila Muslims *M.N.Karassery* writes, “*Arabic-Malyalam* may perhaps be little known outside Kerala. Nevertheless, it is no exaggeration that a study of the history, culture and social life of Malabar Muslims cannot be seriously undertaken without recourse to Arabic- Malayalam. The typical Malabar Muslims has always expressed and perhaps

³⁴ Mark,R,WoodWard,Islam in Java.Normative pietyand mysticism in the sulthanate of Yogyakarta,p.54

³⁵ Miller,E.Rolland, *Mappila* Muslims Of Kerala:A study in Islamic Trends.P.51

³⁶ Kunhu,Ibrahim,A.P, *Mappila* Muslims of Kerala: Their History and culture,p.4

³⁷ Asgar Ali Engineer,Kerala Muslims a historical perspective,p.170

³⁸ Ibid,p.163

still expresses his deeper impulses, thoughts and ideas in this medium to which he attaches sacredness tantamount to that of Arabic. No wonder he calls Arabic Malayalam script “Qur’an script”³⁹ It also is mention worthy here that, in contrast to all other Muslims in India, Kerala Muslims observe the *Shafi’i school of law*, which was and is predominant *madhab* in the Muslim communities throughout the Indian ocean and south east Asian region⁴⁰

Scope and Extent of Spiritual Leadership in the Living Sphere of Mappila Muslims

What I mean by spiritual leadership is the all pervasive supervision given by the pious learned personalities having high religious consciousness, heightened spiritual enlightenment and strong bond in any of the true Sufi esoteric orders to their followers.

“Indeed scholars are descendants of the prophets” (Hadith Bukhari, Chapter, Knowledge).

This verse of Prophet Mohammad clearly manifests the greatness and grandeur of the roles to be played by *Ulama* and to what extent they have to go in the process of overall management and supervision of Muslim community. Prophets Muhammad(s) was not only a religious preacher or moral sermoniser but he was political leader, statesman, economist, lawyer and a mystic⁴¹. and what more to say he had leaderly role in all fields that touch all human living spheres. The essence of the above mentioned *Hadith* points out to the fact that these multifarious roles need to be performed impeccably and perfectly by the *Ulama* of each and every period after the period of the prophet since there is no prophet to succeed last prophet Mohammed(s). In the centuries long history of Muslim communities throughout the world, there are many, bright instances of exemplary figures come forward from the sections of *Ulama* in different religious and social context, and take up this

³⁹ Ibid,p.173

⁴⁰ Dale Stephen Federick, Trade conversion and growth of the Islamic community of Kerala, south india, *Studia Islamica*, No,71(www.jstor.org)

⁴¹ Mark, R. Woodward, Islam in Java. Normative piety and mysticism in the sulthanate of Yogyakarta, p.64

historic role. In the life history of *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala, history speaks that this element of reality has been more or less realized in the entire passing and transitional stages of their life so far right from the beginning till date with live representation of spirited spiritual leadership, whose surveillance never left any area of Muslim life unattended or uncared. *Mark R. Wood* who made an exhaustive comparative research on Muslim communities of Kerala and Java observes pointing to this fact, “The social and religious organisation of Kerala Muslim community and those of traditional *santri* are strikingly similar and both communities are *Ulama* centric.”⁴²

From the definition and explanation given above about the background in which this community took shape receiving what sources and their distinct character, it is crystal clear that the religious, cultural and social climate of *Kerala Muslims* was by all means fertile and receptive to welcome the dynamic activism of spiritual leadership and to allow it have an embrace of control in all walks of their life and survival. Now it is to get figured out that who were those who emerged in different period of time to take up this enormously influential role in the divergent Kerala Muslim atmosphere and what was their personal charisma and how their modus operandi and modus Vivendi and to what extent their presence has been proved to be instrumental in the overall growth and development of them.

While making a comparative examination of the representations of religious leaders of different individual Muslim communities all around the world there comes out thrusting much apparent difference from that of *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala. History tells there were two types constantly or time to time conflicting representation of *Ulama* and Sufis. Francis Robinson a specialist in the extensive study of many Muslim communities, shedding light to this apparent divisions tells that, “among Muslims peoples much power rested with *Ulama* and Sufis, that is the learned men who preserved the holy law and raised up new guardians for the future and the holy men who passed on techniques of spiritual development and taught Muslims how to know God in their hearts.”⁴³ But curiously in the case of Kerala Muslims it was

⁴² Ibid,p.56

⁴³ Robinson Francis,Ulama of Farangi Mahall and Islamic culture in south asia,p177

quite different and here *Ulama* and Sufis were not conflicting or contradicting identities but to a great extent they were persons having dual roles, i.e. those Sufis were scholars and scholars were having strong and inseparable bond in any of the Sufi esoteric orders there. Hence in the case Kerala Muslim history it is very difficult to trace out the tidings of differentiation between *Ulama* and Sufis they were having a very confluent and shared identity⁴⁴. Most of Mappila historians including the author of Malabar Manual has spoke explicitly or implicitly about this peculiarity reflected in the Kerala Muslim history. Miller reflecting on the origin and peculiarities of Mappila Muslim religious leadership asserts that “those religious leaders can be may be divided in two categories, although there are not mutually exclusive”⁴⁵.

The spiritual leadership in Kerala Muslim traditional history is constituted by the cooperative and collaborative involvement of many a religious leader comprised of *Sayyids* and *Ulama*, .most of them in the early history of Kerala one can find that they had migrated to Kerala from across the world like *Makkah, Madina Samarqand, Bukhara, Yemen, Kufa, Basra* and *Constantinople* and many indigenous Muslim society also produced many eminent scholars⁴⁶. Though it is a historical fact that the massive representation of great scholars having strong Sufi bonds and spiritual attainment, has enabled a systematised Islamic missionary works and effective leadership in walks of life right from the beginning, and their influence and impressions were tremendous in each and every stages of the community’s passages and transitions, it seems that this element was not highlighted to a needed degree. So here my attempt will be to uncover and highlight in short the influence exerted by the spiritual leadership in Mappila Muslim lives and to expose the dimensions of their activities in leading the community and to explore the institutions served to realise their spiritual leadership in the different spheres of society. It is to be noted here that my focus will be around the activities and functions of this leadership confined to the time frame of anti-colonial period in Kerala which starts from 15th

⁴⁴ Muslim,s Kerala Model,35th anniversary souvenir of Rahmania Kadameri,p.14

⁴⁵ Miller, E.Rolland, *Mappila Muslims Of Kerala: A study in Islamic Trends*,p..255

⁴⁶ Sunni District conference souvenir,2008,p.31

century and continued to 20th century though there can occur some passing references otherwise.

Malik bin Dinar who came to Kerala and intensified a systematised Islamic missionary activities with a group of 40 pious people (this number and names have been given in *Rihlathul Mulook*⁴⁷) including *Sharafu bin Malik and Malik Bin Habib*, is believed to be a disciple of famous Sufi *Hassanul Basari*⁴⁸ who died in 130 A.H. (748 A.D)⁴⁹ It indicates that the very beginning of Islam and Muslims in the Kerala climate and its growth is made possible in the light shed by Sufis. But unfortunately this fact has evaded many historians look and observance while they studied Kerala Muslim history. The statement made by I.H.Qureshi that the extensive Sufi missionary activity found elsewhere in Indian Islam is not evident in south India⁵⁰ is a clear indicator to this lack of observation. Unravelling the reason behind this element of negligence *A P Ibrahim Kunhu* States that “But as we shall see this has not been the case as far as Kerala is concerned. Traditional accounts preserve the names and activities of several Sufi saints and missionaries who propagated the teachings of Islam in Kerala.⁵¹ Main source of information to understand Sufi activities in Kerala can be, the traditional accounts, like *Malas (tadkiras)* sung extensively in the country extolling the activities of several Sufi saints and missionaries.⁵² I think there is no fault in calling these accounts a vibrant form of preserving and recording history in that period for future generations and more studies are needed to explore the historical value of the traditional accounts like *Malas*. But historians like *I H.Qureshi* seems to have evaded this area of study and it resulted in such an unwarranted statement. Of the written accounts we have of

⁴⁷ Suhrawardi, *Rihlathul Mulook*, p.18, quoted from *History of great Mappila literary history*, p, 123

⁴⁸ Clearly here has the possibility of doubt that how *Malik Bin Dinar* can be the disciple of *Hasan Basari*, who is really born after him and lived in between 642- 737 A.D. But it can be solved I think through many ways, one is that, in spiritual guidance and leadership there is no consideration of age; an aged fellow can be a disciple of a young Sufi and had been several times practically possible. Or else according to the opinion that Islam reached in Kerala and accelerated its spread in 2nd Hijra as it the opinion preferred by *Zainuddin Makhdum*, there no question of confusion in possibility of discipleship. And besides all, if such clauses are not true, it is the fact that all companions of prophet were spiritually elevated and enlightened people though Sufism had not evolved and formed in to self aware movement then.

⁴⁹ *Kunhu, Ibrahim, A.P, Mappila Muslims of Kerala: Their History and Culture*, p.20

⁵⁰ I.H. Qureshi, *Muslim Community*, p.15f, quoted from *Miller*, op.cit, p.53

⁵¹ *Kunhu, Ibrahim, A.P, Mappila Muslims of Kerala: Their History and Culture*, p.20

⁵² *Ibid*, p.20

Sufi saints and missionaries in Kerala, the earliest is the account left by *Ibn Battuta*, the most famous Muslim traveller who was in Kerala between 1342 and 1345. He has mentioned about Sufi saints he met At *EzhiMala* at *Cannanore* and *Calicut* in Kerala⁵³. Mentioning their state and attitude in *Rihla*, Battuta says that at Hilly (*EzhiMala*) he met a virtuous theologian, Said by name a native of Maddshau, At Cannanore he met theologian from *Bagdad*, a man of great merit named *Sarsary*, and in Calicut he met *Shaykh Shihabuddin of Qazarun*, a great saint.⁵⁴ *Shaykh Faridu Bin Abdul Qadir Al Khurasani*, who came from *Multan* in 600 A.H, is said to be the first who came with the message *Qadiriyya* Tareeqat which belongs to *Abdul Qadir Jeelani*. He extensively travelled in Kerala, voiced against the existing caste system, attracted many down trodden to Islam and founded mosques across the region including one in the historical city of Ponnani⁵⁵.

Dr.V. Kunhali who conducted a genuine research about the Sufistic elements found in Kerala has stated that about eleven Sufi orders are traced in Kerala⁵⁶. *Qadiriyya*, *Naqshabandiyya*, *Shaduliyya*, these main orders and its many suborders have come up and grown in the soil of Kerala in different periods and got popularity and circulation among Mappila Muslims and *Qazi Muhammed Kalikuti* about whom this research is essentially held was one of great known advocate or *Shaykh* of *Qadiri* order⁵⁷. The detailed elaborations on him will follow in the coming chapter. It is one remarkable factor regarding the Sufis in Kerala that it has been rarely or scarcely affected by the corruptive behavioural patterns found elsewhere. According to Dr. Kunhali, *Mappilas* Sufis were only subjected to and abiding *Shariah* and he adds that this subservient nature of Sufism to *Shariah* may be one reason why it escaped the attention of historians.⁵⁸ Anyhow Sufis in Kerala had some special features. As

⁵³ Ibid,p.21

⁵⁴ Ibid,p21

⁵⁵ K,Zubair,development and mordenisation of Islamic education in kerala:Role of samastha kerala Jam'eyyat-ul-Ulama,an unpublished Mphil thesis,p.73

⁵⁶ Dr.Kunhali,v,Sufism in kerala,p.75

⁵⁷ CN Ahmad Moulavi,op,cita.p153

⁵⁸ Kunhali,op,cit,p.7

Sufi orders spread direct from Persia by sea, the movement was free from strong tinges of other faiths, end practices but was only acts subject to Shariah⁵⁹.

In short, it is evident that Mappila Muslim community has emerged, took shape and grown up in the perfect direction and profound light shed by the Sufis. On this basis one can come to the facts regarding the Sufi presence existed and operated representing the crucial period of colonial domination in Kerala. Now it is to trace who were the figures worked hard to realise the perfect representation of that great tradition in a very decisive time in the history of Kerala Muslims and whatever methods they accepted and whichever institution they set up to actualise their mission complete. Many significant personalities emerged out of three main families were for these around five centuries in the helm of *Mappils* leadership. They were *Maqdums of Ponnani* and *Sayyid Qabilas* and *Qazi family of Calicut*⁶⁰ and it is mention worthy here even today if there is a comprehensive leadership to the Mappila community it can be safely said it is in the hands of the present representative of the *Sayyid* family, though it never contain the whole population.

Makhдум family has reached in Kerala from *Ma'bar* in Yemen and it is believed that members of this family came to *Ponnani*, which was the headquarters of their revivalist activities in 15th century onwards, in the beginning of 900 A H⁶¹ and it was *Aliyyu bin Ahmad Makhдум*, the grandfather of famous *Zainuddin Makhдум al-Kabeer* who reached in Kochi first and embarked upon intense missionary and enlightening activities there. Seeing the greatness of the service performed by the great sons of this family Muslim leaders of Malabar region especially that of *Ponnani* were enormously impressed and they went directly to invite and welcome the *Ulama* of this family to *Ponnani*. Thanks to the insistence on the part these religious leaders and to enlarge the circle of their service to other region they agreed up on a shift and it was *Zainuddin Ibrahim* who first to change the place to *Ponnani* and assume the *Qadiship* of the area⁶².

⁵⁹ Ibid,p.8-9

⁶⁰ Panditha keralam

⁶¹ Ibid,p.61

⁶² Makhdums and ponnani, edit by Husain Randathani.p.65-66

A whole lot of great scholars and spiritually enlightened figures have been produced and contributed by this family whose ever vigilant meantime intellectually carved out guiding principles paved the way of the Mappila Muslims in their hardships and happiness. Ever vigilant and vibrant revivalist and awakening activism of the great members of this family was the sole reason behind being called Ponnani “*Little Makkah of Malabar*”. The detailed description about this family and the great leaders emerged out of it will follow.

Sayyid Qabeelas or Ahlu Baith

Though the word *Ahlu-Baith* means the members of home in Arabic language, in Islamic traditional terminology it is used to denote the Family descendants of Prophet Mohammed (s). While Arabs call succeeding generations of prophetic family “*Shareef*” or “*Ashraf*” non Arabs mostly tend to call them “*Sayyid*” or “*Sadaath*”⁶³. Amidst Kerala Muslims they are widely known as “Tangals”. It is term of respect and reverence in the language of Malayalis which is now used to denote *sayyids* only among *Mappilas*⁶⁴. In the light of the available documents it is proved that out of the around 500 families found in the world over about forty families have been traced in the land of Kerala in different time frame.⁶⁵ With respect to the source of origin Sayyid families in Kerala can be broadly classified in to two, they are *Hadramis* and *Bukharis*; *Hadramis* are those *sayyid Qabeelas* who emigrated to Kerala from *Hadramaut*, a place situates in southern Arabia and *Bukharis* are those who migrated to Kerala from Bukhara in Russia. However the root of both stretches necessarily to *Madina*⁶⁶.

The names of some of the important *Qabeelas* whose family tree spreads to the different nooks and corners of Kerala are, *Buharis*, *Moula Dhaweela*, *Jifri*, *Haidaroose*, *Bafaqeeh*, *Ba-Alavi*, *Jamalullail*, *Ahdal*, *Shihabuddeen*. Muslims as well as the non Muslims of Kerala received them with great happiness and covered

⁶³ Memoir issue of Sayyid Umar Ali Shihab (mal)(1941-2008),p84

⁶⁴ Ibid,p61

⁶⁵ Konnar Mujeeb Tangal,Ahlu Baith in Kerala:History of origin,(mal)p.34

⁶⁶ 25 years in the field of activism, A work of tribute to Sayyid Mohammed Ali Shihad brought out on the occasion of the completion of 25 years in his tenure as the president of state muslim league.p.130

them with immense respect. Apart from all these considerations in most occasion the non-Muslim rulers themselves have facilitated them the means of living and accommodation allotting them and gifting them land and houses. *Ahmed Jalaluddeen Al-Bhukari*, 27th descendant of the Prophet who came from Bukhara of Russia in 800 A.H, was the first *sayyid* to reach in Kerala⁶⁷. *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi* and his son *Sayyid Fazl* who were the daunting nightmares to the British colonial powers in 18th and 19th century A.D. have their root in *Ba- Alavi Qabeela* which has an enormous place in the long drawn history of Mappila Muslims' legendary struggle against the colonial hegemonies. The most reputed *Sayyid* family of *Panakkad* in whose hands is the helm of the overall leadership of the major traditionalist stream of Mappila Muslims today has emerged out of the *Shihab Qabeela*.⁶⁸ However innumerable figures can be located from the different social political and religious contexts of Kerala throughout the periods since their advent to Kerala as lively and creatively taking part in the both community guidance and nation building mission from the *Sayyids* who came to Kerala and settled and spread here.

Nevertheless it is well evident that the *Sayyid families* in Kerala have occupied an enormous leaderly role in the living sphere of Kerala Muslims. They had obviously remarkable leadership quality and impressive intellectual and personal charisma, thanks to which they in no time rose to capture the minds of devotionally and religiously bent and conscious Kerala Muslims. Dale has noted concerning the significance of Tangals or *Sayyids* in the life of Muslims "The sayyids were and are accepted as families who have been endowed with a unique spiritual power as a result of their descent⁶⁹. Their role in the spread and strengthening of Sufi *Tareeqat* in Kerala is an undisputed fact⁷⁰ and it is noteworthy that their Sufis as in the case of other Sufi element found in Kerala was strictly confined to the rules and regulations of *Sharia* and they fought hard against all elements that came to threaten or cause damage to the true spirit and real core of Islamic ideology in any name or label it may rise or emerge. On this basis only can read the stiff opposition erupted on the

⁶⁷ Panditha Keralam, A souvenir brought out in as part of its 1997 Ulama Conference, p.35

⁶⁸ Memoir issue of Sayyid Umar Ali Shihab(1941-2008), p.116

⁶⁹ Dale op, cit. p, 114

⁷⁰ 25 years in the field of activism, p.135

parts of Sayyids and *Ulama* against *Muhammad Shah of Kondotty*, an eighteenth century Sufi who was born in *Kardan* of Bombay in a *Sayyid* ancestry. Though he got initial welcome in Kerala, as soon as he embarked upon introducing many unacceptable systems and practices the spiritual leadership of Mappila Muslims from both Ponnani and Calicut started and intensified their campaign against him. *Shaykh Jifri* had issued a *Fatwa* against *Shah Tangal* for leading *Mappilas* in to a new culture and modern thought patterns⁷¹. It is remarkable that *Shah* like sayyids who never won a place in the main stream of Mappila Muslims hasn't had any role in the anti-colonial struggle movements unlike other spiritual leaders. Miller says that no devotees of *Kondotty Tangals* are known to have taken part in any of the Mappila outbreaks. In contrary they conspicuously manifested their loyalty to the new British regime⁷². Though Sayyids in Kerala were predominantly the adherents of *Shafi school of Jurisprudence* and *Ashari school of belief* and mostly Sunnis in essence some members from these families have come out to lead the reformist movement emerged in Kerala in the beginning of 19th century.⁷³. But in fact, the size of this group who came out of the traditionalist way of thinking was meagre and too little in number. It is very much difficult to locate each and every one of them separately as the array of them stretches long and wide. The most reputed and remarkable personalities who have left revolutionary bearings in the annals of anti-colonial movements will be briefed under the next major sub title.

Another important family in the history of Kerala Muslim spiritual leadership is the *Qazi* family of Calicut. It is evident as in the case of Ponnani, Calicut also occupied a very significant place in the history of Kerala Islam and Muslims. One of the reasons behind it may be due to the existence of unbroken stream of *Qazis* in the leadership of Muslims thereof. The root of this family dates back to the days of *Malik Bin Dinar* who had came to Kerala believably with the written will of *Cheraman* and erected Mosques in all centres and strategic places and appointed *Qazis* everywhere. Calicut was necessarily one among this strategic centres and he had appointed a *Qazi there*. *Zainuddin Bin Madani*, who was the grandson of *Malik*

⁷¹ Miller op.cit,p258

⁷² Ibid,115

⁷³ Ibid.p.135

Bin Dinar was the first *Qazi* of *Chaliyam* which was the headquarters of Calicut then. *Qazi Mohammed Kalikuthi* first was the representative of this family in 16th century AD in the sultry period of Portuguese domination in Kerala⁷⁴. The History and importance of *Qazi* family will be analysed in detail while dealing with the life and mission of *Qazi* Mohammed in the next chapter.

At length a huge number of great personalities have emerged out of these three families or outside but having either direct or indirect relation with these families to lead the community along the path of right and righteousness and strictly along the ideology of Islam so that to rise to the demands of period throughout the centuries of colonial domination in Kerala. Several works have been authored by different scholars in both Arabic and local language to record the biography of these great figures who come up in the Kerala soil as to take up the scholastic and spiritual leadership of *Mappilas* but none can be identified exhaustive in the area. But the work prepared by *Nellikuth A.P. Muhammadali Musliyar* (2007A.D.) in Arabic titled "*Thuhfatul Ahyar Fi Thareeqi Ulama' Malaibar*" which covers the short biography of more than 2000 great *Mappila* leaders of different periods, is a brilliant and almost comprehensive attempt in this regard. But unfortunately it still remains as a manuscript in the private collection of the *Musliyar*⁷⁵. Very important meanwhile common place factor regarding this leadership was that each and every one of them was either the initiators of any of the world renowned Sufi orders, being either its *Shaykh or Mureed*.⁷⁶

On the basis this foundation, it is easy to explore and analyse the methodology and medium and *modus operandi* applied by these spiritual leaders of *Mappilas* to prepare the community to tackle with entire emerging and changing situations and their prime aim and objective behind each moves and steps.

From the examination of the ways accepted by these leaders in guiding process of the community it is generally traceable that they strongly believed that the smooth

⁷⁴ Parappil Mammad Koya, The history of the Muslims of Calicut ,p.104

⁷⁵ As told me by the elder son of *Nellikuth Musliyaar*. And I have seen the hand written copy of the work from the private collection of *Musliyaar* which is now after the demise of *Muhammadali Musliyaar* in the ownership and patronage of his elder son.

⁷⁶ Sunni District conference Souvenir, p.34

living and survival of community both here and hereafter, is embedded in their preparedness to adhere to the ethos of the ideology of Islam true to its spirit. Attempts to make them spiritually enlightened and religiously conscious and above all ideologically befitted were the only means to ensure the dignified existence and ongoing of the community according to their well thought out vision. In accordance with this insight were the conceptualisation and the application of the measures and moves with which they approached the community. The high rated intellectual capacity and ideological eminence is clearly visible as we reach in to the fact that the policies formulated and measures taken by this leaders while strictly inviting community members to adhere to the demands of religion, was not any way harmful or threatening to the pluralist frame work of the area, on the contrary very much helpful to maintain the balance in a comfortable format.

Their mission had essentially concentrated around the question of knowledge transmission to the community members as they find it as solely instrumental in the continued existence of Islamic society in tune with the teaching of the Prophet “ Knowledge is the life of Islam ”(*Sahihul Bukhari, Chaptor. Knowledge*)

According to them, there was no more important work than transmitting and guarding knowledge of the word of God and the knowledge of how to know God⁷⁷, and they gravely envisioned that this is the only crutch one can trustily hold onto in any occasion of stress and strain. They transmitted this knowledge to the generations which were to succeed them; it was the knowledge which made men Muslims and the community Islamic. They also strove to make this knowledge live in their time⁷⁸. As it evident that the knowledge transmission and through which the spiritual enlightenment of the community was the prime aim and objective of this leaders now it is to explore the mediums accepted and institutions set up by them to realize it systematically. But it doesn't deny or darken the fact that their physical presence and material means of blessing and offering benedictions were greatly inspirational and instrumental in the life passage of *Mappilas*, on the contrary it too was a method formed and spread on the concrete basis of true knowledge. While oral sermonising programmes and written texts in the form of both prose and poems covering whole

⁷⁷ Robinson,op,cit.p178

⁷⁸ Ibid,p.178

areas of human life and above all physical presence were the mediums of transmissions Mosques and Teachings centres erected adjacent to Mosques acted as the venue of the effective functioning of this vibrant activism⁷⁹

Mosques and Palli (Mosque) Darses

The place of mosque in the whole history of Islam is conceived as the “nerve centre” or nucleus of its total activism. It is the lesson from the life and teachings of the Prophet Mohammed (s) that it must not be confined in to the venue of mere lifeless practices but should grow to the level of a comprehensive unit that controls and consolidates the entire activities of a believer. Kerala Muslim religious cultural and social domains from the very beginning endorse this element to a great extent, since it has witnessed to the massive significance assumed by Mosques in their life, both public and private. The first prime, prominent venture undertaken by *Malik Bin Dinar* and his group who came to Kerala triggering a systematised form of missionary activities all through the regions of the land was to construct Mosques. *Shaykh Zainuddin* the first known native historian of Kerala indicating to this fact writes “obliging the directions in the letter of the King who had gone to Makkah, the ruler of the place gave lands and estates for their use. Following this, they settled down and built a Mosque there. Malik Bin Dinar decided to settle down in *Kodungallure* and assigned *Malik Bin Habib*, his nephew to the rest of the regions of Malabar to build mosques and preach Islam”⁸⁰. As per *Rihlat al Muluk* eighteen Mosques were constructed by the party and in each mosque *Qazis* were appointed⁸¹.

According to *Shaykh Zainuddin* the number of mosques constructed then was ten⁸². However it is manifest that all these Mosques were erected in some strategically significant areas and the intention behind the construction was never mere to have a haven to offering five time prayer but something wide and varied because *Malik Bin Dinar*, the head of the group had taken special care to appoint efficient *Qazis* in each

⁷⁹ Sunni conference souvenir,2008,p.36

⁸⁰ Makhdum Shaykh Zainuddin,Thuhfat al-Mujahideen translation to English by S Ohammed Husain Nainar,p.31-32

⁸¹ Randathani,op.cit.p.35

⁸² Ibid,p.35

of these mosques so that they can serve the cause leading community along the right path⁸³. It can be safely believed that the number of Mosques has steadily increased in the ensuing years and it had been the centre of Islamic activism and Muslim communities' social dynamism throughout the centuries till the colonial period. *Ibnu Batuta*, while relating Kerala experiences has noted down that, "we then travelled to Hili (EyhiMala) it is a very beautiful place. The mosque situated there was a place of immense sanctity and high importance in the eyes of people irrespective of religion and it had a massive stock of wealth excluding the huge share of offerings reached there from different quarters. The management and the overall supervision of the Mosque is jointly done by *Qatheeb Husain* and Muslim noble man *Hasan al Massan*. There had a group of students who had long since engaged in the learning and studying activities⁸⁴ Analysing the statement of *Batuta*, Dale says that he not only described the existence of substantial mosque buildings in the towns he visited but often specified as well the principal "*Ulama*" who officiated at these mosques, such as *Fahr al -Din Uthman*, the *Qazi of Calicut* in *Batuta's* period. One settlement he described in detail was that at Eyimala, known to him⁸⁵. The verily decisive role played by the mosques in the colonial period in Kerala is a well manifest fact. The brilliant leadership offered by the *Makhdum* family to the Mappila Muslim community from the initial stage of colonial history in Kerala to many ensuing centuries was essentially centring around the "Big Mosque of Ponnani", which was erected as per the direction of *Zainuddin Makhdum* senior, in 10th AH⁸⁶. The infusion of the message of community's mega responsibility in fighting and resisting the evil powers of aggressive *Portuguese* colonisers who turn up to capture all the native domains from natives hands by *Zainuddin Makhdum Al-kabeer* was materialised by the distribution and recitation of *Thahreel Ahlil ieman Ala Ibadathi Abadathi Sulban*, a strong anti colonial poem written by himself in different Mosques of the land.

Qazi family of Calicut, which has centuries long history of providing consistent leadership to Mappila community of Calicut in their whole walks of life, had as their

⁸³ Sunni Souvenir, 2008, p.33

⁸⁴ Kerala: before six cetyries In the IBnu al Batuta's view point, Panikkasseri vlayayudan, p.32

⁸⁵ Dale, trade conversion and growth, p.

⁸⁶ Panditha keralam, op, cit, p.61.

centre at *Chaliyam* mosque and later at *Kuttichira* Mosques⁸⁷. In 1571 AD, when Portuguese army led a military raid to conquer the fortress of *Chaliyam* they had burnt the mosque there and made it in to a heap of ashes. The assessment of the motives behind this destruction, necessarily convince us about the strategic importance that mosques had in the Mappila Living sphere. The traditional story of *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi* who wrote a poem in a predictable manner about the imbalances and anomalies which are going to take place in the life style of human beings thanks to the emergence of the communist ideology even before Call Marx started writing communist manifesto and ordered his disciple and famous Sufi saint and scholar *Avukkoya Musliyar* to put it on the *Mihrab* (prayer nitch) of *Ponnani Juma masjid*⁸⁸ is also clearly indicative to the extreme significance mosques exercised in Mappila Muslim life. The last line of the poem was after narrating in a very attractive meantime warning tone the imbalances going to emerge here and its impacts and consequences in human life. It can be read thus اوكوييا خلي اكتبين مقالتي
في ظهر محراب المجيد الجمعة

(Oh! Avukoya, my chum these lines you inscribe

on the visible side of the great Juma' mosque's niche).

The number of Mosques given in Kerala Muslim directory, edited by historian *C.K .Kareem* which was brought out many years ago is at least 5350⁸⁹ approximately and therefore it can safely assumed that this number now must have rose to many thousands more as the process of constructing mosques has been a passionate task of *Malayalis* mainly due to their partition in to different organisation. But ,now I think there is no question of fallibility in evaluating that mosques has though increased in number it has ceased to a be a cynosure of whole Mappila activism. The decentralisation of roles which were earlier controlled by Mosques altogether into different agencies like organisation and its varied offices can be identified as one major reason behind this shift. However, it is evident that for many centuries especially during the decisive time frame of Colonial invasion in Kerala, Mosques

⁸⁷ Parappil mammad koya, The history of muslims of Calicut(mal)p,104

⁸⁸ Great men of Malayalm,op,cit,p.

⁸⁹ Kerala Muslim Directory,(1960),p.668

have been the focus of Mappila Muslim activism and the centre of Spiritual leadership who exerted their influence in the entire aspects Mappila life, and it continues this representation though the vigour and significance has steadily decreased. There is a brilliant research work conducted by P.K.Mohammed Kunhi, about the mosques of Kerala up to last century and the peculiarities it maintained in the Kerala climate and the multiple roles it played. In the said study summing up the outcome of research he has asserted that Muslim shrines of Kerala were the glaring symbol of communal harmony and since, according to the principles of Islam prayer is not mere ritualistic practices but something genuine that reflects the perfect life system, the first mosque of Muslim emerged as the centre of social life and survival. Routines of Muslims and complete systems and conditions of living were conceptualised and controlled by the constant intervention of mosque, and the same can be said about the mosques of Kerala since earlier period and through the period of colonial domination as it has been the focus of Mappila life⁹⁰

Palli Darses are the educational establishments which need to be taken for granted while analysing the role of mosques. *Dars* system which started with the advent of Islam and continues to exist even in the 21st century is yet another exclusive characteristic of Mappila Muslims which exposed the ingenuity and the heightened intellectual capacity of the spiritual leadership emerged in the soil of Kerala. It has played an important role in preserving the originality of Islam in Kerala. *Dars* literally means class is the educational system attached with Mosques. It is the most fundamental type and longest lasting educational system in Islam pioneered by the Prophet himself who arranged facilities for a selected few called *Ahlu al Suffa*, to stay in his Mosque at Madina to learn more about Islam from him and to be expert scholars who can play a major role in disseminating religious knowledge. *Dars* system which is known in the Islamic history in the name of mosque schools and mosque colleges, developed and transformed in various forms throughout the centuries⁹¹

⁹⁰ P.K.Mohammed Kunhi, *The mosques of Kerala;The testimony of synthesis*,p.7,20

⁹¹ K,Zubair,*Development and mordernisation*,op,cit,p.64

The exact period time of the origin of *Dars* and its development is stated by concrete proof in the history of Kerala, but one can safely assume that it had been started along with the spread of Islam in Kerala, because the first thing the early missionaries did there was erecting a number of mosques at various places and appointing *Qazis* there as it is stated above. It is probable that *Dars* classes were started in these early mosques, immediately after their construction, there is no other evidence to prove the existence of any other arrangements for the religious instruction of Muslims in Kerala in those days and due to the paramount importance knowledge assumes in the view of Islam and Muslims. In the centuries ensuing the advent of Islam, the number of *Darses* went on increasing in mosques in every nook and corner of Kerala⁹²

In the wake of the available sources it can be understood that as the *Darses* had its genesis in the very early period of the advent of Islam it must have existed and increased more systematically through the centuries onwards. *Ibnu Batuta's* details about the students he found in the Mosque *EyhiMala* and *Madayi* are evidences in this regard.⁹³ Though he only mentioned about two three places it is assumable that many centre would have been there as there were many other more important Muslim pockets then. However a huge number of brilliant Mosque *Darses* can be traced from the history of *Mappila Muslims* which exerted mega impact on the life and practices of them through centuries. Many of them claims the superb heritage of millennia or centuries and have to its credit the formation and generation of many genius scholars who left their great imprints in the life of *Mappilas* through centuries⁹⁴. It is observed in the wake of reliable evidences that in the regions and its surroundings where *Darses* existed had apparently a distinct form of Islamic atmosphere. The culture of people and their approach towards the symbols and ethics of religion and the popular awareness about whole religious beliefs, customs and other elements had been noted as higher particularly in these areas. It sheds light to the fact that *Darses* had great role to play beyond the circle of its student community to the mainstream of society but definitely it was materialised by the

⁹² Dr. KTMuhammed Ali, The development education among the *Mappilas* of Malabar 1800-1965, quoted from from development and modernisation of education by Zubair k op,cit,64

⁹³ Panditha Keralam,p.165

⁹⁴ Ibid,p.165

popular interference of the products of these institutes both in their study time and after. “Popular financing system” which was the economic back bone of this educational system facilitated to the spread of its influence in the nearby and neighbouring families.⁹⁵

It is said that a *Dars* more than eight hundred years old was held in the *Valiya Kulangara Palli. Tanur*. Available sources point out that in 670AH, it is *Muhammad Bin Abdulla Al Hadrami* (Yemen) the scholar who started *Dars* there and he continued the service there up to 677 A.H. Later on eminent scholars from both India and abroad like Yemen, Egypt, *Hadramauth*, Hijaz, and etc had conducted classes there and scholars from both India and abroad had completed their study from there.⁹⁶

It is unmatched the role played by *Ponnani Mosque* and mosque *Dars* system existed there since several decades ago to the advent of colonial powers in Kerala. *Ponnani* became the centre of Islamic activity with the settling of *Makhdums* there in the second half of 15th century A.D. The first *Makhdum*, *Zainuddin Bin Ali Al Ma'bari*(1467-1521) was the author of a well-known mystic poem, *Hidayathul Adkiya ila Tariqathil Awliya*, renowned as the “manual of Sufism in Malabar”⁹⁷ Though the big Juma mosque in Ponnani is said to be raised by *Fariduddin Abdul Qader Qurasani*, the famous disciple of *Shayk Muhyiddin Abdu Qader Jeelani*, in 600A.H. and he had initiated seriously all through different regions of Kerala intensive social activities, the more universalization of *Ponnani* based knowledge dissemination process took place in the time of *Makhdums*⁹⁸ with the vigilant religious as well social activism of *Makhdums* bases the *Ponnani Mosque* and *Dars*, it rose to the pinnacle of fame even to be called the little Makkah of Malabar⁹⁹. In Ponnani mosque there had then developed a system of collegiate education, “*Vilakkathirikkal*” (to sit around the lamp in Ponnani mosque, *Vilakku* means lamp and *irikkal* means to sit) was the qualification given from there. The origin of term

⁹⁵ Muslim religious education, Kamal Pasha, From Kerala Muslim perspective, p.134

⁹⁶ P M Sadik Faizy, Muslim reform path and present(mal)p.130

⁹⁷ A.P. Ibrahim Kunhu, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, op,cit,p.21

⁹⁸ Prof.KV AbduRahman, Ponnani a brief historical account, quoted from Muslim mosques in Kerala, p.42

⁹⁹ Makdoods and Ponnani, op,citp.66

“*Musliyar*” a respectful appellation to denote the *Ulama* is believably dating back to the early days of *Ponnani Dars* system; it was given as title to the scholars who successfully complete the course of higher education called “*Vilakkathirikkal*”. *Ponnani Dars* supplied scholars for whole Kerala and students from all parts of Kerala came to *Ponnani* for higher education¹⁰⁰. More over it can undisputedly quoted to the credit of the distinctiveness of *Ponnani Dars* that, students from distant countries like *Indonasia*, *Malasia*, *Cylon* and *Yemen* particularly from Java and *Sumathra*¹⁰¹ had come to acquire higher education there apart from the students from almost all regions of Kerala. In *Ponnani* itself it is well known in the wake available evidences that other than this world renowned *Dars* there had many other both big and small *Darses* which actively operated catering for the educational cultural, religious and social needs of the community and various *Darses* had existed in many other parts of Malabar also in more or less vigour and diligence. And it is worth noting that in most of these *Darses* ,both religious and material disciplines (While religious disciple stretches from the *Thasavvuf* to theology the material subjects were included of even astronomy and mathematics, but these arts all were taught depending upon the works available in Arabic and the scholars there themselves had prepared many books in those subjects which can easily serve that cause¹⁰²)were systematically imparted aiming at a brilliant outcome though there had variations in the rate of perfection from *Darses* to *Darses*.

Almost all those who performed leaderly representation in the public and private sphere of Mappila Muslims of Kerala since very earlier period particularly through the centuries of colonial domination are said to be the contributions of this great system¹⁰³. And it is by all means mention worthy that the centuries long heated annals of *Mappila Muslims*’ anti-colonial movements are clearly marked by the

¹⁰⁰ Dr, Musthafa Kamal pasha in kerala muslims a historical perspective ed, Asgar Ali engineer,p.,134

¹⁰¹ Kerala Muslim Directory,p.305,cited by K,Zubair,p.68

¹⁰² Makdoods and Ponnani,op,citp.60

¹⁰³ Panditha keralam.op,cit,p.166

active ideological and even physical relentless involvement of the scholars who were essentially the products that *Dars* system¹⁰⁴

But due to the spread of many other parallel sophisticated systems of knowledge dissemination like Arabic colleges and the reluctance felt by present generation towards this type of education system, though it is being slowly or steadily decreasing , one never can under estimate the historical role it performed in the overall guidance of Mappila Muslim community.

Othupallis, the institutional form for religious elementary education which was widely seen operating among *Mappilas*, can be safely judged as the symbol of the high moral and educational alertness, those spiritual leadership of Mappila Muslims exhibited from very earlier period. As in the case of *Dars* system the exact period of the origin of *Ottupallis* or their earlier organisational set up or the history of development is not known well , it is possible to believe that *Othupalli* had originated during the early phase of Muslim settlement¹⁰⁵. Most of *Othupallis* were established outside and adjacent to the mosques and it was a sort of primary school for religious and Arabic education for young Muslim boys and girls¹⁰⁶. Even this system displays clearly the cautiousness had in the mind of the Mappila leadership in upbringing the child from his early days of growth along the path of religious awareness.

Though these traditional systems like *Palli Dars* and *Othupalli* like many other systems have undergone stringent sometimes blind criticism on the part of the so-called reformist movements in Kerala which has the history only of one century or about, it should not be at the expense of ignoring or mercilessly darkening the merits and roles it played in preserving the Islamic culture and tradition among the Kerala Muslims at a high quality and quantity, and it should be necessarily

¹⁰⁴ Muslim Reform: Path and present,op,cit,p.131

¹⁰⁵ Dr.KT Muhammed Ali,op,cit quoted from k Zubair,op cit,p.54

¹⁰⁶ Ibid,55

remembered that those are the capital resource to which present Muslim community of Kerala owes for their religious, intellectual, and educational revival¹⁰⁷.

The thriving of *Madrassa* systems which is described as the “wonder” and “strength” of Mappila Islam and community by Miller¹⁰⁸ and Arabic colleges catering for the educational and enlightening needs of community in the recent history and its steady development onwards till date can be read only in the context that there have been a vigilant section always to walk with firm steps in the track paved by the past great leaders, absorbing the light of direction they imparted. It can be said to the credit of *Samastha Kerala Jam’eyyathul Ulama*, one of the current Muslim authentic *Ulama Sabhas* of traditionalist *Mappilas*, as it only strive to preserve and uphold the highness and sanctity of the vision propounded and practiced by the early Mappila spiritual leaders. It was in the background of blurred religious atmosphere emerged in Kerala in the beginning of 20th century thanks to the attempt on the part of so-called reformist leaders to question and attack severely the long preserved and long guided traditionalist elements fostered by those great legendary community leaders, Mappila Muslim community ever produced, the formation of *Samastha Kerala Jam’eyyatul- Ulama* in the year 1925 A.D. with blessings and active involvement of both *Ulama* and *Sayyids* at its helm and activist domains. It was truly as result of the alert Mappila’s innate response to the emerging elements in the name of reformism and modernisation inspired by the puritanical views of *Muhammed Bin Abdul Wahab* (1702-1793), *Salafism of Rasheed Rida* (1819-1905), *Pan Islamism of Jamaluddin Afgani*(1897-1939), and *Thahreek E –Mujahideen In north India*¹⁰⁹ in order to perform the inalienable duty of defending the traditionalist elements and ethics from the verge of destruction.

Public Sermons

It was yet another tool used and utilised by Mappila Spiritual leadership to impart the message they wanted to reach in to the community members which no doubt has the history of being very strongly instrumental in realizing the aims meant by it.

¹⁰⁷ K,Zubair,op,cit,p70

¹⁰⁸ Miller,op,cit,232

¹⁰⁹ K,Zubair, Op,cit,79

Though very few studies have been conducted to trace the developmental stages of this institution of “popular teaching” in the light of the analysis of the character and behavioural patterns of *Mappilas* it can be supposed that this also must have been applied by the spiritual leadership of *Mappila Muslims* from very earlier period as they had adopted the method in its essence and ground form from prophet Mohammed directly. However there are evidences to prove that during the period of anti-colonial movement in Kerala, Mappila leadership had enormously utilised public sermons to revive, resurrect and energise, filling confidence and knowledge in minds of Muslims so that to make them mentally ideologically and physically befitted and eligible to live in a menacingly serious political and cultural climate¹¹⁰

Those programmes were held both inside the Mosque and outside in public gathering. “*Thabsheerul Wa'iz*” (“announcement of good news to preachers”) a book authored by *Makhdum Ahmed Zainuddin* to be a live guide and ready reference for sermonisers indicates the utilisation of public sermons as a mighty means to accelerate the activism of Muslims must have emerged and become prevalent by 9th century AH/15AD¹¹¹. In later period evolving that old method through different creative experimental phases came to a systematic and institutionalised form called *Wa'az* programmes. *Wa'az* literally means preaching and sermonising is an amazing institution adopted by Muslims to teach public mores about Islam and various Islamic subjects and to recurrently remind them about the believed facts of life here and hereafter.¹¹² The widespread tradition of *Wa'az* programmes, which was an oral education of high quality based upon the Qur'an and traditional literature, can amply explain why, in earlier times, the general public including the laymen, business people, rich and poor, and women had deeper knowledge of Islam, in history, *Qur'anic* injunctions, prophetic traditions and jurisprudence related to even minute matters¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ Sunni Conference Souvenirop,cit,p.39

¹¹¹ Makhdum Ahmed Zainuddin,Thabsheerul Waa'iz,quoted from KM Mohammed, Contribution of kerala to Arabic literature,p.87

¹¹² K,Zubair,op,cit,p.60

¹¹³ Ibid,p.62

Even this system which served and performed a great social and religious function couldn't escape severe criticism on the part of so-called reformist thinkers who described it as a inefficient system of flaws and deficiencies which miserably failed to rise and update with respect to the changing atmosphere and concluded that it didn't suit to the time and space. One can say looking through the mirror of modern developed climate that those sermon programmes were faulty and flawed and can point out a variety of deficiencies and demerits in this system that started pre-modern time. Though the glow and quality of this tradition has been on decline as of now, it is very appreciative that a system of disseminating religious knowledge for public had been founded very early. Muslims had pioneered centuries ago in such systems as informal education and lifelong education which we see as modern ideas¹¹⁴ It is to be noted that as K.T. Husain stated in his book, "the philosophy of anti-colonial struggle (mal)" that these religious sermons were the major communication medium to instil Islamic teachings in the minds of public and thus lead them along the path of true religiosity and righteousness and ensure their moral refinement and social reformation. Since the content of these sermons were conceived as the set of advices which must be helpful to attain spiritual purification and, some necessary practical jurisprudence lessons which are a must in the routine life of Muslims to ensure a religiously disciplined life. It is a fact that though this tradition still exists, but it has lost its vigour and effectiveness due to the inefficiency of the of its holders or because of their departure from the actual aims and objectives of such programmes¹¹⁵. But this recent aberration must not cause one to overlook at any cost the historic value this system possessed the reality that this and the above mentions means have been successfully adopted and practiced by the spiritual leadership of *Mappilas* once which necessarily tuned out fruitful and far more effective in materializing the destination they set by it.

Influential role of literature

"Both the message and the messenger are the foundation stones over which the edifice of Islam was eventually erected, each necessarily supporting the other by

¹¹⁴ Ibid,p.63

¹¹⁵ Prof K.A Jaleel,Farook Golden Jubilee Souvenir,1998

way of illumination and elucidation”¹¹⁶. The place and influence of the Qur’an is very much evident in the prophetic career of Islamic propagation in the desert of Arabia as that of his physical and spiritual presence as well and elsewhere in the succeeding phases of mission undertaken by his faithful companions. This very aspect can be taken as the pioneering element that tempted or motivated the members of spiritual leadership in Kerala since very earlier period to embark upon a vibrant career of writing down and recording creatively the set of knowledge and sources of inspiration they wanted to impart others in the form of great books and works. These written contributions which cover almost entire branches of knowledge and extend in to thousands can be doubtlessly considered as the manifesto of spiritual leadership in Kerala in the whole phases since the advent of Islam till date. It can be understood while surveying the genres those works dealt with and the contents it contained, that those products also were essentially aimed at the execution of their vision to prepare the community to tackle successfully and creatively the varying situation by making them religiously conscious and spiritually enlightened.

It is not my intention here to map and analyse thoroughly the entire works penned down by the Mappila leadership from the period of formation till date but, on the contrary to present a general assessment regarding the available works through the centuries of Mappila existence, especially in the time frame of anti- colonial movements.

It is believed that Mappila Muslim scholars might have started writing down and codifying knowledge in the same time that process got momentum in the Islamic world and printing process also would have reached the quarters of *Mappilas* when it become prevalent among Muslims in other parts because Islam has reached Kerala in the initial stage and it was with full vigour and diligence accepted in that soil, but, unfortunately those early works are not available today¹¹⁷. It is very much remarkable that most of the works both printed and hand written came to light as of Mappila scholars, in the earlier, medieval or early modern period are written in

¹¹⁶ Daniel Wainer, An introduction to Islam, p.11

¹¹⁷ K.M.Mohammed, Contribution of Kerala to Arabic literature (mal) p.26

either Arabic or *Arabic-Malayalam*, which is obviously indicative of the strong inclination that community exhibited towards the language of the Qur'an. It is a fact that though the contributions made by Mappila scholars through centuries in the field of writing books and manuals are really profuse and profound, only a small share of which has remained intact, the rest either perished or disappeared due to many reasons. Hence the contribution of Kerala to Arabic language and literature is a fertile topic for research and evaluation. Even Arabic Malayalam manuscripts available in Kerala had not been surveyed properly. The scholars like *C.N.Ahmed Moulavi*, *K.K.M Abdul Kareem*, and *V Balakrishnan* have prepared some pioneering historical account in this direction.¹¹⁸ But a recent research study undertaken by *K.M. Mohammad* to explore the extent of the contribution of Kerala scholars to Arabic language and literature is a commendable attempt in this regard as it has tried its best to uncover many hidden treasure of works and manuals and manuscripts particularly scrutinising all private, personal and public collection of books in Kerala, after all he underlies the fact that one cannot find complete details about all books of Mappila literature from such a study too, but it also necessarily hasn't come across the whole length and width of that boundless area due to the unavailability of enough resources¹¹⁹. However it is evident that even the traced out treasures of Mappila contribution is to a greatly considerable account and many of it has rose to the recognition of world community, like the *Thuhfathul Mujahideen of Shaykh Sainuddin* and *His Fathul Mu'een* and *Fathul Mubeen of Qazi Muhammed Kalikuthi*.

Mappila scholars have dealt with almost all area of religious knowledge and some branches of material lore. *K.M Mohammed* had classified his study in to different disciplines and under each classification he brings a whole lot of brilliant and worth mentioning titles. Mappila scholarship has touched areas like the *Qur'an*, *Hadith*, Islamic Fiqh (Jurisprudence), Sufism philosophy metaphysics, philology, grammar, poetry Mouldid and Mala literature and provided commendable products in all those areas¹²⁰. While analysing the contribution of different well known scholars in

¹¹⁸ K.K.N.Kurup, *The legacy of Islam(Kerala)*, (A study of *Mappilas* of Kerala), p.18

¹¹⁹ K.M.Mohammed op,cit,26

¹²⁰ K.M.Mohammed op,cit,p.4

Kerala, particularly before and during the colonial period that, all of them have dealt with both theology and *thasawwuf* (Sufism). KM. Mohammed says that it is natural that the reflection of the mindset and the ideological inclinations of the author must find place in his works. The early period Mappila scholars were not of the kind who confines their field of operation inside the mosque in mere teaching and missionary activities. Hence the works that period also are the true representation of the sincere devotion and vibrant activism imbued by the spirit of sacrifice for the sacred cause of general goodness in that duration of time many works brought out in the different branches of *thasawwuf*. And Islamic fiqh and theological works got widespread circulation due to be it the base of the *thasawwuf* thereof¹²¹.

A cursory survey of books, treatises and manuals found in Kerala reveals that piety and devotion was the inseparable characteristics of the Mappila and means for maintaining this feature was frequently and carefully given by the leadership through their writings. This may be the reason behind becoming *Thasawwuf* the most treated subject as of jurisprudence books. “Numerous works on Sufism (*Thasawwuf*) are produced in Arabic in Kerala and some of them as early as the 14th century A.D. Still unpublished, many of them are in private collections and *Dars* libraries¹²². *Hidayathul Adkiya Ila Tareeqatil Awliya* by *Shayk Sainuddin Ibn Ali Al Mabari* of Ponnani(1467-1521A.D) is considered as the manual of Sufism in Kerala and the later works on the subject are the expansion or the reiteration of the ideas presented by it¹²³. This book is recognised as one of the text books for the six standard in the *Madrsas* run by *Samatha Kerala Islamatha Vidyabyasa Board*, the mainstream traditional Muslim community’s organisation in Kerala¹²⁴. It is a proof to the abiding vitality and wakefulness of Mappila leadership during the period of colonial invasion and pre -invasion that there had appeared time to time befitted responses to the varying situations and newly rising questions and to defend community from possible deviations. *Kanz-al Barahin* of *Shaykh Jifri* (1222 A.H.) is a fitting example of the alertness of Mappila spiritual leadership on the penetration of misleading elements in to their soil. When *Shiaism* tried to rise head in the form

¹²¹ Ibid,p.28

¹²² Dr.v,Kunhali,op,cit,p.16

¹²³ Ibid,p62

¹²⁴ Ibid,p16

of *Muhammad Shah* and his followers towards the close of 18th century A.D. and when they started their hot mission of inviting people from Kerala to its circle, in no time the danger trapped in its net work was tracked by the Mappila *Ulama* and as a mighty response or reaction to this potential danger was the appearance of the writing of *Kanz-al Barahin* by Shaykh Jifri. In this work *Shaykh Jifri* openly declared Muhammad Shah as a pseudo Sufi moving in wrong path and misleading others. *Jifri* pointed out in the work, his religious and heretical activities like discouraging daily prayers and pilgrimage to Makkah and preventing people going to mosque and making permissible the mixing of men freely with women¹²⁵. Essentially this was a Sufi work in which he was including the inevitable element as a demand of time so that to inculcate his community about the spreading danger in his surroundings. This also props up the fact that books and treatises were widely used as a powerful medium of communication to make the community aware of the social and cultural realities time to time in the context of Mappila Muslims.

Along with the religious, linguistic and literature works, direct anti-colonial literature was another prominent area dealt by *Mappila leadership*. *Tahriz*, *Tuhfat al Mujahidin*, *Fathul Mubin Saiful Battar* and *Uddathul Umara* are some world renowned contributions among this genre developed by *Mappilas*. While one observes these works and its authors along the line of spiritual leadership provided by each of them there definitely comes a striking element that the same hand that wrote *Adkiya*, the work that is agreed up on as the manual of Sufism in Kerala, had written *Tahriz* also, and the same *Zainuddin Junior* who wrote *Fathul Mu'een* and *Irshadul Ibad* the ever reference of Shafi school of theology and treatise of *Tasawwuf* based on self purification, had written *Tuhfatul Mujahidin* the great anti-colonial literature. As for, *Qazi Muhammad* the author *Fathul Mubin* one great anti-colonial poetry in Kerala, it is to be noted that himself is the author of *Muhyiddin Mala*, one of the most prevalent Sufi mystic poetry in Kerala, Such an impressive sequence of writings on the part of community leadership was largely visible in each

¹²⁵ Randathani,op,cit,p.53

stage of this community and it was really the conceivable defining feature of them in essence¹²⁶.

It is also noted amidst *Mappilas'* works that Arabic language and grammar were another important area tackled by them. Many books were and are prevalent among which concentrate on the rules of Arabic grammar and the importance Arabic as a language. In the close examination of the elements behind getting prevalence this kind of books among *Mappilas* in their educational institutions and religious centres one may reach to predominant status Arabic language had enjoyed in Mappila minds from their earlier phase as a live language of Islamic religiosity.

Yet another very important area flourished in hands of Mappila writers is Moulid literature and wide variety of poetry written in the praise on panegyrics of prophet (s) and other great personalities appeared in the history of Islam. In general Prophet's birthday is called Moulid a word the festivities held on this day. And *Maulud* appears, however, more frequently to denote poetry or literature written in honour of prophet's birth or more generally of his life¹²⁷ In the context of Mappila literature and life both Moulid and *moulud* is used to denote the literature written in praise of Prophet and other great personalities. K.M. Muhammad says that in the 7th and 8th century A.H. Moulids were authored on the theme of the prophet only but ever since it developed and Prophets companions, Sufi saints, other great and acclaimed persons like martyrs amidst Muslims and etc, began to find place as the theme of Moulids. More than 300 brilliant Moulids have been traced out and become prevalent among *Mappilas*¹²⁸. If history can be understood as the set a series of great men's biographies Moulid literature must have some undeniable historical value through which one can delve deep in to the unknown or partially known areas of Mappila life and definitely can unearth some unexplored corridors. Among the Moulid literature the oldest meantime still prevalent among Mappila Muslims is *Manqoos* Moulid. It is widely believed that *Shaykh Zainuddin Kabeer* (1521 A.D) is the author of this Moulid. The great social and moral function undertaken by this

¹²⁶ Musliminte Kerala Model,op,cit,p.53

¹²⁷ Annemarie Schimmel, And Muhammad is His Messenger, the veneration of the prophet in Islamic piety, p.144

¹²⁸ K.M.Muhammad.op,cit,p.101

Moulid in the public sphere of Mappila Muslims must be taken for granted. It is never ignorable the social bonds strengthened and spiritual elevation attained while frequent recitation of this Moulid in household atmosphere and *Mahallu*¹²⁹ gatherings with high spirit of devotion, piety and respect, happened ensuring the massive participation of community members and even members from other communities were in the first row of appreciators¹³⁰. Even today amidst the soaring critiques on the part of so-called modernist Muslims, against the observance of this practice branding it to a bida' an innovation in *Sharee'th*, mainstream Mappila Muslims of Kerala still adhere to this wont and keep this culture intact organizing mass gathering of Moulid with ever more fervour and flavour of recitation accompanied by the devotional ceremony of distributing Sweets of *barakhath*¹³¹. Like *monqoos* Moulid there have several other Moulids which Mainstream Sunni *Mappilas* keep with their life always as means of spiritual elevation.

Other than Moulid poetry many poems were written in panegyrics of prophet which like Moulids had wide circulation and great acceptance and broad appeal among Mappila Muslims. The first explored poem in Kerala written in Arabic was that of *Qazi Abu Bakkar Bin Ramadanu Shaliyathi (899AH.)* and that was in praise of Prophet Muhammad (s) titled *thaqmees al burda* and *Qazi Umar veliankode* is the master in the panegyrics of Kerala and his world renowned *Sallal Ilahu Baith* is his master piece in this genre¹³² However what *Schimmel* opined in her book on prophet, quoting an Indian scholar, about the central role of *na'thiyya poetry*.¹³³ In Muslim life that according to her, praise of the prophet goes much farther than simply expressing veneration for the Prophet: rather it excels by its character

¹²⁹ Mahallu, Arabic word meaning locality, Muhalla is used in north India, in Kerala, other than the official divisions of Panchayaths and wards for public governance, Muslims have been clustered by their own into Mahallu Jama'ate. It a concept of Muslim village centred around a Juma Masjid with all Muslim houses in the locality registering their names with the mosque committee selected or elected by themselves. The Mahallu governance is involved in all rituals related with birth, death, marriages and other functions of the residences belonging to it, and always take special interest in the welfare of the Muslims in the locality.as given in K, Zubair, op, cit, p.60 In essence a study about the origin and development this meritorious system which exists being the governing body of Muslim activism may lead us to the high intellectual capacity and lofty thinking of the early spiritual leadership of *Mappila* Muslims.

¹³⁰ Musliminte Kerala Model,op,cit,p.76

¹³¹ Holiness, virtue as inherent spiritual power

¹³² K.M. Muhammad,op,cit,p.155

¹³³ Na'thiyya poetry means poetry written in praise of Prophet

building power and stimulates for a longing for “perfect man”¹³⁴ is some way applicable to the panegyrics and Moulid *poetry* spread amidst *Mappilas*.

Another important literary achievement of Mappila Muslims is Mala *literature*. Mala means garland, what is meant by it are the devotional songs written mainly in Arabic-Malayalam praising the prophets, saints and religious events. Miller explains Malas as song stories, which, commemorates the exploits of Muslim saints or heroic events in the history of the community¹³⁵ *Muhyiddin* Mala is the most popular of all available Mala literature in Kerala and as it is to be described with details in the coming chapters, and therefore further explanations are not giving here. However to reveal the importance of Malas in Mappila life one statement of Dr. V. Kunhali is enough as he says in his work *Sufism in Kerala*, that, people believed that reciting these Malas itself would bring happiness to the one recited and the whole household¹³⁶ *Rathib* which emerged in Mappila Muslims as the contribution of Sufism is another vibrant literary creation. The pioneer in this genre is the most popular *Rathibul Haddad*. The followers of the great known *Sufi Ahmed al Kabeer Arrifa’i* are believed to be the responsible persons behind the prevalence of this literary ritualistic form amidst *Mappilas*¹³⁷ In the earlier period only *awrads* and *adkars* found in Qur’an and Hadith were the core of these rites and later it has undergone some possible developments in form and behaviour. *Ratib al Haddad* the most popular *Rathib* in Kerala is still preserved among the mainstream Mappila Muslims as most of them especially the aged and pious ones among them keep reciting it every day as a habit in between *Maa’rib* and *Isha’* prayers. *Padapattul* which can be translated as battle songs or war songs are also a popular Mappila contribution which has enjoyed wide appeal in Mappila life. Many number of attractive *Padapattukal* composed in the background of intensifying struggle against British domination in Kerala can be safely and surely considered in the array of anti-colonial literature produced by Mappila Muslims. These songs which had adopted as themes many eventful chapters from the history of Islam and Muslims, stretching from the stories of Prophet’s war against the infidels of Mecca to the wars fought

¹³⁴ Annmerrie Schimmel, op, cit, p.178

¹³⁵ R.E. Miller, op, cit, p.241-2

¹³⁶ Dr. V. Kunhali, op, cit, p.112

¹³⁷ K.M. Muhammad, op, cit, p.101

against Portuguese by Mappila Muslim in the period prior to the advent of British in Kerala, can be without doubt taken as the among the ideological sources of Mappila war against British colonisers¹³⁸ *Badr Padapattu, Uhudu Padapattu, Thabuk Padapattu, Malappuram Padapattu, Cherur Padapattu* are some examples of most popular *Padapattukal* among *Mappilas*.

At length, in a cursory survey of the wide variety of colourful literature produced and preserved by Mappila Muslims of Kerala through the centuries of their survival, it is understandable without much difficulty that it has to a larger extent helped much in adding colour to their characteristic religiosity and spiritual highness and to their world known personal chivalry and vigour and valour. And above all one cannot deny that it has been very instrumental in all means in the formation of their identity and preserving without possible damages and this is also mention worthy that these mediums were also effectively utilized by the spiritual leadership of *Mappilas*.

Spiritual Leadership in Anti-Colonial Struggle

In the aforesaid descriptions it has been well evident that the colonial period was a crucial phase in the history of Kerala people particularly in that of Mappila Muslim community, since it was a direct inroad against their peaceful existence in that land in many ways than any other individual communities as stated with evidences earlier. It has also been clear that the hold of spiritual leadership in the entire domains of Mappila living was inalienable and undeniable and total Mappila Muslim community was completely dependent upon their religious leadership even in the matter of the observance of worldly affairs or mundane routines, mainly as mentioned earlier due to the absence of a powerful political authority as their own and the intensified spirit of religiosity they possessed. In this context of prevailing reality, it needs to be assessed the role played by spiritual leadership in the long drawn revolutionary resistance movement propounded and practiced by *Mappilas* Muslims of Kerala.

¹³⁸ Zainuddin Mandalankunnu, op,cit,p.95

The first among the natives of Kerala to recognize the dangers and the evil designs embedded in the agenda of Portuguese, the first colonial invaders to the soil of Kerala towards the close of 15th century A.D. was none other than the religious leadership of Mappila Muslims¹³⁹. They were who tried to dissuade the then incumbent king Zamorin from his prompt attempt to reach in treaty with the Portuguese power without taking their inner motives for granted.¹⁴⁰ In the whole history of the anti-colonial movement led by *Mappilas* of Kerala for around five centuries without excluding a shortest span of time, it is visible that at the helm were the religious spiritual leadership but it was realized either directly or indirectly but however maybe it was the defining or determinant factor. More than direct personal participation in the battlefield, though it also had occasionally took place, the most outstanding element marked in the lives of this leadership was the inspirational ingredients timely disseminated by them to the members of community and a strong message they passed to the other natives from different communities so that to mobilize a unified powerful struggle against the alien colonisers. As stated above the spiritual leadership of Mappila Muslims were mainly in the hands of three great families i.e., *Makhdums of Ponnani* and *Sayyids of Ba alavi* and *Qazi Family of Calicut*, the anti colonial movements' leadership also was necessarily in the hands of certain members produced by those families at each stages. But it doesn't mean that no personality from any other family has emerged at any phase of those movements to take the leaderly role of the community but it also has happened. However those members also if traced their life passages well can find a direct or indirect but strong relation with those families. However a down- to- earth enquiry about the undercurrents that kept up the tempo of the momentous movement carried out by *Mappilas* through the centuries of their colonial experience will definitely reveal the affiliation it maintained with and energy it absorbed from different quarters of spiritual leadership but here the ways and means adopted by the leadership and leading methodology is briefly analysed and the towering figures who served this noble purpose successfully will be subjected to some kind of a detailed analysis in the subtitle follows.

¹³⁹ Dr. Husain Randathani, op, cit,p.107

¹⁴⁰ Mohammed Kunhi, p.k, Muslims and Kerala culture(mal),p.89

As stated above the last phase of 15th century was the beginning of colonialism in Kerala and in the meantime the overall leadership of *Mappilas* was mainly in the hands of *Makhdums* and *Qazis* of Calicut, both of them have creatively responded to this threatening presence of the alien power timely and engaged relentlessly in the process of awakening the society to the gravity of that emerging social reality through books and sermons which they conducted travelling throughout the region. *Shaykh Zainuddin*, the senior (1521A.D), was first known Muslim scholar in India to declare war against the Europeans. His treatise called *Thahriz Ahl al Iman ala Jihadi Abadati al sulban* (incitement for believers on fight against the worshippers of cross) it is an Arabic poem deals exclusively with the atrocities of Portuguese on *Mappilas* and the necessity of holy war against them. By explaining the theory of Jihad and giving the pathetic picture of the persecution of Muslims by Portuguese, *Zainuddin* makes the holy war against the Portuguese obligatory up on all Muslims¹⁴¹. After seventy years, his grandson *Zainuddin* (1581A.D.) the junior came with another treatise namely *Tuhfatul Mujahidin fi Ba'li Ahwali Burtuqaliyyin*(The gift to the holy warriors in respect of some deeds of Portuguese) which also was intended to incite the Muslims to war against Portuguese¹⁴² The book explains the havoc with which the Portuguese have wrecked upon Islamic society of Kerala¹⁴³. In the said work, *Shayk Zainuddin* opined that the inroad of an alien power to the life of Kerala Muslims are nothing but due to their exceeded moral degradation. Pointing to this aspect he says “At first, a condition prevailed in Malabar that allowed the Muslims there to lead a prosperous and comfortable life on the account of the benevolence of their rulers, their time honoured customs and their kindness. But they belittled Allah’s blessings and transgressed and became heedless. So Allah set on them the Portuguese Christians and He, may he be exalted, abandoned them. They oppressed the Muslims, corrupted and committed all kinds of ugly and infamous deeds against them, too bad to be described¹⁴⁴. these lines reveals well the relevance and possibilities of the means adopted by the Mappila leadership to provoke and promote the spirit of resistance in mindset of their followers.

¹⁴¹ Husain Randathanii,op,cit,p.108

¹⁴² Shaik Zainuddin, Thuhfat.....,op,cit.,p.18

¹⁴³ Randathani.....,op.,cit.p.108

¹⁴⁴ Shaik Zainuddin, Thuhfatul Mujahidin, English translation of Naianr.op.cit,p.56

The verdict of *Shaykh Zainuddin* and his successor for Jihad had tremendous effect on *Mappilas* who did their best to fight away the Portuguese in the Arabian sea¹⁴⁵ and it turned out be the heightening of intensified and never say die resistant movements on the part of native *Mappilas* combined with the non Muslim warriors officially under the rule and direction of King Zamorin. However the Mappila leadership had the inherent impulse that rose from their true knowledge to understand the situation and rise in accordance with it. That is what become crystal clear while *Zainuddin Makhdam* reminds his community that they should depend up on the native ruler though he is non-believer, since in such an atmosphere of pluralist society where has no Muslim ruler one has to obey the ruler who is then in power and he gives protection for Muslims. It is also more evident in the statement made by *Zainuddin* regarding the position of Muslims in the territory of the Zamorines he writes; “The Muslims of Malabar have no Amir who possess power and can exercise authority over the land and can be mindful of their welfare: On the contrary all of them are subjects of the rulers who are unbelievers. Notwithstanding this fact, the Muslims engaged themselves in hostilities against the unbelievers (Portuguese) and spend their wealth to the extent of their means with the assistance of that friend of Muslims, the ‘*Samuri*’ who also expended money on their behalf from the beginning”¹⁴⁶.

Zainuddin tried to persuade the *Mappilas* to join the anti-colonial struggle by describing the religious merit they would acquire by the act of active involvement in the war, and cited *Qur’anic* verses and Prophetic traditions to that effect. The virtues of martyrdom and the endless bliss of the heaven have been the most motivating factor of the Mappila resistance¹⁴⁷ Mappila tradition of militancy that began since the advent of the Portuguese had continued during British period. The ultimate object of this tradition was the desire to die as martyrs and save themselves from the fire of the hell¹⁴⁸ which was truly the result of ideological back up provided and spread by their leadership. Francoise experiencing the unflinching spirit and steadfastness of *Mappilas* states “the war between them is very cruel and merciless

¹⁴⁵ Randathani.....,op.,cit.p.109

¹⁴⁶ Thuhfat al Mujahideen,.....,(Nainar translation)op,cit,p.19

¹⁴⁷ Randathan,.....,op,cit,p

¹⁴⁸ Ibid,.....,p.129

for the Malabar *Mappilas* are so courageous that they never surrender but prefer death¹⁴⁹ Miller also counting extreme courage and fortitude as an exclusive characteristic of *Mappilas* states, “The courage of *Mappilas* has been frequently noted and has been described unsurpassed in any other part of the world by any race. This fortitude is particularly evident at times of trouble, sickness and death. Allied with courage is the deep sense of loyalty; not only do *Mappilas* stand by one another but they are also equally loyal to non Muslims whom they have accepted as friends or superiors, and to whom they are faithful and reliable in emergencies¹⁵⁰. This sense of irresistible fortitude and relentless bits of courage which embarrassed the extremely atrocious and full -fledged Portuguese colonisers was expressed in the middle of battlefield by certain persons emerged out of the house of *Kunhalis Marakkars* , a house of naval commandants in its hundred years struggle against Portuguese¹⁵¹. While unearthing the ideological basis and emotional back up that charged those unyielding warriors in the bed of Arabian sea, it will get cleared the mighty undercurrents exerted substantially in the whole chapter of movement led against the Portuguese in Mappila history. According to the reliable sources it is said that *Makhdums* were the spiritual leaders of *Marakkars* since they were the followers of the Sufi esoteric order preached by *Makhdums* and it was the relation strongly and dynamically existed between the emperor Zamorin and *Makhdums* that paved the way for the coming of *Marakkar* to Malabar and rising to the naval commandment power of Malabar¹⁵². It is of no doubt to *Kunhalis* and other *Mappilas* who led legendary struggle against the Portuguese in different parts of Kerala like *Kannur*, *Madayi panthalayani*, *Chaliyam Thanur Ponnani* and etc, the source of spirit and abiding confidence had got from the spiritual guidance of *Zainuddin Makhdums*¹⁵³.

It is also worth noting that there had occasions marked with the direct participation of these spiritual leaders in the battle field. According to many reliable evidences

¹⁴⁹ Albert Gray (Trans and ed.) The voyages of Francoise Pyard of Laval, London, 1887, vol, 1, p.444. Quoted from Randathani.

¹⁵⁰ Miller, op,cit....,p230

¹⁵¹ KKN Kurup, Legacy of Islam, op, cit...p.13

¹⁵² Kunhali Marakkar, edited by Dr,KKN Kurup,p.104

¹⁵³ Ibid,...,p.104

the famous *Chaliyam* battle held in the year 1571 A.D. was personally led by the trio of Mappila spiritual leadership *Shaykh Zainudin bin Abdul Aziz*, the son of *Zainuddin Senior*, And the Calicut *Qazi Abdul Azeez* the father of *Qazi Muhammed Kalikuthi*, and the famous Sufi saint of the period *Shaykh Abdul Wafa Mamukkoya* who was one famous initiator of Sufi Tareeqat in Kerala and he is said to be the spiritual guide of the third and fourth *Kunhalis*¹⁵⁴ It is mention worthy here the event of *Kothupalli Kunhi Marakkar*, a disciple or *Mureed* of *Shaykh Zainuddin*, by hearing the call for Jihad and the virtues of martyrdom is said to have left his wedding ceremony and fought bravely against the Portuguese in the sea¹⁵⁵ The heroics of *Kunhi Marakkar* is well illustrated in the folk song called *Kothupally Mala*, which later become a source of inspiration for devotionally inclined *Mappilas*¹⁵⁶ as it is stated earlier that various forms of indigenous literature and war songs and pure spiritual products have been the strong undercurrent behind the imperishable resoluteness of *Mappilas*. It is remarkable that all four major *Kunhalis* were bravely receiving martyrdom at the end of their career and final *Kunhali* was really cheated by his faithful master Zamorin who handed over him to Portuguese who later hung him after carrying him to Goa in a turbulent catastrophic twist happened to the *Zamorin Kunhali* relation¹⁵⁷ *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuthi* is one prominent figure who must be counted while analysing the anti-colonial movement Portuguese period who served effectively for the cause of awakening the community to the sweltering social and political reality of time by manifold ways in his life time and with his imperishable contributions, after his demise too. The analysis of which will be done in the next chapter.

After the retreat of Portuguese when Dutch power tried to come to the position there also had evident role of Mappila spiritual leadership as a directive force behind the mobility of Mapplas. *Mappilas* had lost their faith in the rule of Zamorin due to his deceitful approach he adopted in the case of the last *Kunhali* by handing over him to Portuguese to kill him¹⁵⁸ yet they readied to stand united against an alien power

¹⁵⁴ Qazi Muhammed, Fathhul Mubeen, Mal trans., KK Muhammed Abdul Kareem, 1982, p.19

¹⁵⁵ Randathani, ..op, cit, ..p.109

¹⁵⁶ Kurup.KKN.op,cit,

¹⁵⁷ Kunhali

¹⁵⁸ MC Muhammed wadakara

for the general cause of the safety and protection of nation. But this was ultimately succeeded when Zamorin of the time requested the then spiritual leader of Calicut, *Qazi Muhyiddin* to inculcate *Mappilas* to come in the fighting line against the Dutch. As per the request of the King Zamorin, *Qazi* advised Muslims to join in the army and consequently from the different parts of the area *Mappilas* rushed to the proposed recruitment¹⁵⁹

Later when British imperialism began to tighten its clutch of colonial desires over Kerala it was the *Mappilas* themselves in the forefront of the unyielding struggle and in the field of unflinching resistance imbued by the endless source of inspiration and direction provided by the spiritual leadership of the time and absorbing the spirit from the inspiring ingredients of foregone period left by the early spiritual leadership. In the nineteenth century during the sweltering phase of British Empire in Kerala it was the turn of the descendents of *Ba Alavi sayyids* who came to Kerala from *Tarim of Hadramauth* in Yemen, who were the major initiators of *Ba Alavi thareeqhath*, to exercise the role of spiritual leadership through the different parts of Kerala. Since these saints were not just ascetics living away from people and due to their habit of live and unbroken preoccupation with professions and services which benefitted to humanity as one injunction of Sufism¹⁶⁰ and necessarily they took the role of leading Mappila community in their avowed resistance against the British colonial power. In this stage the most house hold names were that of *Sayyid Alavi Ttungal*, and his son *Sayyid fazl* and etc. However it is clear that to the leadership of these *Sayyids* had the great colour of spirituality and in the words of *S.F.Dale* “ in the personal terms they laid claim to and generally have been accorded a special mark of respect, the *Taqbeel*, the privilege of having hand or knees kissed by the devout Muslims and a variant of this ceremony was perhaps the most important feature of pilgrimage which *Mappilas* daily made during the lifetime of *Sayyid Alavi* and his son *Sayyid fazl*¹⁶¹ *Alavi Sayyids* attempted to keep up the respect to their forefathers by creating mausoleums, for the dead and venerating them and their alertness to encourage visit to *Darghas* and to organise annual festivals on the

¹⁵⁹ Sunni District conference Souvenir,p.43

¹⁶⁰ V.Kunhali,op...,cit,..p.92

¹⁶¹ Dale The *Mappilas* of malbar ,op,cit.,,p.114

occasion of death or birth anniversary were also remarkable in this respect¹⁶² and can be analysed in terms of the spiritual leadership they provided to the community and definitely one will have to find that which had strong positive bearings in the whole life Kerala Muslims. The meaning of the spiritual leadership will be more clear while analysing the statement of Conrad Wood as he says that before starting the holy war the *Mappilas* usually performed two important rites, the *Nerchas* and *Moulid*, a *Nercha* is a vow taking ceremony, whilst a *Moulid* is for the *Eranad Mappila*, a kind of *Nercha* usually meant to be celebrated in the honour of prophet or some deceased saints¹⁶³. During the Portuguese invasion, there had been a good number of martyrs from the *Mappilas* who were hailed through *Nerchas* and Mosques for perpetuating their memory¹⁶⁴. These ceremonies were aimed at the absorbing the blessings of Prophet and saints and seeking their indirect intervention or intercession in the intended mission so that they come out triumphant.

Umar qazi of *Veliyankode* is another household name who rose to a nightmarish presence in the quarters of British colonial powers due to the extraordinarily vehement oppositional attitude he harboured against British. *Umar Qazi* (1765-1857A.D) was a genius Arabic poet, preacher, and Sufi saint of great spiritual highness and above all a great freedom fighter and it is mention worthy that he was the one among the great disciples of *Mampuarum Sayyid Alavi Tangal*¹⁶⁵. He was first in the history of Indian freedom struggle to launch a “no tax movement” against British successfully, and it was years before Gandhi started his career as the leader of Indian freedom movement¹⁶⁶. Even in the early phase of 20th century which was the final stage of British rule in India too, in Kerala the anti-colonial movement hasn't gone forward at any stage without the powerful touch of spiritual leadership. It was *Ali Musliyar*, *VarianKunnathu KunhAhamed Haji* and likes who emerged to fill that column in that stage. *Ali Musliyar* (1861-1922 A.D) was the typical of the Mappila leadership in many rebellions against British and especially in the great

¹⁶² Randathani,... ,op, cit,..p.47

¹⁶³ Conrad Wood, The Mopla Rebellion and its genesis,1982,p.44-45, quoted from Randathani,op,cit130

¹⁶⁴ Dr.KKN. Kurup,op,cit,..,p.15

¹⁶⁵ Umar Qazi,(Biography in mal) published by Veliyankode Mahallu Jama'th committe,in preface

¹⁶⁶ Ibid,p.52

known rebellion of 1921 AD. . Descended of *Makhdums* of Ponnani he was a member of a family with a long record of struggle against British¹⁶⁷ He had both direct and indirect but always live participation in the anti-colonial movements intensified towards the end of 19th century and in the first half of 20th century. But it was also a reality that all those who emerged in these families of spiritual highness has not been in the frontline of anti- colonial movements on the contrary some had the history of stunning variation of being the supporters of colonial power and some scholars also have been seen as the followers in this group, one good example of this is *Abdulla Koya Tangal* the grandson of *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi* the great anti - colonial ideologue who issued fatwa against them¹⁶⁸ He used the special status and personal charisma of being the grandson of *Mampuram sayyid Alavi* for serving the impulses of imperialism¹⁶⁹ but it is clear that such leaders had never won the hearts and mindset of mainstream *Mappilas* to a greater extent. On the other hand it is also to be stated that some figures that played some way leaderly role in later period of anti-colonial struggle cannot be counted in the array of spiritual leadership of *Mappilas*. Nevertheless their influence also was very much restricted and confined because as Miller emphasises the intensity of religious devotion was a characteristic of the people of Kerala which Mappila shared, and Islam produces strong religious commitment and Mappila devotion became overheated, in reaction to reverses and stresses of the past 450 years¹⁷⁰

Predominant figures of Mappila Spiritual Leadership during Colonial Period

A huge number of highly influential religious personalities have emerged in the different stages of around five centuries of legendary anti-colonial Mappila resistant movement's history, who, with their great leadership quality formed out of the impressive combination of spiritual enlightenment and intellectual and educational achievements, have been very much instrumental in the steering or directing process

¹⁶⁷ Miller,op,cit...,p.136

¹⁶⁸ A.K.Kodure,Anglo-Mappila war(mal),p.33

¹⁶⁹ Ibid,p.34

¹⁷⁰ Miller,...p.227

of *Mappilas* during their life time and afterwards. Out of this distinguished set who proved that the spiritual power and religious resources can be effectively expressed and utilised as the means and mediums of strong political awakening, only selective few who were of far reaching implication and impact in the long history of Kerala are briefly introduced hereunder who as a whole will represent the different stages and phases of colonial period in Kerala. The members from *Qazi* family of Calicut are also not to occur here due to the exclusively detailed analysis of their life and message is to follow this chapter. An analytical method of examining the different stages of their life and activities is accepted so that to explore the extent of influence exerted by them and it is expected that it would be a true specimen of the whole of Mappila spiritual leadership since all others who come in the list must be somehow related with the wide sphere of their manifold activities.

Zainuddin Makdoom Al –Kabeer (Senior) (871A.H-928A.H)

As stated earlier the great place that *Makhdums* occupied among the Kerala Muslims has no equals in the whole stretch of Mappila history. It is evident that the myriad functions stretching from educational, literature writing to spiritual enlightenment through the spread of Sufistic devotional activities, have materialised amidst Mappila Muslims a revolutionary pursuit of religious revivalism and social organization and even successful political controlling¹⁷¹ At the helm of this familial stream of traditional leadership is the place of *Zainuddin Makhdum Senior*. (He is called *Zainuddin Makhdum First* also¹⁷²)

He was given birth in 12th of Sha'ban in 871 A.H, i.e, 1467 A.D in the *Makhdumiyya* house situated in Kochi; it was about three decades before the arrival of Portuguese colonial power in Kerala. His full name is *Abu Yahya Zainuddin bin Shaykh Ali Bin Shaykh Ahmed Al Ma'bari*. His family was traditionally of great scholars and Sufis.¹⁷³ A brief description of his biography is recorded in the *Maslakul Athkiya* a sufistic interpretational work of *Zainuddin Senior's Kifayathul Athkiya*, written by his son and another great influential luminary of this family,

¹⁷¹ Makhdums and ponnani,edi by Husain Randathani,P.60

¹⁷² Prof,KV AbduRahman, Juma'th Mosque of Ponnani.Chandrika republic Day Special issue.p75

¹⁷³ Makhdums and ponnani,edi by Husain Randathani p.65

Shaykh Abdul Azeez Bin Zainuddin.¹⁷⁴ *Ma'bar* is a territory situated along the south part of *Kayalpattanam*, facing *Srilanka* in the shore of the great Indian Ocean. Now it is known in the name of *Coromandal*. *Shaykh Shihabuddin Abu Abdillahi Yakuthul Hamawi* writes “*Ma'bar* is a place in one of the extreme ends of India”¹⁷⁵ Adding to this place they are called *Ma'bari* since they first came to *Ma'bar* in India and settled there for years and in later period was their shift to Kochi and finally to Ponnani.¹⁷⁶ His primary education was from his father *Aliyyul Ma'bari* and when his father died in his early childhood his grandfather and the then *Qazi* of Ponnani brought him to Ponnani and continued his higher studies there but all the while he was seen very much interested and preoccupied with the pursuit of acquiring knowledge and his mind and heart longed for more and more intermittently.

This endless quest for knowledge first brought him to Calicut to be the disciple of the great living scholar of the time and the then *Qazi* of Calicut *Abubakkar Fakruddin RaMalanu Shaliyathi*(834 A.H-885 A.H) and later he travelled to Egypt to study in *Al Azhar*, The honour of the first Keralite to have studied in *Al Azhar* is bound to him.¹⁷⁷ He had visited in different times *Imam Jalaludin Suyuti*, *Imam Sayyid Muhammed Assamhudi*, *Imam Sayyid Abubakker Al Hadrami*, *Imam Abubakker Al Hidaroosy*, *Imam Hafiz Muhammed Assaqavi*, *Imam Ahmed Bin Umar AlamuSaadadussubaidi*, *Imam Qazi Jamaluddin Muhammed Umar Al Hadrami* and many other highly established scholars of the time and acquired a vast store of knowledge and great enlightenment from all of them.¹⁷⁸ And it is also mention worthy that he was the colleague of many great world renowned scholars of the period like *Imam Jamaluddin Assafi*, *Imam Nuruddin Mahally*, *Kamaluddin Addimashqhi*, *Imam Shihabuddin Al Himmasi*, *Imam Baduruddin assuyuti* and etc and it is also known that he was one of the medieval period disciples of great scholar of Islam *Imam Zakariyyal Ansari* (824-926A.H). Along with the persistent knowledge seeking journey he had gravely taken care of keeping close relation with the Shaykhs of Sufi Tareeqat so that to ensure the possession of the religious

¹⁷⁴ Prof,KV AbduRahman, Juma'th Mosque of Ponnani.Chandrika republic Day Special issue.p75

¹⁷⁵ Mu'jamul Buldan vol.2,p.72,quoted from Makhdums,op,cit,p.63

¹⁷⁶ Nellikuth Muhammedali Musliyar.op,cit.p.12

¹⁷⁷ Makhdums,op,cit,p.66

¹⁷⁸ Ibid,p.67

necessity of spiritual elevation. He started the acquisition of spiritual enlightenment from *Shaykh Quthubuddin*, a great known initiator of *Qadiri* and *Chisti sufi* orders of the time¹⁷⁹ There he was given the “*Quirqa*” (the status robe of Sufis order) after letting him to enter in to the orders of *Jisthi and Qadiri*. The genealogy of his spiritual leaders has been recorded by his Son *Abdul Azeez Makhdum* in his *Maslakul Athkiya*¹⁸⁰ . On the sound basis of this unquestioned authority of knowledge and personal highness of spiritual affiliation in no time he rose to the status of the comprehensive leadership of Mappila Muslims of his time. And subsequently his entire activities testified that he was much alert on fulfilling the ambitions and hopes people set on him. His vibrant activism and unwavering creativity including the myriad writings and public sermons and direct involvement in public realms are the true testimony of this reality. The effective utilisation of *Palli*(Mosque) *Dars* system for the popularisation of knowledge among *Mappilas* was first successfully implemented by the efforts of *Zainuddin Kabeer*, who made it possible by establishing the great *Juma’th* Mosque in Ponnani and implementing popular *Dars* system there, the fame of which breaking bounds had spread worldwide.¹⁸¹ Through the democratisation of powerful knowledge and spiritual elevation he prepared his community to creatively cope with all emerging situation and its great result was seen when *Mappilas* set out to the battle field with indefectible vigour when colonialism made its first appearance there.

He was the first known Muslim scholar in India to declare war against Europeans. His great anti- colonial literature titled *Thahriz Ahl Al Iman Alaa Jihadi Abadathi Sulban* is the first of its kind in whole Kerala history and it is approved that as the first manifesto of anti -colonial movement in India. Though the manuscripts of *Thahriz* are found in some private collections the first printing and publication of the poem happened when Al Huda Bookstall Calicut initiated it in 1996 only¹⁸² The brilliant creations flowed out of his blessed pen are still the great presence in many religious educational institutes in Kerala and abroad. The most circulated Sufi poetry which have been very much instrumental in the overall spiritual enhancement of

¹⁷⁹ Ibid,p.67

¹⁸⁰ Ibid,p.68

¹⁸¹ C.N Ahmed Moulavi,op,cit,p.140

¹⁸² C.Hamza, Anti-colonai literatures in Kerala. Prabhodanam Special issue,1998,p.35

Mappilas throughout their history since 14th century titled *Hidayathul al Adkiya Ila Tareeqatil Awliya* is also the creation of *Zainiddin Kabeer*, it seems there is no dissent of opinion in calling it the manual of Sufism in Kerala¹⁸³ He has works in many areas like *thasawwuf*, theology, anticolonial literature, grammar, history, jurisprudence, and etc, and it is remarkable that all of his works are in Arabic.

Besides the above mentioned works some of other major creations are as follows, *Murshiduthullab*, *Sirajul Quloob*, *Sirajul muneer*, *Shamsul Huda*, *Shu'bui Iman*, *Sharahu Ala Alfyyathu bin Malik*, *Kasasul Anbiya'*, *seerathunnabi*, *Manqoos maulid and etc*. More than 30 brilliant works have been traced out as of his own creation which is still playing the central role in the guiding process of Muslims in Kerala and somewhere outside. However after around 60 years of eventful, epoch making life marked with the great process of paving the pathway of ideological background for the emancipatory politics and steering the gear of Islamic revivalist movement in the public sphere of Kerala¹⁸⁴ he passed away in the year 928 A.H, Sha'ban 16¹⁸⁵ It is believed that the honorific title "*Makhdum*" which means one who is served by others is given to him first by his natives as tribute to his outstandingly remarkable revolutionary diverse career.¹⁸⁶ It is a fact that the *Ulama* who succeeded him in Kerala had only to sow seeds in the soil that was ploughed by him.

Sahaik Abdu Azeez Makhdum ((914A.H-994 A.H.)

Abdul Azeez Makhdum is one among the sons of *Zainuddin Makhdum Kabeer*, was born close to the year 914 A.H as stated in *Makhdums* and Ponnani, and was the one to take up the burdensome responsibility laid down by his father. He acquired most of his vast treasure of knowledge from father and he had gone to and resided with the then *Qazi* of Calicut and great scholar *Qazi Ahmed* to learn more knowledge and after the demise of his father he conducted and supervised the famous *Dars* of Ponnani and during this period he rose to the undeniable leadership position of the

¹⁸³ Dr. V.Kunhali. op,cit,p.17

¹⁸⁴ Zainuddin Mandalamkunnu. *Mappila struggle and Ulama leadership(mal)*,p.26

¹⁸⁵ Nellikuthu,op.,cit,p.21

¹⁸⁶ Prof, Abdurahaman History of ponnani. Quoted from KT Husain Kerala Muslims....p.27

community¹⁸⁷ Apart from the distinguishable position of a great scholar he was a like his father a renowned anti colonial movement leader. He had cordial relation with the then ruler of the area Zamorin and through he tried to maintain great communal harmony so that to ensure peace and unified movement against Portuguese. He had personally involved in the war against Portuguese held in 1599 A.D to recapture the *Chaliyam* fort from their hands and in this war his role was of frontline warrior along with his colleagues Qazi *Abdul Azeez* of Calicut and great Sufi saint of the period *Shaykh Abdul Wafa Shamsuddedn Muhammed*¹⁸⁸ apart from this he was the author many influential literature, in different areas like *Thasavvuf*, philology, theology, Jurisprudence and etc, some of the major titles are as follows. *Maslakul Athkiya*’ it the interpretational study of his Fathers very famous work *Adkiya*’ and *Irshadul Alibba*’, *Babu ma’rifathul Kubra*’, *Mutrhfarrid*, *arkanu Ssalath*, *mirfathul Quloob* and etc which are still relevantly read and studied by Mappil Muslims in Kerala.¹⁸⁹ However with life and work till he passed away in the year 994 A.H. and even afterwards he has been a torchbearer in the diverse realms of Mappila life.

Zainuddin Makhdum Junior (938 AH-991 AH)

Zainuddin Makhdum Junior is a landmark name in the whole history of Kerala Muslims. He who is also known as *Zainuddin Makhdum* second was born at *Chombal*, near *Mahe*, Northen Malabar, in the ninth century AH. He was the grandson of *Zainuddin Makhdum Kabeer* and son of acclaimed scholar *Shaykh Muhammed al-Gazali*, the third son of *Zainuddin First*¹⁹⁰ *Zainuddin* was brought up in the religious atmosphere of the family and had his primary education at home at the hands of his scholarly parents. After primary education at home *Zainuddin* was enrolled At Ponnani *Jum’ah* Mosque’s *Dars* for further studies, and there he was taught mainly by his paternal Uncle *Abdul Azeez Makhdum* and from here *Zainuddin* memorised the whole Qur’an to become a hafiz. After the completion of education in Ponnani he set out to *Makkah* and spent there about ten years pursuing

¹⁸⁷ C.N.Ahmed Moulavi,op,cit,p.143

¹⁸⁸ Randathani,op,cit,p.110

¹⁸⁹ Makhdums and Ponnani,op,..cit,p.72

¹⁹⁰ TuhfathulMujahidin,op,..cit,..p.18

higher education where he was able to master all branches of Islamic learning directly from the well scholars of *Makkah*. His deep knowledge in hadith earned him the title of *Muhaddith*¹⁹¹ Apart from these he took care of acquiring spiritual elevation by maintaining close relation with the *Shaykhs* of different Sufi orders. *Zainuddin* learned *Thasawwuf* from *Abu al Hasan al Siddiq al Bakari* and it is said that *Shaykh al Bakri* honoured him in special way and made him an accepted *Shaykh* of *Qadiriyya Sufi* order. Back from *Makkah* he began to strive for the cause of education and revivalism within the Muslim community and started teaching career at Ponnani *Dars* and he had taught there for long period of 36 years¹⁹² besides being a great scholar and inspiring teacher, *Zainuddin* was also a powerful orator.

One of the remarkable sides of his personality is that he kept live contact with many living great scholars of the period and one most eminent among them was *Allama Ibn Hajar al Haithami*, one of his teachers at *Makkah*. It is said that *Haithami* honoured him by making a trip to Ponnani all the way from *Makkah* and staying with him for a certain period. Some of the other scholars with whom he sustained continuous contact were *Imam Muhammed Ramli* and *Imam Muhammed Kathib al Sarwini* and etc, *Zainuddin* used to write letters to them in verses in *Arabic*. Apart from the relation with scholars he had close contact with the then state leaders of different parts like *Bijapur Sulthan Ali Adil Shah*, the Zamorins of Calicut and etc and he had often been the Zamorine's envoy to various Muslim countries.¹⁹³

With the resources amassed from the years long journey, seeking knowledge and spiritual highness he set out to actively involved in the endeavour of diverse revivalist activism among Muslims of Kerala. He tried to implement this purpose through preparing great works and delivering public lectures and conducting inspiring teachings in classrooms. Numerous writings in various branches of knowledge have come to light from his hands as a result of his that avowed aspiration. *Thuhfat al Mujahideen* is a great historical work which has won world wide recognition is an ever memorable contribution of *Zainuddin Makhdum Junior*.

¹⁹¹ Ibid,p.18

¹⁹² Makhdums and Ponnani,op,...,cit,p.76

¹⁹³ Ibid,p.76

This is not only a brilliant historical work and but also a strong anti-colonial literature as well which has been instrumental for triggering great anti-colonial movement in whole Kerala history. As the author set forth in the introduction of the book that the reason which compelled him to write that historical work was mainly to stir the Muslims in to Jihad against the Portuguese who oppressed the Muslims and natives of Malabar, it was later proven that his ambitions by the work was realized by many ways since it become a landmark book. It was first published in its Arabic original from Lisbon. A copy of which is preserved in the library of *Al-Azhar* University, Cairo. Several sections of this book appeared in translations on various occasions, in Portuguese, Latin, French, German, Spanish, Persian, English, etc and it has been translated in to different India languages like Malayalam, Urdu, Gujrathi, Kannada, Tamil and some other. It used to be a text book for study in the Islamic Institutes of Malabar for several years.¹⁹⁴ And several studies both by the foreign and indigenous historians have been made about this great book and the far greater influence it exerted on its worldwide readers generally and on Mappila Muslims particularly. Another world renowned work of *Shaykh Zainuddin* is *Fath al-Mu'in fi Sharahi Qurrathil Ayn*. It is an authentic work on *Shafi* School of jurisprudence and still it adores the position of being the manual of *Shafi* School of jurisprudence in Kerala. It has attracted the attention and captured the acclamation of many world Islamic scholars and as result many learned men of subsequent generation had written lengthy volumes interpreting it and it is still a textbook in many foreign Islamic countries like Egypt, Malaysia Singapore , Indonesia Sri Lanka and etc apart from the many institutions in India¹⁹⁵ His some other traced out works are *Al Ajwibathul Ajeebah*, *Irshadul Ibad ila Sabeeli Rashad*, *Ahkamu ihkami Nnikah*, *Al Manhajul Walih*, and etc.¹⁹⁶ However with his extreme sense of commitment and avowedness to the cause of overall welfare and moral upbringing of the people in his period in general and his community in particular which flowed in the form of matchless books and treatises and public demonstrations, he has been a very influential figure in both his lifetime and afterwards. There are different opinions about the date of his death. The famous Egyptian historian and scholar *Shaykh*

¹⁹⁴ TuhfathulMujahidin,op,..cit,..p.22

¹⁹⁵ Nellikuth,op,..,cit,..p.28

¹⁹⁶ Makhdums and Ponnani,op,cit,p.80

Muhammed Abdul Mun'im al Numayiri documents in his *Thareeq al Islam Fil Hind* that *Zainuddin* died in 991 AH. *George Zaidan* history of Arabic language and literature, states that his death was in the year 978 AH. But in *Makhdums* and Ponnani the author reach in to the conclusive assumption that the death of *Zainuddin* might have happened in 1028 AH, because it is believed that the completion of the writing of *Tuhafatul mujahideen* occurred only in 1027 AH.¹⁹⁷ The number of great person who exerted massive influence in the life Mappila Muslims produced by this family never ceases here but goes further ahead in number. Besides, the famous families of *Musliyarakath* and *Oodakkal* which too have contributed many great persons to the leadership strata of *Mappilas* in different periods are also inseparably connected by many means to this family. But those three greats were incomparable in their service and presence and can be taken as a true specimen of Mappila spiritual leadership in their life time and after, now the discussion is moving to other family members.

Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammed Alauddeen Al Himmasi (AH 930 - 980)

Among the travellers who came to Calicut in 16th century AD. For trade purposes from the western coast of African continent there had a pious Sufi Saint called *Ashaykh Alauddeen Al Himmasi*. Calicut city attracted him much and he decided to settle down there and thus he married from there and *Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammed* is the first son born in this pious marital life of those Sufi couples, who later rose to the spiritual leadership of Muslims of Calicut. The birth of *Shaykh* was in the year 930 AH, which was a quite turbulent time in the history of Kerala thanks to the increased insecurity and growing unrest created by the atrocious and greedy presence of Portuguese colonisers. This environment of uncertainty had its mega impact on the formation of the personality of *Shamsudin Himmasi* until he transformed in to the one of the great leaders of the Mappila community in its most crucial time.

¹⁹⁷ *ibid*,p.80

From the very childhood *Himmasi* had shown a distinct nature living being uninterested in worthless pastimes and childish plays and totally concentrating on knowledge seeking and meditations which revealed the growing thirst filled in his mind to get spiritual elevation and the *Rida' of Allah*¹⁹⁸ which culminated in a pilgrimage of his in his early age of 20 in 950 AH. to *Achi*, a place near the Sumatra in the Indonesian archipelago where he formed and strengthened his solid Sufi basis through the relation he created with great known Sufis of the place and within a short period he was risen to the position of *Qadiriyya* and *Chisti* orders¹⁹⁹ Then in search of more²⁰⁰ spiritual perfection and mental purity he set out journey to visit the *Rauda* of Prophet and tombs of many greats through different courtiers. And on completion of all this he decided to return to Calicut and as result from Yemen boarding in ship travelling towards Calicut he reached in Calicut again to embark up on a revolutionary chapter in the whole history of 16th century Kerala.

Ahmedkoya Shaliyathi a famous Islamic scholar of 20th century Kerala has written a Moulid in Arabic about *Himmasi* titled “*Kavakibul Majdi wal Malakuti fi Manakibi Shaykh Muhammed Alauddin Al Himmasi Al Kalikuthi*, in which he states that though he was far away from all types of pastimes since his early childhood but he given special attention to get practiced and well trained in many kind of physical exercises and martial art which are necessary for a warrior. However as it was visible from his early life he himself formed in to a great ant colonial movement leader and engaged in activities that supply lavishly both energy and motivation for the warriors coupled with Sufi ways of moral revivalism. First after reaching home though he had taken Calicut as the centre of his revivalist and reformist activities, soon he changed his setting to Ponnani accepting the invitation of his contemporary and famous *makhdum* family scholar of the period, *Shaykh Abdul Azeez Makhdum*. During his stay in ponnani there are evidences to prove that Ponnani people succeeded to undertake some successful marches against Portuguese under his physical and spiritual leadership.²⁰¹ In *Tuhfat ul Mujahideen* there are indications about the attacks of this period. It well known that in the historic battle held in 1599

¹⁹⁸ The history of Muslims of Calicut,op,..cit,..p.221

¹⁹⁹ Ibid,p.222

²⁰⁰ Sainuddin mandalkunnu,op,cit,..p.56

²⁰¹ Mandalamkunnu,op,....cit,p.57

AD, against Portuguese which culminated in the capturing of *Chaliyam* fort from Portuguese hands, there had the direct presence of *Shaykh Himmasi* along with *Qazi* of Calicut and *Qazi* of ponnani as the frontline warriors which has been believably the great morale booster to the warriors to make substantial head ways in the battle field. The Poem *Fathul Mubeen* composed by *Qazi Muhammed Kalikuti* is about the great success in this battle. Apart from this it is truly notable that some certain members among *Kunhalis* the world known naval commandants of Zamorin in Kerala and warriors under them were the *Mureeds* of *Himmasi* and had always kept with him live contact and lived under his spiritual surveillance there²⁰² it can be assumed this contact must have been a undeniable element in the persistency and matchless courageousness shown by *kunhalis* in sultry battlefield against Portuguese. Along with the fact that the then ruler of Calicut Zamorin had sought his advice and direction in the formation of strategy against Portuguese and requested prayful support adds to the relevance of his presence as a great anti colonial along with repute he had as a famous Sufi saint of 16th century Kerala. None of the available book about his life speaks about any work written by him, however it can be assumed that he must have possibly written something as it was the habit of that period's spiritual leadership but might have lost in the passage of time as in the case many books written by the early scholars of Kerala. Even today the memory about his chivalrous career is great message live among the Mappila Muslims and it is preserved by a famous *Nercha* on his name. It is *Appavanibha Nercha* conducted at *Shaykh's* mosque in Calicut every year in Rajab month of lunar calendar²⁰³ which is attended by Sunni Muslims of Kerala in large numbers with great devotion and piety. It proves that though he died in 18th Rajab of the year 980 AH. Such spiritual figures cannot elude away from the minds and leadership position of devotionally bent Mappila Muslims

Mampuram Sayyid Alavi Mouladdaveela (1166 AH-1260AH)

Mampuram Sayyids were the great revolutionary figures who appeared in the soil of Kerala with their most talented and charismatic leadership, migrating from *Tarim* of

²⁰² Parappil Muhammed Koya,..op.cit.,p.222

²⁰³ Sufism in Kerala,op,cit,p116

Hadramauth in *Yemen*, in its one of most decisive periods marked by the menacingly troublesome presence of British colonialism which was tightening its hold in all walks of native's life along with the land lords who were thriving under British protection, after the short tenure of *Mysore Sultanate* in *Malabar*. *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi* was the most important one in this reputed Family who has been an impressive mobilising force in the religious and political realms of Mappila Muslims of in 17th and 18th century and even afterwards.

“*Mapuram Tangal*”, in which title he was and is famous among *Mappilas*, was the niece of *Shaykh Jifri* and *Shykh Hasan jifri* who were first among this family to reach in Kerala respectively. *Shaykh Jifri* and *Hasan Jifri* also were prominent personalities who represented the leadership of Mappila Muslims of Kerala for many years and through their burdensome task of community upbringing they earned the respect and adoration of community and high influential position even in the *Durbar* of native ruler, *Zamorin*²⁰⁴. During the arrival of *Shaykh Jifri* to Calicut, there had a spiritually enlightened person called *Sayyid Muhammed Hamid* who had been the time a shelter in all means for the community, with whom *Jifri* made contact and become his disciple in his spiritual path. This spiritual rapport proved to be highly beneficial for the community in particular and thus both, hand in hand, assumed the leadership of community in their entire walks.²⁰⁵ *Shaykh Hasan Jifri* is the maternal uncle of *Mapuram Tangal* who reached in Kerala in 1168 AH, as a response to the invitation of *Shaykh Jifri*²⁰⁶ and by the sheer dint of his personal eminence and spiritual enlightenment and amicable character took the wand of community leadership and its advantages were largely enjoyed by *Mappilas* all over Malabar. It is to note that his activism was spreading all over Malabar based on *Mampuram* which was a small village in *Tirurangadi Mahallu*²⁰⁷ Following the Footsteps of his maternal uncles in the very childhood while was only 17 years old, *Sayyid Alavi* also travelled towards Malabar and reached there in the year 1183 AH. Though for some while he stayed in Calicut along with *Shaykh Jifri* but he had to come to *Mampuram* to take up the responsibility that was undertaken by *Hasan Jifri* for last many years

²⁰⁴ KK Muhammed Abdul Kareem, *Mampuram tangal*,p.19

²⁰⁵ Moyin Hudawi, Mahmood, *Mampuram tangal; life, spirituality and struggle*,p.52

²⁰⁶ Parappil Muhammed Koya, *op, cit*,p.94

²⁰⁷ Kerala Muslim Directory, Edi.by C.k.Kareem, Vol,3,p.240

since he had died years back. Since *Sayyid Alavi* settled there permanently he was respectfully given the title *Mampuram Tangal* and had again known in the name “*Tarammal Tangal*” also. *Mouladdaveela* is the name of the *Sayyid* family in which *Sayyid Alavi* included and hence it is widely added with his name. His birth was in the year 1166 AH and it was from *Tarim* their mother land and their family were known in the Family title of *Ba'Alavi Sadath* and it is believed that the origin of this family dates back to *Alavi Bin Ubaidilla* the forefather of this family lived in 4th century AH in a Small village of *Hadramauth*.

And in accordance with the will of late *Hasan Jifri Sayyid Alavi* married his daughter *Fatima* just after his landing there and definitely it was the beginning of a revolutionary chapter in the whole history of Mappila Muslims.

Sayyid Alavi had followed *Ba Alavi* Sufi order, this is one of the many branches of *Qadiree* esoteric order and since it was spread by the *Ba Alavi* *Sayyid* family who were the disciples of *Shaykh Jeelani* it can be conclusively stated that *Sayyid Alavi Tangal* was *Qadiree* and *Ba Alavi* simultaneously²⁰⁸ Although he had always concentrated his life in worship and meditation of Allah due to ensure his spiritual highness and personal purity he never forgot his heavy responsibility to engage in activities that will help a overall revival and moral and social rejuvenation in his community in particular, and the society in general. He was widely agreed upon as being the *Qutub*²⁰⁹ of the period he lived and therefore he become famous in the name *Qutub Zaman* which is the top most status in the stratification of *Awliya*. The revivalist and reformist method adopted by *Sayyid Alavi* to implement among Mappila Muslims was purely that of great known Sufi leaders which had definitely great effect on Kerala Mappila public sphere. Apart from the deep knowledge in *Thasawwuf*, like many other great scholars of Kerala, *Sayyid Alavi* had lofty unerring scholarship in Islamic jurisprudence. *Umar Qadi* , *Baithan Muhammed Musliyar*. *Avukkoya musliyar Chalilakath Qussayy haji*, *Puttuparambil Kunhali* , *Sayyid Abdu Rahman Ahdal*, *Sayyid Abdul Qadir Ahdal*, *Sayyid Aliyyul Qadiree*, *Sayyid Husain Jifree*. *Qadi Zainuddin Maqdoomi*, *Qadi Muhyuddin Bin Abdu*

²⁰⁸ Sufi Path(mal), Dr, Husain Randathani,p.140

²⁰⁹ Moyin Hudawi,op,cit,..p.151-164

Ssalam, and many others who had exerted great influence in the different walks of Mappila life were close friends and disciples of *Mampuram Tangal*²¹⁰

It is quite unforgettable the leadership role played by *Mampuram Tangal* in the anti-colonial struggle of Mappila Muslims in 19th century and afterwards since necessarily he was the shelter and guide in all means and Mappila historians have extensively spoke about this aspect in their studies. *Hadrami Sayyids* were generally anti-British. T.E. Sergent has talked about this factor in his short work “*Sayyids of Hadramauth*”²¹¹ This anti feeling must have intensified in the mind of *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi* when he become the constant witness of ruthless British atrocities in the bed of Malabar and as the leader of community in their whole walks he must have necessarily come forward to give guidelines while confronting with British and their loyal land lords. The institution of blessing was most functional while *Sayyid Alavi* was at the helm of the community leadership owing to the high seat he had enjoyed amidst the community due to the personal and spiritual eminence he owned. It is believed that in almost all Mappila out breaks erupted against British and their loyal land lords during the time of *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi* there had his indirect participation through the means of ideological back up and inspirational blessings and it is believed that in *Cherur* riot took place in the year 1843 A.D, *Tangal* had participated directly. *K.K.M Abdul Kareem* the biographer of *Mampuram Tangal* and famous Mappila Historian, that the sound oral tradition is there to prove this event of *Sayyid Alavi*'s direct participation but it without giving sight to enemy side²¹² *A.P. Ibrahim Kunhu* narrates this event as “it is believed that *Alavi Tangal* fought incognito in the *Cherur* fight²¹³ *Assayf ul-Battar*, a treatise written to incite people to fight against British is believed to be the work of *Sayyid Alavi* though there have some opinions that states that this work is not of *Sayyid Alavi* but his son *Sayyid fazl*. However the first occasion in which the British suspected *Sayyid Alavi* of his complicity in anti-British agitation was the revolt led by *Manjeri Attan Kurikkal*'s son. The British officials thought of arresting the *Tangal* but backed off

²¹⁰ ibid

²¹¹ KK Muhammed Abdul Sattar, *Sayyid Fazl Life and struggle*, in *Mampuram Fazl Tangal* edi, KK N Kurup and PK Pocker, p.43

²¹² KKM Abdul Kareem, *Mampuram Tangal*, p.67

²¹³ A.P. Ibrahim Kunhu, op, cit, p.218

for fear of provoking a religious riot²¹⁴ Dale talking about the role played by *Mampuram Tangal* states “The *Mampuram Tangals* actively preached the doctrines in which assaults on the newly re-established social and economic order were justified in religious terms.

What distinguished these attacks is that they were performed in the highly stylized ritual of suicidal jihad, act at once self destructive but, in the long run, effective means of defending the interests of the rural Mappila Population²¹⁵ It is another mention worthy factor while analysing the life and message of *Mampuram Tangal* that under his leadership communal harmony and religious tolerance was thriving beyond all bounds for he had given special care to grow the fraternity among different communities and it mainly used to ensure unity of natives against British and their loyal land lord under whom they were suffering severe troughs²¹⁶ *Mampuram Tangal* was believed by *Mappilas* as a Sufi saint having the divine grace of *Karamat*, and hence they believed that dead or living they can help community members in the times of crises. Therefore even after death *Mampuram Tangal* is live presence among mainstream Mappila Sunni Muslims and they at times of need or special undertakings, visit the shrine him and family which is devotionally erected in the famous *Mampuram Maqam* and offer *Nercha* and make prayers to God seeing those divine presence as the intercessors.

However, from the above mentioned facts it has been clear that the role played by *Mampuram tangal* was of far reaching implication in the social political and religious realms of Mappila Muslims. And after around 90 years of revolutionary activism focussing on the overall upliftment the community, *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi*, passed away in the night of 7th Muharram, 1260 A.H. (1843 A.D.) and was buried by the side of *Sayyid of Sayyid Hasan Jifri Tangals* tomb at *Mampuram*²¹⁷ and this the one of the most famous and greatest Muslim pilgrim centres of South India.

²¹⁴ A.P.Ibrahim Kunhu,op,cit,p.218

²¹⁵ S.F.Dale,op,cit,p.118

²¹⁶ KKM.Abdul Kareem,op,cit,p.64

²¹⁷ Ibid,p.71

Sayyid Fazl(1240 AH-1316AH)

Sayyid Fazl is another predominant figure appeared in the 19th century Malabar being a revolutionary presence in one of the most turbulent time in its history He is the great son of the *Sayyid Alavi* born in the year 1824 AD and lived lifting the lofty tradition of piety purity and sacrifice that was cherished by his Father to its possible heights in essence. His primary education was from the famous scholars and Sufis of the land like *Chalilakath Ibrahim Haji*, *Avukkoya Musliyar* and etc and after the demise of his Father and leader of Mappila Muslims when he was 20 years old, he set out journey in search of more knowledge and spiritual elevation and after five years of deep study and research staying in Arabia he returned to Malabar to take up the laborious task of Community leadership²¹⁸ Henceforth it was a life of great importance in the whole history of Kerala was shown by *Sayyid Fazl* since Malabar Muslim had seen in him a capable leader after the passing of *Sayyid Alavi* due to his wide and deep knowledge and personal charisma emanated out of spiritual distinction and sacred descent which reaches him to the clan of Prophet.

It is evident even from the British Documents that the avowed activism of *Sayyid Fazl* like his father had centred around the mission that will lead the community along the line of Islamic *Sharee'th* and in accordance with teachings Prophet (S) Apart from the abiding attempt to breed high religious awareness among his community he had stove every nerve to inculcate them about the relevance of happenings occurs around them and what reactionary methods must be adopted by them from time to time²¹⁹ On his return to Malabar after the years of intense learning outside he become well conscious of the changed political situation in the country. He found British power firmly established in Malabar, but that didn't prevent him from opposing the Hindu *Janmis* and the British courts and officials who supported the Hindu *janmis* in evicting Mappila tenants. He is said to have declared that "it was lawful for a Mappila to murder a Hindu *Janmi* who, evicted a Muslim tenant" He wrote a great work in Arabic entitled *Uddattul Umara wal Hukkam Li Ihanathi*

²¹⁸ KK Muhammed Abdul Sattar, *Sayyid Fazl Life and struggle*,in Mampuram Fazl Tangal edi, KK N Kurup and PK Pocker,p.29

²¹⁹ *Ibid*,p.29

Kafarathi wa Abadathil Asnam. The content of which was meant to call up on the leaders and commoners to fight against the English²²⁰ It is said that it was printed in Arabia and secretly distributed in the countryside. But when the news reached in the ears of British government, then collector of Malabar, Conolly proscribed it and through which tried to stop spreading its message among *Mappilas*. Naturally the vehement stance *Sayyid Fazl* taken up against the evil colonialist agenda of British and their loyal *Janmis* stirred the minds of British and as a result they thought many ways to finish off the opposition rising on his part at any cost. And raising some anti-*janmi* riots happened in his period British hatched plot to evacuate him from Malabar.

British had recognized that if *Sayyid Fazl* was arrested it would cause unending rioting on the part of *Mappilas* and hence they tactfully compelled him to leave Malabar and live somewhere in Arabia. And *Tangal* in order to avoid further bloodshed and horrific turn out due to his presence chose to leave Malabar²²¹ because he was sure that if he didn't leave there the arrogant British army must come up to wage mass massacre amidst his followers. In the year 1852 A.D. along with his relatives he set out to Arabia via *Parappangadi*. It is a manifesting proof to the acceptance and recognition he had enjoyed amidst the natives that even after the strong measures on the part of government to hide from the public the news of his departure, there everywhere in the way from *Tirurangadi* to *Parappanagadi* were people in large numbers to bid farewell to him with wet eyes and hurt minds. First he had gone to *Masqat* and later he went Istanbul and in the year 1876 A.D. he appointed as the governor of Safar by Turkey Sultan of the time. There he unabatedly continued his vibrant Islamic activism aiming at the revivalism of the people there and due to some necessary reasons he resigned the post of governor and returned to Istanbul and after a very eventful life of many years he died there in the year 1901 A.D. leaving a great message to the total Muslim world. He has written many remarkable works other than *Uddathul Umara* about which I mentioned, some famous titles are, *Kaukabu Durar*, *Hulalul Ihsan li Tazyeenil Insan*, *Fususatul*

²²⁰ A.P.Ibrahim Kunhu,op,cit,p.220

²²¹ K.T.Husain,op,cit,p.84

Islam, Asasul Islam, Alaman Uvalil Kuffar and etc and among the above mentioned works *Asasul Islam* and *Alaman Uvalil Kuffar* is very prevalent works in Kerala²²²

Umar Qazi Veliankode (1117 AH-1273 AH)

He yet another impressive presence who is a must be remembered personality while the spiritual and anti-colonial movements of 19th century Kerala come under consideration. He like *Sayyid Alavi* and *Sayyid Fazl* one among the most influential religious figures of Malabar whose influence operated successfully in 19th century Kerala and it was widely believed that he was endowed divine powers. And he had like *Alavi sayyids* large following and was highly respected by Muslims and Hindus alike. And it was also believed that he would perform miracles and cure disease. He used to arbitrate in quarrels between people who did not therefore have to go British courts.²²³

He was born in 1117 AH/1765 AD in famous *Kakkathara* family of *Veliankode* a village near Ponnani as the son of *Ali Musliyar*(1203 AH) and *Aamina* couples. His first Guru was his father himself and later he enrolled in Reputed *Dars* of *Tanure* for higher studies under the *Ahmed Koya Musliyar of Tunnam Veedu*. This was the turf where he was speedily transforming in to a great genius having strong aptitude in Arabic poetry and Islamic lore.²²⁴ And he has educated at Ponnani and become *Qazi* of *Veliankode*. In Ponnani he was the disciple of famous scholar of the time *Mammikutti Qazi* (1217AH) under whose discipleship he become well versed within a very short span of time in different branches of Islamic lore. *Mammikutti Qazi* had massively influenced him and along with religious education he attained Sufi lore and spiritual fostering from *Mammikuti Qazi* first. And it is well known fact that *Umar Qazi* had inseparable relation with *Mampuram Sayyid Alavi* and it is believed that *Tangal* highly spiritual personality and strong anti-colonial stance is what attracted *Umar Qazi* to the close intimacy with *Sayyid Alavi*²²⁵ It is said that many

²²² KKM Abdul Kareem,op,cit,p.75

²²³ Prof, KM.Bahauddin,op,cit,p.111

²²⁴ Nellikuth Muhammed Ali Musliyar, op,cit. p.38

²²⁵ Umar Qazi,op,cit,p.57

times in a year he had come to *Mampuram* from *Veliankode* and stayed with *Tangal* for many days.

In Kerala he is widely known for three great layers of his astounding attainment that can be read as (one) as a great extempore Arabic poet who has stunned even genius Arabic literary persons worldwide²²⁶ His poems in prophetic panegyrics is well known and greatly influential in adding to the love of the prophet in the minds of its readers. He has numerous works in both poetry and prose which are written either in *Arabic* or *Arabic Malayalam* and all have occupied a leading position among the Mappila literature of Kerala. Each of his works either in prose or poetry is enough to prove the highest faculty and matchless genius he had in *Arabic* language and literature apart from its wider implication that lead community to climb the spiritual heights.

The second aspect of his influential personality was that of great Mappila anti-colonial leader. His position is in the frontline of the leaders who sacrificed a lot and struggled hard against British Raj. He was agitated about the problems of Muslims and about the actions of British. He vehemently criticised the annoying British policies and inculcated his followers about the necessity of unity to stand and march strongly against the onslaught of British Empire. He was the first freedom fighter in India to introduce the non-payment of taxes movement as a mighty medium of struggle²²⁷ and it years before Gandhi emerged with his non cooperative and non payment movements but sadly to say it never highlighted in the history of Indian freedom struggle and never appearing in the official history of Indian freedom movements. For the cause of freedom of nation from the alien hands he had to court arrest and live behind bars for many days but he continued in his path and ideals without fluctuations strongly inspiring his followers not only from Muslims but also from other native communities through his brilliant writings and charismatic personality.

²²⁶ Nellikuthu,op,cit,p.37

²²⁷ Zainuddin Mandalankunnu,op,cit,p75

Another element that added to his extreme influence in his community was undoubtedly the spiritual highness he possessed had necessarily an inspirational implication in motivating him and his followers to set out with maximum possible potentials against whole powers of evil and injustice like the colonial power of British.²²⁸

At length *Umar Qazi* who was multi-layered personality being scholar, preacher, warrior and above all genius poet passed away in the year 1273 AH/1844 AD after, 95 years living leaving a strong and lofty message to Keralaites on how they can unite and work successfully against the powers of evil and injustice in all walks of their living and survival.

Ali Musliyar (1270 AH-1340 AH)

Without mentioning the name of *Ali Musliyar* one cannot complete the chapter of strong anti- British movement operated in Kerala and culminated ultimately in its realization of the attainment of freedom in the year 1947 because to that extend one can read the influence of leadership given by the great Scholar and Sufi turned freedom fighter, *Ali Musliyar*. He was born in *Nellikuthu* a locality situated in *Manjeri* Municipality of Old Malabar district as the son of *Ottakakathu Moideen Sahib* and *Aamina* who was the daughter of *Mammu Musliyar* of *Maqdam* family in the year 1270 AH/1853 AD²²⁹ From the very childhood he had exhibited a special kind of attractive personality showing high amount of brilliance and great purity of behavioural patterns. And it is remarkable that the birth of Musliyar was in the same year marked with the deportation of *Mampuram Sayyid fazl* who for years was the great initiator of energetic and enthusiastic anti-British movement in 19th century. In the middle of turbulent political realities that moved the Kerala soil, *Ali Musliyar* engaged in acquiring Islamic lore and theological teachings from pious and adept sources like *Kunnummal Kunhi kammumu mulla* and his own maternal uncle *Nooruddin Musliyar*²³⁰ And for further higher studies he travelled to then Little Mecca of Kerala and the famous centre Islamic learning, *Ponnani Juma' th Mosque*

²²⁸ Alavi Kutty Faizy, Umar Qazi, SYS Books,p.46

²²⁹ Zainuddin mandalanKunu,op,cit,p.79

²³⁰ Ibid,p.80

and there under the educational and religious grooming of the great scholar who was known in the title of *Zainuddin Maqдум third* or *Zainuddin Makhdum* last, rose to the heights of knowledge. In Ponnani he had spent about 10 years and again in order to slake his increasing thirst for knowledge he set out to Mecca to perform Hajj and after the performance he joined there in *Harem Sharif* for further studies and there he got golden opportunity to be the disciple of the then great and world renowned scholars like *Sayyid Ahmed Zaini Dahlaan*, *Shaykh Muhammed Hizbullahi Bin Sulaimanul Makhi*, *Sayyid Husain bin Al habshi* and etc. From whom he acquired vast stock of *Sharee'th* lore and dived deep in to the sea of metaphysical knowledge.²³¹ By virtue of the seven years of staying in Mecca he had tuned in to typical scholar in the realms of Islamic jurisprudence and *Thasawwuf*. He become *Khaleefa of Qadiree* Sufi esoteric order through his relation with great Sufi scholar and saint *Sayyid Husainul habshi*²³²

With the strong weapon of all those power amassed through the knowledge and spirituality was the coming back of *Ali Musliyar* to the soil of Kerala to take up the leadership of community in a time which was evermore tumultuous and turbulent due to the excessive intervention of British colonial power in their whole walks and spheres. At the initial period after the return to the motherland he showed interest to spend time in educational activities and as a result he conducted *Dars* in *Lakshadweep* for around 9 years and again he came back to Malabar. The well known *Manjeri* uprising was just after the second return of *Ali Musliyar* to Malabar his native land in which some of his close relatives were martyred and his relative and great Mappila leader of the period *Varian Kunnath Kunh Ahmed Hajji* was exiled to *Andaman*. This event unravels before us the fact that *Ali Musliyar* was from a family of strong anti-colonial heritage. However all those events never tempted him to come up with a totally charged emotional outburst against British, but to adopt plausible strategy through wise means and methods. As *Zainuddin* noted in his study it can be safely assumed that he must not have adopted a policy to inspire his community to set out for an armed struggle because he was immensely

²³¹ Ibid,p.80

²³² Ibid,p.80

active to join hand with Congress which was instrumental then in the formation of national stream agitation against British.²³³

He has worked as a *Mudarris*²³⁴ in *Tirurangadi* which was one place among the important centres of Mappila Muslims. It was in the year 1907 AD. From the period of service in *Tirurangadi* he was soon lifted to the position of an undisputed community leader through his multilayered personality which showed great commanding power emanating out of his acute sense of intellect and vast knowledge in different branches of knowledge and due to unnumbered intrinsic attainment and above all his great spiritual elevation formed out his direct contact with some Sufi saints. All these elements provided in him a great leadership quality with which he walked in front of the community in one of its most decisive period.

The real importance of *Ali Musliyar* As an anti-colonial ideologue and leading activist is the memorable role he played in Mappila rebellion of 1921 AD, a highly remarkable chapter in the history of Kerala. Miller sheds light to side saying that “the rebellion began at *Tiruranradi* where *Mappilas* under the leadership of *Ali Musliyar* were early and enthusiastic participants in the *Khilafat* Movement. *Ali Musliyar* is the typical of the Mappila leadership in the rebellion. Descended of the *Makhdums* of Ponnani he was a member of a family with the long record of struggle against British. *Ali Musliyaar* became a leader in the developing *Khilafat* Movement, his presence bringing it great impetus. He enrolled uniformed and armed volunteers, who processioned to Mosque on Friday and his sermons were aggressively anti-British in tone. He developed large following in different parts of Malabar”²³⁵ KN Panikkar locating his tremendous influence in the great Mappila rebellion states, “*Ali Musliyar* though not most active, was in a way central figure of the revolt. His familial background was so strong to transform him in to a great warrior since he had a strong anti colonial tradition where in the battlefield for the cause of freedom he had lost his brother and several close relatives and in the revolt

²³³ Ibid 82

²³⁴ Mudarris is an Arabic word means teacher which is widely used in the religious educational context of *Mappila* Muslims to denote a teacher who teaches in a Mosque Dars. Even today this term is prevalent among *Mappila* Muslims since Mosque Dars system has not totally gone out from their educational institutions.

²³⁵ Miller,op,cit,p.136

of 1896 AD also he had lost quite few more relatives and disciples”. And Panicker adds implying in to the influence he exerted in the society “As the chief *Musliyaar* of *Tirurangadi* mosque since 1907 AD, He was highly venerated for the knowledge of theology, his religious fervour and concern for the welfare of his coreligionists. Like his predecessors, he was also concerned with the regeneration of *Mappilas* and helped to organize a chain of *Madrasas* in *Eranad and Walluvanad*. After the departure of *Sayyid Fazl* no other religious leader had commanded so much respect among the *Mappilas*.”²³⁶ And it is mention worthy here that Panicker also has talked voluminously about the religious classes and sermons at mosque which had great popular appeal and were used to spread *Khilafat* message and to instil anti-British attitude among the congregation.

At length, the true reading of the life and mission of *Ali Musliyaar* also will reveal the common character of Mappila spiritual leadership which operated the multiple activities of enlivening the community along the line of Islamic teachings and preparing them by the sheer dint of the spiritual purity to cope with whole emerging situations and above all try to realize all these missions without causing even a slight damage to the existing communal harmony but helping to boost it only. However after putting end to a revolutionary chapter *Ali Musliyaar* succumbed to death in the year 1922 AD in *Koyambathure* central jail in the morning of the day he was sentenced to be hanged by British court for the leaderly role he played in great Mappila rebellion. According to sound sources though this usual death was proved but British recorded to mask their failure that they had hanged *Ali Musliyaar* but to note it untrue and fabricated story because *Koyambathure Qazi* of the time who buried the body of *Ali Musliyaar* with proofs has negated and refuted the British claim and substantiated it as a usual death²³⁷

It is never an exhaustive account of the all towering figures that constituted the spiritual leadership in the centuries long historic anti-colonial resistant movement led by Mappila Muslims. I have necessarily skipped even *Varin Kunnath Kunh Ahamed Haji* who was another major catalyst in the well known Malabar rebellion

²³⁶ KN.Panicker, Against lord and state,p.

²³⁷ Nellikuth,op,cit,p.

and *Aaminummantakath ParreKutty Haji* of later period who is the famous author of the reputed anti-colonial Arabic-Malayalam work "*Muhimmatul Mu'mineen*" due to the fear of the protraction of the chapter. But it is my consolation that the briefing of the above mentioned personalities and the diverse mission undertaken and succeeded by them will definitely help comprehend the behaviour and the coral content of the Mappila struggle and its unique feature.

In short, it has been evident that the life of Mappila Muslim community and entire poises from the very beginning of their history, are inextricably connected with the live involvement of their spiritual leadership. And the intensity of religious devotion can be taken as the chief characteristic of this individual community and hence they have showed alacrity always to resort to elements that help breed this character and condition in their times of happiness and hardships. It is also obvious that the protracted anti-colonial movement led by *Mappilas* were also clearly underlying the great importance and the extent of the spiritual leadership and religious devotion in the whole realms of Mappila life. Even today this condition prevails amidst the mainstream Sunni Muslims of Kerala without substantial changes, though a slight reduction is visible on the whole after the emergence of various so-called reformist organizations which strive to its possible best, to detach community from every affiliation of such devotional elements through their multiple measures.

Chapter III

**QAZI MUHAMMAD AL-KALIKUTI: LIFE
AND MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS**

Qazi Muhammad Al-Kalikuti

Life and Major Contributions

In the foregone chapter, we found that who were the spiritual leaders of *Mappila Muslims* and what their distinctive characteristic features were and what was the modus operandi taken up and made functional by them to exert substantial influence in the life structure of *Mappila Muslims*. In the previous chapter we also found that how dangerously and destructively colonialism intruded in to the solid frame of Kerala people's living and how it specially targeted Mappila Muslim community and how, the timely and creatively worked out, variegated measures and action plans of spiritual leadership among *Mappila Muslims* showed them the way to brave energetically and productively the formidable threat raised by colonial invaders of different periods. In the present chapter my attempt is to trace the place of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* in the array of spiritual leadership among *Mappila Muslims* by exploring various elements and different stages of his life and his diverse career and contributions. In order to locate his right space in the sphere of Mappila leadership and correctly identify the relevance of his whole range of activism, at first the history of his familial stream is examined in brief and in turn the chapter moves to his life and its various poises directly.

Qazi family and Calicut

In the light of known evidences it can be stated that the history of *Qadis* in Kerala begins with the history of the advent of Islam in to the land. When *Malik bin Dinar* and his team reached in Kerala and found that the atmosphere of the land is fertile enough to take up with the procedures of propagation activities, the first mission undertaken by them was to construct Mosques in many important areas of Kerala. It is mention worthy here that in each of these Mosques that erected by him and his companions with the local help and support, he was much eager and aware to appoint *Qadis* having high distinction of vast scholarship and leadership quality. *Suharavardi* in his *Rihalathul Mulook*, has referred to 18 mosques erected under the supervision of *Malik bin Dinar* in the different regions of then Kerala and he has

related the names of *Qadis* appointed by him in each of this 18 Mosques.¹The names of these *Qadis* as given by *Suhravardi* were: *Ja'far bin Sulaiman, Abdullahi bin Dinar, Ja'far bin Malik, Habib bin Malik, Hasan bin Malik, Abdullahi bin Malik, Jabir bin Malik, Hamid bin Malik, Aliyyu bin Jabir Jubair bin Malik, Hammad, Mus'ab, Abdul Majeed bin Malik, Aasim, Buraidath, Zubair, Ubaidath, Qasim, and they were Qazis* respectively in *Chaliyam, Kollam, Chombal, Talasseri, Darmadam, Eyimala, Kasarkode, Mangalapuram, Tanur, Chavakkad, Kochi, Aleppy, Ponnani, Quilon, Trivandrum, Poovarpattnam, Thengapattnam, KavilPattnam* and its adjacent places.² *Ibnu Batuta* a Moroccan Muslim traveller who reached in Kerala in 14th century and visited several parts of the land also has mentioned about *Qadis* of places he visited and the important role played by them and the lofty seat they won in the minds of the community and the status they enjoyed amidst the different communities. These sound documents bear clear indication to the genesis and growth of the stream of *Qadis* in early history of Kerala and the importance occupied by them.

In fact the meaning or the definition understood by the term *Qazi* can be read as follows: “*Qadi* (also known as *Qazi* or *Kazi* or *Kadi* or *Qadi*) (Arabic: قاضي) is a judge ruling in accordance with the *Islamic Sharia*’, religious law. Because Islam makes no distinction between religious and secular domains, *Qadis* traditionally have jurisdiction over all legal matters involving Muslims.. While the *muftis* and *fuqaha* played the role in elucidation of the principles of jurisprudence and the laws, the *Qazi* remained the key person to ensure the establishment of justice on the basis of these very laws and rules. Thus, the *Qadi* was chosen from amongst those who had mastered the sciences of jurisprudence and law”.³ Another definition can be read as “a Muslim judge who renders decisions according to the *Sharia*, the canon law of Islam. The *Qadi* hears only religious cases such as those involving inheritance, pious bequests (*waqf*), marriage, and divorce, though theoretically his jurisdiction extends to both civil and criminal matters. Originally, the *Qadi*’s work was restricted to non-administrative tasks—arbitrating disputes and rendering judgments in matters

¹ Suhravardi, Rihlathul Mulook quoted from The great Mappila literary tradition (mal), p.124

² Ibid,p.124

³ Http.www.wikipedia.com

brought before him”⁴ Though in the light of the definition given above and as it was existent in Islamic states, the area of the work and functions of *Qazis* are mainly confined to *Shariah* based judicial law enforcement independently under the rule of an Islamic Caliph and very rarely some non judicial activities, but the meaning of the term cannot be taken in the same sense in Malabar area as it was so in many non-Islamic countries, since the functions and areas of mission undertaken by them were somewhat different including the above defined essential functions and hence it can be safely assumed that they were over all leaders and the guides of the community in their both religious and worldly affairs. The reason behind this was nothing else but here no Islamic ruler was available for the decentralization of the different functions which are necessary to be looked in to as far as the routine life of Muslims is concerned, wherever they are. Therefore more than being the patron and initiator of judicial system as it was the case in the lands where Islamic *Shariah* was the constitution especially as realized during the period of Prophet’s pious Caliphs in Arabia, the meaning and content or the jurisdiction of *Qazis* was a little more inclusive in the history of Kerala Muslims since they had no Muslim ruler creatively to look in to their administrative matters. So it can be viewed in the light of ample evidences that *Qazis* who appointed by *Malik bin Dinar* and their successors were overall leaders and the guides of the community in their both religious and worldly affairs.

Even presently *Qazi* system is prevalent among the *Mappila Muslims* but due to the emergence of different organization and associations and its sub forums representing various sections and groups of the community all over Kerala, though the importance of *Qazis* has reduced substantially, their role is still much sought after and depended in the cases of religious rites and rituals and celebrations and etc. It is remarkable that very recently in 2007 in Kerala an independent platform of *Qazis* named “*Jam’eyyatul Qudathi wal Mahallathi, Kerala*” representing different organizations of Kerala Sunni Muslims, was founded to ensure airing of the unified response and reaction of Muslims irrespective of dissensions and differences in cases which relate with Islamic *Shariah* in general so that to fight mainly

⁴ www.Britanica.com

government bodies wherever and whenever necessary while attempts take place on the part of ruling section to violate Muslim communities' basic rights in the form of different law enforcements which may be against religious principles in theory and practice. The first chairman of this collective platform of *Qazis* in Kerala was *Sayyid Umar Ali Shihab*, a late member in the most revered and respected *Sayyid* family in contemporary Kerala, that is *Pankkad* family, who passed away in 2008 and the seat still lies vacant due to the delay in the reorganization.⁵ However the case of *Qazis* of earlier time was too much different as stated above, and amidst those *Qazis*, who represented different regions of Kerala from very earlier period the place of *Qazis* of Calicut is far more significant since they have a very distinct history marked by the unbroken continuity of the familial stream and for having their jurisdiction of comprehensive community leadership in a very strategic nerve centre of *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala.

Qazi family of Calicut is a very prominent familial stream in Kerala which has rightly the history of about 14 centuries and a great tradition of upholding and preserving the ideology of Islam from its beginning till recent present in the heart land of *Mappila Muslims*, Calicut. Evidences are not enough to map the early history of this family since whole of the documents comprised of details about these *Qazis* and about Muslims in general who lived under their direction, which were kept in the *Chaliyam Juma'th* Mosque were either destroyed or plundered and shifted to the archives of Portuguese during the reign of Portuguese colonial invasion in Kerala, and it is said that most of these highly important historical evidences were irrecoverably lost when Portuguese army charred the *Chaliyam* Mosque into ashes in their bid to conquer and capture the *Chaliyam* fort in the year 1571 A.D.⁶ All that is known about the early history of this family is that the first *Qazi* of this stream is believed to be *Zainuddin bin Madani*, the grandson of Malik bin Habib, one of the major personalities included in the missionary team of *Mailk bin Dinar* and *Chaliyam* was the early centre where *Zainuddin* was appointed as the first *Qazi* and

⁵ Interview with Dr. Bahauddin Muhammad Nadvi, convener of the organization, Jam'eyyathul Qudathi wal Mahallathi, Kerala.

⁶ Parappil Mammad Koya, The history of Muslims of Calicut (mal), p.104

later it was shifted to Calicut.⁷ But in *Rihlatul Mulook*, *Ja'far bin Sulaiman* is given as the first *Qazi* of *Chaiyam*. But in the light of available evidences it can be assessed that there is no contradiction as one reach in to the factual basis that *Rihla* considered the second *Qazi* of *Chaliyam* as the first and overlooked to give the name of *Zainuddin bin Madani* who was basically the first one to had had appointed there as *Qazi*. Comparatively evidences are sound to trace the true history of this family from the period of Batuta's arrival in Kerala because he has mentioned about the names of *Qazis* of the places he visited and indicated briefly to the areas of their influence in the regions. *Parappil Muhammad Koya* has given some important names of *Qazis* who appeared in this stream in different periods before the advent of Batuta as he got it, they are *Zainuddin bin Madani*, *Ja'far bin Sulaiman*, *Muhammadul Madul Madani Ansari*, *his son Malik*, *his son Habib*, *his son Malik*, *and his son Muhammad*.⁸ But it is merely an obscure and unclear picture only and here we are compelled to stand stunningly and sadly before the extent and excess of the matchless atrocities and merciless encroachments perpetrated by the cruel forces of colonial powers in the land even against the reservoirs of historical documents and archives of decisive knowledge bases and evidences like wooden structures and stone edicts on which many crucial information were inscribed, and manuscripts which were the direct written records of the facts and figures regarding the earlier events.

Besides the information contained in the travelogue of Batuta, some writings of the members in this family and some other important notes preserved in the traditional collections of the family and the live oral tradition which can be tapped from the living members of the family are the sources to approach into the historical factors regarding this family since the period of Batuta. On the basis of these available references *Parappil Muhammad Koya*, author of "the history of the Muslims of Calicut (mal)" has prepared a concise but informative article on *Qazi* Family of Calicut and produced it in his aforesaid work as a chapter. I have mainly depended on the same and some articles penned down by the recently passed away member of this family *Qazi Nalakath Muhammad Koya* (he passed away in 2008 only), and a

⁷ Ibid,p.104

⁸ Ibid, p. 105

book of tribute prepared to honour *Nalakath Muhammad Koya* in his successful completion of 25 years in the post of *Qadi of Calicut* and on some factors collected from the conversations with some living members of the family, to prepare this brief analysis about the family and its memorable spheres of activities and special features since the time of Batuta.

A detailed description of the each and every members and the varied spheres of their mission and its impact on the fabric of society is not my intention here with this account because all I want to trace is the importance of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuthi* and the different realms of his service, and to make it easy possible and graspable it seems necessary to give the general introduction and brief sketch of this family too. Therefore such an attempt is briefly made here so that to be a stepping stone to enter to the life and career of *Qazi Muhammad*.

The Moroccan traveller, *Ibnu Batuta*'s travelling to Kerala was in the first half of the 14th century.⁹ His coming to Calicut was just after his visit in *Pandalayani*, a place near Calicut. In his words he described it as "From *Pandalayani* we set out to Calicut. It is the biggest Port in Malabar. Traders from many foreign countries like Sri Lanka, Maldives, Yemen, Persia, are camping here for commercial purposes. Looking at the high importance of hectic trading activities of Calicut, it can be stated that it is one among the important ports in the world itself".¹⁰ Amidst the details about the Calicut he has found time and space to mention about the *Qazi* of the place with much importance which clearly indicates to the relevance they held amidst the then society. He says "A king named *Zamorin* is the King of Calicut. The name of the head of the traders in the town is *Ibrahim Shah Bandar*. He is a Bahraini. I have never seen such a well behaving, trust worthy and generous trader anywhere. And the *Qazi* of the region was *Fakhruddin Uthman*, who was a perfectly pious and righteous personality."¹¹ But *Nalakath Muhammad Koya*, is not particular about *Fakhruddin Usman* whether he was a member in the *Qazi Family* of Calicut or not since Batuta counts him as *Qazi* in Calicut but actually during the period of the visit

⁹ Velayudan Panikkasseri, Kerala Before 6 centuries back; in the eyes of Batuta (mal),p.13

¹⁰ Quoted from the Malayalam Translation of Batuta's Travlogue,Velayudan Panikkasseri.p.36

¹¹ Ibid,p.36

of Batuta in Kerala, the head quarters of the traditional *Qazis* there, was not Calicut but *Chaliyam*. Expressing the doubt *Nalakath* writes : “There is no fool proof evidence to evade doubts about *Qazi Uthman* about whom Batuta mentions in his *Rihala* to be the Qazi of Calicut, because the centre of traditional *Qazis* that time was *Chaliyam*”.¹²

Even though in the light of the fact that *Chaliyam* and Calicut was inter related adjacent places and later the centre was shifted to Calicut itself, it is better to assume that this *Fakhruddin Uthman* was representative of Calicut *Qazis* during the time of *Batuta* in 14th century. It can be safely stated in the light of known evidences that here had come up many great figures to represent the post of *Qaziship* in Calicut since the time of *Fakhruddin Uthman* as himself was a noted scholar and pious personality of the period and their role had never confined to that of issuing dictates, *fatwas* and solutions for judicial cases in the light of *Sharee'ah* but they had creatively attempted to fill the gap of a overall leadership to the community in their different walks of life. A huge number of gifted authors, poets, pious figures, and *Sufi* mystics and highly intellectual multilingual figures have emerged and left their lasting bearings on the frame work of society in the different periods of the history of this familial stream.

It is quite noteworthy and memorable that the magnificent role played by them in making the history of the Muslims of Calicut is too much ¹³glittering and eventful. Like *Ponnani*, *Dars* system had been effectively conducted by the different scholars of the traditional family and its impact was fruitful to a great extent and it is said that many well- acclaimed scholars of *Mappila Muslims* had come to this *Darses* for their higher studies and attaining expertise in different branches of religious knowledge. Among this, the *Darses* conducted under *Shaykh Ramadanu Shaliyathi* (399 A.H.) and his son *Aboobakr Qazi* are very famous. *Qazi Aboobakr Faqrudin* is the founder of the much acclaimed *Dars* syllabus, named '*Silsilathul Faqriyya*'. *Ponnai Dars* has been conducted in accordance with directives of this syllabus since

Nalakath Muhammad Koya, Traditional Qazis of Calicut, from the book 25 years of the realization of mission (mal) published as tribute to Qazi in his successful completion of 25 years in Qazi Ship of Calicut, p.69

Panditha Keralam 1997, (mal), p.69

the time of *Zainudin Makhdoom* Senior till date.¹⁴ *Qazi Faqrudin* was the Guru of many numbers of great scholars and a scholar of multi-faceted personality. Their *Darses* have produced a huge number of well known genius scholars.¹⁵ It is another peculiarity of this *Qazi family* that they have been able to produce efficient representatives so that to succeed their ancestors in the passage of time and to dedicate for the well being of the community in the area for all these centuries according to the available sound evidences. And each of the members had shown some way the high and far reaching potentials of their credentials and great efficiency so that to stand in front of the community as a beacon especially in the times of crises.

The prominent representatives who emerged in this lineage and took charge of the esteemed post of *Qaziship* after *Fakhrudin Uthman* in different time frame are *Shaykh Muhammad Liyauddin*, *Shaykh Ibrahim Muhammad*, *Moosa Ibrahim*, *Shaykh Ramadan*, *Abubakkar bin Ramadanu Shalyathi*, (899 A.H.) *Shihabuddin Ahmed*, *Abdul Azeez* (998 A.H.) *Aliyyul Qazil Nashiri*, *Muhammad first* (He is the famous *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuthi*) *Qazi Muhyiidin*, *Abdussalam First*, *Sadkathulla*, *Muhtiddin Second*, *Abdussalam Second*, *Ali Abdussalam*, *Muhyiddin third* also known as *Kunheedin Kutti Qazi*. He passed away in 1266 A.H. I have pointed out earlier that the first centre of the traditional *Qazis* of Calicut was *Chaliyam* and later it was shifted to Calicut about which *Nalakath Muhammad Koya* says that “since the earlier residence of the Calicut *Qazis* was *Chaliyam*, *Qazi Ramazan* and *Qazi Aboobakr* two famous earlier *Qazis* in the stream were known in the description of “*Chaliyathis*”. Their burial place is also in the same *Chaliyam*. Later the centre was changed first to *Puthiyangadi* and again to today’s Calicut city with the changes and development happened in the city and the expansion of its border and prime parts. Unfortunately the exact period of this shifts is not known¹⁶ After the demise of *Kunhidin Kutty Qazi* it was a crucial period in the history of the this *Qazi* family due to the case of some kind of divide appeared between the descendents of the *Qazi Kunhidin Kutty* which culminated in the giving way of this stream in to two

¹⁴ Nellikuth Muhammadali Musliyar, great personalities in Malyalam, p.33

¹⁵ Ibid, p.69

¹⁶ Nalakath Muhammad Koya, article, op, cit, p.69

opposing groups.¹⁷ It was a quite unfortunate incident in the history of *Qazi* Family of Calicut which had a lofty long drawn tradition of providing ample guidance to the community even in the middle of neck breaking impasse of many crucial periods to rise head an irreconcilable form of rift and it is more saddening that it was not as result of some major reasons but due to some very petty causes which were growing to bigger once in the passage of time.

It is said that as the initial cause or the beginning of the divide was an event related with a boulder (a piece of black rock or granite slab of seven feet length and one and half width) which had in the boundary of *Misqal Mosque*, one of the important Mosques comes under the Calicut *Qazis'* jurisdiction and it was the prime centre of them, was taken away to *Juma'th Mosque*, another important Mosque there, for some useful purposes. But the members of the *Misqal* mosque didn't like this and turned to legal actions against the *Juma'th* Mosque members. After many phases of stringent quarrels between the two the case was almost settled on the ground that the boulder will be left to remain where it had kept earlier but ultimately this case caused to trigger the waves of separation of Muslims there in to two apparently dissenting section. This event was in the life time of *Kunhidin Kutty Qazi* but he wisely kept away from supporting any of the sides but without showing any kind of partiality went on conducting his duties intelligently.¹⁸ After this event there arose another issue of "*Kaimutti Pattu*"¹⁹ i.e. "singing with clapping hands" which was introduced by a person called *Kammantakathu Mamminhi* who formed a well trained group of young men and middle aged fellows for performing clapping songs in wedding ceremonies. Since *Kammantakathu* was the family of the leaders of *Misqal Mosque* group, naturally this clapping team become part of the same and they began to be called *Muttulla Sangam*(Sangam or group having clapping) and due to the

¹⁷ This is written on the basis of the information produced by Parappil in his history of Muslims of Calicut.

¹⁸ Parappil Muhammad Koya, op, cit, p.124

¹⁹ *Kaimutti Pattu* is a special kind of singing performance combined with clapping hands which was first developed and introduced among the Muslims of Calicut by a person called *Kamantekathu Mamminhi* who trained a band of young men to perform it mainly in marriage ceremonies. It was first performed by the said band in the wedding ceremony conducted in the house of *Mamminhi's* uncle. Earlier there had *Kissa Pattu* and *Kaliana*(wedding) *pattu* performed during the functions of marriage amidst Calicut *Mappila Muslims* but after the introduction of this special performing art people in one group of Calicut Muslims began to entertain it in their wedding ceremonies.

Juma'th Mosque group were not trained in the clapping songs they were naturally called *Muttillatha Sangam* (Group having no clapping). This event also added to the divide already existed between the two, but since this also was during *Kunhidin Kutty Qazi's* time and due to his impartial attitude the quarrel remained under control.²⁰

But when *Kunhidin Kutty Qazi* passed away in the year 1849 A.D. this smouldering quarrel intensified and took shape and grown to irreconcilable one and the gap of one year in appointing the *Qazi* after him is also noted to have had happened here. *Alikoya Khatheeb* the second son of *Kunhidin Kutty Qazi* was the real descendent of him to the post of *Qaziship* but due to some health problems and for not being a veteran scholar enough to take up the burdensome responsibility of such a lofty seat, with his consent, *Kinsinganteakath Hajjukoya* who was son of *Kunhidin Kutty Qazi* in his second wife, was selected to the post. This selection and appointment was on the condition that a certain amount from the income will be yearly provided to *Alikoya Khatheeb*. For the next 9 years till the demise of *Hajju Koya Qazi* this situation continued and after the his death another brother in the line *Aboobakr Kunhi Qazi* was appointed to the post with the consent of *Alikoya Khatheeb*. During this period in *Juma'th Mosque* only had conducted Friday *Juma'* prayer and *Aboobakr Kunhi Qazi* controlled *Juma'th Mosque* and since *Misqal Mosque* was near, *Alikoya* controlled the affairs there. But this calmness was never let to prolong and after nearly two or three years in the post as usual *Aboobakr Qazi* packed the amount of the year to give *Alikoya* and entrusted it in the hands of a person who goes on errand. He casually raised a question that, "isn't this an amount of *Fitna* (destruction or corruption)? *Qazi* but kept silent without responding to the stunning question and unfortunately this fellow handed over this money to *Alikoya* with the comment that "receive this money of *Fitna*" which apparently provoked him and without accepting the amount he returned it to the *Qazi*. This event deeply agonised the supporters of *Misqal Mosque* group and as a result of emergency negotiation held among the members an immediate decision was taken to implement Friday *Juma'* in *Misqal Mosque* also and give the charge of which to *Alikoya Khatheeb*

²⁰ *ibid*, 124

along with the duties of other religious rituals like *Nikah*. With this event the history of *Qazis* of Calicut witnessed the culmination of the process of separation appeared there some years back. Later two groups strictly stuck to their platforms and each religious and public functions and rites and rituals and even mandatory prayers were performed quite separately under the supervision or leadership of two *Qazis* in the same time, being *Juma'th Mosque* and *Misqal Mosque* as centres.

Subsequently to this separation there had occurred several events which either added or reduced to the spirit of the divide further in the passage of years which I don't want to cite here as it is not much relevant to my subject matter. Later two streams of *Qazis* were appointed and one was called *Cheriyā* (minor or junior) *Qazis* and the other *Waliyā* (major or senior) *Qazis*. *Palliveetil Muhammad* (1927 AD) was the first *Qazi* to be appointed after the culmination of the separation and promotion of *Alikoya* as the *Qazi* of *Misqal Mosque* who was the son of *Alikoya koya Qazi*. When Muhammad was appointed as *Qazi* then he was only 20 years old. This is said to be the reason behind being called them *Cheriyā Qazis*. And as it is known he was the son of the younger brother of *Aboobakr Kunhi Qazi* that is *Alikoya* and this was also said to as another reason for such an attribute.²¹ After *Palliveetil Muhammad*, his eldest son *Palliveetil Mamukkoya* was the *Qazi* of *Misqal Group*. In the same time in the *Juma'th Palli* group after *Hajju koya, Aboobakr Kunhi* took the charge and *Abdussalm* who is also called *Auslan Koya* came to succeed him. But after the *Auslan Koya* there had no one in the family befitted to the post of *Qaziship* with religious knowledge and talent and therefore they decided to appoint to the post a fitting person from outside. As a result they unanimously found *Sayyid Husain Mulla Koya Tangal.*, and his son *Sayyid Ahmed Attakoya* succeeded him and after his period *Sayyid Muhlar Aattakoya* and after him *Sayyid Aliyy bin Husain Tangal* took the charge. After him *Sayyid Shihabudin Imbichi Koya Tangal* was in the post of *Waliyā Qazi* for many years till his death in the year 1999 A.D. It is to be noted here that the familial line had lost to the *Major Qazi group* when they appointed *Sayyid Husain Shihabuddin Mulla Koya Tangal* after *Ausalan Koya*. But the *Cheriyā Qazi* section kept the lineage in the posting of *Qazis* till very recently until

²¹ *Ibid*,117

the death of *Nalakath Muhammad Koya* in November 20, 2008 A.D. *Nalakath Muhammad Koya* can be considered as the last familial *Qazi* of Calicut who continued in the post of Calicut *Cheriyā* (Junior) *Qazi* for around 50 years preserving the legacy of Calicut *Qazis* in its full vigour being a light house of guidance and providing solutions to confused public and private cases and mostly religious cases of Calicut Muslims and being a presence of solace to *Mappila Muslims* at large through the years of his service till his death in November 2008²². These are some immediate statements and intimate details about the representatives emerged in this family in successive terms since the period of *Batuta's* visit in Kerala and some random records about the events and personalities prior to the period of his visit.

But in the light of the available evidences about the realms of the activities of this acclaimed familial stream, through a close observation and subtle analysis one can reach in to some essential findings which will necessarily enable the analyst to appreciate well the role played by them in the mission of upholding and preserving the identity of the community from the verge of possible deviations and from the hands of potential hazards. That gist of which, I think can be located through the exploration of the common features and diverse areas of their vibrant activism which are rightly conceived as were truly reflective of the demands of the time and space for the successful and fruitful fulfilment of the shouldered missions. The first and foremost element comes projecting while observing the commonalities of eminence this family representatives absorbed can be figured out as only great scholars and genius personalities have been appointed in the post mostly from the very earlier time more or less to the recent present. In the last chapter I have stated about the role of books in the leading process of the community, for it was used as the manifesto of the community leadership among *Mappila Muslims*. This element was very much visible and expressive in the spheres of the activities of the Calicut *Qazis* also.

Many brilliant written creations both in Arabic and Arabic-Malayalam have been penned down by the different genius blossoms of this family which have been truly efficient and enormous so as to add into the wide sphere of *Mappila* literature. And

²² Chandrika Malayalam Daily, Nov 21, 2008

it also to be stated here that there have enough evidences to testify that most of the representatives of this acclaimed family were well known spiritual leaders among *Mappila Muslims*. After all, the first known work traced out as the contribution of this family to Mappila readership is *Umdathul Ashaab wa Nuzhatul Ahbaab*, a Sufistic treatise written by *Qazi Zainuddin Ramadan bin Shaykh Sharafuddin Moosa*, a *Qazi* emerged in this stream in 14th century A.D.²³ “I have seen a certain kind of laziness growing among the believers towards religious affairs and increased quest and interest in the mere transient worldly attainments and a quite uninterested lousy attitude towards the endeavours to acquire knowledge. And visibly here exist some glaring anomalies and imbalances in living in compliance with the teachings of the Prophet. Hence I have authored this work as a warning to the sinners and perpetrators of evils”²⁴ This sentence taken out of the preface of the work of *Qazi* is enough to comprehend how far they were conscious about the virtues and vices of the community and how far they have perspired to keep the community away from going astray out of the track of right and righteousness making use of their spiritual highness and metaphysical insights.

Qazi Ramadan is believed to be the second *Keralate* to write books and manuals in Arabic language.²⁵ The first known Arabic poetry in Kerala is also believed to be composed by a well known scholar and genius poet *Qazi Aboobakr Ramadnu Shaliyathi* (1490A.D) the son of *Qazi Ramadan*, who is another representative of this family. The poem titled *Thahmeesul Burda* is a poetic quintuple to the famous poem of *Imam Buseeri* in panegyrics of Prophet Muhammad (s) as the title itself denotes.²⁶ Most of the *Qazis* who succeeded them were also brilliant authors who penned down numerous works both in prose and poetry in Arabic and Arabic – Malayalam all of them can be seen as were written aimed at the sole purpose of being in one way or other beneficial to the advancement and revivalism of the community. Some of the household names of authors who appeared succeeding *Qazi Ramadan* and *Qazi Aboobakr* were *Qazi Muhammad* first about whom a detailed

²³ K.M.Muhammad, Contribution of Kerala to Arabic literature (mal), p.80

²⁴ Umdathul Ashaab, Qazi Ramadan, quoted from the K.M. Muhammad,p.81

²⁵ K.M.Muhammad,op,cit,p.81

²⁶ Dr. Veeran Muhyiddin Al-Farooqi. Arabic Poetry in Kerala (Arab) p,65

description will follow, *Qazi Muhyiddin First, Kunhidin Kutty Qazi, AboobakrKunhi Qazi*, and etc. These are only some sample names and it can be safely assumed that most of the *Qazis* emerged in this family line must have written numerous works on several areas of study and genres of literature. One of the most remarkable thing while analysing the available works of the *Qazi* Family is that mostly each of the writers have dealt with diverse areas of religious affairs and Arabic language and especially the most treated subject matter among these are areas that have direct or indirect touch with devotional elements of Islam like *Thasawwuf* and Panegyrics of Prophet and poetries in praise of many number of Sufi Saints, which clearly indicates to the inextricable Sufistic touch of this family and in their community guidance activities. In the analysis of the contributions of *Qazi Muhammad* I will point to this factor in some detail.

Another striking element regarding the modus operandi set up by this Family is that they have moved the wand of their leadership creatively in tune with the demand of time so as to ensure the existence of the community without being trapped in the travails of time and space which will impede the free flow of their religious and cultural identity. One can read the cordial relation this Family ever took care to maintain with the King of Calicut *Zamorins* as part of this strategic policy. This can be assumed as the most efficient way, to sustain the pluralist framework of the land in which is the smooth and peaceful living and survival of society, accepted by the insightful leadership but cannot be viewed as step of surrendering before the might of king since they were most free to observe their religion in its full vigour while they were keeping this relation and were highly respected section even before the King himself²⁷ *Zamorines* who ruled Calicut for many centuries had specially organised certain form of arrangements to select the religious leaders of his subjects. It was with the acknowledgement of *Zamorin* the appointment of *Qazis*.

They had got high reverence and special seat even in the palace of the king and on each crucial stage the kingdom faced king *Zamorin* had come forward to make negotiation with the leader of Mappila community in the region, i.e. Calicut *Qazis* and had sought and paid much heed for their decisive advices. The statement of

²⁷ Parappil Muhammad koya,op,cit,p.105

Zainuddin Junior in his *Tuhfat* that Muslims enjoyed great respect and regard from the Hindu rulers²⁸ can be taken in support of this idea. There is one observation made by noted thinker, scholar and famous politician from Kerala, *Veerendra Kumar*, in his preface to the book 'history of Muslims of Calicut' in Malayalam, which can read as thus "earlier *Qazis* had travelled in *Pallakku*. This is style of *Malayalis* and particularly royal style of the land. It indicates that the chief Muslim religious leader of Malabar, especially of Calicut was risen to the seat and status of the king and it also can be understood from the very custom that Muslims here were much careful about their self esteem and strove a lot to keep it up always"²⁹ To Muslim culprits, King was much conscious and careful to enforce punishments which were suggested by the *Qazi*³⁰ And religious laws were implemented only with the advice and acknowledgement of the *Qazi* at any stage.

Later British rulers cancelled and cut off all these customs and privileges and they handed over the full right of appointing *Qazi* to Muslim community themselves.³¹ However they are enough evidences to testify that the complete leadership of the community all through the periods of earlier phases and especially during the colonial period was fixed in the hands of this learned community leadership. Each occasion the king needed the public support of the people and their strong participation in the different affairs of the kingdom, for ensuring *Mappilas* role *Zamorins* were directly dependent on the *Qazis* and there are evidences that King has sought opinions of *Qazis* in every crisis hit conditions which threatened the existence of the kingdom³² Particularly this element was visible to a great extent during the long drawn period of colonial domination in the land.

Another very important factor in view of the mission undertaken by *Qazis* is that they were never as it is clear from the discussion and description given above, mere Islamic judges or a religious functionary or advisers of solutions in Islamic questions and guardians of *Shariah* but along with all these functions it should be noted that

²⁸ Zainuddin Junior, *Tuhafat al-Mujahideen*, English translation, by Nainar, p.45

²⁹ Veerendra Kumar, When I read the History of Muslims of Calicut, one of the forewords to the book, p.26

³⁰ *Ibid*, p.105

³¹ *Ibid*, p.105

³²

they were the figures who owned the whole ranges of community leadership under their jurisdiction since they were *Qazis* not in an Islamic state where *Amirs* or *Caliphs* will look in to the administrative affairs. And it is mention worthy that clearly their mode of activities was that of a participatory approach. The historically proven fact that *Qazi Abdul Azeez* father of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuty* had personally involved in the war against Portuguese held in 1571 A.D to recapture the *Chaliyam* fort from their control and in this war his role was of a frontline warrior along with his colleagues *Shaykh Abdul Azees makhdoom* and *Shaykh Abdul Wafa Shamsuddin Himmasi*³³ is clearly indicative to this area. Such several decisive cases can be traced out from the path breaking routines of these family members. *Aboobakr Kunhi Qazi*, one of the 19th century A.D. representatives of Calicut *Qazi* Family and well renowned scholar and gifted poet, has written a nice fifty five lines poem in Arabic recalling the eminence and lofty characteristics features his forefathers possessed and describing the great revolutionary leadership they provided to their successive societies in general and for community in particular, which is a poetic source from their own family to assess the heights and greatness the *Qazi* family representatives enjoyed of which some lines can read as follow which indicates to the affluence of the tradition of family in scholarship and spiritual highness.

كذا بالشيوخ المجدثين بارضنا كليكوت حازت بالفخار المؤتئل

فمنهم نجوم ثم شمس و قمرهم و شهب كضوء البارق المتهلل³⁴

At length these can be seen as the summary of some of very important characteristic features of the *Qazi* family which in the words of *Nalakath Muhammad Koya* “brought about enormous amount of religious spirit and cultural awareness and Islamic light and lustre in the life of Calicut Muslims for many centuries and made them the most creative people in Kerala and led to the lofty seat of high recognition

³³ Husain Randathani, *Mappila Muslims*, p.110

³⁴ Aboobakr bin Muhyiddin Al-Kalikuthi, *Qaseedathun Fi Dikri A'baai'l Kiram*, manuscript, quoted from Dr. Veeran Muhyiddin, *Ashi'ru'l Arabi Fi Kerala*, p.117

and reverence due to the personal eminence and highness”³⁵ In this historical background it needs to study the life message of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuty*.

The importance of Calicut to this Qazi Family is as Ponnani to Makhdooms. But Calicut is not only famous for *Qazis* but for many similarly and sometimes much more important reasons. Calicut was a big and well-known port in Malabar from very ancient times. But it began to decline and lose its significance with the advent of the Portuguese to Malabar and the obstructions to the trade journeys created by them.³⁶ The trade relations with many foreign countries which flourished many centuries back along its sea coast are what earned it a reputed name and fame among the well-known cities of the world since ancient period. Along the same route as well as some other coasts of the land was the advent and spread of different cultures to Kerala which helped transform this area into the bed of cultural pluralism. Arabs called this city Calicut and later when British landed here they began to twist it according to their convenience and thus it is believed that it became Calicut among the British and the name became widespread in the turn of time³⁷ Many world travellers of ancient times have reached in Calicut and written a lot in praise and description of the set up and systems existed there and about the highness and matchlessness of the people lived there and vibrant activities took place there.

Ibn Batuta is one among the world famous travellers who visited Calicut in the first half of the 14th century and it is said that he visited Calicut six times; his first visit was in the year 1343 A. D.³⁸ In his travelogue he wrote about Calicut “It is the busiest port in Malabar. I saw many ships from China, Ceylon, Persia, Yemen anchored in this port, and I had met there several foreign delegates and traders from all around the world. The ruler of the land was *Zamorin* and the supervising chief of the trade affairs was an officer known in the special name called “*ShahBandar*” means the king of port. A Bahraini named Ibrahim was the *ShahBandhar* of the time”.³⁹ *Yung Homahayan*, a reputed Chinese traveller of the 15th century is another

³⁵ Nalakath Muhammad Koya, op, cit, p.72

³⁶ Tuhfatul Mujahideen, Eng. Trans, Nainar, op, cit, p.45

³⁷ S.V. Muhammad Wadakara, Marakkar presence in History (mal), 48

³⁸ Ibid, p.50

³⁹ Quoted from S.V. Muhammad, op, cit, p.50

visitor of Calicut. He, who spent here around 4 months enjoying the hospitality of peoples of Calicut, wrote about the *Mappila Muslims* in his travel writings. “A huge number of the subjects of *Zamorin*, the king of Calicut, are Muslims. They were in the important posts in the Durbar of the king. There the number of mosques will come to 20 or 30. Once in a week they gather in this mosque and the same day no one will engage in trade activities.”⁴⁰ Another traveller who reached here in 1442 was *Abdu Razak Khurasani*. He wrote about Calicut that “The major factors that attracted traders towards this port from different regions of the world are the justice system, law and order condition and the existence of a safe atmosphere to live in peace and security and above all the officially controlled security and protection facilities.”⁴¹

Zamorin was the common title of the rulers of the Calicut during the middle age. The origin and early history of the *Zamorins* of Calicut are shrouded in mystery. We do not hear of the *Zamorin* before the days of *Abdu Razak* (1442 AD) during the hundred years of struggle with Portuguese, fifteen *Zamorins* ruled over the area in succession. Some were powerful and charismatic and some others were weak. Some even joined the Portuguese side.⁴² At length the place of Calicut in the whole history of Kerala and particularly in the history of *Mappila Muslims* is much important and its each pages of history some way or the other is inseparably connected with the life of *Mappila Muslims* of the land, and the annals written by the said *Qazi family* is by all means significant and memorable in this regard.

Politico –Religious Atmosphere in the 16th century, Calicut

While analysing the life and message of a personality, it seems essential to examine at least in general, the religious and political climate of the period in which he lived and went through the stages of his personality formation and to observe the socio-cultural elements which left its impact on the different stages of his life and mission. The period of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuthi* was 16th century and the initial years of 17th century, so that to explore and comprehend fully and clearly the diverse career

⁴⁰ Ibid,p.50

⁴¹ Ibid,p.52

⁴² Tuhfat al Mujahidin Eng Translation, Nainar,p.102

of his revolutionary life here an attempt is made to assess at length the religious and political situations prevailed in 16th century A.D in Calicut, the location of his activism, and along with some necessary details about the initial phase of 17th century, before plunging directly in to his life, and it is also to be noted that since socio- cultural factors are some way or the other interrelated with that of religious and political, or embedded in the same, no separate treatment is made but can be read in between this description itself.

As far as the religious and political atmosphere of 16th century Calicut is concerned, it was a very decisive period for each resident of the land, especially for Mappila Muslim community. To find out and locate the reasons or motives behind this, it demands a little bit of elaboration in some details. At first my attempt is to analyse the religious condition in general. There have enough documentary evidences to state that during the period there had existed three major religions, i.e. Hinduism, Islam and Christianity. To begin with Hinduism, the power of the area can be technically considered in the hands of them, since a Hindu ruler called *Zamorin* was then the King of there. As a religion it was the mixture of so many strange customs and conventions. *Shaykh Zainyddin Junior*, in his world famous historical work, *Tuhfatul Mujahideen* has allotted one section of book to describe the strange customs prevailed among Hindus in Malabar even during 16th century under the title “*Fi Dikri Nubdathin Yaseerathin Min Aadathi Kafarathi Malaibar Al-Garbiyya*”⁴³ i.e. “Certain Strange Customs of the Hindus in Malabar”. And William Logan also has spent enough space to touch up on this in his book *Malabar Manual*.

However, caste system existed among them was one of the most striking element regarding Hinduism then too. *Zainudin* shedding light to this fact says that the Hindus of Malabar loyally maintain their caste system. Because of this they encounter many difficulties. Yet they do not attempt to violate the norms of the caste system or to do away with the system. The Hindus here belong to many different castes. They are among the high castes, low castes or castes of other degrees in between.⁴⁴ The excessive disturbance and heavy discrimination existed in the name

⁴³ Tuhafat al Mujahidin, Arabic origin, Makthabath Al-Huda. Calicut,p.30

⁴⁴ Nainar, Tuhfa, Eng translation,op,cit,p.42

of caste system is traced as one among the key elements that attracted down trodden people from Hinduism in to Islam in large numbers.

The lower castes who suffered under the existing social order welcomed Islam as a chance to secure some degree of social freedom⁴⁵, by conversion some rise in social status was clearly and practically obtained by lower castes. Gasper Correa, the 16th century Portuguese reported that: No one of the *Nayars* ever turned Moor; only the lower people turned Moors....By becoming Moors they could go wherever they liked and eat as they pleased. When they became Moors, the moors gave them clothes and robes with which to clothe themselves⁴⁶ It should be remembered here that it was in a time when the Hindus of Malabar were used to expose their bodies. They usually wear a short piece of cloth that covers from their waist to just below their knees and keep the rest of body bare. All are alike in this regard: men and women, elders and youngsters, the rich and poor, the kings and the subjects, all alike!⁴⁷ Once converted, they were accepted in society. *Shaykh Zainuddin* pointing to this factor writes, “The *Nairs* do not molest their country men who have abjured idolatry and come over to Muslim religion. But treat them with the same consideration and respect that they evince towards all Muslims⁴⁸ Meantime it is also mention worthy that the emergence of *Nair* community of Hindus as the warriors of Hindu rulers especially of *Zamorins* were also as the apparent reflection of casteystic notions. As William Logan notes “when it was needed to protect nation the presence of Kshatriya was necessary and the problem was solved by the introduction of a new term “Nayan” and its pural “Nayar”⁴⁹ As usual the army of *Zamorin* of Calicut was mainly constituted of *Nayars* who were believed to be greatly brave and emboldened warriors and exemplary symbols in all stiff wars and encounters. Dale pointing to this factor notes that as for *Nayars* they completely dominated the military system; members of this caste formed the peculiar kind of skirmishing infantry which comprised the basic military force of every *Malayali*

⁴⁵ S.M. Muhammad Koya, *Mappilas Of Malbar*,p.7

⁴⁶ Gasper Correa, the voyages of Vasco da Gama, quoted from Rolland E. Millar, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*,p.56

⁴⁷ Tuhafat, Nainar,op,cit,p.41

⁴⁸ Zeinudin, Tuhfat quoted from Miller,p.56

⁴⁹ William Logan, *Malbar Manual*,mal translation,p.118

state and as described by Barbosa the *Nayars* were 'noble men who have no other duty than to serve in war, and always carry their arms whithersoever they go'⁵⁰..Along with, that the place of *Nambudiris* the high caste in Hindus was reflected as much high in the palace of *Zamorin*, as it is historically proven that they were appointed as the advisers of the king along with Arab Muslims and *Mappila Muslims* as a proof for it can be stated that when *Zamorin* set out to receive the Portuguese representatives in his palace when they first set feet in Calicut, he had attended in the Durbar accompanied by his chief adviser *Thalappanna Nambudiri*, and meantime in the palace to observe and advise in the meeting many Arabs advisers and rulers were present.⁵¹ While this indicates that *Nambudiris* were placed in high seat in palace, it reveals another factor also that how far Muslim community and Arabs were respected by the King. Likewise the emergence of *Marakkars* as the naval chiefs of *Zamorins* is also another apparent indicator in this regard.

On the other hand, Christianity was also enjoying a kind of nice atmosphere in the land of *Zamorin* also and as Miller noted the growth and prosperity of church are undoubtedly related to the hospitality of the people of Kerala, which had become accustomed to welcoming strangers from abroad, in view of the mutual advantages involved.⁵² Certain historians point out that Christianity in Kerala was under the Nestorian Patriarchate of Babylon at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese in Kerala. However the arrival of Vasco da Gama marked the close of the medieval period in the history of Christianity in Kerala. At the time of the arrival of Portuguese, Christian society in Kerala presented the picture of a community that was Christian in religion, Syro-oriental in worship and Indian in culture.⁵³ As the effect of this factor it was seen that their life was strikingly similar to that of their Hindu brethren. Although the votaries of that religion zealously guarded the fundamentals of their faith as the most treasured of their possessions.⁵⁴ As I have noted earlier in the last chapter that the objectives of Portuguese behind their coming was not only economical but religious missionary motives too, this element had its

⁵⁰ S.F.Dale, *Islamic Society on the South Asian Frontier*,p.16

⁵¹ P.A. Said Muhammad, *Kerala Muslim History*,p.76

⁵² Miller,op,cit,p.26

⁵³ C.V. Cheriyan, *Kerala and Christianity*,p.103

⁵⁴ Ibid,p.103

strong troubling impact on the existing Christianity here since its affiliation was to that of Syriac liturgy and not to Latin Liturgy to which was the affiliation of Portuguese.

The Portuguese were fanatical followers of the Catholic faith and they considered in their mission to spread Catholicism and establish the supremacy of the Pope of Rome in all countries which came under their influence. As part of this they considered as their solemn duty to bring the Christians of Kerala under the supremacy of Pope and replace the Syriac liturgy by the Latin liturgy of the Roman Catholic Church. And they started a vigorous campaign of Latinization.⁵⁵ At length a strong struggle was held between the both groups; one for survival and the other for subjugation and when Portuguese power in India reached its Zenith Roman Church was firmly established all over the coasts. As the culmination of powerful attempt to bring the native Christians in to their way, they almost succeeded though unwillingly on the other side, to sever the connection of Kerala Church with the patriarchate of Babylon and established the supremacy of Pope of Rome over it. But the later events which led to the strong disobedience and going back to their old stream somehow proved that great unrest and unfading confusion was breeding in the minds of native Christians even while they surrendered before the mighty campaign of Portuguese missionary to convert them to the authority of Pope of Rome.

However, during the course of this period the history of Islam and Muslims of the region was much more important and highly remarkable due to several reasons. This period was turning point in the religious life of the *Mappila Muslims* as it was almost all walks of life mainly owing to the impact of Portuguese advent to the land which had affected them most in all sense. Miller has described this period for *Mappila Muslims* as the beginning of the four century road of steady decline, having travelled an eight century road of steady progress.⁵⁶ Though this phrase of description is true while observing various cases of their living and survival, but in

⁵⁵ Ibid, p.103

⁵⁶ R.E.Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, op,cit,p.307

the sense of religious reaffirmation and spiritual revivalism that statement cannot be swallowed without some earnest rethinking and revision.

The observation of *Shyakh Zainuddin* that at first a condition prevailed in Malabar that allowed the Muslims there to lead a prosperous and comfortable life on account of the benevolence of their rulers, their time honoured customs and their kindness. But they belittled Allah's blessings and transgressed and became heedless. So Allah set on them the Portuguese Christians and He, may He be exalted, abandoned them. They oppressed the Muslims, corrupted and committed all kind of ugly and infamous deeds against them, too bad to be described"⁵⁷ is supporting evidence in this regard. It can be seen that a certain kind of spiritual awakening and Islamic creative activism hearing the vociferous call of spiritual leaders was the first response of Mappila community when that kind of dangerous situation tightened its grip on them before diving deep in to the hottest field of stiff face to face encounters. Event then Islam and Muslims were most respected sections not only in front of the people but the ruler as well and they were provided full facilities to observe their religion in its perfect expression. *Zainudin Makhdoom* has noted this aspect also in his book. He says that "hence the rulers make it convenient for the Muslims to organize Friday congregation Prayers (Jum'ah) and the celebrations like 'Id'. And the government makes special arrangements for implementing among the Muslims their own religious rules and regulations."⁵⁸ And it is also clearly attested by ample documents and enough evidences that it was, simply as the succession of the bygone years or centuries, the period of strong Sufi devotional activism among the *Mappila Muslims*.

Most of or to say all of their religious leaders had obvious affiliation to any of the Sufi *Thareeqath* Streams. Focussing this area of devotional religion a vibrant kind of activism had apparently occupied the religious space *Mappila Muslims* then. The writings and circulations of *Thasawwuf* books and Sufi treatises which got wide and speedy momentum among them during this period and the torrential flow of people which marked the time towards those streams are the obvious indices of this

⁵⁷ Tuhfat, Nainar translation, op, cit, p.56

⁵⁸ Ibid, p46

undeniable factor. It is widely believed that during the period of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuthi* the most prevalently spread Sufi esoteric order in the coastal areas of Africa and Asia was the *Qadiree* Sufi Order⁵⁹, of which one strong advocate was he himself. It was during the course of time when Portuguese spread great unrest in coastal areas the turn of intensified activism on the part of Sufis with trade and missionary moves. Those Sufis who creatively strove well to take part in the happiness and hardship of people were not a bit reluctant to organize themselves and people against these alien dominators at any cost. And it is noted that most of conversions were occurred during the colonial period and Gaspar Correa speaking about this factor has said that the growth rate of Muslims during this period was much higher than ever. And it is also remarkable that there was not a single Muslim who is not member in any of the Sufi streams.⁶⁰

Though different religious members had among the traders, large scale tolerance and covering confluence was the characteristic feature of their functioning on the whole, and since the leadership of the trade was fixed in the hands of Muslims they were widely and sincerely respected by all other communities. However the real hands that safeguarded the string of religious tolerance and peaceful pluralism were of no one's but of those coastal area Sufis.⁶¹ By the end of the 16th century the activism of *Sufi Taiifa* had enrooted in coastal areas and Singing and loudly and repeatedly in praise of the marvellous deeds of Sufi *Shaykhs* had become prevalent among the laymen. And people become committed to lead quite righteous life and attain the nearness of God through those praising and panegyrics.⁶² And by the time from south-East Asia to Africa devotional elements had rooted in the minds of Muslims, even than knowledge. And it was most helpful functionary aspect in the missionary activities.⁶³

⁵⁹ Husain Randathani, The cultural back ground of Muhyiddin Mala, p.1 (ma) I, article presented, in Seminar conducted by Kendra Sahithya Acdemy on December, 2, 2008.

⁶⁰ Edward Simpson and Kai Kresse, (Ed.) *Struggling with History, Islam and cosmopolitanism in the Western Indian Ocean*, N. Delhi, 2007, p.76. quoted from Randathani article, op, cit, p.2

⁶¹ B.G. Martin, *Muslim brotherhood in Nineteenth Century Africa*, Cambridge, 1987, p. 95-100, quoted from Randathani article, p.2

⁶² Randathani, article, p.3

⁶³ A.H. Johns, " Sufism as a Category in Indonesian Literature and History", *Journal of South East Asian History*, 2, July(1961), p.13-17, quoted from Randathani article, op, cit, p.3

In this period of time religious devotion was considered much important in different societies besides Muslims. The *Bhakti* movement which got commendable growth and circulation in various areas of south India during this period is one glaring example of this aspect. Though some essential changes were apparently seen in the observance structure and methods of expressions in accordance with the rules and regulations of the religions, somehow *Bhakti* or devotion had been a strong undercurrent in most of practices irrespective of ideological and societal differences. It was much visible in Hinduism and Buddhism. *Thunchattu Ezhuthachan*, the greatest Malayalam poet of all time, who wrote his two great epics *Adhyatma Ramayanam* and *Srimahabharatam* and two shorter pieces, *Irupattinalu Vrittam* and *Harinama Kirtanam* and thereby revolutionized Malayalam language and literature at once. And who is rightly regarded as the maker of modern Malayalam and the father of Malayalam poetry,⁶⁴ was a poet of this period, but the most outstanding poet of this turn of time. It is marked that the most striking aspect or the poise of poetry was the strong undercurrents of devotional elements. *Ezhuthachan* is the greatest spokesperson of the *Bhakti* movement in Malayalam though he is more than a writer of devotional hymns.⁶⁵ As *Ayyappa Panicker* remarked in his essay, *Ezhuthachan's* time there was no dissociation of religious sensibility and devotion and spirituality could always go together and *Bhakti* was a *stayibhava* (a constant colour) of the his poetry.⁶⁶ While these evidences indicate to the revolutionary spread of devotional elements during the period irrespective of religions, it demands some down to earth examination or exploration for which I don't want to make attempt now.

However, it can be safely stated that the political condition of 16th century, Calicut was quite turbulent for the sole reason of Portuguese invasion in to the land and whole history 16th century, Calicut in one way or the other is connected with the intervention of Portuguese colonisers. As stated earlier *Zamorines* were the rulers of Calicut, the time and Muslims were at the helm of trade related activities. Prior to the emergence of the Portuguese, processing of maritime trade in the Indian ocean

⁶⁴ Dr. K, Ayyappa Panikkar, Malayalam Literature . Site address

⁶⁵ [Http// www.cs.princeton.edu.mp/](http://www.cs.princeton.edu.mp/).com

⁶⁶ Dr.Ayyappa Panicker,op,cit.

was established and were proceeding quite peacefully and over the centuries a mutual beneficial relationship developed between Muslim traders and Hindu merchants and the native ruler was in full support to this thriving network. But the arrival of Portuguese with multiple aims of capturing economical nerve centres and establishing and replacing their religious ideologies with that of natives' essentially threatened in no time all this quiet and peaceful on goings. 16th century as a whole was the hot bed of rigorous encounters and stiff fighting for *Zamorin* and his subjects especially *Mappilas Muslims* since as Miller opined one of the least surprising but the most traumatic of events in the history of *Mappilas* was the coming of Portuguese.⁶⁷ This period has witnessed to the fullest expression Muslim commitment even in the battlefield in order to get rid of the province from the Portuguese transgressors and the rise of *Kunhalis* the symbol of unwavering and undefeatable persistence in the bed of Arabian sea , as naval commandants of *Zamorin*, and their persistent presence for more than one century period for the protection of *Zamorin's* power and emancipation of the native and Arab victims from the cruel hands of colonisers must be read in this line of events. Especially for Muslims, Portuguese period was a turn of unmatched sufferings. The Portuguese scoffed at the Muslims and held them up to scorn. They harassed them for no reason; insulted them; humiliated them; forced them to carry on their back to cross filthy, muddy tracts as they toured around the country side; spit at them and on their faces; obstructed their journeys especially Hajj journeys; plundered their wealth; seized their vehicles; and set fire their houses and mosques; trampled under feet and burned the Holy Qur'an and other religious books; reviled publicly the Prophet and forced them to bow before the cross and killed Hajj pilgrims⁶⁸ and so and so the accounts of matchless inhuman cruelties cannot be easily written fully.

And during this period it was the most pleasant thing that the native king of Calicut, *Zamorin* was in fine terms with Muslims and *Mappila Muslims* were considered as the main respected subjects of him and essentially the chief saviours of the nation and each encounters happened there in between Portuguese and *Zamorin* the live and dynamic participation of *Mappilas* was visible and mostly the commandants of

⁶⁷ Rolland.E.Miller,op,cit,p.60

⁶⁸ Tuhfat, al Mujahudeen, Eng, trans, op , cit ,p.56-57

the *Zamorin* army were Muslims. Albuquerque himself has paid tribute to the Mappila resistance movement in a communication to his monarch. He stated that it was always necessary to maintain a powerful presence in the area, failing which the *Mappilas* would attack bravely, in fact, better than any other people I have ever seen”.⁶⁹

But by the last phase of 16th century, this cordial relation existed between *Mappila Muslims* and *Zamorin* began to get affected and become blurred due to some political disturbances caused by the unexpected policy changes of the *Zamorin* of the time. Indicating to this unfortunate transformation, Miller, writes that a weak *Zamorin* had estranged the *Mappilas* by allowing the construction of a Portuguese fort at *Ponnani* in 1587. The *Kunhalis*, (the naval commandants or fighting admirals of *Zamorin*) retaliated by establishing a new base at *Kotta*, twenty miles north of Calicut, and engaged in piratical activity against all the coastal shipping, including that of *Zamorin*. This resulted in the unusual phenomenon of a Portuguese- *Zamorin* alliance, which eventuated in a successful action against the *Kunhali*. The latter surrendered to *Zamorin* on the promise of a safe conduct, but was seized by the Portuguese and spirited away to Goa. There he and his fellow *Mappilas* were publicly executed, and his head was salted and placed on a stake at Cannanore⁷⁰. The far reaching impacts of the quite unexpected and explicitly deceitful attitude of *Zamorin*, which culminated in the brutal murder of *Kunhali*, coupled with the great loss of monopoly over the trade of east coast, and the sudden fall of the economy of the *Zamorin* and the *Mappilas* from the dizzy heights of the prosperity that earlier maintained, and ultimately reaching in to a disastrous state of the great poverty had brought Mappila community at the end of 16th century and at the initial years of 17th century in to a kind of extreme confusion and total disturbance and pushed them severely in to the hands of somewhat daunting frustrated state. It is said that the onset of 17th century A.D was a completely complicated condition for *Mappila Muslims* of Malabar due to the great alienated feeling they experienced, as the consequence of the historic break down of centuries preserved sodality and strong inter dependence with the native Hindu ruler *Zamorin* and, as a result it was the

⁶⁹ Miller, op, cit,p.68

⁷⁰ Ibid,p.69 .

most crucial time for them to ensure and strengthen the internal stability and sodality of the community and save it from being affected and going scattered⁷¹ In the above elaboration, varied faces and poises of the different stages and phases of time and its continuously changing and reinforcing religious and political climates, in which *Qazi Muhammed Kalikuti* was born brought up and come up with his revolutionary diverse mission, must have been evident.

Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti and His Contribution.

Qazi Muhammad kalikuthi is a very prominent figure emerged in the great familial stream of *Qazis* of Calicut which has in its valuable treasury a live tradition of vibrant activism maintained and preserved through many centuries, as its representative in one of the most turbulent turn of time in the whole history of Calicut. He was known in the title '*Qazi Muhammad first*' since some other members having the same name have succeeded him in his family line and have seated in the coveted post of *Qazi* of Calicut in different time frame after his stint. Though sources of evidences are not satisfactorily enough to locate the each and every states and stages of his life and to map and cover the whole range of his path breaking diverse career, it is readable from the available meantime time some crucial documents that his life was a historic life having variegated poises and poses which was purely carved out of the impeccability his lofty lineage, enormous scholarship, strong affiliation to one of the major Sufi orders, highly creative thinking and eminence of righteousness of personality and above all the pressing pressures rose from the different walks of living atmosphere threatening the existence of the land in general and religion and community in particular.

Some close information about the life and contribution of *Qazi Muhammad* is given in the works of *Qazi Aboobakr Kunhi Qazi*, the well known scholar and instant poet and son of the famous *Kunhidin Kutti Qazi* and the latter half of 19th century representative of Calicut *Qazi Family*, who took charge of Calicut *Qaziship* in the year 1861A.D.⁷² after the demise of his predecessor in the post, *Hajju Koya Qazi*.

⁷¹ Zainuddin Mandalan Kunnu, Muhyiddin Mala, history, lesson and study (mal), p.40-41

⁷² Muhammad Koya parappil, op, cit, p. 110

From his many brilliant works, *Naseehathul Ikhvan* an interpretation poem of *Qazi Muhammad's Ila kam Ayyuhal Insan*, and *Masabihul Kavakibu Durriyya* are only early works that speak about and provide details on *Qazi Muhammad's* life, which can be considered as the major reliable early sources from available documents, still those are limited and scanty as far as the wide and variegated potentials and ranges of his historic life and vibrant career is concerned. On the basis of these and other available documents and on safe assumptions which can be derived in the light of the true reading of his available works I am making an attempt below to trace his life and whole extent of areas enjoyed his influence from berth till death in some details as far as possible.

Birth, Early Life and Education.

Though differences of opinions are seen about the exact year of the birth of *Qazi Muhammad* in various writings about him, the year given in the 'Great personalities in Malayalam' written by *Nellikuth Muhammad Musliyar* seems close to the fact since his precision and accuracy in locating and tracing historical elements related with Mappila life is well agreed and approved without much dissents even from authentic academic spheres. In the light of the said source, it can be believed that he was born in 980 A.H. / 1572 A.D.⁷³ in Calicut in the esteemed and high profile family *Qazis* of Calicut as the son the highly acclaimed scholar and well known anti-colonial fighter *Qazi Abdul Azees*. Only the year is known and exact date of his birth is not mentioned anywhere or remembered by live Mappila oral tradition. One of the statements found in one of the articles of *Nalakathu Muhammad Koya Qazi* also backs up the possibility of being the above mentioned year as the correct birth year of *Qazi Muhammad*. Besides, there are some other assumptions regarding his birth year that it is reported to have occurred in 40s or 50s of 16th century, is also have no sound evidence to put forth. However, I have given in the title of the topic 1550 to indicate the year of his birth; it is to include a larger area in a broad sense but not on the basis of any authentic document. However, it can be summed up in this regard

⁷³ Nellikuth Muhammadali Musliyar, op, cit,

that, though there have different opinions regarding the birth date of Qazi Muhammad, none of it is authentic, since no primary data is available to support it.

Highly religious and greatly scholastic atmosphere of the home and family have essentially influenced the upbringing of Muhammad from very early childhood which helped shape a an important personality so as live up to expectations of the society he lived in and the land, in one of the most tumultuous phase of time. It can be safely assumed that he had got the overall guidance and perfect looking after of his highly religious and purely patriotic Father *Qazi Abdul Azeez* whose vibrant legacy was precisely kept up by him in his later years. As stated above the colonial Portuguese atrocities were its unimaginable heights in the time of Muhammad's birth and growth. It also can be assumed that constant experiencing and witnessing of the unabated atrocities and tortures of cruel Portuguese colonisers on his natives must have influenced the young mind of Muhammad and left its heavy impact which in turn helped to reach in to some stern resolve against colonial vandals which had been expressed in the different form of his contributions. As far as the educational career of *Qazi* is concerned it is said that its preliminary phase was given by his scholarly father *Qazi Abdul Azeez* as he was very much eager and aware to foster his children in the full shade of the bright teachings of Islamic ideology.⁷⁴ It can be safely believed that during these early years of education from the lap and lips of father he must have attained mastery in the fundamentals of all necessary theological and lingual areas. From the very early days of learning he had showed high range of understanding, keen intellect, lofty vision, much powerful comprehension, notable efficiency and acumen and above all extreme piety and righteousness which altogether made him a centre of attraction in all those who acquainted him from his teachers and well wishers. And it also can be ascertained that he was much conscious to amass enough spiritual and knowledgeable meals from the very childhood days which necessarily in turn enabled him in the later phase of his life to take up the heavy charge of spiritual leadership of the community in Calicut efficiently and most creatively in one of the most turbulent phase of history of Calicut which marked with the painstaking annals of Portuguese colonialism. After

⁷⁴ Nellikuth Muhammadali Musliyar,op,cit,p.33

preliminary education from the father he travelled to *KayalPatnam*, which was then one of the well renowned seat of many acclaimed scholars, high Islamic learning and many Sufi orders and Sufi saints and become the disciple famous scholar and Sufi saint *Allama Uthman labba Al Kayalee* and attained deep and down to earth mastery in various branches of religious lore and from him even the intrinsic flair of *Qazi* in instantly composing poems, can be believed to have triggered in him and got wings as an influence of the days spent with *Allama Uthman Labba* which can clearly derive from the reading of the some lines of the elegiac poem (*Marsiyyath Ala Al Shaikh Uthman Labba Al-kayali*) he composed in praise of his Guru, *Allama Kayalee* after his death. One of the lines from the poem which gives obvious clue to this assumption can read as follows.

ولو ان طيرا حل في جنب بابكم يكن بيغا حقا و ان هي ذا بط⁷⁵

This line has ample scope to attest the assumption that the genius touch and company of *Allama Uthman* has caused in a large scale to get cultivated excellent mastery of *Qazi Muhammad* in Arabic language and arouse his taste in composing brilliant poetic works. As the poem line indicated, once he started to live with *Allama* sipping from the ocean of his vast store of knowledge it must have influenced and began to breed his literary abilities also since one has enough reason to think that he must be speaking from his own firsthand experience other than others'. It also can be safely guessed that the spiritual journey of *Qazi Muhammad* and getting tied up with one of the major Sufi order also must have been initiated first during the span of time he spent with *Uthman Labba Al-Kayalee*. *Allama Abdul Qadiril-Hamadani Valappatnam* and *Allama Muhammadul Qadiree* were among his teachers⁷⁶ from whom also he must have got opportunity to dive deep in to the theological and Sufi spheres of lore and experience since *Valapatnam* was once the hot centre of many Sufi *Thareeqas* and famous Sufi saints under whom Sufi orders got wide momentum and large circulation among its natives and neighbouring places even some Mosques of there are still known in the names of some *Thareeqath*

⁷⁵ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuthi, Marsiyyth Ala Shaikh Uthman labba Al- Kayali, Archives of Nalakthu Muhammad Koya Al- Kalikuthi, Manuscript

⁷⁶ K.M. Muhammad, Contribution of Kerala to Arabic literature,p.54

Shaykhs.⁷⁷ Necessarily as in the case of a sincere knowledge thirsty in his time his keen and tiring search for more and more knowledge has made him reach in *Ponnani Dars* which was most famous and productive *Dars*, Mappila Kerala ever produced under the strict and up to date guidance and directives of *Makhdoom* Family.

From *Makhdoom* Family it is said that he had become disciple of and sought knowledge from *Abdul Azeez Makhdoom* (D. in 994 A.H) and *Zainuddin Makhdoom Junior* (D, in 1032 A.H.) and the author of famous Jurisprudence work *Fathul Mueen* and Historical work *Tuhafat Al-Mujahideen*.⁷⁸ Through this live and inextricable bond, *Qazi Muhammad* had been able to experience the lofty knowledge tradition of *Ponnani* also which has paved the way for the revolutionary revivalism of knowledge amidst *Mappila Muslims* especially in medieval period and provided ample spiritual leadership to the community in its hardships and happiness. Through this commendable companionship with many acclaimed scholars of the time in different spheres and seeking maximum possible knowledge from each of them, Muhammad had become, within limited span of time, much adept and expert in various disciplines and branches of knowledge like, *Hadith, Thafseer, Fiqh, Usulul Fiqh*, astronomy, philosophy and etc. And by this time he had become a learned historian and scholar of many languages also. And he had developed special dexterity in finding and fixing the direction of *Qibla* and he had few equals in other geographical aspects of knowledge from his contemporaries. As part of his journey, seeking spiritual elevation, by this time he had amassed a vast stock of knowledge in *Thasawwuf* lore and consequently had developed a life style of simplicity, piety, asceticism and above all great magnanimity.⁷⁹

However it is evident that since the beginning and during the time of education, Muhammad was taking each step and moving ahead with enough care and direction knowingly or unknowingly to make himself perfectly befitted to take up the laudable burden of community leadership in imminent future and as the later years of life

⁷⁷ C.N.Ahmed Moulavi and K.K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem, The history of great Mappila literary tradition,p.171

⁷⁸ Nellikuth,op,cit,p.33

⁷⁹ Nellikuth,op,cit,p.33

revealed he wielded the wand of leadership with much efficiency and extreme acumen necessarily by the sheer virtue of personal eminence and scholastic capacity he attained through his impressive perseverance since his childhood days.

Now what is to be examined is years of activism undertaken by him and the lofty vision he upheld which left its lasting imprints in the arena of Mappila life vis-à-vis the mounting challenges rose from different quarters, after the term of his serious engagement with knowledge acquisition. Therefore under next subtitle, my venture is to examine his diverse career and the strong message he left for the world which sometimes had its mega impact on the life of *Mappila Muslims* especially since his time someway till date and can hope it will continue to many more years.

Diverse Career, Hectic Mission and Superb Vision

By virtue of the rich knowledge acquired, spiritual elevation attained, impressive lustre of genius shone time to time and above all the greatness of lineage of importance of family, what Muhammad showed in his life time was literally to say a revolutionary demonstration which was enough by all means to create strong impressions and impacts on the life of his Community Muslims in particular and the land in general. The death of *Qazi Muhammad* is recorded to have happened in 1025 A.H. fifth *Rabeeul Awwal*.⁸⁰ As mentioned earlier according to the most dependable sources his birth was in the year 980 A.H and if the available records are true it is evident that he had lived only a very short span of time and what *Nalakathu Muhammad Koya* underlies in his article about Calicut *Qazi* Family that when *Qazi Muhammad* passed away it is said that he was not more than forty years old⁸¹ is also indicative evidently to the short life span of *Qazi*. However during this very small life span *Qazi Muhammad* has lived an epoch making eventful life of which each chapters are going to be explored in some details in the wake of the available evidences.

The first and foremost thing to be noted while analysing his diverse meantime highly productive career is that with all considerations he needs to be counted prominent

⁸⁰ Aboobakr Kunhi Qazi, *Al-Masabeehul Kavakibu Durriyya*,p.1

⁸¹ Nalakath Muhammad Koya ,article, op, cit,p.70

one in the array of the spiritual leaders of *Mappila Muslims* and as a spiritual leader his reputation and importance is far more mention worthy and remarkable since he had to operate it in one of the toughest time in the history of *Mappila Muslims* created by the bloody intervention of cruel Portuguese colonisers. While examining the common style and modus operandi of the of spiritual leadership amidst *Mappila Muslims* in Kerala through centuries I had given a conclusive statement in the light of sound evidences that from the examination of the ways accepted by these leaders in guiding process of the community it is generally traceable that they strongly believed that the smooth living and survival of community both here and hereafter, is embedded in their preparedness to adhere to the ethos of the ideology of Islam true to its spirit. Attempts to make them spiritually enlightened and religiously conscious and above all ideologically befitted were only means to ensure the dignified existence of the community according to their well thought out vision. In accordance with this insight were the conceptualisation and application of the measures and moves with which they approached the community. The high rated intellectual capacity and ideological eminence is clearly visible as we reach in to the fact that the policies formulated and measures taken by this leaders while strictly inviting community members to adhere to the demands of the religion, was not any way harmful or threatening to the pluralistic frame work of the area, on the contrary very much helpful to maintain the balance in a comfortable format. This style of activities and frame work of vision was literally expressive and visible in full bloom as far as the sphere of actions and thinking of *Qazi Muhammad* is concerned.

As stated in the last chapter while examining the ways of Mappila spiritual leadership, transmission of knowledge and spread of it to the needy was one among the primary and premier missions of spiritual leaders. As one try to observe the life of *Qazi Muhammad* and areas of activism, he will necessarily find out that his career also was inextricably connected with educating people of his time. He had served as a *Mudarris*, teacher in *Dars*, in the famous spacious *Juma'* Mosque of *Kuttichira* in Calicut for many years. And he who achieved spiritual highness in the very time of education has assumed and taken up the leadership of some *Thrareeqath* movements and spiritual upbringing centres. For many number of people he imparted the light of

spiritual lore and made their hearts lit up with close esoteric experiences. And it is also said about him that from him many *Karamath* also had appeared and many expressions of extraordinary commanding power.⁸² This manifests the fact that *Qazi* also was obviously the part of *Dars* system, which is yet another exclusive characteristic of *Mappila Muslims* which exposed the ingenuity and the heightened intellectual capacity of the spiritual leadership emerged in the soil of Kerala and which has clearly and undeniably played a key and vital role in preserving the originality of Islam in Kerala.

Yet another medium by which *Qazi* attempted to realize his goal in spreading education and reaching his learned and well thought out visions and messages was self authored works covering divergent branches of knowledge as usual in the case of *Mappila Ulama*. While observing the whole range of the disciplines dealt by him and exploring the extent of the diversity he treated through his written contributions, it is doubtless that it will certainly reveal as in the case of others who come in the array of spiritual leaders amidst *Mappila Muslims*, that those products also were essentially aimed at the execution of their vision to prepare the community to tackle successfully and creatively the varying situations by making them religiously conscious and spiritually enlightened. Since *Qazi Muhammad's* literature has special importance with respect to his mission and since it is a key area of my study it will be separately treated in some detail under next sub title.

In the light of available evidences he assumed the illustrious post of *Qaziship* in Calicut in the year 1016 A.H/ 1607 A.D.⁸³ He was brought to the post after the passing away of his brother *Aliyyu Nashiri* and it can be concluded that Muhammad must have continued in the post about 10 years till his death. *Qazi Muhammad* who was naturally a man of many revolutionary ideas must have spent this acclaimed term in the serious engagement with dynamic activism aiming at the overall revivalism in his community and many reasons and ample evidences are there to think it was quite true. It is said that many of his highly illustrious literary

⁸² Nellikuth Muhammadali Musliyar, op, cit, p.34

⁸³ Aafaqi ssaqafati Wa turath, article by Dr. Aboobakr Muhammad, Qaseedathu Fathul Mubeen, p.18

creations were made during this period. Since he had adopted a participatory stance in approaching the cases and conditions of people, it had helped to breed and grow his popularity and therefore his each move and measure could exert high influence among the public and learned section as well.⁸⁴ For theological confusions and problems related with Muslim community of the area from time to time he suggested authentic solutions and issued unerring *Fatwas* wherever necessary and there are reasons to think that *Zamorin* must have had consulted him in issues related with Muslims in particular and all his subjects irrespective of religion in general considering the soaring popularity and high influence Calicut *Qazis* possessed since earlier time. As evident from his works like *Fathul Mubeen*, he was a strong advocate of religious harmony and promoter of it in Kerala like atmosphere where pluralism of religion and ideologies is the core of the course, and strove every nerve to maintain its free flow at any cost getting it always rid of any minor aberration which will only ultimately ensure the smooth and facilitated existence of his community indeed. It is revealing his added importance, high reputation and wide acceptance in the minds of people of his time, the fact that he was not only the *Qazi* of Calicut but he had officially been entrusted the post of *Qaziship* in many neighbouring regions also.⁸⁵

Besides all these, one of the most striking aspects as far his life and vision is concerned is the hot views expressed and highly productive roles performed by him in the sultry field of stiff encounters with colonial powers and their unbridled ambitions. His contributions in keeping up the tempo of historic resistance rose from the quarters of *Mappila Muslims* in Portuguese period and later colonial periods against their colonial cruelties and greediness is far more impressive and quite memorable which is enough and ample in whole sense to enable him to claim the title 'spiritual leadership in anti-colonial struggle'. A close analysis of the different faces of his life will unfold enough evidences and live life scenes in support of this idea or argument. One can safely reach in to the assumption that he must have rendered his services physically also in the field of battles against colonial atrocities of Portuguese army on the ground of several glaring reasons. One is that his was a

⁸⁴ Sunni District conference souvenir, Kozhikode, 2008, p.25

⁸⁵ Nellikuth Muhammadali Musliyar, op.cit, p.34

time marked by the mounting troubles and traumas caused by the bloody interventions of colonial Portuguese who were wreaking maximum havoc to the people, land and property of Kerala and he was a committed leader of the Mappila community, having high Islamic spirit and religiosity who proved his potentials in the middle of public with his popular participatory approach and hence naturally it is unreasonable to think that he can unemotionally stand aloof and sit cross-legged in the face of such a daunting mountainous threat just sending the people to the war front and letting them perish or survive.

Another motive to think thus is that his father *Qazi Abdul Azees* was an expert in martial arts and emboldened frontline warrior and it is reported that he was one among the leaders who led the historic battle held in 1571 A.D. as per the order of Calicut King *Zamorin* against Portuguese which culminated in the capturing of *Chaliyam* fort from the Portuguese hands along with the then renowned Sufi saint *Shaykh Shamsuddin Muhammad Aluddin Al Himmasi* and *Shaykh Abdul Azeez Makhdoom*⁸⁶ which has been believably the great morale booster to the warriors to make substantial head ways in the battle field and about which *Qazi Muhammad* has created the world famous poem titled *Fathul Mubeen* a well-renowned anti-colonial literature (a detailed study will follow about the said poem in the next chapter). And being the son of such a patriotic and emboldened father he must have translated in to his person the lofty tradition of extra ordinary bravery and avowed commitment and unwavering constancy upheld by his father to the cause of nation and religion as he perfectly absorbed the inheritance of knowledge and community leadership from him in theory and practice.

However there has enough reason to conclude that he must have personally involved in the anti-colonial war fronts as he provided impressive ideological backing and theoretical moral support and strong encouragement to the warriors who spent their energy and life blood in the field of stiff encounters with powers of evil. Nevertheless the statement of K.T. Husain “when *Chaliyam* battle occurred in 1571A.D. *Qazi Muhammad* was then merely a young man. And he who got imparted from his father the strong anti-colonial feeling, couldn’t stand aloof and

⁸⁶ C.N.Ahmed Moulavi and K.K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem,op,cit,p.157

watch the war as a mere spectator. Along with his the religious scholars including his own father he set out in to the war fronts clad in battle attire and wearing arms. If father was one among the important planners and strategy formers of the battle, his famous son Muhammad was one among the frontline warriors”⁸⁷ does not seem to be an unerring finding. Because in the light of the more evidences, he would not have grown in to young by the time that war took place but then he was only an infant since as stated earlier his birth is reported to be happened in 980 A.H.⁸⁸ only and another element to support this argument is that for writing his acclaimed poetic creation on the said battle, *Fathul Mubin*, which elaborately explores the conditions consequences, motives results of the battle and many more significant ideas, he has never depended on his own experience.

But on the contrary for preparing the poem for each and every iota of information and for the narration of the events, it is reported that he had approached mainly his father *Qazi Abdul Azeez* and *Ahmad Qamami* an important personality of the period and one of the eyewitnesses of the battle⁸⁹.and it also notable that he hasn't mentioned anything related with the war on the basis his first hand experience in the whole of the poem except a few lines he wrote in first person which implicitly indicate to his presence during the time of war, but it more than taking in such an account, it is better to assess as an expression as part of a poet's unbridled freedom in his application so as to make the narration extremely effective and attractive, which necessarily would have found place if he was one among the warriors involved in the said war. However it doesn't mean that he hasn't involved in any battle held against Portuguese in anytime, but while analysing his strict ideology and hot thinking and spectacular heritage, one cannot help assuming that as I noted earlier that he must have personally involved in the battles apart from the stimulation process he undertook and handled successfully from time to time in accordance with the demand of time and condition.

⁸⁷ K.T. Husain, Kerala Muslims: The ideology of Anti-colonial struggle,p.52-53

⁸⁸ This conclusion is made on basis of accepting 980 A.H. as the birth date of Qazi Muhammad and conclusion can be sound only with respect to the correctness of that stipulated date.

⁸⁹ Zainuddin Mandalan Kunnu, Mappila struggles and Ulama leadership,p47

At length, the life of *Qazi Muhammad* till his death in a Wednesday *Rabiul Awwal* 5th in the year 1025 A.H. ⁹⁰ (1616 A.D.) was in letter and spirit a quite eventful one having multi-faceted implications and far reaching impacts of which both community and land and its diverse sources and elements benefitted boundlessly. Even toady the ideas permeated from his thoughtful and spiritual coffers has been exerting heavy influence on the mainstream Mappila society and their belief and practice structure of which a narration will follow. He was buried in the front side of *Kuttichira Juamath* Mosque and many people especially members from Mappila Sunni community still reaches there to have a visit of his burial place seeking blessing in being close to late great pious fellows and in the hot remembrance of the splendid services he rendered for the cause of the overall advancement and moral revivalism of the community.

Multifarious Literature and its Implications

Qazi Muhammad along with his many other hectic activities, was the author of a number of many valuable literatures covering different areas of knowledge and a gifted poet. In the light of available evidences it can be said that he had upheld in the perfect sense the tradition of Mappila spiritual leadership through his impressive and highly influential writing career also. It is reported that he had written about fifty books being both in brilliant prose and poetry covering different disciplines of Islamic theology like *fiqh*, *Thasawwuf*, *Thajveedu* Panegyrics and on language teachings like Arabic grammar and some works in mathematics, astronomy and letter works and etc. which is enough evidence to acknowledge his superior ranking in the array of the gifted early Mappila writers. But O. Abu the author of ‘The history Arabic-Malayalam literature’ says that Qazi Muhammad is said to have authored around five hundred works in prose and poetry⁹¹ and following the opinion and statement of O. Abu some other later authors also have expressed the same assumption but it is unclear and ambiguous on which sources he had depended to

⁹⁰ Qazi Abookacker Kunhi, *Al-Masabeehul Kawakibu Durriyya*,p.1 quoted from K.M. Muhammad,op,cit,p.54

⁹¹ O. Abu, *The history of Arabic-Malayalam literature(mal)*, p.76

make such a flat statement and therefore one cannot conclude how far that statement comes close to reality.

Meantime the authors of 'the great literary tradition of *Mappila Muslims*', state that it might be exaggerated what some writers opined that *Qazi Muhammad* has written about five hundred works'.⁹² But what seems close to fact is that he must have written around fifty books and many more articles and letters of which the number may reach to the higher digits. What *Nellikuth Muhammadali Musliyar* states is that *Qazi* had written about fifty books other than his famous Arabic-Malayalam poem *Muhyiddin Mala*. According to K.M. Muhammad who made a thorough study on the Arabic literature in Kerala, *Qazi* had authored being small and big ones about forty books.⁹³ Whichever may be the factual finding and estimation it is quite unfortunate that only a few works out of these numbers have survived and traced all the rest either lost or perished beyond recovery in the passage of time due to several reasons and although the traced out ones are still enough to assess his matchlessness and superiority in the fields of knowledge and endorse the extent of his scholarship.

In the light of available early and later sources, his known titles are as follows: 1) *Maqasidu Nikkahu* 2) *Ila Kum Ayyuhal Insan* 3) *Multhakatul Fara'id* 4) *Fathul Mubeen* 5) *Nadmi Kathri Nada* 6) *Nadmul Ajnas* 7) *Mandumat fi Tajveedil Qur'an* 8) *Mandumathun Fi Ilmil Hisab* 9) *Mandumathum fi ilmil aflaki wa nnujum* 10) *Mandumathil Quthuthi wa Rasail* 11) *Nadmul Awaamil* 12) *Marsiyathum fi Shaykh Uthman* 13) *Durrathul Nafeesa fil Wa'zi wa naseehath* 14) *Mudilul Jinan* 15) *Naseehathul Mu'mineen* 16) *Muhyiddin Mala*⁹⁴ Some other titles are *Thanbeehul Ikwan fi Ahwali Zaman*, *Dua' thalarrui wal ibtihal*, *Silsilathul Qadiriyya*, *Silsialthul Hamadaniyya* and some works in Jihad and in the life sketch of prophet and in his panegyrics and *Moulid* and some more works in oratory and letter literature.⁹⁵ However these traced out titles all don't exceed twenty and for some of his works

⁹² C.N. Ahmed Moulavi, op, cit, p.151

⁹³ K.M. Muhammad, op, cit, p.54

⁹⁴ These titles are provided in books like History of muslims of Kerala, history great mappila literary tradition, Great personalities of malyalam and so on

⁹⁵ These more titles are traced from one of the manuscripts of Nandiyl Muhammad Musliyar, the founder of Nandi Darussalam Arabic College in Kerala and known scholar and pious personality who died in July. 7.1994 A.D.

brilliant interpretations and explanatory sequels also have been prepared and penned down by some great later period scholars including one interpretation work of an Arabian scholar and a former *Mudarris* in *Harem Shareef Makah*, *Allama Shaykh Muhammad bin Alan*.⁹⁶ Sadly to find out the fact that majority of his works are not published and were kept in manuscripts in some private archives of his family and that may be one major reason for the mass loss of his many a work. It was mainly because the fact that printing and publishing were introduced in the Mappila land centuries after his period and during the time books were circulated as manuscripts and those published works of him were either published outside Kerala or after years of his period. Hence to find out the manuscripts and have a firsthand experience of the works in detail I had to run the risk of exploring the private archives of *Qazis'* descendants.

On account of the experience to find out the manuscripts, one bitter fact came to my notice is that some patrons of traditional sources of knowledge are not well aware of the high value of the archives they are in service of which so that to open it before those who sincerely approach them in the severe quest for the knowledgeable contents which couldn't be found out elsewhere. So my humble ambition regarding this fact is that those who traditionally or some way else become able to undertake the patronage duty of some valuable coffers of knowledge and book archives must be broad minded and sincere enough to ensure the full reach of it and finish off any kind of blockades before its grave seekers from like researches and explorers and etc. What helped me a lot to trace out those manuscripts was the hearty cooperation I experiences virtually on the part of some sincere quarters who are now in charge of that familial archives.⁹⁷ However, one can reach in to some immediate conclusions while making a cursory observation of the titles penned down by *Qazi Muhammad* that I am going to summarise hereunder very briefly. One is that the variety of titles he dealt with clearly proves that he was a scholar of many a field of knowledge and

⁹⁶ Dr. Veeran Muhyiddin, *Ashi'ru'l Arabi Fi Kerala*, p.85

⁹⁷ Many necessary manuscripts for my purpose, I was able to find out from the private archives of former Kozhikode Senior Qazi, Sayyid Ahmed Shihabuddin Imbichi Koya Thangal, which is now in the patronage of Abdulla Koya Tangal, son of late Valiya Qazi. His wholehearted cooperation and assistance has been much helpful to smoothen the path of my search for manuscripts. And very few sources had been found out from the archives of Nalakathu Muhammad Koya to where entry was not so smooth.

was a person who aimed at imparting the knowledge he attained and the awareness he absorbed to not only to the people of his period but to generations to succeed. More over it also is clear that he was a versatile genius and adept in Arabic and Arabic-Malayalam to which his creations shed light.

One remarkable change I noticed while comparing the original manuscripts and writings about it in the secondary sources is that in each of the secondary sources which provided his titles give title of one book as *Durrathul Faseeha Fil Wa'az wa Naseeha* (ذرة الفصيحة في الوعظ و النصيحة) but in one of the original manuscripts I found out from the manuscript archives of late senior *Qazi* of Calicut I got the title as *Durratul Nafeesa fil Wa'azi Wa Naseeha*. Instead of *faseeha* (فصيحة) I found there *Nafeesa* (نفيسة) and it is more close to the intention I think and so it may be the correct application and can't say how such a fallout (if it is so) happened in all those works.

Most of his writings are in poetry and the variety of areas dealt in it points to the fact that he was trying through the medium of poetry to make his community simply well aware of the teachings and rules and regulations of Islam. That is necessarily what one can find behind his titles like *Maqasidu Nikah*, *Multakathul Faraa'id*, *Mandumatul Ajanas* and etc.

Another element is that to make his community spiritually and morally perfect was one among his prime aims through which only, he understood that they can survive victoriously in here and hereafter. His literary works likes *Ila Kam Ayyuhal Insan*, *Thanbeehul Mu'mineen*, *Durrathu Nafeesa* and *Muhyiddin Mala* and etc are obviously indicative to this area.

Besides all this one of the most remarkable aspect which can be unfolded while analysing and observing his titles is that he was much conscious and eager to make his community learned well in Arabic language so that to have them a close touch with lore of their ideology. It can be seen as the follow up of the way taken up by the spiritual leadership of *Mappila Muslims* who had given ample or additional care and shown much diligence in language teaching especially in Arabic, that must be the

reasons behind the increase of the number of works prepared by Mappila authors in Arabic language, in its grammar and etc. Mostly they have tried to present the rules and ways of language acquisition in simple poetry aiming at general public also. Above all it also can be understood that he was a prolific writer and a man of acute vision and high thinking. It is also true that he had written some books of purely scientific insight which apparently call for the community to come forward to study whole areas of knowledge a Muslims must not be ignorant of any subjects though some try to sidetrack it describing it as material knowledge and which clearly indicates that such bifurcation of knowledge is never acceptable according to the view point of Islam. Now I consider each of the available works of *Qazi Muhammad* so that to explore the importance of its content and its peculiarities vis-à-vis the need and demand of the time, space and people. It is also to be noted that the reading of each of his works will necessarily corroborate his seat in the house of spiritual leaders in Kerala and the theme discussed in each of them and the way it presented will provide the essence of the poise, expressions and methods utilised by the members who can be counted in the set of spiritual leaders among *Mappila Muslims*. But two of his most known and widely circulated and much acclaimed titles, *Fathul Mubeen* in Arabic and *Muhyiddin Mala* in Arabic Malayam will be dealt with separately in some detail in the next chapter, because both of them demands special treatment due to each of its increased significance with respect to the peculiar dimension of study of this dissertation i.e. ‘spiritual leadership in anti-colonial struggle’.

Makasidu Nikah (مقاصد النكاح)

Maqasidu Nikah is one of the most significant and lengthy poetic creation of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* and it is considered as his masterpiece poetic work in his Islamic jurisprudence related works. A cursory reading of the poem will reveal his high expertise in Arabic language, vast and deep scholarship in Islamic Jurisprudence and his genius to present his ideas in smooth and simple poetic mode and above all his impressive flair and flavour in poetry literature. Through this poem which is comprised of hundreds of lines being in more than fifty subtitles he has succeeded well to present for the readers the rules and regulations and conditions to

be taken care in marriage (Nikah) which are prescribed by Islamic jurisprudence .Mainly through this poem he targets the *Qazis* community who conducts and solemnise the contract of marriage ceremony more than the general public. The poetic style he applied in the poem is of a simple format and he accepted this method deliberately so as to facilitate easily and smoothly the process of learning it by heart as himself has declared the intention in one of the initial lines of the poem, the above mentioned points that his major target behind the poem was *Qazis* and his poem was written in a very simple manner so as to ensure the mass learning by heart process so easily can be read from his own lines in the poem, they are:

فإن هذه مقاصد النكاح للعاقدين عن مواقع السفاح⁹⁸

And after some lines he continues

جمعتها تذكرةً للاخوان من عاقد النكاح في هذا الزمان⁹⁹

These line obviously reveal that his major target by this poem is those who conduct or solemnise the process of *Nikah* (marriage contract) from *Qazis* and and Imams and etc.

After some more lines he goes on saying

منظومة والنظم سهل حفظه ولا يفوت كل حين نفعه¹⁰⁰

These line points to the fact that his main intention behind presenting this theme in poetic form was to make its memorisation so easy so that one can remember the laws wherever and whenever necessary out of his memory without resorting to texts frequently.

However this is a beautiful poem which enables the reader to understand and keep in mind the intricate laws and conditions related to the solemn process of marriage in

⁹⁸ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, Maqasidu Nikkah Manuscript, fifth line, some copies are kept in the private manuscript archive of former Kozhikode senior Qazi now the archive is in the patronage of his son Abdulla Koya Tangal.

⁹⁹ Maqasidu Nikkahu,op,cit, eleventh line

¹⁰⁰ Maqasidu Nikkah,op,cit, 16th line

some hundred lines. Using the famous metre in Arabic poetry i.e. ‘*Rajz*’ he has composed this poem, *Maqasidu Nikkah* and increased its flow and nicety. It is mention worthy here many of poems are found composed in the same metre.

He begins the poem in the traditional style of praising Allah Almighty and offering *Swalat* in the name of Prophet Muhammad and he never forget to bring the name of the poet in the very first line which facilitates a lot the identification of the poem and its composer without a little strain which was a style accepted and circulated by earlier poets either in beginning or end and some continues the method even today. Those initial lines can be read as follow:

قال محمدٌ هو بن قاضي أبدأ بسم الله خير قاضي
 الحمد لله ولا حول ولا قوّة الا بالاله ذي العلا
 مصلياً علي النبي محمدًا وآله وصحبه مؤبداً¹⁰¹

This poem can be taken for granted as a comprehensive account of the entire laws even minute and intricate ones regarding the solemn contract of *Nikah* in Islam and before plunging in to the narration of each and every rules he has noticed to remind the readers that if one fails to go in tune with the each and every conditions prescribed in the poem he will be trapped definitely in trouble and clash with the ethos of Islam and those who carefully succeed to keep it will be got rid of blames and sins and can amass the blissful wealth of ultimate success. The line which mentions this is as follows:

فمن وعاما فهو ناج عن جناح وجامع بين صلاح وفلاح¹⁰²

Clarifying the importance and sacredness and solemnity of *Nikah* in the prism of Islamic ideology and the prime objective behind its legitimisation he says;

قد جاء من بامرأة تزوجا احرز ثلثي دينه وقد نجا¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Ibid, 1-3 lines from the poem.

¹⁰² Ibid, 6th line

Some of the important subtitles in the poems are: ‘things to be enquired about wife, husband, advise, some factors regarding the marriage of adult female, discussion about the marriage of slaves both from male and female, marrying of a person who converted to Islam, conditions to be taken care of in marriage, conditions of guardian (*Waliyy* in Arabic), the hierarchy of guardians, elements of matching (*kafa'at*), divorce’, and etc. These are given only as a sample and those which are not given here are more and are not less in importance. He has spend space in the poem to introduce appropriately and sufficiently all terms and special situations rise while considering marriage like *Zihaar* (ظهار) *khul'a* (خلع) *Eela'* (ايلاء) etc . He never forgets to remind the readers about the harsh consequences of *Qadf* (calumny or alleging others of having illegitimate sex relation without ample proof) and the bitterest punishment awaits its perpetrator and through which he tries to convey in to minds of people how gravely Islam look in to this terrible meantime most obnoxious act. Without crystal clear evidences and without amply completing the conditions which are reasonably prescribed by the *Sharee'ath*, one in any condition never be goaded to reveal cases, he reminds people in the light of evidences. Some of the lines under the subtitle of *Qadf* can be read as thus,

من قذف النساء بلا بينةٍ فهو عند الله اهل اللعنة

Then explaining the strict conditions Islam put forward for revealing the cases of prostitution and clarifying the gravity it gives to such very sensitive cases, and pointing to the rigorous punishment Islamic *Sharee'ath* suggests, he says,

لكل امرئ شاهدان مع بيان وللزنا اربعة مع العيان

ورمي زوج بالزنا للزوجة يباح ان ايقرن لا بالتهمة

إما برؤية لها في الخلوة أو استفاضت مع القرينة¹⁰⁴

Thus he goes on explaining the different aspects of the case with enough details and clarity.

¹⁰³ Ibid, 7th line

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, in the chapter Qadf

Without moving off the traditional path (which is widely followed by the spiritual leaders among *Mappila Muslims*) of ending the poem he also resorts to seeking blessings and helps to Allah Almighty for the rewarding success of the poem and in the final lines he explains the number of the lines of the poem and year of its composition and his name and profile and even clarifies the school of jurisprudence he follows and concludes the poem again in the praise of God and with *Swalat* on prophet as it is the wont of pious scholars and poets in Islam: Those lines can be read as thus,

منظومتي مقاصد النكاح	ثمّ بعون الله الفتح
من هجرة الهادي الي المدينة	في عام عشر بعد الف سنة
وبعده الخمسة والخمسون	اياتها عشرون في عشرينا
محمد بن القاضي عبد للعزير	ناظمها القاضي لمولاه العزير
في كل حال دائما يرعاه	الكالكوتي الشافعي فالله
مصليا لسيد الانام ¹⁰⁵	والحمد لله علي التمام

From the above lines it is categorically understood that he had written the poem in the year 1010 A.H. which can be assumed as a threshold to his assuming in to the responsible seat of Calicut *Qadiship* in the just coming years and as it is known it happened in 1016 A.H.

However, *Maqasidu Nikkah* of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti*, the comprehensive account of marriage laws in Islam according to the *Shafi* school of Jurisprudence is on among his a few published works. But its published copies are not now in vogue¹⁰⁶. A interpretation to this poem is found amidst the search in the archives of former senior *Qazi Shihabuddin Imbichi Koya Tangal*, and Prof, K.M Muhammad says in his work that one of copy of which is found in the valuable book collection of *Chaliyam Ahmed Koya* also, but its author is not known since anywhere in the

¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁶ K.M. Muhammad,op,cit,p.54

text is not mentioned the name of the scholar who prepared the interpretation. But it can be assumed in the light of the situational and background clues that it might have penned down by someone from his family as his some works were done by them and perhaps it may be done by *Qazi Muhyiddin*, his own son and great scholar and Calicut *Qazi* after the tenure of his father, since he was the person who copied many works of father *Qazi Muhammad* in to texts and he attained a good share knowledge from his father and as it is evident he was an established scholar in Islamic Jurisprudence and Arabic language. But still one cannot categorically ensure it so because the name is not mentioned anywhere.

However, it is a true and fitting guide to the poem and to understand its contents effortlessly and dive deep in to different aspects of the issue in much detail because the unknown author of the interpretation has tried his most to make the book much exhaustive providing necessary verses from Qur'an and *Hadith* and make each seemingly difficult areas of the poem well clear and easy graspable. This poem has a translation in Tamil language. The translation was made by a scholar named *Habeeb Muhammad* from *Kayalpatnam*. This Tamil translation is understandable because the connection of Malabar Mappila *Ulama* and *Ulama* of Tamil Nadu especially *Kayalpatnam* and *Keelakkara* was so strong and stable then. *Fathul Kareem* press from Mumbai had published the poem along with its Tamil translation. In the private book archives of *Ahmed Koya Chaliyam* one copy of this published work also is available.¹⁰⁷

Al-Fara'idul Multaqat (الفرائض الملتقط)

Al-Fara'idul Multaqat is yet another poetic creation *Qazi Muhammad* composed in Islamic jurisprudence which evidently testifies his thorough knowledge and deep scholarship in Islamic *Sharee'ath* especially in the *Shafi* School of jurisprudence. As the title itself indicates, it is a collection of the laws of inheritance according to the Islamic *Sharee'ath*, picked up from different texts which speak on this subject.

¹⁰⁷ K.M. Muhmmad,op,cit,p.55

The *Fara'id* or the laws of inheritance is a very significant area of knowledge to which Islamic *Sharee'ath* pays extreme importance and encourages people to get well versed in the area some way. The extent of importance Islam pays to it is clearly evident from the following *Hadith* which is reported by *Abu Huraira* (R) and this *Hadith* is found in the collection of *Ibnu Maja* (R)

وعن أبي هريرة قال: قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم: "يا أبا هريرة، تَعَلَّمُوا الْفَرَائِضَ وَعَلِّمُوهُ فَإِنَّهُ نَصْفُ الْعِلْمِ، وَهُوَ يُنْسَى، وَهُوَ أَوَّلُ شَيْءٍ يُنْتَزَعُ مِنْ أُمَّتِي".

As the words of Prophet implies it has occupied high seat in the spheres of knowledge according to Islamic *Shariah* to the extent that it can be considered as the half of whole knowledge human can attain from here and prophet has warned of its early extinction. The attempt of *Qazi Muhammad* to collect the whole laws regarding the division of inheritance properties among the descendants of the deceased fellow which is prescribed by Islamic *Shariah* and present it in a simple poetic manner must be considered as imbued by the above said inculcation of the Prophet in order to save it from an expected extinction as the execution of the duty and responsibility of a pious and committed scholar of Muslim *Umma* which was broadly revealed as the modus operandi of spiritual leadership among *Mappila Muslims*.

In the poem speaking about the importance of the topic he elucidates, quoting a *Hadith*, he says: knowledge is of two kinds; one related with the present world and other related with hereafter. The awareness in the inheritance laws is included as it is evident in the second category, and gradually the numbers of the scholars who are experts in this area of knowledge are getting decreased day by day. Hence it is mandatory on the part of a scholar, to utilize utmost perseverance to impart this knowledge to maximum possible numbers so as ensure the availability of knowing people in the area always.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, *Al-Fara'idul Multaqat*, quoted from K.M. Muhammad, op.cit, p.60

As indicated above and as it is obvious from the title, for this poem, poet has largely and essentially depended on many earlier works written in this subject. He has quoted many lines and even chapters per se from others' works in the poem wherever applicable that is why the poem is named *Al-Fara'idul Multaqat* means 'picked up collection of inheritance laws'. This fact can be read from his own lines in the poem. It can be read as thus;

جمعتها ملتقطاً من كتب لفظ وأبياتاً بغير أدب

وربما أخذت أبواباً لما رأيتها سهلاً منتظماً

من كل موضع كطير لاقطٍ لأجل ذا سميتها بالملتقط¹⁰⁹

In the above line his imaginary power and its beauty is also obviously revealed when he applied an elegant comparison to himself saying that he is like a bird which flies here and there picking up substances of food wherever get it.

In this poem also he proclaims as his aim behind preparing it in poetic form is to make its study easy and memorization smoothly possible for all those who aspire to do so and asserting his intention he repeats the same line he brought in his own poem *Maqasidu Nikkah i.e.*

منظومة والنظم سهل حفظه ولا يفوت كل حين نفعه¹¹⁰

As his wont the beginning of the poem is made with the praise of God. The lines go thus;

الحمد لله ذي البقاء مهلك ما سواه بالفناء

حيّ قديم أول بلا ابتدا باق مميت آخر بلا انتها¹¹¹

Though it was a very useful guide and easy memorisable poem in the intricate area of inheritance questions according to the Islamic *Shariah* and especially according to

¹⁰⁹ Alifaraidul Multaqat, quoted from Veeran Muhyiddin, op, cit, p.84

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.84

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 84

Shafi school of Jurisprudence, the book is not seen as published and it is said that it was one among his many unpublished manuscript works. It is also not known that how long it was in vogue among the *Mappila Muslims* and how far they had depended on it for understanding the cases of inheritance properties distribution. However it can be assumed that at least some students from his contemporaries and his nearest generation may have utilised it as a ready and easy reference and due to not being got published and for having the wide prevalence of many authentic published works in the area in Kerala knowledge sphere, it must have confined to some private manuscript archives.

Still what I sincerely aspire that, taking in to account the importance of such works and acknowledging the great services they rendered to the society to realize a knowledge revivalism among the people in a hard hit time, some devoted activists must come forward to find out such brilliant hand works of knowledge and publish it so that to make the present and forth coming generations well aware about the nobility and loftiness of the work they undertook in the very earlier period aiming at the overall rejuvenation of the community members. It is said that one manuscript copy of the poem is preserved in the private book collections of former Calicut Junior *Qazi, Nalakth Muhammad Koya*¹¹², but unfortunately I couldn't see that original manuscript due to not getting permission to make a thorough search in that personal library despite of frequent requests and constant insistence I made to the present patrons of the library, in the urgency to explore such hidden treasures of knowledge on the ground of some silly technicalities and elusive pretexts so that I confess that I couldn't find out clearly how he had developed the idea and presented and on which books he had depended more or less in detail, still fortunately enough the available lines and information are some way sufficient to make a conclusive statement about the content and message of the poem.

Ila Kam Ayyuhal Insan (إلي كم ايها الانسان)

Ila kam Ayyuhal Insan is also is a poetic work composed by *Qazi Muhammad*. Comparatively it is a medium length poem comprised of 80 lines and each line in the

¹¹² K.M. Muhammad, op, cit, p. 61

poem as far its language is concerned, is a splendid testimony of his high talent, expertise in language and its variegated applications and pious thinking and superb imagination. It can be safely said so since many sound and much effective phrases and beautiful metaphors and elegant usages and thought provoking ingredients have been embedded in the poem here and there intentionally or unintentionally by the author which necessarily add in to the essential effectiveness and attraction of the poem. His profound hold and deep connection with the art of Arabic poetry and rules of versification, becomes more evident when one know that in this poem also along with many other rules and regulations of poetry writing, he has taken care of keeping the rules of metre, the inseparable condition of traditional poetry in whichever language it is, and for the purpose differing from his other poems he has applied in the present poem the one of elegant metres in Arabic prosody, ‘*Hazj*’ and tried his best to enhance its ringing and resonant tone and effectiveness. Essentially this is a poem in pure *Thasawwuf*, in which area can be placed many of his traced out writings. However there is no evidence found in my search that this poem was published anywhere in any time on the contrary it was as in the case majority of his creations preserved in manuscript of which one copy is traced kept in the manuscript archive of former Kozhiode senior *Qazi, Ahmed Shihabudin*.

The natural apprehension and intense diligence of a pious spiritual leader in Islam that whether his people would go astray drowning in the affluence of the worldly life and its conjuring up glamour and glitz and necessarily would forget the real world awaits him hereafter must be the motive that stimulated him to prepare this poem and the content of the poem and way of its presentation conspicuously manifest this idea. A cursory appreciation of the poem will unfold the fact that, ultimately the disaster of dangerous forgetfulness about the essential purpose of human creation and resultantly the aimless loitering and falling into the deep pits of ignorance or negligence about the orders and injunctions and dos and do not’s prescribed by divinity and its far reaching repercussions the community is bound to suffer is the key concern and coral content raised by this lofty spiritually enlightening poetic creation. One cannot help saying that poet has succeeded well through the profound

lines of the poem to make his sincere ideas self expressive and much effective in the minds of the readers. For instance I quote some lines of the poem hereunder;

الي كم أيها الانسان علي التسويف والنسيان
وتزهو العفو والغفران وتعصي ربك الرحمان¹¹³

These lines are, as it is evident from the meaning, a direct invitation or reminder of human beings about the far reaching consequences of his accursed oblivion about the purpose of living and poet asks how long oh, humans you can wander like this forgetting reality and postponing duties and ultimately without serious thinking about presence of Omni –potent, Omni-present and omniscient God.

Describing the transience and cheating nature of worldly life, poet says;

ولا تغتر عن الدنيا لما فيها من العليا
وما الدنيا سوي الرؤيا إذا فكرت يا انسان
وفي لذاتها مرّ وفي خيراتها شر
وفي جذواتها ضر وفي مريحها الخسران¹¹⁴

Never be deceived seeing the flamboyance and glamour of the world.

World is merely quickly fading away flash sights. Oh human being you will get it

If you think well

Essentially its sweetness is bitterest in the real outcomes and its goodness the worst,

Its attractions are misleading and trouble making. And what seem profits here are the causes of great loss in the real life.

¹¹³ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, Ilakum Ayyuhal Insan, initial lines. One copy of the manuscript of the poem is preserved in the private archive of Shihabuddin Imbichi koya Tangal, former senior Qazi of Calicut.

¹¹⁴ Ibid

Indeed these lines have successfully absorbed the entire seriousness of the ideas he wanted to convey since he has utilised some grave expressions and striking contents here which will naturally bring some shaking effect in the minds of believers.

Questioning strongly the insensitivity and lack of wakefulness in the face of mounting divine reminders in form of death and calamities, he writes;

وما للعين لا تدمع فما للقلب لا يخشع

وما للنفس لا يجزع بموت الخلق والاخوان¹¹⁵

In the poem he proceeds with fine thought provoking description of human's after death conditions and telling about the saddest reactions of one's family on his death and its futility in ultimate sense he writes;

فيكي خلفك الاخوان وتندب فوقك النسوان

And after some lines he raises the grave question;

اما يكفيك ذا عبرة وما قد جاء في القرآن¹¹⁶

At length this is a poem prepared by Qazi Muhammad essentially aimed at the spiritual enlightenment of human beings especially aimed at preparing his community to face the day of judgement in the court of God with full confidence and enough resources making them aware about their purpose of creation and living, which can be safely seen as part of the responsibility spiritual leadership amidst *Mappila Muslims* entrusted and executed quite effectively.

Dr. Veeran Muhyiddin states that there are evidences to prove that *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala had considered this poem in high esteem and had kept the live habit of reciting it many of their religious gatherings and ceremonies.¹¹⁷ More over there have been traced out one interpretation and one translation to this very poem. Both of these works were prepared by *Qazi Aboobakr bin Muhyiddin* (d.1301 A.H.) and

¹¹⁵ Ibid

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Veeran Muhyiddin, op, cit, p. 79

he has presented both in the form of poetry, being interpretation in Arabic and translation in the form of Mappila song in to Arabic-Malayalam dialect. These works are actually the true of index of the high importance it possessed and the wide acceptance it won in the minds of *Mappila Muslims* of the bygone decades. Otherwise it is quite unlikely that a great scholar and genius poet like *Qazi aboobakr bin Muhyiddin* may have ventured to interpret or translate it, but, as himself has done the both creation it is an obvious indicator to this fact.

Naseehatul Ikhwan is the title given by *Qazi Aboobakr bin Muhyiddin* to the interpretation poem of *Ilakam Ayyuhal Insan*, in which he has made an attempt to explain entire lines of the poem with enough details and descriptions so that to transform it in to a befitted guide to the areas related in the poem. In order to make the interpretation more striking and effective he has quoted wherever plausible lines from the poems of *Ashaykh Abdulla Alyafi* (750 A.H), *Imam Muhammad al-Buseeri* (696 A.H) , *Ahaykh Zainuddin* (928 A.H) and etc ¹¹⁸ However, this poem too is a commendable work among the Arabic products prepared by *Mappila Muslims* over the centuries.

Meantime, the translation is composed as mentioned above in Arabic-Malayalam as a brilliant Mappila song which with its beauty and splendour and loftiness of language and expression ensures its crowning seat amidst the well known Mappila songs. The title of the translation is '*Tadi Uruti Mala*' which can be safely assumed that it was popular among the *Mappilas* in some while in past and they have maintained its importance reciting it their public functions, religious gatherings and inside homes as a morality and spirituality enlightener. The authors of 'the history of great Mappila tradition' have brought in their work some lines from this translation version. What produced in it are the lines which speak about grave, resurrection and the conditions in the both stages, for example I quote some lines from the poem which is in Arabic Malayalam dialect;

Nanma tinama kuwwat kanum parishude veedakume

¹¹⁸ K.M. Muhammad,op,cit, p. 95

Du aqiratetuwan kothiyude veedakume

Dunyawileku Madanguvan wayimuttiya veedakume

Suratellam roohatittu purappedum veedakume

*And thus goes on the lines in the translation.*¹¹⁹

The Authors of ‘the history of great Mappila tradition’ has quoted 17 lines from the poem in their work. Being a genius poet in Arabic and Arabic-Malayalam, *Qazi Aboobakr* has succeeded in rendering both works in an impressive language and attractive style. However, the poem *Ila Kam Ayyuhal Insan* can be understood as an output by Qazi Muhammad produced as part of his avowed initiative to rejuvenate the strong awareness and alertness about the duties incumbent on a Muslim and through which only could realize a pure Islamic revivalism which will essentially benefit the community.

Durrathul Nafeesa fil Wa’zi wa Naseehath (درّة النفيسة في الوعظ و النصيحة)

It is one among the commendable prose works authored by *Qazi Muhammad* which can be listed in his set of products in the branch of *Tasawwuf* or spiritual teachings. It is the only prose work I could find out one copy of the original manuscripts from the archive of late Kozhikode senior *Qazi*, though it can be assumed that among his many works it is likely to be some other prose works. According to the available sources it cannot be ascertained that whether this had been published anywhere or not but most probably to say it might not have published since no published copy of the work is not available and has not been traced out, but must have spread across the quarters of *Mappila Muslims* and elsewhere as manuscripts did in olden days. As I stated above, a visible change I have noticed while comparing the original manuscript with the very little information found in some reference books about Mappila history and history of Mappila literature. It is in the title of the book, while those works gives as the title ‘*Durratul faseeha*’ the correct version I found from the original manuscript is ‘*Durratul Nafeesah*’ and I think this version must be the

¹¹⁹ C.M. Ahmed Moulavi ,op, cit,p. 160

correct one and it also can be said that more than 'Faseeha' 'Nafeesah' is the appropriate epithet to describe 'Durrat' which means pearl and Nafeesa means 'precious'. From the primary observation it is clear that precious pearl is the more suitable usage than 'pure or bright or eloquent pearl'. That is why I have chosen as the title as given above differing from the way I got it from some secondary sources. And if asked how I confirmed whether it is the original manuscript, my answer is that my confirmation was on the sound proof of getting the complete name of *Qazi Muhammad* along with his correct lineage had been provided on the top of manuscript and had written there he had collected and authored that work.

However from a cursory observation and analysis of the content of the work it can be said that *Durratul Nafeesa* is a commendable creation, the author must have put down it aiming at the spiritual elevation of his community and for ensuring them a clean and clear life purified from all stains of moral degradation and deviations so that to win the finest rewards and bliss of life hereafter. As usual he begins the work showering praises on Allah Almighty and offering praises in the name of Prophet and his pious companions with the sole purpose of being it a gateway to the successful realization of the intention behind the venture. This work is comprised of many chapters and each chapter carries several sub titles and he at the very outset of the just before coming to the core content openly announces the benefits and enormous rewards which can be expected by a careful reader of the book and he who deeply thinks up on the questions raised in it and arranges his life according to the instructions and advises produced in it. It can be read from his own lines;

أما بعد فهذا كتاب فيه ابواب و فصول ينتفع بها من طالعها و تأمل فيها و تدبر معناها ويفوز من عمل بها في الدنيا والعقبى¹²⁰

This work is a rare collection of Qur'anic verses, prophetic sayings, useful advises, thought provoking anecdotes and aphorisms and impressive quoting from the works of many pious scholars from both prose and poetry, along with authors good comments and brilliant and stirring analysis. Describing the method accepted in the

¹²⁰ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, *Durratul Nafeesah Fil Wa'zi wa Naseehah* (Manuscript),p.1(one manuscript copy of the book is preserved in the manuscript collections of late senior Qazi of Calicut, now the collection in the possession of his son Abdulla Koya Tangal)

preparation of the work, *Qazi Muhammad* writes in the initial lines of *Durratul Nafeesah*;

جمعتها ما بين آيات مفسرة واخبار مسندة وموعظة مفيدة وحكاية منقولة عن سلف الصالحين ونظم ونثر من كتب انمة العاملين¹²¹

From the above words of the author it is clear that it is basically an eclectic combination of contents taken out from different works and situations and arranged in the form a text so that to be a effective medium to awaken the community from their dangerously dormant state and create a kind of advantageous thinking and strong awareness about the divine intention behind his creation and about his life, and life after death.

Talking about the selection of title for the work, he writes;

وسمّيته درة النفيسة في الوعظ والنصيحة واسأل الله سبحانه و تعالي التوفيق والاعانة لي و احبائي و لسائر المسلمين¹²²

The first chapter in the text is about intention and sincerity (*Niyyat and Ikhlas*) which are essentially the first and foremost components to be maintained by a Muslim in his each and every activity. Bringing forth enough quoting from the classical sources and great personalities' commendable works and plugging wherever applicable the attractive and message conveying poems from different pious poets he attempts through this chapter to persuade the believers the undeniable importance and highest place of intention and sincerity according to the ideology of Islam and he reminds people through his writing the futility of any deed how painstaking and laborious it is, if it is not sufficiently supported by this substantial elements.

Some of the lines of the poems he quoted to elaborate the discussion of the *Niyyat* and *Ikhlas* and to add in to its efficacy, are as follow;

¹²¹ Ibid,p.1

¹²² Ibid, p.1

He has not mentioned the name of the poet other than saying that as sung by certain pious poet;

يا غافل القلب عن ذكر المنيات عما قليل ستهوي بين اموات

And after two lines

وكن حريصا علي الاخلاص في عمل وانما العمل الزاكي بنياتي¹²³

These are only samples and a reading of the text will reveal that throughout the text he has brought a whole lot of poetic lines also that are extremely thought provoking and eye opening.

Another very important chapter discussed in the text is 'knowledge' (*'ilm*). He has much elegantly meantime gravely elaborated the theme as in the previous chapter using Qur'anic verses *Hadith* and quotings affluently from the works of earlier pious scholars which ultimately has enhanced the effect and impression of the presentation.

To imply the far greater importance of knowledge and clarify the loftiness of the seat a genuine scholar possesses, he has quoted some lines from the exciting poetry of *Aliyy(R)*, the fourth caliph of Islam, it can be read as;

ما الفخر الا لاهل العلم انهم علي الهدى لمن استهدي ادلاء

ووزن كل امرئ ما كان يحسنه والجاهلون لاهل العلم اعداء

ففر بعلم ولا تجهل تعس ابداً فالناس موتي و اهل العلم احياء¹²⁴

These lines are an evident index to the power of his selection and wide reach of his knowledge to make his presentation much impressive and productive since very lines can absorb the whole extent of the pertinence of knowledge and its utter necessity as it is realized in the above mentioned lines and *Qazi Muhammad* has

¹²³ Ibid, p.6

¹²⁴ Ibid, chapter, knowledge

found out these lines per se to add in to colour and productivity of the poem out of his wide exposure.

It is adding to the distinctive character of the text that the author has allotted a separate whole chapter to speak on ‘thinking and contemplation’ according to the teachings of Islam, announcing aloud the greater importance, Islam envisages to the process of serious thinking and utilisation of one’s own given intellect to live contemplating in the wonderful creations of divinity. Inviting the attention of the reader to the all aspects of contemplation and its influence in the life of human according to the Islamic perspective, he had developed and decorated his narration making use of many verses from Holy Qur’an and prophetic traditions and great scholars’ quotations. His attempt to convince readers the necessity of pensive moments in the life so that to get close exposure and experience to the divine realities, can be assessed as an absolute and influential success as he has chosen a set of persuasive collections from different sources which will necessarily create heavy positive stirrings in the minds of its readers. For a simple example one of the events he quoted from life situations of famous *Ibrahim bin Adham* is so thought-provoking. It can be summarised as thus that once *Ibrahim bin Adham* was asked: “Why do you prolong your moments of thinking and sit in deep contemplation for a long while?” Then he answered: “thinking is the Hajj of intellect” (الفكرة حجُّ العقل)¹²⁵

Another chapter discussed in the text is ‘the fear of God’ and an exhaustive elaboration about the various aspects of the subject matter is also furnished in detail in the text. One of the phrases he frequently used in the text is ‘think, ponder over it, wake up and many other words in the similar sense. After the narration of each influential anecdote or quoting impressive sayings he used to infuse the said phrase at the end which is obviously meant to give emphasis on the narrated event and to ensure it a constant inspirational presence in the minds of readers. Moreover, after explaining matters to be cautious about in life and things to be adhered to, he has accepted a pleasing style of praying to Allah almighty for the smooth survival human beings in the both worlds which also can be seen as the emulation of the habits revealed in the life practices of spiritual leadership amidst *Mappila Muslims*.

¹²⁵ Ibid, chapter, Thinking and learning lessons

The conclusion of the text is with the prayers and praises on Almighty and his prophet and just before concluding the discussion he has quoted two very influential lines from the poem of a pious poet, recounting his past sins and flaws and entreating forgiveness in the court of God, definitely it is given to set an example and to be an inspiration to the readers to come forward to confess the numerous sins perpetrated by them and serious fall outs committed by them so that ensure a purified serene future life and assure ultimate success in the both worlds, the line are as follow;

دنوبي وان فكرت فيها كثيرة فرحمة ربّي من دنوبي اوسع

وما طمعي في صالح قد عملته ولكنتني في رحمة الله اطمع¹²⁶

At length by virtue of the strength of language, impressiveness of the style and gravity of the content, it is a fine book and successful and influential attempt in whole sense as well. Definitely this work can cultivate the noble feelings of virtue and ensure the purity of the community's traits and lead them away from the adverse influence of worldly life's excesses. This book genuinely testifies that how far the author is concerned about the moral degradation of his community and forgetfulness of the divine realities. On the whole one can safely reckon with it as a set of sermons and influential exhortations presented in the form of a text so that to widen its reach to the forth coming generations too, which can leave indelible marks in the minds of readers and necessarily must have done it the past years of its prevalence.

Nadmul 'awamil (نظم العوامل)

It is the poetic adaptation prepared by *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* to the famous grammar work of *Abdul Qahir bin 'abdul Rahman al-Jurjani* titled *Al-'awamil*. Sentence structure or syntax in Arabic language is the subject matter of *Al-'awamil* and *Allama Jurjani* has begun his work after '*Hamd*' and '*Swalat*' defining the science of '*Nahv*' in Arabic language in which he states that *Nahv* is essentially the knowing of the set of fundamental rules with which one can identify the conditions

¹²⁶ Ibid, last page of manuscript.

of the end form of the sentence.¹²⁷ It is a work taught in *Palli Darses* of Kerala prevalently in its primary standards as a tool to equip the beginner students with the basic grammar of Arabic language since many centuries and after the introduction of Arabic colleges¹²⁸ it is included in its syllabus and also till date it continues to be taught. What *Qazi Muhammad* did through his poetic creation '*Nadmul 'awamil*' was introducing an easy route to learn by heart the rules prescribed in the prose *Al-'awamil*. It can be surely understood that the poem was as part of his intense ambition that his community must be equipped well in Arabic language which was one among the avowed agendas of spiritual leadership of *Mappila Muslims*. He begins the poem praising Allah Almighty without deviating from the traditional style of Arabic poetry especially of pious poets; the initial lines can be read as follow;

الحمد لله الوليّ النعم معلم الانسان مالم يعلم
 وافضل الصلوة والسلام علي النبيّ المصطفى التهامي
 محمد وآله الابرار وصحبه والتابع الاخير
 وبعد هذا فاعلموا اخواني منظومة العوامل الجرجاني¹²⁹

Through the rich lines of the poem *Qazi* has attempted to present the rules affecting the sentence structure in Arabic language in simple and easy comprehensible method so that to be helpful for the students and learners who approach '*awamil of Jurjani*'. For example briefing the letters that cause '*Nasb*' to '*Ism*' and '*Raf*' to '*Khabar*' which is elaborated in the text of '*awamil Qazi* writes the following lines;

ونوعها الثاني حروف تنصب اسما وللأخبار رفعا يوجب
 وهي ستّ يا اخي ان وان وليت لكن لعن وكان¹³⁰

¹²⁷ Abdul Qahirbin Abdul Rahman al- Jurjani Al-Awamil, In *Kutubun Majmu'*, p.68

¹²⁸ With Arabic college I mean only the private religious institutions run by Sunni Muslims among the *Mappila Muslims* in the label of Arabic colleges. In the northern part of India the somewhat close equivalent to the Arabic colleges in Kerala is Islamic Madrasas, still the systems exist in the both are many ways varied.

¹²⁹ Qazi Muhammad, *Nadmul 'awamil*, manuscript, initial lines, manuscript copy of the poem is still preserved in the collections of late and former Calicut senior Qazi Ahmed Shihab Tangal.

In fifty lines of the poem he has summarised the rules discussed in 'awamil to be a helpful capsule like work to beginners and he targets the reach of poem in the hands all those who can benefit it irrespective of standard of comprehension; it can be read from his own lines;

ابياتها خمسون لا يستغني عنها شريفٌ ابدٌ وداني¹³¹

However, it is not known that whether this poem had been taught in *Mosque Darses* or not in the earlier days of its composition or had used the students there as helpful guide to the study of 'awamil, but it can be assumed that at least for some years must have been learnt by beginners in Arabic grammar. Although it evident in today's *Darses* or Arabic colleges amidst *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala, this poem is not at all used. Lack of its prevalence among the Mappila religious and Arabic Language education sphere can traced as the availability of many authentic Arabic grammar works both in prose and poetry especially the finer products contributed by different members of *Makhdoom* family. In the postscript of the manuscript of the poem the date of writing this poem is found written as 992 A.H. The postscript is added by one of the copy writers of the poem. Therefore it cannot be said how far it is true or false. *Allama ibnu Alanu Siddiki Al-Bakariyyu Shafi'i* , the great scholar, poet and one among the earlier period teachers in *Masjidul Harem*, Mecca, has written an interpretation to *Nadmul 'awamil* of *Qazi Muhammad*¹³² in the form of poetry itself, which clearly endorses the reputation and wide reach his works had attained in his period and later. Introducing the poet who presented 'awamil of *Jurjani* in poetry and his greatness, *Ibnu Alan* writes in his poem the following lines;

عواملُ ألفها الجرجاني كأنها قلاند الجنان

وكان ممّن للوري قد نظم عقودها يبعي النوال الاعظما

محمد القاضي بكالكوتي فانه من أكرم البيوتي

محرّر احكام شرع الله يقضي بها يرجو عطا الاله

¹³⁰ Ibid

¹³¹ Ibid

¹³² K.M. Muhammad, op, cit, p.147

عبد العزيز ابوه وهو القاضي وكم له حجج مراضي
 وكان محي الدين نجل القاضي محمد حج بعزم ماضي
 وعنده اشرفني علي ما جاء به ابوه حقا ناظما
 فاخترت شرح نظمه بالنظم تحفة ذي الالباب اهل الفهم¹³³

However, an observer can reach to the conclusion that this poem was part of the committed initiative shouldered voluntarily by the sincere *Ulama* of *Mappila Muslims* to ensure the prevalence of Arabic language in their vital transactions so that to enable the public Muslims also to understand well the language of the Classical sources of Islamic Ideology.

Nadmul Ajnas (نظم الاجناس)

Ajanas is an authentic work on word origin and word formation and its possible derivations in Arabic language which is widely used and depended in the educational spheres of *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala for the acquisition of Arabic grammar skill in the primary stages and it is taught in the *Darses* and Arabic colleges in the initial years. The noted Islamic scholar of 16th century and the native of *Kayalpatnam*, *Muhammad Labba* is believed to be the author of this commendable work. It is prepared in two parts: one '*Ajnasu-al- sugura*' and the second '*Ajnasu-al- Kubra*'. Since it is dealing with a complex set of rules related with relatively intricate area of Arabic grammar, it usually feels difficult to the beginners. *Qazi Muhammad* has successfully transformed it in to a poetic format and called it *Nadmul Ajans* naturally aiming at being a little relief to the beginners in Arabic grammar. Hence it can be said that through this work he has shown his extreme diligence and cautiousness to execute one of the coveted demands of his community. Due to the lack of evidences it is not known that how far it was accepted or entertained among the Arabic learners and scholars and it is also not known that whether it was inducted as a textbook in the earlier *Mosque Darses*. Although the extent of prevalence is obscure, one thing is clear that for at least some

¹³³ As found in the manuscript of Nandiyil Muhammad Musliyar, op, cit.

years it must have been a dependable tool to enhance capacity in basic Arabic grammar among *Mappila Muslims*, that is why though in Manuscript it has survived till date and preserved in some private archives passing through around 4 centuries which is more than enough duration to go extinct an un-sought out substance.

However, differing from the traditional line of the poem writing in the present poem after adding '*Bismi*' as a superscript he has directly entered in the subject matter. The beginning lines are as follows;

يا سانلي منظومة الاجناس لتعرف الابواب بين الناس

اعلم بان هذة الافعال علي الذي وجدت ممن قال¹³⁴

Even in this line it is quite explicit that how far he was able to adhere strictly to the rules of versification in Arabic and through the application of which how can one genius poet enrich and enhance the beauty and effect of the poem he writes.

Thus entering to the presentation of rules of word formation and derivations from the radical root form in Arabic language he continues the lines;

اما ثلاثي كمثل فعلا او اربع حروفه كفعلا

وكل واحد اخي منهما اما مزيد او مجرد كما

اما الثلاثي الذي تجردا فخمسة ابوابه مؤيدا¹³⁵

Thus he develops the versification of the rules discussed in '*Ajans*' in a simple to grasp and learn by heart manner. In short, this also can be understood as part of his vibrant and vital endeavour to smoothen the gateway of approaching Arabic grammar and to help set feet of beginners in the area and proceed along the route of learning without being distracted or dissuaded due to the complexity of the language.

¹³⁴ Qazi Muhammad, Nadmul Ajans, manuscript copy, one is preserved in the collection of former Calicut senior Qazi

¹³⁵ Ibid

Mandumati Katri Nada (منظومة قطر الندي)

Mandumati Katri Nada is yet another brilliant work which finds place in the series of poems penned by *Qazi Muhammad* based on certain prevalent authentic Arabic grammar texts amidst *Mappila Muslims*. *Katru Nada* is comprised of one ‘*Matnu*’ means the main part and one ‘*Sharah*’ means its commentary. The *matn* of the book is written by acclaimed linguistic scholar of Islamic world *Ibnu Hisham* and its commentary is prepared by *Shaykh Uthman bin Jalaluddin* (d.991 A.H)¹³⁶. This work is also widely used in the syllabus of *Mosque Darses of Mappila Muslims* but that much not depended in the present syllabus structure of Arabic colleges. It is a commendable text which handles even minute areas of rules related with mainly the sentence structure in Arabic grammar and its related aspects and in the text exhaustive explanations and commentary is given wherever necessary. The successful venture of *Qazi Muhammad* to translate such a very complicate commentary of grammar rules in to poetic format truly points out to the high rated skill he possessed in Arabic language and versification. Since I couldn’t trace out even one manuscript copy of the poem in the through search in expected private manuscript archives, I am unable to quote some lines from the poem or make some plausible comment on the length and breadth and style of poetry and it is also not known that how far and how long it was prevalent among *Mappila Muslims* or whether it has been able to traverse boundaries to ensure its reach in some far flung areas like Arabia and so on as in the case of his much acclaimed poem ‘*Nadmul ‘awamil*’.

In short in ultimate analysis it can be said about him in the light of these grammar poems that his concern for Arabic language was so higher that he wanted each of his community members to equip maximum skill and knowledge in it. However, though at present these works have disappeared from the vital book shelves of *Mappila Muslims* and their religious institutes, it doesn’t mean that it was some inferior creations , but, the reality is clear as day light that those also where brilliant works which have still the scope of serving the purpose of grammar teaching in Arabic as

¹³⁶ Kutubun Majmug’, op, cit, p. 161

equally to other prevalent works in the subject or at least it can be used as ready handbook to easily approach even complicate areas of basic Arabic grammars. So it is the duty of present committed community members and followers of the fine teachings given by the pious learned forefathers to make serious attempts to trace this vital treasure of knowledge from the verge of perishing and present it to the live circles of today's knowledge seekers.

Marṣiyatun Fi Shaykh Uthman (مرثية في شيخ عثمان)

It is a very brilliant elegiac poem written by *Qazi Muhammad* when he happened to hear the sad news of the demise of his much beloved and highly adored Guru *Shaykh Uthman Labba al –Kayali*. The poem is written as an expression of his extreme reverence he had kept in his mind towards his genius teacher and the unbearable sadness he truly felt in his unexpected passing away and reminding people the depth of loss and gap in the horizon of knowledge happened by his bidding farewell to the material world. Indeed this poem is an apparent instance to the gravity and closeness of relation he maintained with his teachers and a criterion to measure the higher rate of respect and reverence and above all the sincere love he showed towards his teachers. Moreover he has been openly ready to give the credits of the entire heights he achieved in his life to the blessings and creative guidance and directions of his teacher. In the poem he describes the eminence of his late teacher saying that he was a great personality having very few equals to compare with his highness and, knowledge thirsty people were running the risk of traversing long distances to reach his place to slake their genuine quest and they were ultimately satisfied with his scholastic proximity. And in the poem, *Qazi* compare him with rain and condoles that when he was died the earth became barren. This description can be read his lines in the poem;

أيا من اليه المشكلات تحط ومن نحوه الطلاب رحلهم حطوا

سلام عليكم نور الله قبركم سلام خديم حال بينهما سط¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Qazi Muhammad, *Marṣiyatu Uthman Labba Al- Kayali*, quoted from Veeran Muhyiddn, (manuscript is kept in the library of Nalakath Muhammad Koya)

Then pointing to the intensity of loss he suffer from the demise and severity of the pain he feels, poet continues

فما طاب عيشي منذ غبتم ولا هنا ولا زاد لي علم وفضل ولا خط

وصارت رياض القلب بعدك يابسا كما صارت العبرا إذا وقع القحط¹³⁸

Then opining he is matchless in several considerations and none other to fill his gap has not been given birth yet, the poet writes;

ولم تلد الأيام بعدك سيدي من الولد إلا واكثرهم سقط

فوالله لم اخنث اذا كنت حالفا بأني لم أبصر لكم مثلا قط

أري كل من دوني يساقون للعلي وعبدكم المسكين لا زال ينحط¹³⁹

Then clarifying that his Guru was an adept in language and literature and a superior literary man having high influential halo over those who approach him or experience his company, *Qazi* writes;

ولو أن طيرا حل في جنب بابكم يكن بعبا حقا وإن هي ذا بط¹⁴⁰

From the cursory reading of the above lines in the elegy, more than his extreme reverence to his teacher and the superb appreciation of his genius and the sincere recognition of his influential character and scholarly achievements, it is also has been clear, how far *Qazi Muhammad* was genius and capable to pen brilliant and memorable elegiac poems also. Hence this is also can be undoubtedly taken as a token to his superior hold in Arabic poetry literature. Although only a few lines have been known from the poem and those known poem lines are preserved in the private archive of *Nalakath Muhammad Koya*¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ Ibid

¹³⁹ Ibid

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

¹⁴¹ Veern Muhyiddin op, cit, p.82

Other Known Books and Writings.

Out of the prolific writing career of *Qazi Muhammad*, only a few books have undergone to detailed examination and analysis above and many more books, treatises and articles remain to be explored. But it is unfortunate to admit that I am not able to make a similar kind of close analysis and conclusion about the remaining known titles, because I haven't been able to track the original manuscripts of the remaining titles even after my thorough search in the archives of *Qazi family's* written contribution which are now in their successors' protection and in some other potential private book and manuscript collection which are under the supervision of some pious knowledge lovers among *Mappila Muslims*. And it is also to note here that as indicated above some crucial repositories of the *Qazi family's* contribution were not opened before me for an extensive examination despite of my incessant requests and frequent visits which also has caused some way in hampering the way to the more findings in the area, although I could not help saying that the broad-mindedness of the present patron of manuscript archive of former senior *Qazi* of Calicut to open before me the doors of their collection and the rare and invaluable writings of *Ahmed Shihabuddin Tangal* himself on the relatively unknown areas of *Qazi family's* diverse career and vibrant activism, have helped me to a great extent to amass enough resources to enrich the notions about my theme and develop my idea as given in the title of the dissertation. So I am confident that this study won't go incomplete though about some of his works could not be made a close analysis, since an unerring conclusion is possible on the traced out products because it involves some very important writings of him especially related with the theme I raise.

However, here I am making an attempt to give some possible statements on the other known books as it is derivable through the observation of the nature of titles and on the ground of other available sources. Out of his other known works, *Mudhilul Jinan* and *Naseehatul Mu'mineen* and *Tanbeehul Ikhwan fi Ahwali Zaman* and likes can be considered in the category of his contribution in moral preaching. All these works might be as the titles indicate putting forward some grave teachings and directions about the life of his community members and reminding them how should be their

life style and practices through which they can ensure their success in the both worlds. Meantime, his works like *Ikseerul A'zam fi Swalati 'ala Nabi and Kimiya'* *Sa'dat* and etc are his contribution in promoting the love and proximity of his community towards the Prophet Muhammd (s). Through this he must have explained in detail the importance of chanting *swalat* on Prophet and might have clarified its extraordinary power in being a saviour like presence in each and every stages and occasions of a Muslim. He must have used the term '*Ikseerul A'zam*' which means the 'greatest elixir' to denote *Swalat* and its far greater significance in the life of a *Mu'min*. His writings like *Silsilatul Qadiriyya* and *Silsilatul Hamadaniyya* are clear evidences of his inseparable contact with reputed esoteric movements and strong affiliation to *Tareeqat* routes spread by well-known Sufi saints and the work indicate that he has made extensive study on the lineage and the origin and spread of well known esoteric orders and about its preacher saints. Moreover it has been evident that he had deep scholarship in science of the recitation of Qur'an and his poem titled *Mandumatun Fi 'ilmi Tajweed* an obvious proof to this aspect. It can be believed he had high proficiency and wide knowledge in cosmology and astronomy, and some areas of mathematics, otherwise he would not have been able to write the leant works in the said areas of science titled '*Mandumatil 'ilmil Aflaqi wa Nujum*' and '*Manduamti fi 'ilmil Hisab*' respectively. *Qazi Muhammad* has many well acclaimed predecessors in the history of Islamic civilization who made extensive research in these scientific areas and many scholars who presented highly referential works and even some other *Mappila Ulama* also has made commendable written in the area. The fact that these subjects also were presented in poetic format provide ample evidence that he was an established poet of the time in Arabic and the complication of topics or its probable varieties were not a blockade to the free flow of his poetic imagination and application.

Besides all this it is said that he had some contribution in oratory and letter literature. Though his any work in this area is not known now it can be reality because some of his successors had made use this vital genre of literature for creative expressions and airing of opinions and for the sake of some important

communication, like a variety of letters written by *Qazi Aboobakr bin Muhyiddin*¹⁴² in the form of long and short poems for varied purposes in different occasion which is well known fact and these letters still are available and perhaps they may have adapted and accepted this method from their predecessor, *Qazi Muhammad*. However, all this description is not enough to cover the diverse disciplines of knowledge treated by *Qazi Muhammad* and can be said that it is like biting of the tip of an iceberg compared to the prolific career contributed by *Qazi Muhammd*, since as far as seriously doubted by many genuine observers only a small share of his complete contributions have been available to later period analysts and researchers and all the rest has unfortunately lost or perished.

In short, though the entire works and each and every stages of the life of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* have not been traced out due to the lack of evidences and unavailability of the original sources, on the basis of the known factors which are necessarily ample to reach in to a conclusive argument especially regarding the theme of the present study, it can be said that his concern and vision about the life of his community here and hereafter was quite genuine and much creative. From the survey of his multifarious contributions ranging from commendable literature (excluding his two most important poems '*Muhyiddin Mala and Fathul Mubeen* which is to be dealt in detail in the next chapter,) to his live involvement in the public sphere or participatory leadership performance, it has been well evident that finding and recognizing him as the part and parcel of spiritual leadership amidst *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala is not an erred or mistaken venture. From the above details it has been manifest that he shown in his short span of time the entire creative facets of *Mappila* spiritual leadership and its influence in the their life was so conspicuous through the centuries over till date.

¹⁴² Qazi Muhyiddin is a representative of Qazi family of Calicut in 19th century and successor of Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, and he was known poet , efficient scholar and prolific writer who also has contributed much to be a cause to the increased fame and lofty name of said Qazi Family, out of his brilliant poetic contributions many letters also were found which are true testimony of his strong hold and nice taste in poetry. Some examples of famous letters prepared in the form of poetry are: Risalatun Ila Ahamad Dahalan, Risalatun Ila Usatadihi and etc.

Chapter IV

***AL FATHUL MUBIN AND MUHYIDDIN
MALA AS MEDIUMS OF SPIRITUAL
LEADERSHIP IN ANTI-COLONIAL
STRUGGLE***

Al-Fathul Mubin and *Muhyiddin Mala* as Mediums of Spiritual leadership in Anti-colonial Struggle

In the last chapter my attempt was to locate the place of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti* in the array of spiritual leadership worked among *Mappila* Muslims of Kerala and to find how far the title is befitting to add with his name. With the analysis of his life and its various significant stages and examining the influential career he shouldered up and the creative literary contribution rendered by him, it has been evident that his place in the *Mappila* spiritual leadership is unquestionably secure and stable. The present chapter is essentially an extension of the last chapter since it specially deals with two important works which I set aside for special treatment without including where I discussed his other literary products. These two works are *Al-Fathul Mubin*, an Arabic war song and *Muhyiddin Mala* an Arabic-Malayalam Sufi mystic poem. Though all of his works can claim either a direct or indirect relation with the anti-colonial movements emerged in Malabar and prolonged for around 4 centuries, the role played by these two creations are comparatively much more substantial and by all means enormous, therefore, for the convenience of covering the extent of the impact these two books specially exerted on the whole fabric of anti-colonial initiatives and to evaluate its significance in this regard, the present chapter is divided into two parts, out of which the first will deal with *Al-Fathul Mubin* and the second with *Muhyiddin Mala* in some detail.

Al-Fathul Mubin; Introductory note

Fathul Mubin is a historic poetic work of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti*, in 537 lines, which is written in brilliant Arabic language and which due to the extreme importance of the theme discussed in it, rose to the worldwide fame and earned him much reputation and great acceptance. Though basically it is a war song which narrates in detail the saga of exciting events which ultimately headed itself to the capturing of historically important *Portuguese* fort in *Chaliyam* from their hands by the emboldened and consistent army of *Zamorin* in 979 A.H, along with it, many

other equally important and highly relevant themes have been subjected for serious discussions in the different lines of this lengthy poem, which altogether add in to the eminence and relevance of the poem even after four centuries of its composition. The complete name of the poem is; '*Al-Fathul Mubin Li Samiri al-Ladhi Yuhibbul Muslimin*' which means 'the obvious victory to Zamorin who loves Muslims'. It proclaims the great importance the poem occupied even in the circles of European historians that one copy of the poem is still preserved in the India office library, London. In the said library, there is a collection of manuscripts which contains an Arabic Epic poem titled '*al-Fathul Mubin Li Samiri al-ladhi Yuhibbul Muslimin*. It is written in between the chapters III and VI of the manuscript of *Tuhfatul Mujahidin* which deals with the arrival of *Portuguese* in *Malabar*.¹ The first one to translate this poem in to English was *M. A. Mueedu Khan* from *Hydrabad* and this translation has found place in the text titled 'Studies in the foreign relations of India' edited by *Dr. P. M. Joshi* and published by State Archives, Government of *Andrapradesh*, Hyderabad as in its pages from 169 to 183. The English translation is preceded by an introduction in which a glaring error has occurred in the identification of the lineage of *Qazi Muhammad*, in which the introducer finds out and writes that the composer of the *Urjuza* means the said poem is the brother *Zainuddin bin Abdul Aziz, Muhammad bin Abdul Aziz*. But in fact it is an erred finding that *Qazi Muhammad* is the bother of *Shaykh Zainuddin* and both Calicut *Qazi Abdul Azeez* and *Ponnani Abdul Azeez Makhdum* are same, and this mistake clearly can be seen as the repetition of the mistake committed by *Dr. Zubaid Ahmed* in his research work 'contribution of India to Arabic literature'², since *Mueedu Khan* has depended on the writing of *Zubaid Ahmed* for his study of the family of the poet.

Prof. *Mankada Abdul Azeez* one of the translators of the poem in to Malayalam opines that since the work of *Mueedu Khan* must have found place in many university book archives, this misunderstanding must have spread in many western research quarters.³ More over the translation of *Mueedu Khan* is not free from

¹ Studies in the foreign relations of India (From the earliest times to 1947), Prof. H. K. Sherwani Felicitation volume, Ed. Dr. P. M. Joshi, State Archives, Hyderabad, introduction

² Prof. Mangada Abdul Azeez, Translation of Fathul Mubin in to Malayalam, p. 31

³ Ibid, p. 31

fallouts and not up to the mark actually the high importance of the poem demands and apart from it, even all the lines of poem have not been translated by him. Now it is a pleasant news to the lovers of *Mappila* tradition and grave seekers of the documents of *Mappila* history that *C. Hamza, Melattor* in Kerala, the famous scholar, reputed translator and a well known polyglot who is distinctly known for high accuracy and precision while translating books, has now undertaken the laborious task of translating the poem in to English. When the work will complete and get published it will be definitely an asset to the dreamy mission of spreading *Mappila* tradition in its true and unmistakable spirit. I could see one copy of the English translation of *Fathul Mubin* by *Mueed Khan*, from *C. Hamza*, for whom the copy was given by *Dr. John Ochanthuruth*, the former head of history department, Calicut University. In Malayalam two translations have been brought out; one was written by famous *Mappila* historian, *K.K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem*, and the other was made by famous academician and Arabic scholar *Mankada Abdul Azeez* (D. 2007Aug). *Al-Huda book stall, Calicut* is the publisher of *Mankada's* translation and they have included the original Arabic text of the poem also with the translation which facilitates the appreciation of the poem well. However it is said that till 1940 A.D. the original Arabic version of the poem had remained in manuscript and first initiative to publish a printed version of original Arabic text was taken by noted scholar and gifted *Mappila* Arabic poet, *Shaykh Abdul Khader Fadfari*, when he included the Arabic version of *Fathul Mubin* in his collection of an important set of poems and prose titled '*Al-Jawahirul Ash'ar*' and the book was first published by *Edava C. M. Press* in the year 1940 A.D. Pointing to this fact, *Fadfari* writes in his brief forward to the poem "till this date this poem was left unpublished despite of its great significance and relevance and intense quest of many serious students to get one original text of the poem, and subsequently, some of my friends indicated and insisted on me of the necessity of including the text of the poem in my prescribed collection, therefore taking in to account the gravity of the matter, I decided to accept their implication and include the poem in my collection."⁴ Even though it was after many years again, the first independent publication of book along with its Malayalam translation was made possible by *Mankada Abdul Azeez* when he

⁴ Shaykh Abdul Khader Fadfari, *Al-Jawahirul Ash'ar*, p. 241

completed the translation and *Al-Huda book stall*, Calicut which is famous for bringing to light many important works, published the work. The exact period of the composition of this poem cannot be derived from the lines of poetry but there are some remarks which help to assume the time approximately. *Mankada Abdul Azeez*, pointing to the possibility of assuming the period of composition, says that though the narrations regarding the *Chaliyam* war is the essential content of the poem, some events after the war also is mentioned in it. In the poem there is a statement about the treaty made by *Sultan Ali Adil Shah* with *Portuguese* and it is believed that this treaty was in the year 1578 A. D. Since in the same year of the treaty *Adil Shah* was killed and in the poem there is no any remarks about the death of *Adil Shah*, the English translator of the poem, *Mueedu Khan* opines that Qazi Muhammad might have composed it in between 1578 and 1579 A.D. ⁵ *Mankada* goes on saying that during the period of the composition of the poem, Muhammad had not been appointed as Calicut Qazi and the appointment of Muhammad to the post is believed to have happened in or after 1606 A. D. Hence according to him, it is safe to assume that it must have been composed in between 1579 A. D. the year of treaty of *Adil Shah* with Portuguese and 1607, the year of his ascension to the post of *Calicut Qaziship*.⁶ But as indicated in the last chapter, if the accounts which state that his birth had occurred in 70s of 16th century, are taken in to consideration, it can assume that he might have written it either in the last phase of 16th century or first phase of 17th century A. D. which can be seen as the most significant stage of his rich literary career.

It is still doubtful that whether Qazi Muhammad was one among the eyewitnesses of the war and had written the poem out of his own experience or not and had prepared out of the accounts amassed from some experienced fellows' narrations. Some historians have opined that it is an eyewitness account of Qazi Muhammad. *Dr. K.K.N Kurup* has written in his *Mappila* tradition so.⁷ From the writings of *Mankada Abdul Azeez*, it seems that he was also of the same opinion. However, it is clear that what prompted them to make such statements are as I think, some lines

⁵ Ibid, p. 29

⁶ Ibid, p. 29

⁷ Dr. K.K.N. Kurup, *Mappila* tradition (mal) p. 25

from the very poem which poet has written in first person plural. For example some lines are given hereunder;

واخرج الاحجار من اساسها حتى شربنا الماء من اساسها

Another line as well

حتى سمعنا أنه في ليلةٍ قد مات الف عسكر في ساعة⁸

But these lines aren't sound proofs to testify his presence during the time of the battle since as seen in one of the above mentioned lines, though it is said in first person, is stating about his hearing of the events not seeing and the other line which speaks of his own experience can more likely assumed as an expression as part of poets' unbounded freedom to enhance the effect of the theme in the minds of the readers. Therefore from the reading of the poem it is more derivable that he must not have been alive or grown up enough to participate or watch the events of war lively. Other than general articulations, absence of the direct statements of any events during battle and siege of the fort out of his own personal experience in the whole of the poem corroborate this argument. Then it is likely to be correct that he must have prepared the poem on the basis of the accounts he gathered from some important figures who participated in the war. They are believed to be, one; *Qazi Abdul Azeez*, his own father and a frontline warrior in the war and second, *Ahmed Qamami*, another warrior and a prominent personality of the time.⁹ About these figures and their live involvement in the battle he has penned some lines in the poem; they can be read as thus;

وكان سيدي احمد القمامي مجاهدًا في جملة المقادم

وهكذا قاضي قضاة المسلمين عبد العزيز الكالكوتي المسلمين¹⁰

As seen in most of the poems of Qazi, he has mentioned his name in this poem too which evades any doubt about the authorship of the poem. The lines in which he

⁸ Qazi Muhammad kalikuti, *Qaseedathu Al-Fathul Mubin*, lines. 502 and 107,

⁹ Zainuddin Mandalan Kunnu, *Mappila struggles and Ulama leadership*,(mal) p. 47

¹⁰ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, op, cit, lines 246 and 250

inserted his name seeking the sincere prayers on the part of readers to get lofty rewards from God for this remarkable meantime, necessary duty, can be read as thus

يا سمعاً لهذه الحكاية
لاتبخلن لناظم بدعوة
وهو راجي عفو ربه العزيز
محمد بن القاضي عبد العزيز¹¹

It is one of the distinction of the poem that it is dedicated to Zamorin, the then ruler of Calicut and it is said that in ancient history till the composition of this poem there no president to dedicating a work written by a Muslim either in prose or poetry to a non-Muslim.¹²

Fathul Mubin is indeed a memorable creation having variegated dimensions, a critical reading of which will necessarily reveal the importance of the poem and the ever applicability of the theme raised in it even in present not only in Kerala *Mappila* context but in the international contexts in whole sense where a heavy wave of neo-colonial ambitions are creating hard hit burdens to the depressed sections whose number is extremely large. Hopefully through the reading of the poem it also can be derived that how far the *Mappila* spiritual leadership was aware about the needs and necessities of time and to what extent they wielded their leadership power to ensure the involvement of their community in whole rewarding missions. Therefore under the next subtitle, a close and detailed analysis of the poem is conducted so as to explore the extent of the significance of the content and message raised by the poem in a very crucial turn of time in the whole history of Kerala in general and *Mappila* Muslims in particular.

Language, Themes and Message

Al-Fathul Mubin, which reveals the depth of insights, creative vision and sincere religious spirit and fervour shown by Qazi Muhammad, is literally a very important poetic work that demands thorough study from its language to each questions raised in it, so that to explore fully the entire reaches of its potentials. So though briefly,

¹¹ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, op, cit, lines. 530, 531

¹² Mangada Abdul Azeez, op, cit, p. 27

each striking element regarding the poem is subjected to a close observation. And it begins from the examination of the importance and peculiarities of the language applied in the poem.

Qazi Muhammad who was an expert in Arabic-Malayalam also, has used Arabic language to present a very important theme regarding the crucial phase in the medieval history of Kerala which requires some necessary observations. In the poem a good share of the lines he has used to shower maximum possible praise on the non-Muslim king of Calicut, *Zamorin* who waged a stiff war, using his Nair army and *Mappila* force, against the *Portuguese* colonisers to capture the *Chaliyam* fort and to defuse and reduce their influence, so that ensure a safe living for the natives. This praises as Kerala historian *M. Gangadaran* observed must not be aimed at attaining seat in the mind of the King. Because either *Zamorin* or his ministers had not learned Arabic and if they had known it, it was definite that they had not well versed in it to appreciate the meanings of a poem in Arabic. So it is very difficult to believe that he had written it to please king and through which to attain his vested interests.¹³ But it may be the correct thinking that he must have selected Arabic language in that decisive poem to communicate the idea to entire Muslims all around the globe especially the Muslims under *Turkey Sultanate* in that period and make them aware about their lamentable failure in defending the safety of their community from the hands of cruel *Portuguese* which is morally and religiously their inalienable responsibility, whereas a non- *Muslim king* came forward to execute it and rightly succeeded in it. This assumption leads to the conclusion that even in the selection of language for this poem, there is the apparent expression of poet's high religious feeling and serious concern in the behavioural patterns of community which is traced as the inextricable manner of *Mappila* spiritual leadership.

Apparently this poem is an invaluable creation in the relatively rich area of *Mappila* contribution to Arabic language and literature since it essentially contains a beautiful style of language and presentation. According to *Mankada Abdul Azeez*, India of his period hasn't given birth to even a single person who showed potentials and genius

¹³ M. Gangadaran, *Mappila Studies* (mal) p.31

in Arabic language to the extent *Qazi Muhammad* did.¹⁴ Profound style, exact phrases, pure words, extremely satirical and humorist contents, highly attractive utilization of symbolism and etc can be seen as the characteristic features of this great poem.¹⁵ Since the milieu of the poetry is Kerala and its natives encounter with the *Portuguese* colonisers, many names of the places, people and communities are not accommodative to the frame of Arabic wording and sentence structure. But here in the poem, poet has successfully overcome each of such crucial condition by sheer dint of his marvellous dexterity and enormous expertise in the language. For example for the free flow of poem he changed *Zamorin* in to *Samiree* one of the lines for instance can read as thus;

بين محبّ المسلمين السامري وبين خصمه الفرنج الكافر¹⁶

Some of the examples of his beautiful applications and elegant accommodation of the names of places can be read as follow; giving an Arabic taste to the name of place *Cochin* in his poem, he says;

وذاك سلطان كثير العسكر صاحب كئتي من كبار البندر

With *صاحب كئتي* he means the man of *Cochin* or the king of *Cochin* and very beautifully he has transformed the word in to a possible Arabic readable text truly being loyal to the context.

He uses *Kannur* in his poem and makes it fit to the frame of poem as thus;

فجاء من قلعة كتنور زعيمة بالزاد كا لعصفور

Goa is used in his poem as follows;

ثم أنت أغربة من كووة كثيرة مع عدّة و قوّة¹⁷

¹⁴ Mangada Abduk Azeez, op, cit, p. 32

¹⁵ Ibid, p. 32

¹⁶ Qazi Muhammd op, cit, line .9

¹⁷ Ibd, lines. 111, 316, 215

He used Arabic pluralised form ‘*Nuyyar*’ to present Nair community wherever he needed to, in whole of the poem and one line is given under for example;

وجمع المسلم و النيارا واحضر المدافع الكبار¹⁸

And in very few occasions when Arabic transformations are not possible he has resorted to some easily graspable symbolic expression which can clearly convey the intended meaning, for example to indicate the *Nambudiri* Minister of *Zamorin* he used the term the man who wore the sacred thread i.e. “*Poonul*” in Malayalam which was widely wore by the high class *Nambudiris* among Hindus as part of their religious description.¹⁹ That line can be read as follows;

وهو وزير صاحب الزنار ذو الرأي والتدبير والافكار²⁰

These are merely examples and truly these are the clear cut testimonies of his commendable scholarship and deep talent in the Arabic language and its boundless applications.

In the poem the rules of versification according to the codes prescribed in Arabic prosody are strictly abided by poet from beginning till end. One common metre called ‘*Rajz*’ which, well versed Arabic poets use in narrative poems, is used by Qazi in the present poem²¹ and each rhyme scheme, word consonance and ringing tone and etc are elegantly made possible by him in even the most intricate places of narration which ultimately enhances the effect and readability of the poem.

Themes of the poem

Expressions of strong anti-colonial sentiments in order to ensure the constant mental and physical preparedness of his community can be seen as the most important theme raised by poet in the poem ‘*Fathul Mubin*’ as it is evident simply from a cursory reading of the text. But it doesn’t mean that only an anti-colonial ideology

¹⁸ Ibid, line, 102

¹⁹ Mangada, op, cit, p. 32

²⁰ Qazi Muhammad, Op, cit, line. 100

²¹ Aafaqi Saqafathi Wa turath, Qaseedath Fathul Mubin an Analytical study by Dr. Aboobakr Muhammad, p. 24

has been presented through those lengthy, more than five hundred lines of the poem, on the contrary several other equally relevant themes have been dealt by him as in the different lines of the poem even when a strong undercurrent of anti-colonial elements underlies the whole of the poem. So each theme is examined here in some detail.

The title given by the poet itself is clearly indicative of the extreme importance poet sees for any movement against the powers of colonialism and their evil designs. '*Al-Fathul Mubin*' means an apparent victory with which he describes the successful military raid led by the *Zamorin* of *Calicut* that culminated in the seizing of the strategic *Chaliyam* fort of *Portuguese* in the year 1571 A.D. It can be truly seen as the spontaneous outburst of his excessive happiness in the defeat of the colonial rulers who encroached in their land and wrecked maximum havoc on the entire life structure without any provocation on the side of colonised. It is also remarkable that he has dedicated the poem to the non-Muslim King *Zamorin* for the major reason that he had led the historic battle by virtue of his great love to Muslim community. From the very initial stage where he spends lines to shower praise on Allah Almighty as it was their wont while beginning such works, he has started attacking directly the colonial tyrants and their unbridled injustice on the poor people, specially quoting the epithets of God which suit to this occasion, like, supreme sovereign, the most potent conqueror, vanquisher of monarchs and tyrants and destroyer of the vanity of Caesar like emperors and etc.. The lines can be read as thus;

الحمد لله القويّ القادر المالك المكني العليّ القاهر

القاصم الملوك والجبابرة وكاسر القيول والأكاسرة²²

From, these very entering lines which brought for praising God, the poet has wonderfully succeeded in perfectly expressing the core of ideology he wanted to convey through the poem.

²² Qazi Muhammad, op, cit, line, 1-2

As historians evidently testify, it is indeed some of the complex turns from the annals of *Portuguese* reign in Kerala in 16th century A. D., are what worked as the inspirational ingredients behind the composition of this poem. I have already shed light to the advent of *Portuguese* colonisers to *Kerala* land and the massive imbalance occurred in the life frame of Kerala people due to their long drawn reign. Since the major target of *Portuguese* colonisers were Muslims and *Zamorin* the King of *Calicut* that time was in good terms with Muslim rulers in many foreign countries, he had naturally from the first decade of 16th century sought help from Muslims kings of different states and countries, like *Egyptian* governor *Sulaiman Pasha* in 1537-1538, *Bijapur Sultan, Adil Shah* and etc and they had given some timely helps in response. Still often it was so meagre and insufficient in comparison with the great requirement of the occasions. The construction of fort by *Portuguese* in *Chaliyam* was in the year 1531 A. D. and it was with the permission of the then *Zamorin* in an unexpected turn of event, as *Shaykh Zainuddin* testifies.²³ They constructed the historic fort demolishing the ancient *Masjid Al-Jami* that had been built in the early stage of advent of Islam to Malabar along with two other mosques.²⁴ In fact, *Chaliyam* was on the sea route of *Zamorin* and his troops. It is also on the route of travellers from many countries.²⁵ The golden chance eventually opened by the consent of *Zamorin* to construct the fort in such a very decisive and strategic space virtually enhanced the convenience of the successful execution of *Portuguese* designs and without much delay *Zamorin* recognized the mistake and embarked up on the great attempts to destroy the fort. But as history is witness it required a long period of around 40 years. Even at the last stage of operation, *Zamorin* sought help from Muslim rulers and as result of the request of *Arakkal Ali Raja, Kannur* to help Muslims against *Portuguese, Adil Shah*, the then ruler of *Bijapur* led his army against prime *Portuguese* centre in Goa and another Muslim king of the time *Nizam Shaha* moved with his army against important *Portuguese* port '*Chaul*'.

²³ Shaykh Zainuddin, Tuhfatul Mujahidin, Nainar Translation, p. 68

²⁴ Ibid, p. 68

²⁵ Ibid, p. 68

During the battle, *Adil Shaha* had sent a letter seeking help of *Zamorin* in their resistance against *Portuguese* and it is very much remarkable that the same time was setting out of *Zamorin's* army against *Portuguese* fort in *Chaliyam*.²⁶ But all this turned in to a mysterious culmination, and even though the victory over *Portuguese* was almost near, *Nizam Shah* suddenly stopped battle and made a peace treaty with *Portuguese* mainly due to his doubt in the state of *Adil Shah* and meantime *Adil Shah*, also fearing deceit on the part of his own ministers reached in treaty with opponents and retreated from the war front. Thus, in the joint venture against *Portuguese* nerve centres, at last *Zamorin* and his army only remained constant and consistent without retreating and they continued in stiff pace of the war till the moment of ultimate victory. This distinct turn of event is what prompted the poet to compose the poem. The lines in which poet sheds light to core content of the poem can be read as follow;

فان هذي قصة عجيبة في شرح حرب شأنها غريبة
واقعة في حطة المليبار ومثلها لم يجري في تلك الديار
بين محب المسلمين السامري وبين خصمه الفرنج الكافر²⁷

And in the coming lines explaining the intention behind the writing of this poem, *Qazi Muhammad* makes it clear that he had mainly intended with that to be a lesson to the Muslim world, which when it stood aloof from their mandatory responsibility of resisting the powers of evil and injustice and strengthening the hands of Muslims worldwide in their mission to redeem their lost freedom, it was a non Muslim king who helped them in preserving their identity. His strong ambition is expressed in the poem that if that ideal king was accepted by those Muslim rulers as an exemplary figure through which necessarily they can benefit a lot. Some of those lines can be read as thus;

نظمت بعضها ومالك الملوك ليسمع القصة سائر الملوك
لعلهم اذ سمعوا يفتكرون في الحرب او لعلهم يعتبرون

²⁶ M. Gangadaran, op, cit, p. 30

²⁷ Qazi Muhammad, op, cit, lines 7-9

وعلمها تسير في الأفق لا سيّما في الشامي والعراق
ويعلموا لهمة السلطان السامري المشهور في البلدان
صاحب كاليكوت المشهور لأزال من فضل الغني المعمورة
وهو محبّ ديننا الاسلام والمسلمين بين ذ اللانام²⁸

These lines are the true testimony of the immensely genuine concern Qazi Muhammad showed in the affairs of his community beyond boundaries of nation states and to the severe apprehension in their staying away from their inalienable responsibilities which is incumbent on them by the decrees of divinity.

In order to clarify the ideological and ethical justification for openly declaring extreme enmity towards Portuguese colonisers and for eulogising any move against their hegemonic excesses, poet spends a number of lines in the poem to enumerate the matchless atrocities perpetrated by them against humanity in general and against Muslim community in particular. A few lines out of the many, in which he elaborated the chapters of *Portuguese* atrocities, are as follow;

كذلك اجري ما جري من امره ولا نطيق حصره بذكره
من حرق بلدان وهدم مسجدٍ وجعله للخلق مثل الاعبد
وقتلهم من غير ذنب صادر وظلم كلّ وارد و صادر

Pointing to the literally deceitful attitude they owned as their nature he writes;

تم غدا مخالفا للسامري من بعد ما كان كعبد صاغر
ولم يزل يفعل ما يضره ويسعى الى الذي يغرّه
ككلب من رباه لإنتفاعه وهو يعرض دائما لرجله

²⁸ Ibid, lines 12- 17

Explaining the matchless persecution of various forms committed by them specially targeting Muslim community, he writes a lot of lines out of which a few lines are given below;

كم مسلم في حبسهم مقيدون واي محنة بها يعذبون
كم صيرو من مسلم نصاري حتي من السادات كالاساري
ومنعوا للمسالمين الطرقا برا وبحرا لم يزالو فرقا
واحرقو المصحف والمساجدا ثم بنوا لهم بها المعابدا
ونبشوا بظلمهم قبورا وعمروا بها لهم قصورا
وهتكوا لحرمة التسوان بين محارم وزوج عاني²⁹

Thus he goes on telling the whole types of the assaults they committed against Muslims and their living and even against their beliefs and practices and sacred things. Though, clarified in advance that covering whole area of Portuguese atrocities is beyond his description, he has succeeded in conveying the real horrific state of Portuguese injustice and it will be exactly clear when a passing reading of the poem is made.

It is well evident that the poet has presented each stages of the war in its most effective manner and his whole description of the war scenes can be genuinely considered as in high standard which reveals the intrinsic quality of an established poet in imagination without making harm to the essence of reality. A few lines he brought in description of war front can be read as thus;

فاحرقوا في ساعة ما حولها فاصبحت مثل الصريم يا لها
فبقي القلعة فردا وحدها كشجرة قد قطعت اغصانها

²⁹ Ibid, lines in between 70 and 180

One can clearly assess the far-reaching effect of the lines in absorbing the horrific state existed in the said war front, and the timely application of suitable figures of speech like simile and metaphors exactly adds in to the force of the meaning; some more examples can be seen; describing the torrential flow of people in to the war front on the part of *Zamorin's* committed subjects, poet writes'

فصار يأتي الناس مثل النمل حين رأي انكسار ظرف العسل
فخاض كل واحد فيما امر من حريهم مثل الاسود والنمر
فنبشوا الخندق في الاسحار في كل جانب الي الحصار
حتي يصير الطفل يرمي بالحجر من خندق الي الحصار والمدر³⁰

The beautiful phrases used in the above mentioned lines, like the procession of ants towards the broken bottle of honey and fighting like lions and tigers are truly very effective expressions which succeed in absorbing the entire poise of the crucial state towards the commencement of battle and besiege of fort.

The poet has clearly portrayed the live participation and leaderly role played by an array of *Mappila* spiritual leaders of the time in the war sending a clear message to the world that they were not mere dwellers in ivory towers but active participants in whole affairs of country and community and especially may be to be a creative lesson to his community members. Those lines are as follow;

وكان سيدي احمد القمامي مجاهدا في جملة المقادم
وشيخنا المشهور ذوالاسرار ابو الوفا محمد الشطار
والشاه بندر عمر العنتابي وسائر الرؤسا اولو الانساب
ومعهم المخدوم ذوالاتقان عبد العزيز المعبري الفتاني
قاضي قضاة المسلمين عبد العزيز الكالكوتي كالمعين
ومنهم مقدم الشجعان كنجي علي المشهور في البلدان³¹

³⁰ Ibid, lines. 230-31, 278- 81

³¹ Ibid, lines. 246- 51

All the personalities mentioned in the above lines were the famous Sufi saints and some of them were recognized community leaders of the period and out of them three have been briefly discussed in the second chapter. These lines of the poet I hope are enough to substantiate my argument that early *Mappila* spiritual leadership were highly creative representatives.

It also has been clear from the descriptions of poet that the spiritual elements of religions were substantially relied upon, in the war by the king himself for aimed achieving victory in that bloody confrontations with the powerful enemy, which is visibly indicative of the highly devotionally oriented atmosphere of the period. Some of the lines are as follow;

وعين القراء للقراءة كذلك الشيوخ للاجابة
وعين المنذور في ام القرى كذا لطيبة بها خير الوري
واحضر الكهان والمرصدين وصاحب الدعوة والمنجمين³²

Another very important theme which can be derived from the poem as whole is the narration of the history of Muslims countries in general and peoples of *Malabar* in particular during the period Portuguese colonialism in medieval period. In this sense, it may not be an exceeded statement if one considers the poem as a manual of *Portuguese* period in Malabar. Along with it, *Qazi Muhammad* has shed light to some historical facts regarding the advent of Islam in Malabar and etc. a comprehensive account of the crucial events occurred during the Portuguese period in Kerala and its impact on the Kerala peoples' living and the mode of their reaction can be however, clearly read from the poem. For example we can examine some lines; Shedding light to the advent of *Portuguese* in the Kerala land, poet says,

وذاك ان اخبت الخلائق المقتدي لانجس الطرائق
اعدي عدو الله و الرسول ودينه وامة الرسول
وهو الفرنجي³³ عابد الصليبان وساجد الصورة والاوثنان

³² Ibid, lines. 272- 274

And after some lines which brought for describing the features and nature of the Portuguese, he writes pointing to the year and objective of their arrival,

لَمَّا آتَى فِي الْهِنْدِ كَالْجِرَادِ مَتَجِرًا بِنِيَّةِ الْفَسَادِ
لِيَجْعَلَ الْفَلْفَلُ وَالزَّنَاجِيلُ لِنَفْسِهِ وَلِلْوَرِيِّ كَالنَّارِجِيلِ
عَامَ ثَلَاثٍ بَعْدَ تِسْعِمَائَةٍ مِنْ هِجْرَةِ الْمُخْتَارِ بَيْنَ النَّسْمَةِ

Thus starting from the events that led to their setting feet in the land, poet has mentioned in the poem many historical occasions appeared here and around even till some years after the historic capturing of *Chaliyam* fort. However the account he gives through the poem about the capturing of *Chaliyam* fort by *Zamorin's* army is indeed vivid and brilliant. But in the mentioning of the year of the completion of battle and seizing of *Chaliyam* fort from the control of *Portuguese* it seems to have happened an apparent mistake to the poet, in comparison with the date provided in *Tuhfatul Mujahidin* by *Zainuddin Makhdum* Junior which is most reliable and widely accepted historical document. Talking about the date of conquering *Portuguese* fort in *Chaliyam* he writes;

وَفَتْحَهَا فِي يَوْمِ الْإِثْنَيْنِ جَرِي سَادِسَ عَشْرٍ مِنْ جَمَادِي الْآخِرِي
مِنْ فَضْلِ رَبَّنَا الْغَنِيِّ فِي سَنَةِ تِسْعٍ وَتِسْعِينَ وَتِسْعِمَائَةٍ³⁴

As it is clear from the line, according to the poet, the historic conquest of *Chaliyam* fort happened in the year 999 A.H. *Jumadul Aakhir*, 16, Monday, but in *Tuhfat*, *Zaunuddin Makhdum* writes pointing to the end of war that culminated in the capturing of the fort, “in the midnight of Monday, 16 *Jamadil Al-Aakhir*, 979 A.H. (1571 A.D.) they (*Portuguese*) were allowed to march out of the fort, giving them a

³³ The term ‘Afranji’ is used by the poet to denote Portuguese, it is because during the medieval centuries, several battles have taken place in between Arabs and Europeans and the most powerful state that time in Europe was French. So Arabs called all European ‘Afranji’ which means French. The Arabs of North Africa pronounces the letter ‘j’ as ‘g’ and thus gradually Afranji transformed in to Afranji and it later in to Frank and when it reached in Kerala became ‘Parangi’. In Kerala context, only Portuguese is meant by ‘Parangi’. Quoted from the Mangada Abdul Azeez, op, cit, p, 41

³⁴ Ibid, 53-55, 59- 61, 458, 459

safe passage.”³⁵ The *Tuhfat*'s statement is taken up as the true account by the later historians and it is not clear that how this fallout happened to the poet thereof.

As I noted earlier, in the poem he has mentioned about the event that caused for the spread of Islam in Kerala. Though different opinions are aired by various historians about the conversion of *Cheraman Perumal* in to Islam, *Qazi Muhammad* is of the solid opinion that it happened during the life time of Prophet (s) itself. Shedding light to this area poet writes,

وانما وفق هذا السامري للحرب معه بين كل كافر
بسرّ دعوة النبي المطهر لخاله يوم انشقاق القمر
لمأ رأني انشقاقها من بلدنه سافر خفية الي زيارته
حتي اتي الي النبي وامنا بالله و النبي فصار مؤمنا
وفي رجوعه الي مليبار ليجري الاسلام في تلك الديار
اصابه الموت من الظقار كذا اتي في اشهر الاخبار
وقبره هناك مشهور وفيه جميع ما قد كان حيا يشتهي³⁶

Within these seven lines he has summarised the events that led to the historic conversion of *Perumal King of Kerala* in to Islam, which has been a bone of contention amidst *Mappila* historians regarding the period and mode of its happening and he has opted the opinion that it happened during the life time of Prophet per se, which is the common opinion reached by majority of historians. And he never forget to back up his statement making it clear that he is telling all that on the ground of several reliable historical documents as it is clear from the line number, 528. It is also mention worthy here that through the 529th line of the poem what he tries to articulate is about one of the important area of belief structure preserved by *Mappila* traditional Scholars. It is the sincere approval of the great importance pious people deserves and it remains the same after their death as well and it is has been well clear, when *Qazi Muhammad* reminds believers to visit the burial place of the *Perumal at Dufar* in present Oman, who embraced Islam directly

³⁵ Tuhfatul Mujahidin, op, cit, p. 90

³⁶ Al-Fathul Mubin, op, cit, lines. 523- 29

from the mouth of Prophet Muhammad, it was truly part of their religious observance. And they who have made exhaustive studies and attained deep knowledge in Islamic classic texts and in its all other lore, no way are expected to make deviated definitions and mistaken interpretations which will harm the core of the true Islam. However, it has been evident from the above line that the *Mappila* traditional leadership including *Qazi Muhammad* were strong believers in the greatness and importance possessed by pious Muslim personalities and Sufi saints irrespective of being they dead or alive. In short a reading of the poem to explore the historical contents will definitely unfold several important elements which can be to large extent, helpful to revisit the period of Portuguese domination in Malabar in particular, of which a detailed elaboration is not my intention here.

Another relevant theme presented through several lines of the poem is praise of the king *Zamorin*. Poet has spent many number of lines being in different parts of the poem to shower praise on the highness of the *non-Muslim King Zamorin*, which can cause to evoke doubt in the minds of the reader that the poet was just following the suit of so-called palace poets who use their intrinsic potentials to make poems in praise of their masters, i.e., kings and emperors through which they can achieve the proximity of the king and exhort many gifts and find the means of an affluent living. But it can be assured that *Qazi Muhammad* must not have written with this purpose in mind since, as I noted earlier part of this chapter, he would have used local dialect Malayalam or Arabic Malayalam (according to the known evidences he was equally expert in this language also) other than Arabic which is most convenient to communicate the ideas to the Malayalam King if a such an intention was in mind while preparing it, but as the very lines of the poem testify, even the boundless measure of praise showered on the non-Muslim king is essentially aimed at reminding Muslim community and Muslim kings especially about the enormity of their responsibility and their culpable meantime very dangerous apathy and idleness in timely executing it. Examination of some lines written by poet in this sense will reveal this more clearly. Expressing his extreme admiration to the exclusive qualities of the king *Zamorin*, poet writes at the very beginning of the poem;

السامري المشهور في بلدان

و يعلموا لهمة السلطان

صاحب كالكوت المشهورة	لازال من فضل الغني المعمورة
وهو محب ديننا الاسلام	والمسلمين بين ذا الانام
ناصر ديننا ومجري شرعنا	حسني بخطبة علي سلطاننا
والمسلمون كلهم رعيتة	وان يكن في اي ارض بلدته ³⁷

These lines are the declaration of the responsibility of circulating throughout the world the distinct reputation of a non-Muslim king who is ever vigilant and always diligent at any cost, to protect the rights of his Muslim subjects and helps them to preserve their religious identity intact in the times of happiness and hardship. Moreover, in these lines his strong indignation at the lamentably apathetic mood of his community's political leaders all over the world towards those rising threats against their existence is also apparently evident.

For further clarification of the idea, I quote some more lines he brought towards the end of the poem in praise of the said king;

فما رأينا احدا ملتفتنا	من الملوك المسلمين مصلتنا
في دفع هذي الكفرة الملاعين	عن هؤلاء الضعفاء المسلمين
فالسامري مع كفره لدينا	حاربهم وصرف الخزاننا ³⁸

Thus a close analysis of the lines poet used to eulogise the king will definitely reveal his sincere purpose behind it and will help prove it is quite nonsensical to think that he was also condescending himself to the inferior status of traditional palace poets with respect to his religious face and eminence.

Another highly important aspect to be taken for serious analysis while discussing the terms of excessive praises poet used to describe the king is the grave question rises from several quarters that how the poet could do that while the fact is that the Zamorin was eventually deceiving his greatly emboldened naval commander, *Kunhali Marakkar IV*, despite of his never forgettable, years long sincere services

³⁷ Ibid, lines. 15-19

³⁸ Ibid, lines. 516-18

for the cause of king and nation, and handing over to the cruel Portuguese hands who ultimately subjected him to literally brutal murder. This was indeed an event, as historian *K.K.N. Kurup* ascertains, saddened *Mappila* Muslim community a lot and it is said that even the Nair army of *Zamorin* had revolted against the king due to the unexpected and undesirable stance he accepted in the case of dealing with his traditional naval commandant.³⁹ Even after such a deeply agonising event, it is difficult to believe that *Qazi Muhammad* like community religious leader could shower long drawn verses of praises on the king though it is for a commendable venture realized under his leadership. Hence, it is safe to believe that either he would have written the poem before getting blurred the strong relationship existed between *Kunhali Marakkar* and *King Zamorin*, or perhaps the *Zamorins* who led the *Chaliyam* war and the *Zamorin* who helped *Portuguese* murder *Kunhali IV* might be different kings and if not all this another possibility might be that poet might have targeted with the poem to rebind the thread of broken rapport with the local King and Muslim subjects so that to ensure again the unified movement against the common enemy, without which the sad state of community will only get more worsened.

Trans-communal harmony and the far-reaching favours it did for the land and its people in a Malabar like pluralist context is another prominent theme dealt with in the poem. Describing the expressions of inextricable solidarity existed between *Mappilas* and *Nairs* in the middle of battle field against the common enemy Portuguese, poet has penned several lines, for instance I quote a few out of it here;

فاجتمع النّيار في مكان والمسامون في مكان ثان

^٢ والوزراء سايرو بينهما ليخبروا الحال لكلّ منهما

فاختصّ كلّ مسلم في جانب لان يكون غيرهم في جانب

واقسموا جميعهم باننا نموت اولاً علي عدونا

فقالّ النّيار انتم قليـل ولانخليكم علي الحرب الجليل

³⁹ K.K.N. Kurup. Op, cit, p. 25

These lines expose the closeness and feeling for each other existed between the communities of *Malabar* during the time of *Portuguese* domination irrespective of religious differences which essentially helped the mission to evacuate the alien forces from the colonised land.

Dissemination of some necessary preachings and imparting of some essential counsels and explanation of action plan with respect to pure and perfect observation of religion in a time of mounting menaces from various alien destructive forces is another important area of discussion in the poem. In general, through the poem, poet addresses not only the *Malabar Mappila Muslims*, but he speaks to the Muslims all over the world. So he has tried to give a universal presentation of the theme in a wider context of world Muslims who altogether face the same threat though in different forms. Even the essence of the poem can be understood as a recurrent reminder to the Muslim community, especially to Muslim community leaders throughout the world about their inalienable duties and responsibilities. Since from many of the above mentioned lines it has been clear I don't want to quote more lines here as example. As far as the message of the poem is concerned, it is derivable from the analysis of content of the poem that he was most concerned about the mindless atrocities of colonial powers and Muslims are primarily bound to resist at any cost such unjustifiable moves and be part and parcel of the anti-colonial struggles so that to stop the domination of injustice whoever may be the initiator of the movement as he has depicted it with the presentation of the non-Muslim king Zamorin. At length, the essence of the message poet intends to impart through the poem can be read as Islam is against any kind of injustice and undue subjugation of land, property and belief and therefore, Muslims are religiously responsible to take up with the counter activities and even if a non-Muslim representative is at the helm of the resistance it is a religious duty of them to strengthen his hand.

At length, on the ground of the close examination of the poem's content, it has been well evident that different readings are possible in the poem. On the one hand it can

⁴⁰ Al-Fathul Mubin, lines, 298-403

be considered as a direct and strong anti-colonial literature which follow the suit of several other works in the area produced by the great *Mappila* spiritual leadership, and on the other hand it can be considered as a historical narrative poem, highlighting this aspect of the poem, K.K.N. Kurup has compared *Qazi* to *Thucydides* and opined that while narrating the a historical event of 1571 A.D, the conquest of *Chaliyam* fortress, the poet had become a historian like *Thucydides*. And he adds that apart from epics and mythological narrations, such war poems on contemporary event are rare in Kerala and here the poet has followed the tradition of Arabic literature like the war of *Badr* and also projected the ethics and morality.⁴¹. Moreover the poem can be read as set of sermons predominantly meant for his community members all over the world so as to rise to the occasion waking up from the drowsiness of idleness and carelessness to face some very grave social realities. As well it can be a read as a trans-communal harmony booster creation mainly intended at Kerala context where devotees of various religions necessarily want to coexist and co-operate so that to keep the social framework of area solid and intact. Likewise through further closer observation some more aspects can be deciphered.

However, summing up it can be stated that, Fathul Mubin is a direct anti-colonial poem in itself and all other themes dealt in it are either brought to strengthen the effect and influence of the idea or to ensure the wider arena of the stiff confrontation oriented against cruel alien invaders, made possible by the joining hands of entire victims, irrespective of their class, creed and community. And as stated earlier, since the leadership of traditional *Mappila* community was entirely in the hands of *Ulama* and *Sufis* due to the absence of exclusive political authority, and they were highly religiously conscientious, naturally *Qazi Muhammad* who was a Sufi leader had mega role in the guidance of *Mappila* community and necessarily his this verdict in the form of poetry, written to be an vibrant inspirational ideological armament in order to create strong defiant spirit against the unjustifiably intruded foreign power, had tremendous impact on the *modus operandi* of *Mappila* Muslims, not only in his period but believably enough this kind of various forms of indigenous anti-colonial literature and war songs have visibly influenced, defined and accelerated even the

⁴¹ K.K.N. Kurup, op, cit, p. 74

later anti-colonial movements, it can be evident from the true revisiting of the annals of four centuries long anti-colonial- movements which strongly ploughed the land of Kerala. Moreover, *Fathul Mubin* is a commendable creation of Qazi Muhammad having universal application, especially its theme is relevant even today when the onslaught of neo-colonialism in innovative forms are swiftly emerging and seizing even the intellectual space of third world citizens. And considering the evergreen pertinence of the message of the poem, which exposes clearly the great insight, matchless ingenuity and broad and perfectly practical vision of a *Mappila* spiritual leader, as historian *K.K.N Kurup* noted, the text *Fathul Mubin* and its ideology must be brought out to the masses for promoting communal harmony, spirit of nationalism, and patriotism.⁴²

⁴² K.K.N. Kurup, op, cit, p. 76

Muhyiddin Mala

Introduction

Muhyiddin Mala is the one and only traced out *Arabic-Malayalam* poem of *Qazi Muhammad* and it is the first known poetic work in the long array of rich *Arabic-Malayalam* literature. Underlying this argument, *O. Abu* (D, 1980 A.D.) the acclaimed literary historian of *Arabic-Malayalam*, observes that researches hitherto haven't been able to explore a poetic work in *Arabic-Malayalam* which is older than *Muhyiddin Mala*.⁴³ Besides it is one of the most beautiful and vibrant relics of Sufi mystic tradition long back reached, rooted and spread in the land of Kerala. *Muhyiddin Mala* is a remarkable contribution which stands clear as an evident testimony of the direct and inseparable affiliation of *Qazi Muhammad* with one of the most reputed and largely prevalent Sufi esoteric orders, *Qadiree* order. This is the first and most prominent song among the numerous available *Mala Pattukal* (songs), one important type in the rich variety of *Mappila* songs, which is *Mappila Muslim's* an exclusive poetic literary expression. *Mala* literally means garland and the structural format of the poems justifies the attribute prescribed in the name as it is evident for a *Arabic-Malayalam* knowing appreciator, since those poems are generally prepared in beautiful lines as flowers in a garland.

'*Malappatukal*' can be strictly defined as those poetic works which are composed in praise of glorious figures like, noble prophets, prophet's pious companions, Sufi saints and etc. commemorating commendable moments, miraculous feats and memorable happenings took place in their life with soaring piety, devotion and adoration. It is also called '*NerchaPattukal*'. Though numerous *Malas* have been traced as in different periods, the most prominent and prevalent among them after *Muhyiddin Mala* are; *Rifaie Mala*, *Badr Mala*, *Nafeesath Mala*, *Manjakkulam Mala*, *Mampuaram Mala*, *Malappuaram Mala*, *Mahmood Mala*, and etc.⁴⁴ According to *O. Abu*, these *Malas* were generally the repository of solace for *Mappila* Muslims (and continues to be so in large scale) in the times of hardship, diseases and sorrows

⁴³ *O. Abu*, *Literary history of Arabic-Malayalam (mal)*, p. 62

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, p. 62

and in such occasions they gathered in an highly pious atmosphere in a neat and clean space and recited it aiming at getting immediate redemption from the plights and miseries they face. *Rolland miller* who made a thorough study about the *Mappila* community in Kerala also has endorsed this lofty seat *Malas* owned in the minds of traditional *Mappilas* and those who make a cursory observation about the traditional *Mappilas* living sphere even today cannot escape witnessing the influence of the of same, though earlier vigour has diminished due to several reasons.

There is a reliable and noteworthy observation that since Kerala was before ninth century A.D. an inextricable part of broad geographical space called '*Tamilakam*', what Kerala shared was also a common cultural space and life style. And the advent and spread of Islam also happened in such a cultural space. And even after the separation into independently existent states, as an instance of shared cultural tradition, several genres and forms of literature have survived and exist even today in the land of Kerala. It is said that one very important form survived thus and reached in Kerala, was *Malas* which were and are prevalent among *Mappila Muslims*.⁴⁵ However, amidst these live expressions of great *Mappila* tradition, the status of *Muhyiddin Mala* is unparallel and the acceptance it achieved in the minds of traditional *Mappila Muslims* is obviously enormous.

There is no confusion in the year of the composing of the poem as it is obviously given in some lines of the poem. The date of composition as shown in the poem is 782 of *Kollam Era*⁴⁶ i.e. in 1607 A.D or 1016 A.H. and the number of lines poet brought in it also have been indicated in it clearly. Those lines can be read as thus;

Kollam eyunutti empatthi randil njan

Kothen immalene nootambathanjummal

⁴⁵ M. Nizar, Counter-endeavours that shocked hegemonies, article in *Muhyiddin Mala: history, lesson and study*, (mal). Edi, Zainuddin mandalan Kunnu, p. 45-46

⁴⁶ Kollam Era or as otherwise called Malabar Era is reckoned from Aug, 15, 824 A.D., unlike most of Indian Eras in which the year is luni-sola, the Kollam Era is entirely is entirely solar, both with regarding to the year and twelve constituent months. The era is called Kollam Era since it is purported to have been inaugurated in the city of Kollam, on the west coast of Kerala. Referred from K.V. Sharma 'Indian journal of History of Science' (31 (1)1996).

Muthum manikkavum onnayi korthapol

*Muhyiddin malene kothen njan lokare*⁴⁷

The idea of the line can be translated in to English some way as follow

In the year 782 of Kollam Era,

I prepared this mala in 155 lines or

(I threaded this garland in 155 lines)

Like pearls and rubies sewn together

I sewed *Muyiddin Mala*, oh people.

As well as it is his habit in even most of his Arabic poems, the poet has beautifully included his name in some line of the poem with complete identification and designation which is helpful for readers and students of the poem to evade any doubt regarding the authorship of the poem. Those lines can be read as thus;

Kandan Arivalan kattitharum pole

Qazi Muhammad ennu perulovar

Koyikkottatura Tannil pirannovar

*Korva ithikeyum nokki eduthovar*⁴⁸

An approximate translation of the lines:

As shown by knowing luminaries

The person named Qazi Muhammad

⁴⁷ Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti, *Muhyiddin Mala*, lines 141-42 , text compiled by Ottamalikelkkal Muthukoya Tangal.

⁴⁸ Ibid, lines 13-14

The native of Kozhikode region

Has compiled and prepared this Mala

From the above lines it along with identification of author and his nativity and indication to the reference, it also has been clear that during the time of the composing Muhammad had been appointed as the Qazi of Calicut. So, simply it can be seen that *Muhyiddin Mala* is one of the bright products he brought out as part of the brilliant execution of the great responsibility relied up on him being loyal and highly committed to the lofty seat people trustily shouldered him in a very turbulent turn of time. Meantime, it is also mention worthy here that as studies about the pious Muslim authors of earlier period generally revealed, clarifying the names of the authors along with the content of the text never can be misconstrued as an expression of pride or vanity but as expressed by them sincerely in several occasions it is aimed at getting the prayers of the readers and appreciators of the poem. Though it has been a sound document for the identification, the intention of Qazi Muhammad also behind articulating his name in the poem, can be conceived in the same line, since they were pious leaders who aimed at ultimately the rewards and blessing on the part of Allah Almighty.

According to *Balakrishnan Vallikunu*, who made a genuine study about the language, tone and cultural contribution of *Muhyiddin Mala*, literally this poem also has abided by certain rules of versification, though it cannot be fully identified on the basis of the prosody of *Arabic* or *Malayalam* since, *Arabic-Malayalam* to a large extent has an independent identity. If it is observed and appreciated in line with the rules of versification prescribed in Malayalam, the metre and tone order covers it can be identified as a metre similar to the modern '*Kakali*' metre in Malayalam. Meanwhile as it becomes more evident from the experiencing of the recitation peculiarities of the poem it is reasonable to think that the '*Khafeef*' metre of Arabic versification has influenced the structure formation of *Muhyiddin Mala* than *Kakali* metre in Malayalam⁴⁹ *O. Abu* also has opined that largely enough the '*Ishals*' ie

⁴⁹ Balakrishnan Vallikunnu, *Mappilapattu*, an introductory study (mal), p. 54

metres, in *Mappilapattu* flow in tune with the metres used in Arabic versification.⁵⁰ *Muhyiddin Mala* being the forerunner of all other *Malas* the same pattern is followed in all other *Malas* and it is evident from the comparison of different *Malas*.

Moreover, in broad way of thinking it can be said that *Malas* can be accepted as a sound source of the study of history. There is no difficulty for social scientists to treat *Malas* as composition model which see the history of Muslim world in Kerala *Mappila* Muslim context⁵¹. Various historical elements have been embedded in each of these *Malas* especially in *Muhyiddin Mala* which opens before serious historical and sociological analysts wide potentials for true and unerring explorations of the various elements regarding the period of its formation and the content discussed in it. More over according to *V. Kuhali* who made a genuine study about the emergence and spread of Sufism in Kerala, the earliest reference one get for Sufi orders in Kerala is '*Rihla*' followed by the most popular '*Muhyiddin Mala*' composed in 1607 A.D.⁵² which also reiterates the historical importance of *Muhyiddin Mala* owns along with its several other peculiarities. Besides it is also indicative to the boundless potentials *Muhyiddin Mala* possesses that it has helped trigger the flair of poesy in the minds of several *Mappila* literary men and caused for their smooth cultivation in the field of creative literature opening hidden treasures of their intrinsic powers by the magical touch of the *Muhyiddin Mala*. *M. A. Rahman* one of the living *Mappila* literary man has openly admitted the high influence *Muhyiddin Mala* exerted in the substantial growth of his literary career. It can be read from his own words, he revealing the impact of *Muhyiddin Mala* in the breeding of his creativity he says, "the real inspiring elements behind my story writing and literary aptitude is nothing but *Muhyiddin Mala* and *PakhshiPattu*"⁵³ (bird song).

It is also to be noted that only some decades back, *Muhyiddin Mala* has got published and all the while through last many centuries it existed in *Mappila* Muslims' devotional practices with full light and lustre merely to say by virtue of its

⁵⁰ O. Abu, op, cit, p. 88

⁵¹ M. Nizar, Mala and Moulids, creativity of culture, (mal article) Musiminte Kerala model, Rahmania Kadameri, 35th Anniversary special

⁵² V. Kunhali, op. cit. p. 58

⁵³ M.A. Rahman, Muhyiddin mala a counter conscience poem, (article in mal), in Zainuddin mandalan Kunnu, op, cit, p. 33

vibrant and brilliant oral tradition which also reveals the increased eminence and highest importance this poem enjoyed amidst the living sphere of *Mappila* Muslims of Kerala. It is said that the oldest manuscripts of *Muhyiddin Mala* were preserved in the archives of *Arakkal* royal palace and, *C.N. Ahmed Moulavi* and *C.K. Kareem* for their famous work on *Mappila* literary tradition, have depended manuscripts of *Muhyiddin Mala* traced out from the archive of this palace as they have noted it in their work.

It is mention worthy here the finding of the authors of 'The history of the great *Mappila* literary tradition' that for last several centuries since its composition, Kerala Muslims used to recite this *Mala* in their homes (literally to say truth in almost all homes) during the night time after offering *Ma'rib Namaz*, though emaciated a lot the practice has not totally extinct even today. It is also obviously testifying the acceptance and adoration this work achieved in the minds of even present generation of Kerala, that in 2007 December, 22, Kerala state government organised a massive commemoration programme of *Muhyiddin Mala* in account with the completion of 400 years since its composition (by 2007 A.D. *Muhyiddin Mala* completed its hundred years) in *Moyinkutty Vaidyar* memorial building in *Kondotty*, and Kerala government declared one year ahead as for long term anniversary celebrations of the poem. Following this grand event *Muslim organizations* in Kerala especially that of *Sunni Muslims* conducted different programmes in various colours and in which serious deliberations about various aspects and implications of the poem held, to which people turned out in huge numbers irrespective of differences of ideologies. If a poem is celebrated and commemorated with increased admiration and soaring acceptance and even more seriousness of critical analysis even after 4 centuries of its composition, it really proves the lofty seat it adores in the minds of its people. More over several studies in different aspects, translations in to pure modern Malayalam and interpretations have been prepared by various *Mappila* scholars to this poem, out of which the comprehensive *Muhyiddin Mala* commentary prepared by *Mustafa Al-Faizy*, a living traditional *Sunni* scholar of *Mappila Muslims* is a commendable and reliable one in this regard. Since, the interpreter is a gifted scholar and staunch advocate of the

traditional Sunni beliefs, this interpretation has been able to provide a fitting defence and satisfactory solutions for many confusing statements rised by poet through different lines of the poem.

However, in general, from the above introductory description, it has been clear that *Muhyiddin Mala* is a creative source, having boundless potentials and peculiarities, which can be read as an efficient follow up *Qazi Muhammad* initiated to his numerous brilliant thought provoking and revivalist creations in Arabic. So in order to explore the each area of the wider halo it spread on *Mappila* living sphere and its various stages and conditions here I am going to examine each and every important aspect regarding the poem and its impact in some detail. In the discussion of its impact, special focus will be given to influence the Mala exerted in the formation and development of anti-colonial struggle ploughed the land of Kerala for around 4 hundred years, which is the prime area of this research which will definitely help find the undeniable place of Mala in this area. At fist before coming to the discussion about the content of the poem, a suspicious call rose from some quarters recently expressing doubts in the authorship of Mala is treated in some detail since it is a necessity so that to ensure the authenticity of the following deliberations.

Contention about the authorship of *Muhyiddin Mala*

Generally in the long run of history, several attempts can be noticed in various phases of time, as took place from different walks to negate a widely acknowledged idea or to nullify the authorship of a text which has in it credit a consensus otherwise, most often such cases are ultimately proven to be fake and inspired by some vested interests. In case of *Muhyiddin Mala* also, such an issue of negation rose from some small quarters, has been marked since the second half of 20th century, after three centuries of its composition. The suspicious rised by them is about the widely acknowledged author of the poem, saying that in the wake of several new findings, it cannot be any longer believed that *Qazi Muhammad Kaliluti* was the author of *Muhyiddin Mala*. Though the argument put forward by them are merely negligible, in order to reiterate the authenticity of the hither to kept up belief that *Muhyiddin Mala* was the product of *Qazi Muhammad*, I would like to point out

and examine briefly here the arguments of those who rised doubt and to present its counter arguments in the light of documents.

It is said that the first one to express doubt in the authorship of *Qazi Muhammad* to *Muyiddin Mala* was *T. Ubaid* (d, 1972) a noted *Arabic Malayalam* poet of 20th century Kerala and after him his disciple *K.M. Ahmed*. Recently in 2007 this controversy was again triggered when *Prof. K. M. Muhammad* a known academician and Arabic professor, presented a research paper in the seminar conducted in *Moyikkitti Vaidyar* memorial building on account of the 400th anniversary celebrations of *Muhyiddin Mala* in which he forwarded some arguments clearly aimed at disowning *Qazi Muhammad* from the authorship post of *Muhyiddin Mala*. Following the seminar paper by *K.M. Muhammad*, inspired by him, one among known living *Mappila Pattu* singers, *V.M. Kutti*, wrote an article in *Madyamam Malayalam* daily's Sunday special supplement dated 1.16.2008., repeating the arguments rised by *K.M. Muhammad* and adding some more as his contributions. I am going here to critically examine the arguments proposed by them both appeared in the research paper and article.

The arguments put forward by them in support of their attempt to negate the authorship can be summed up as follow; 1) Considering the content of the Arabic works of *Qazi Muhammad* and the stand in it he adopted towards the ideological beliefs, it is very difficult even to imagine that a scholar like *Qazi Muhammad* can compose a poem like *Muhyiddin Mala*. 2) Some themes seen in the poem are not in agreement with the teachings of the *Qur'an* and hence it is hard to believe that *Qazi Muhammad* authored it. 3) Since an apparent anomaly is found in the close examination of the date of composition of the poem and the date of the death of poet, it comes that the poem was written after the death of *Qazi*. 4) The lines which states the name of the author in the poem creates some serious confusion which lead a grave reader in to the conclusion that the poem was written by others⁵⁴. In the first sight though these arguments seem to be so grave and path breaking which are able enough to raze down the base structure of a solid belief that was preserved by almost whole of Kerala people for last four centuries, but an analysis of each point in the

⁵⁴ V.M. Kutty, *Muhyiddin Mala: some new thoughts*, Madyamam Sunday supplement, 1. 16. 2008

light of the sound evidences and undeniable facts will necessarily prove that they are seriously mistaken in their urgency to make a path-breaking research.

The first point raised by them is that *Muhyiddin Mala* is against the ideas presented by *Qazi* in his other works. But truly enough it is not a valid statement since many of his works as I have elaborated in the last chapter is dealing with *Thasawwuf* themes and written aimed at bringing about a spiritual revivalism among his community and it is also a known fact that he was a *Shaykh* and initiator of *Qadiree Sufi* order. What can be expected from a Sufi saint in his expression of intensity of reverence and love towards his Guru, only can be read from the lines of *Muhyiddin Mala*. While analysing the content of the poem I elaborate this in brief. The second point raised by them is a supplementary argument to the first. *T. K. Ahmed Kunhi* has given a fitting answer to this claim saying that such a doubt arises only because they are looking in to the matter through the prism of sheer rationality sitting in the first phase of 21st century. Those who study the history of *Thareeqath* movements emerged and spread in Kerala before 400 years will naturally without difficulty find out the reason behind being composed *Muhyiddin Mala* by *Qazi Muhammad*.⁵⁵ It is truly the great difficulty an ordinary person faces in unfolding the inner meanings and exact dimensions of the verses used by a Sufi saint and their failure to accommodate with idea of spiritual heights and closeness to Allah almighty, a Sufi can attain is what tempted them believably in reaching to such a rash conclusion. It is true, only those who can acknowledge Sufism and *Thareeqath* movements and its reliability can digest the language and content of this poem. However, the commentary work of *Mustafal Faizy* to *Muhyiddin Mala* is a befitted and reliable work to solve the doubts of non-biased seekers of knowledge in this regard, since he has made a successful attempt in the book to solve each question raised in the poem in the light of the holy Qur'an and *Hadith*. Meantime the claim of *V.M. Kutty* that *Shaykh Muhyiddin Abdul Qadir Jeelani* about who is the poem, haven't made any statement which accords any way with the lines in the poem, is out of sheer ignorance about the works of *Shaykh Jeelani*. In the interpretation to the lines in the poem which state that the poems of *Shaykh Jeelani* is the source of *Muhyiddin Mala*, Faizy has made an

⁵⁵ *Muhyiddin mala, history, lesson and study, op, cit, p. 57*

elaborate comparison of the lines from *Jeelani's* poems like *Qaseedathu Ba'iyya*, *Qaseedathul Nuniyya*, *Qaseedathul lamiyya*, and etc, with the lines from *Muhyiddin Mala* which obviously proves that his statement is baseless. Because, most of the statements made in the poem are direct adaptations of *Jeelani's* Arabic poem.

Another important claim made by *V.M. Kutty* to present his deconstruction theory of *Muhyiddin Mala* is the anomalies he found in the dates of the composition the poem and death of the author. In a close analysis this is also can be proved baseless and can be found that *V.M. Kutty* has miserably mistaken in his calculation. The calculation of *V.M. Kutty* can be summed up as follow:

In between *Christian* year and *Hijra* year there is the difference of 622 years. *Hijra* year will be 11 days less than *Christian* year in a year. If calculated in accordance with this basic theory, since it is documented that the death of *Qazi Muhammad* happened in 1025A.H. its equivalent in *Christian* year will be 1597 A.D. Meantime the composition year of *Muhyiddin Mala* is in 782 according to *Kollam Era* as its mentioned in the poem itself, (the line which mentions this date I have quoted earlier.) Its equivalent in *Christian* year is 1607 A.D. Then the paradox is apparent that, if *Qazi Muhammad* has passed away in 1597 A.D. how can he compose *Muhyiddin Mala* in 1607 A.D.⁵⁶. To say truth this finding also is a bubble with respect to the truth. Actually, it is doubtless that the year of composing the poem is in 782 *Kollam Era* since it is stated in the poem forthright. Since *Kollam* year and *Christian* year is solar calendar, there will not be difference in number of days or anything else. Therefore it is correct that the poem was composed in 1607 A.D. and by 2007 it completed 400 years. But the finding of *V.M. Kutty* those 400 *Christian* years is equal to 402 *Hijra* years can no way come close to correct calculation. But 412 *Hijra* years is the equal number to 400 *Christian* years. Because *Hijra* year is lunar calendar and in it 11 days will be less than in a year to that of a *Christian* year. And hence along with 400 years multiplication result of 400 and 11 must be added, I.e. 4400 days or its equivalent 12 years must be added in the comparison of *Hijra* year with that of A *Christian* year. In accordance with this, it has been evident that the composition of *Muhyiddin Mala* took place in 1016 A.H and the death date of

⁵⁶ V.M. Kutty, op, cit.

the poet is in 1025 A.H. The calculation of V. M. Kutty that 403 Hijra years are equal to 410 Christian years is literally a strange and erred finding. In Christian years since the number of days is more than that of Hijra years, the number of years will naturally be decreased not increased as V.M. Kutty found it. Then 391 Christian years are equal to 403 Hijra years not 410 as his finding is. According to this, the death of Qazi Muhammad can be concluded as occurred in the year 1616 A.D⁵⁷. Then conclusively and safely it can be ascertained that both in accordance with Hijra and Christian calendars, Qazi Muhammad's death occurred 9 years after the composition of *Muhyiddin Mala*, which rules out even the distant possibility of *V.M. Kutty's* strange finding that *Qazi Muhammad* had died before the *Muhyiddin Mala's* composition.

The question of confusion created by the way of presenting name of the author through the lines of the poem is another motive drove them to raise doubt in the said authorship. The lines that created doubts in the those researchers mind are as follow;

Kandan Arivalan Kattitarum Pole (as shown by genuinely knowing luminariess)

Qazi Muhammad Ennu perullovar (The person named Qazi Muhammad)

Kozhikotte Thura Thannil Pirannovar (he who born in the locality of Calicut)

Korva ithokkeym Nokkiyeduthovar (did all the process of compiling) and after some lines the poet continues;

Avar Chonna Baithinum Bahja Kithabinum (from his own poems and Bahja text)

Angnane Thakmila Thanninum kandovar (and from the book, *Takmila*, got ideas for this poem)

V. M. Kutty mistakenly concluded that what meant 'from his own poems' it is the poems of *Qazi Muhammad* but the fact is that by his own poem *Qazi Muhammad* meant *Shaykh Abdul Qadir Jeelanis* Arabic poems like *Qaseedathul Nuniyyam*, *Ba'iyya* and etc. *Mustafal Faizy* in his commentary has explained these well and

⁵⁷ Thelitcham Magazine, February 2008, p. 20

shown many examples for the closeness seen between the ideas in the poems of *Shaykh Jeelani* and *Muhyiddin Mala*. The statement of *V.M. Kutty* that if by 'Avar Chonna Baithinum' *Muhyiddin Shyakh's* poems were originally meant, no any statement made in *Muhyiddin Mala* has been traced in any of the poem of *Jeelani*, is truly to say an irresponsible and completely false statement. And it is also not a researcher's polity to victimise all those who made studies on *Muhyiddin Shyakh*, saying that none of them have found any similarity in the ideas presented in *Muhyiddin Mala* and poems of *Jeelani*. A wakeful comparative reading of the poems of *Jeelani* and *Muhyiddin Mala* will be necessarily helpful to *V.M. Kutty* and likes to dispel any doubt in this regard and not to make any such rash, unreasonable and unjustifiable remarks further. Just for an example I quote one line from the poems of *Shaykh Jeelani* which perfectly suits in idea to the lines of *Mala*,

فما شرب العشاق الا بقيتي وفضلة كاسات بها شربوا بعدي⁵⁸

Its equivalent line in *Muhyiddin Mala* can be read as follows;

Ellarkum Ethiya Nilavadataferum

Ente Bakiiyatil Micham Atennovar (All the name and fame achieved by entire Auwliya(Sufi saints) is only the remnant of what I have attained)

Moreover, as the poem itself categorically pronounces clearly the name and nativity of the poet as the repetition of the style, the poet adopted in his most of his Arabic poems, there is no chance left to raise doubt in the authorship of the poem to a serious student or reader of his literary contributions.

In short such a couple of weak arguments were the trump cards presented by those who rised doubt in the authenticity of the centuries long belief that *Qazi Muhammad* was the author of *Muhyiddin Mala* which has been proved baseless. Now it is also of a matter of concern that what may be hidden agenda behind such rash and urgent negation attempt. It will be clear when one knows the thoughts and ideals puts forward by *Muhyiddin Mala* and the ideological stand of those doubters. Those

⁵⁸ Shaykh Muhyiddin Jeelani, Futuhul Ghaib, 217

negligible minority who attempted to dispossess *Qazi Muhammad* from the authorship of *Muhyiddin Mala* are none other than some members in the so-called progressive modernist puritanical sections of Muslims in Kerala who are always, since its emergence in the first half of 20th century vehemently in intensive ideological clash with traditional Sunni Muslims, of which ideology is presented through *Muhyiddin Mala*. Therefore the motive is clear behind such a venture and thus fortunately the thinking and highly conscious Kerala *Mappila* community in particular and literary lovers and analyst in general, has come up with full vigour to rule out that indecent and unnecessary controversy as it demanded.

Arabic Malayalam; as the language of *Muhyiddin Mala*

It is not surprising that *Qazi Muhammad* preferred *Arabic-Malayalam* to write *Muhyiddin Mala*, because this language since its inception has been a highly influential and effective vehicle for spiritual leadership among *Mappila* Muslims to communicate their ideas and ideals due to the wider popularity it achieved in the *Mappila Muslims*' public mass and learned section. According to E. Zainuddin who compiled the famous '*Arabic-Malayalam* dictionary of synonyms', *Arabic-Malayalam* is the medium of *Mappila* Muslims' cultural and educational literature.⁵⁹ Meantime, O. Abu, the author of the famous work 'the history of *Arabic-Malayalam literature*' opines that *Arabic-Malayalam* is a special language of Kerala Muslims and it has not its own vocabulary only but grammatical system as well. And therefore it is also called *Mappila Malayalam*.⁶⁰ However, Arabic-Malayalam can be precisely defined as a language emerged in the special *Mappila Muslims* context as a blend of *Malayalam* base, *Arabic* script and Malayalam plus some Arabic, Tamil, Urdu and Persian vocabulary, and a few additional orthographic symbols being utilized according to need.⁶¹ The root motive behind the attempt of *Mappila* leadership to develop such a hybrid language creation can be traced as the religious necessity of a Muslim to becoming able to absorb at least approximately the phonetic austerity of Arabic tradition which cannot be realized with local tongue

⁵⁹ E. Zainuddin, *Arabic-Malayalam dictionary of synonyms*, p. 15

⁶⁰ O. Abu, op, cit, p.

⁶¹ Miller, op, cit, p. 289

Malayalam in which for a number of sounds in the *Arabic* do not have phonic items in *Malayalam*. Even *Allahu* and *Muhammad* cannot be transliterated without damage.⁶² The finding of *Miller* that the *Arabic-Malayalam* literary form, utilising *Arabic* script to transcribe *Malayalam*, testifies to the community's abiding conviction of the inherent value of *Arabic*⁶³ is truly supportive to this argument. And it also can be assessed as a creative output as part of an 'alternative literary mission' developed by earlier *Mappila Muslims* who were not generally neither well in *Arabic* nor *Malayalam*. According to the co-authors of 'The great tradition of *Mappila* literature (mal), *C.N. Ahmed Moulavi* and *K.K. Abdul Kareem*, this language has a history that stretches to Prophet's period. The same time *O. Abu*, the author of 'History of *Arabic-Malayalam* literature' (mal) and *T. Ubaid*, the renowned *Mappila* poet and researcher who made substantial studies about this language, have reached to the conclusion that Muslims should have started writing in it in 9th or 10th century.

However, a student of *Arabic-Malayalam* must be stunned before the fact that this language is a rich reservoir of a large number of commendable literary creations both in prose and poem. It is approximately estimated that thousands of works being in poetry and prose had been written in this language though a major share of it has not been recovered yet. It is said that in almost all areas and disciplines of knowledge and even science, there had brilliant written contributions in *Arabic Malayalam*. In *Arabic-Malayalam* even six important lexicons have been traced out.⁶⁴ The most treated subject in this language was naturally religious, spiritual ones and anything and everything related with *Mappila Muslims'* distinct identity formation, since it can be seen as the primary objective behind its development. Therefore, till last some decades there had few males or females among *Mappila* Muslims of Malabar, who didn't learnt this language to read and write. And when the general literacy rate of Kerala was even below 10 percent, every *Mappila* community members above 10 years old was highly or sufficiently literate in *Arabic*

⁶² M. N. Karasseri, *Arabic- Malayalam interactions among Arabs and Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, article in *India -west Asian relations*, Edit, by M.H. Ilias. P. 107

⁶³ *Miller*, op, cit, p. 236-37

⁶⁴ *E. Zainuddin*, op, cit, p. 10

Malayalam.⁶⁵ The role played by this language in the development and strengthening and furthering of the anti-colonial movements thrived in the land of Kerala, and prolonged to about 400 centuries, is also tremendous. On the one hand when it worked as a spiritual force supplier for the warriors so that to motivate and ensure their constancy and consistency, on the other hand it became the direct medium of several strong anti-colonial literature. *Muhyiddin Mala of Qazi Muhammad* is one which finds its place in the first array, which can be considered that *Qazi Muhammad* must had this intention also while preparing it in such a heated turn of colonial brutalities in Malabar. The poems like '*Nul Madh*' and '*Kappapattu*' composed by the much acclaimed 18th century scholar and *Arabic Malayalam* poet, *Kunhayin Musliyar*, and famous *Malas* like *Badr Mala*, *Nafeesath Mala*, *Mampuram Mala*, *Mahmood Mala* and etc are some other instances in this regard. *Padapattukal*' (war songs or martial songs) which deal with details of battles fought on different occasions are one prominent direct anti-colonial literature found in *Arabic-Malayalam*. Since the wars occurred during the time of Prophet till many bloody battles fought by brave *Mappila* community against different colonial powers have been plot for these famous *Mappila* war songs. According to the *Karassery*, there are about 50 known war songs in *Arabic Malayalam*. The celebrated among them are *Badr Padapattu*, *Uhdu Padappattu*, *Makkam Fath*, *Hunain Padappattu*, *Khandakq Padappattu* and etc, and the war songs like *Cherur padappattu* and *Malappuaram Padappattu* and etc are some instances of war songs composed drawing themes from the *Mappila* anti-colonial feats. It is said that even the well-known *Malabar* rebellion (1921) has been the source of a number of *Mappila* songs.⁶⁶ Contributions of the illustrious *Mappila* poet, *Moyinkutty vaidyar* (1857-1897) in the genre of war song is truly tremendous and highly influential as it is so in many other different genres. It is a evident truth that in the context of *Mappila*'s unyielding struggle against the colonial British occupation of Malabar, these *Padapattukal* or war songs had tremendous role in rousing *Mappila* sentiments against their alien enemy⁶⁷ and the struggle was intensified and become unflinching on the basis of the inspiration these powerful anti-colonial songs provided coupled

⁶⁵ K. Aboobakr, *The poetic world of Moyinkutty Vaidyar (mal)*, p. 23

⁶⁶ M. N. Karasseri, *op, cit*, p. 110

⁶⁷ Dr. A.P. Ibrahim Kunh, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, p. 201

with the confidence and belief they amassed from those purely spiritual themed poems. It is apparently indicative to the fact that those *Arabic-Malayalam* anti-colonial literature have been a powerful carrier of incisive flames of strong revolutions and rebellion against the powers of evil and injustice and so effective in arousing the inherent anti-colonial sentiments of *Mappilas* that, British government of the time proscribed many known works and stigmatised it and even they tended to destroy several works as well and the co-authors of 'The history of great *Mappila* literary tradition' have enumerated several works with details which were victimised to the brutal stigmatisation and proscription process.

In short, from the above description, it has been evident that, since it is the first known and traced out poem in *Arabic-Malayalam*, and having a strong spiritual force as the theme which was in general, inalienably characteristic of earlier *Mappila* living, the importance of *Muhyiddin Mala* and *Arabic-Malayalam* is inextricably inter-connected. And it will be clearer after the detailed description of the content of the '*Mala*,' that it is truly a perfect poetic creation that absorbs in full vigour the entire potential that *Arabic-Malayalam* opens up.

Muhyiddin Mala: Content and Controversy

Muhyiddin Mala is essentially a Sufi mystic poem or in other words a Sufi devotional poem, which elaborates in 155 lines of its content space mainly praises of the world renowned and the most admired Sufi saint and the Supreme Shaykh of *Qadiree* Sufi Order, *Muhyiddin Abdul Qadir Al-Jeelani* (470 A.H. to 561 A.H.), commemorating commendable moments, miraculous feats and memorable happenings took place in his life with soaring piety, devotion and adoration. The summary of the statement made by *Qazi Aboobakr Kunhi* regarding the theme and objectives of the his forefather's poem, *Muhyiddin Mala* can be read as thus, " In order to describe the greatness of *Sayyid Abdul Qadir Jeelani* and to eulogise in full-mouth the praiseworthy moments and events in his life so that to know it those who don't know it and to make them able to attain his *Barakath* and ultimately to win the success in the court of *Allah Almighty*, *Qazi Muhammad bin Abdul Azeez* has

composed a easy comprehensible song, threading the strings of praises.”⁶⁸ Undoubtedly, the personal history of *Shaykh Muhyiddin* is a distinct and completely purified one and its superior importance in the revivalist life line of Islamic ideology in a very crucial period of time is quite undisputed. He, who started higher studies in 18th year of his life, completed it and came out from *Nizamiyya* College acquiring a vast sphere of knowledge. Then around next 25 years he was in an untiring devoted pilgrimage seeking the meeting and blessings of several great minded, purified figures living in the different nooks and corners of the world. Through these years of spiritual journey, he had transformed himself with the great blessing of divinity in to the leading status of Sufi saints in the whole world. In *Muhyiddin Mala*, various poises of his life, which reached the pinnacle of *Tasawwuf*, is elegantly sketched in virtually catching lines.⁶⁹ Since *Shyakh Jeelani* was a symbol of purity and human greatness and the founding patron of most prevalent Sufi order *Qadiree*, numerous works in both prose and poetry has been hitherto authored by different acclaimed authors in different periods and it have been approximately estimated as it would come around 700 in number or more. *Muhyiddin Mala* can be considered as the contribution of 16th century *Mappila* Sufi scholar in this line to awaken his community in his period and after to the lofty reality of *Shyakh Jeelani*. Despite of the wider acceptance given sincerely by the traditional *Mappila Muslims* of Kerala over the last four centuries of its royal existence in the land of Kerala, a miner section has found it difficult to digest the ideology presented by *Muhyiddin Mala* due to their extremely puritanical vision and it can be said to the credit of the poem, that even these opponents haven’t been able to negate the high literary value and importance of the poem.

As it is found in the Arabic poems of Qazi Muhammad, he has started this poem also with showering praise on the God and his prophet Muhammad (s). The lines can be read as follow;

Allah Tiru Perum Tutiyum Swalawatam

⁶⁸ Tuhafatul Awam, p. 122-23, compiled by Sayyid Abdul Rahman Haidros Tangal, quoted from ‘ The history of great *Mappila* literary tradition, p. 152

⁶⁹ Mustafal faizy, *Muhyiddin Mala*, the poetic expression of *Tasawwuf*, article in *Muhyiddin Mala: History, Lesson and study*, op, cit, p. 65-6

Athinal Tudanguvan Arul Cheyta Vedambar (Since Prophet Muhammad has ordered to start anything good with *Bismi, Hamd* and *Swalat*, I start it with these all)

Every good deed needs to be started with the name of God, *Hamd* and *Swalat* on Prophet, and since in his mind it is rooted that he is going to embark up on a blessed act, necessarily he started it with these rites. This corroborates the purity and correctness of the mission he meant by composing such a Mala in praise of *Shyakh Jeelani*.

From the very second line he entered in to his purpose by the poem starting narrating the eminence of *Jeealani (R)*. According to the Islamic perspective, prophet's family i.e. '*Ahlu Baith*' enjoys a special respectable seat and status and one who is chanced to be given birth in the this familial line are considered blessed and it is one of the greatest divine providences one can attain. *Shyakh Muhyiddin* is a real descendent prophet's family and being it one of the most important distinction of him, Qazi started with the description of the same in the second line, it can be read as thus,

Aalam Udayavan Ekal Arulale (In accordance with the predestination of God)

Aaye Muhammad AvarKila Aanovar (He has born in the family of Prophet Muhammad)

It adds to the loftiness of his familial line that his family stream reaches to the Prophet through his both father's and mother's lineage. The line which mentions this can be read as follows;

Sultanul Auliya Ennu Perullovar (He has been truly called *Sutanul Awliya*)

Sayyidavar Tayum Bavayum Aanovar (He is in *Ahlu Bait* through his father's and mother's lineage)

Several historical elements pertaining to the life and revolutionary career of *Muhyiddin Shyakh* and its impact on his community and society in general have been a remarkable theme dealt with in the poem. As the above-mentioned fact regarding his familial status and distinction can be included as one among this area

also, several other important moments can be clearly located. Pointing out to the date of his birth and years of his living which is a very important or the primary historical factor regarding a personality, *Qazi Muhammad* says in *Mala*;

Nalpathitandolam Wa'az Paranjovar (For around 4 decades he has given sermons)

Nannayi Thonnuru Kalam irunnavar (serving commendably the community and religion, he lived up to fully 90 years)

Thariq Nanuti Eyupatu Chonne Nal (In the year 470 A.H.,)

Kailani Enna Nadu Tannil Pirannovar (He was born in the locality called Kailani)

These lines have shed light not only to the birth year and nativity of *Shaykh Muhyiddin* but turned the attention of the readers in to a very significant area of his activism. As it is clear from the lines he is borne in 470 *Hijra* and it was in the first night of *Ramzan* in the year and his death occurred in the year 561 A.H., these accounts are exactly so in all of the historical works deals with his life. Another very decisive element mentioned in the earlier line is that he has spent about 40years providing sermons and timely spiritual preaching. In the light of the known history about him it is obviously a undeniable fact and it is said that he was the most influential campaigner among the whole Sufis and his method of campaigning to the path of true spirituality was effectively materialized by the mediums of *Wa'az* and *Dars* system. This has been elaborately discussed in historical works like *Bahjathul Asrar* by Allama *Shatnuti*. As the poem testifies he birth place in *Kailan* and relating to this place he is popularly called *Jeelani* or *Keelani*.

The annals about *Hallaj*, a greatly controversial and the most misunderstood Sufi saint who lived in 3rd and 4th centuries *Hijra* in *Bagdad* is sad and poignant chapter in whole history of Sufism. He was sentenced to death by the then caliph of his *Bagdad*, *Muktadir Billahi*, for he repeatedly pronounced the statement “*Anal Haqq*” means I am the God, which is an apparent pronouncement of negating the oneness of Allah. But scholars of the time were of different opinions in his case, as some supported him saying it is the utterance of a Sufi who has been maddened in the

intensity of love to God which is said in their case, and others negated his seat in Islam any more. Pointing to event, Shaykh Muhyiddin (R) has expressed his stand and opinion in one his statement. Since it is a very significant chapter, to which the attention of people needs to turn towards, Qazi Muhammad included it also in his poem. The line can be read as follow;

Hallaje Kollum Nal Annu Njanundekil (if I were alive in the day of sentencing Hallaj to death)

Appol Avar Kai Pidippan Njan Ennovar (The time I must have saved him from the mouth of killing)

These lines evidently clarifies the stance of Shaykh in Hallaj's case, and this an open warning to all Muslims that they must be intensely careful while dealing with Sufi saints and their different states.

A whole lot of highly remarkable and noteworthy moments happened in his 90 years long life also have been very attractively and beautifully summarised in some lines of the poem as well. For instance, I quote a few,

Mudalaye Ramzanil Muppatu Nalilum (In the whole 30 days of Ramzan)

Mulakudikkum Kalam Mulaye Todatovar (During his breast sucking days of infancy, he didn't even touch mother's breast)

It is historically proven fact that from the very infancy of Shaykh Muhyiddin, there had appeared innumerable extraordinary happenings which kept giving clear signals to his great future; one such event noticed in his early infancy is noted in the above line.

It is another remarkable event happened in his life that he spent one complete year in severe contemplation or meditation leaving food, water and sleep during the period of rigorous endeavour to purify himself and conquer the spiritual heights which is quoted in reliable historical documents on his life like Bahjatrhul Asrar and etc. Qazi

Muhammad says pointing out to this wonderful meantime extremely painstaking sacrifice for the cause of self spiritual sanctification;

Unum Urakkavum Atonnume Kudate (Without food and sleep)

Orandu Kalam Forut Nadannovar (For one whole year he spent in meditation)

Such many occasions which shake and provoke gravely the thinkings of believers have found place in the poem. The greatness of knowledge and positive changes and blissful blessings it can bring about in the life human beings and maximum possible heights it can win for him also have been a area of discussion in some lines of the poem in the light of the historic life wonderfully lived by Shaykh Muhyiddin (R). And there are several explicit remarks in the poem about the religious and material attainments an Islamic believer can definitely acquire by virtue of following the path opened up by Shaykh and respecting his greatness and mentally and physically acknowledging it, since as it is manifest in the light of many authentic historic and panegyrics works on him, Muhyiddin Jeelani is the greatest Sufi saint who really had been blessed enough to ensure a special seat in the court of divinity as Sunni scholars believe it so.

The most prominent and largely treated subject matter in the poem is obvious statements about various Karamaths (miraculous events happen by the hand of a Sufi saint with the blessing and special providence of the God) happened in different occasions of his life and some other noteworthy elements which reveal his personal glory and highest worthiness. These elements per se are what invited scathing criticism on the part of so-called reformist movements in Kerala against the poem, for it was in no way digestible to their dangerously puritanical thinking line. But in fact, it also cannot be denied that these elements are what kept its appeal always high across the major circles of mainstream traditional Sunni Muslims of Kerala. Some lines which speak on the Karamath of Shaykh, I quote for example;

Irunna Irupinel Akasham Kandovar (Sitting on earth, he saw all the seven skies)

Erum Malakutil Rajali Ennovar (And he is the falcon flies high in the invisible world of Malaku)

Another line can be read as thus;

Balla Nilathinnum Enne Vilipporku (If anybody calls me from anywhere for help)

Baykuda Uthiram Cheyyum Njan ennovar (I will readily answer him with required help even before he shut his mouth)

Another line which explains yet another Karamath appeared in him by the special grace of the God can be read as thus;

Chatta Chakatine Jeevan Ideechovar (He who revived dead)

Chakum Kilashate Nannaki Vittovvar (and cured many incurable patients)

Thus plentiful wonderful events quoted as occurred in his life time with enormous effects have been subjected to touch with in many lines of the poem. Literally these instances are too hard to digest our normal thinking and conform to our ordinary reasoning, since obviously they are beyond even the imaginary power of common believers. But the world and living sphere of Sufis are really beyond our usual circle of comprehension. As *Mu'jizat* is bestowed up on the prophets, such *Karamat* is provided to *Auliya* (Sufis) by the God as it is clear from the authentic texts of Islamic ideology. It is said that the pious followers of prophets have conducted the task of propagation showing different kinds of miracles.⁷⁰ Very often the words and deeds of *Awliya* will necessarily cause to create baffling in our mind. Sometimes they may predict things which we cannot bear or afford at all. But it is never desirable to reject it all judging merely it is not up to our understanding. For each activity and statement of a *Waliyy* it has special meaning and purpose intended by them. Common believer may not be able to make out it in the external reading of it, hence religious scholars who made genuine studies in this regard has categorically ascertained that one should try to interpret each of their greatly confusing moments

⁷⁰ Mustafal Faizy, op, cit, p. 30

positively so that not to trap in pitfalls.⁷¹ The great scholar of Islam, *Imam Navavi* has opined that one should try to make at least 70 interpretations to a statement of a *Waliyy* and he should not accept anything out of it which has a slight taste of negation or disregard to the worthiness of that *Waliyy*.⁷² I think it would be desirable to approach the seemingly controversial clauses found in *Muhyiddin Mala* on the basis of this fundamental theory regarding the *Karamath* and language of Sufi saints, so that to get rid of serious doubts while analysing *Shaykhs* deeds and words. The complete commentary of *Muhyiddin Mala* is a very helpful and authentic text in this respect as far as I know since in the text the interpreter has made an almost exhaustive attempt to tackle with each and every issue raised in it in the light of the holy Qur'an and *Hadith* and other authentic sources in Islamic ideology. Moreover, the remarkable statement of O. Abu, referring to the recently emerged critics also I think is a must quotable one in this respect, he says pointing to this aspect, "to the practice of reciting *Malas* in Kerala, has clearly the oldness of 400 centuries. It is truly a devotional movement propounded and fostered by a set of greatly devoted and sincere *Ulama* who learnt well the entire corpus of the *Shariah* of Islam and made it purely practical in their life. But unfortunately, the 'so-called reformist ideological tornado' which blew in the second half of this century, tried to render this practice which set its lasting imprint in the land of Kerala for about last three centuries, lifeless. And these exceptional works, which helped in a large extent to light up the ebullient lamp of moral thinking and spiritual highness by virtue of its eminent theme and divine halo in the minds of its sincere readers, were mere heinous anti-*thouhid* (oneness of God) works in eyes of those reformist critics. In the name of this question, the community even divided into two warring factions. But my observation is that if there was anything in these *Malas* against the essence and ethos of Islam, it must not have got a chance to flourish in to this eminence and acceptance in this land for the last three centuries. Because, its growth was with obvious blessings of the those sincere scholars who substantially knew the inner and outer realities of Islamic ideology, and hence if anybody think it is an extra and must be avoided substance, it will be convenient for them to keep away from it, but it will

⁷¹ Ibid, p. 32

⁷² Quoted from Mustafal Faizy, op, cit, p. 34

not be anyway a justifiable act to accuse it as an anti-*thouhid* work, and to campaign for its mass abandonment".⁷³

And Mala itself has warned those who try to spread fake campaigns out of their limited knowledge without seriously trying to comprehend things from those who really know it the lines can be read as thus;

Ithiyil Valiye vishesham Palatundu (In this Mala many marvellous accounts have been narrated)

Arivilla Lokare Peyyennu Chollate(If u don't know it never say it is lie)

Atikam Arivan kotiyulla Lokare (If anybody wants to know more)

Arivakkan marodu Chodichu Kolvire (he should ask to those who have genuine knowledge in the area)

If anybody doubts that whether this Mala is a product of the excessive imaginary wanderings of Qazi Muhammad, he has readily answered such questions also through some lines of the poem in which he clarifies the sources and references up on which he has depended for each and every idea he presented in the Mala;

Avar Chonna Baithinnum Bahja Kitabinnunum (From *Shaykh's* own poems and from the book *Bahjath*)

Angine Takmila Tanninnunum Kandovar (And from *Takmila* and some other sources he picked up the ideas for the poem)

Those who sincerely compare the lines of Mala and the ideas and historical facts presented through the poems of *Shaykh Muhyiddin (R)* and the works like *Bahjathul Asrar and Takmila* and etc, it would be clear as daylight for him that *Qazi Muhammad* hasn't said even a single idea more than that is found in these authentic references about the life sketch of *Shaykh*.

⁷³ O.Abu, op, cit, p.

At length, showering praises on *Shakh Muhyiddin*, an august and highly pious Sufi leader and benefactor of the mankind and extolling his spiritual virtues and the revolutionary religious mission and above all enumerating the graces bestowed up on him, Qazi concludes the poem, with prayers (these prayers in the end of *Mala* is called *Iravu*) and *swalat*. The concluding line can be read as thus;

Nalle Swalavatum Nalla Salameyum

*Ninte Muhammadil Ekanam Nee Alla*⁷⁴

This influential flow of Spirituality seen in *Muhyiddin Mala* from beginning to end what actually determined its mega role in bringing about positive spiritual revivalism and devotional upbringing in the *Mappila* Muslims of Malabar all through these four centuries of its existence since its composition.

Impact of *Muhyiddin Mala* on neighbouring states

It is also indicative to the sublime importance *Muhyiddin Mala* possessed that its fame and reach never confined within the borders of Kerala, but, as so many sound documents and the obvious picture of the Muslim religious sphere of Kerala's neighbouring states and regions manifest, it has been an enormously adored and accepted writing which represented the place of a sacred talismanic substance along with the agreed up on superb literary value in those places also in to a large extent. Mainly the message of *Muhyiddin Mala* spread in states like Karnataka and Tamil Nadu and in the union territory, *Laccadives* and evidences is plentiful to prove the dynamic presence and live involvement, the *Mala* materialized in the living sphere of Muslims of the area.

It is believed that the *Mala* literature has first blossomed in *Tamilakam* and underlying this fact, a *Mala* named *Palsant Mala* of which the origin is believed to be in 14th century A.D has been traced out. The theme of the poem is the praise of Allah Almighty and the Muslims' life condition in early Tamil Nadu. Another *Mala*

⁷⁴ Qazi Muhammad *Muhyiddin Mala*, all the lines are quoted from *Muhyiddin Mala* translation by Ottamali

called *Mklrasu Mala* which also is believed that in period of origin it precedes *Muhyiddin Mala* has also been explored from the *Tamilakam*.⁷⁵ In fact this *Mala* is a poetic expression of Prophet Muhammad's *Isra'* and *Mi'raj*. Toppil Meeran, a famous literary man and scholar of Tamil Nadu maintains that in Tamil Nadu there are many *Muhyiddin Malas* which are written by different Tamil poets with the avowed objective of spreading the *Qadiree Tareeqath* there and all those who authored it were strong advocates of *Qadiree* Sufi order. After all, all these *Malas* really appeared after the composition of Qazi Muhammad's *Muhyiddin Mala*⁷⁶. Meeran adds that *Muhyiddin Mala* had along with other *Malas* and *Moulids* a special place in Tamil Muslims' life and they used to recite it aiming at divine blessings and saint's intercession on different occasions of religious and material life and women community was in the forefront of this avid devotional observance. And now due to the unprecedented prevalence of innovative entertainment technology and the fascinating and conjuring up glitz of programmes it presents always peoples' concentration has diverted from devotional dimensions of religion and necessarily *Malas* has been one among the seriously affected many⁷⁷.

In Karnataka also *Muhyiddin Mala* like devotional creations have been widely spread among those who could appreciate its value and glory as the history and present of Muslims' life there testify. Sara Aboobakr, a famous literary person and a native and knowing fellow of Karnataka Muslims living style, has said a lot underlying this undeniable fact in one of her research paper. In her own words we can read it; "*Byaris* are an indigenous Muslim community of Karnataka. They are verily religious and righteous people. Very often they conducted ceremonies of *Moulid* recitation and especially in *Rabiul Awwal* month of *Hijara*, in which prophet Muhammad was borne, they unabatedly conducted this programme with soaring piety and veneration. And in death anniversary days of their forefathers also they habitually conducted *Moulid* programmes. The place of *Muhyiddin Mala* is also as that of *Moulids* in their living sphere. For pregnant women's easy delivery, usually

⁷⁵ M. Nizar, op, cit, p. 47

⁷⁶ Toppil Muhammad Meeran, research paper on *Muhyiddin Mala*, presented in Seminar on *Muhyiddin Mala* conducted by central literary academy, in Calicut Town Hall, dated, 2. 12. 2008

⁷⁷ Ibid

they had devotionally depended on *Muhyiddin Mala* even more than that on medical science. But today owing to several reasons this vigour is not seen at its old pace and measure”.⁷⁸

As far as the relation of *Laccadives* with *Muhyiddin Mala* is concerned, it is obvious that it was prevalent there; on the same par it was prevalent in Malabar, since from the very earlier times such a strong and inseparable rapport had existed between the both locations, though they were geographically divided with the intervention of Arabian Sea. Besides the total population of *Laccadives* is Muslims and out of them a lion’s share are of strong traditional Sunni ideology. And it is said that Arabic-Malayalam was the most used living script there in olden times. And *Arabic-Malayalam* literatures like, *Moulids*, *Nercha Pattukal*, *Kessu Pattukal* and etc from *Malabar* had without much delay spread there also with the similar vigour and enthusiasm.⁷⁹ Qazi Muhammad’s *Muhyiddin Mala* spread there as a *Nercha Pattu* and it is believed that it must have crossed the borders and reached in the soil of *Laccadives* when its manuscripts become available. And it was sung there with multiple purposes like for getting divine rewards and blessings, for speedy recovery from ailments, easy and smooth delivery of pregnant women and etc. It was also a mention worthy factor that those who intent to recite, before it starts would get abluted and burn incenses and balm perfumes in a verily pious and dedicated and sanctified atmosphere.⁸⁰ More over it also indicates to the mega influence *Muhyiddin Mala* exerted on Dive natives life, the fact as *Koyamma Koya Maplat*, secretary of Laccadive art Academy, maintained it, at least three *Nercha* songs have been composed by Laccadive poets clearly imbued by the literary and spiritual effect of *Muhyiddin Mala*, following the path wide opened by it. A. I. *Muthukoya Tangal Antroth* is the most famous one out those poets. One who makes an immediate reading of the poem will necessarily find the influence received by the poet from *Muhyiddin Mala* for its preparation. At length it has been clear that the influence of Mala in different Muslim spaces were really enormous and its strong spiritual appeal

⁷⁸ Sara, Aboobakr, research paper presented in the said Kendra Sahitya Academy seminar.

⁷⁹ Dr. Koyamma Koya Maplattu, *Muhyiddin Mala* in Laccadives, research paper presented in the said seminar.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

has been a powerful steam that motivated and moved their life structure in religious devotional lines and sometimes further researches in the area would possibly reveal some quite untraced reaches won by this spiritual cum literary piece of contribution.

Impact of *Muhyiddin Mala* on anti-colonial struggles

It is a question of paramount importance that how a *Muhyiddin Mala* like Sufi mystic poem can influence some way the struggle movements originated and operated against colonial powers in Kerala, and one can gravely doubt the factual basis of such an argument. But it is evident that a precise reading of the history of resistance movement took shape in this land, right from its beginning till end, and an insightful analysis of the strong undercurrents that kept up its spirit always through the centuries in the quarters of *Mappila* Muslims who were an inseparable part the said movement, will definitely help unfold the tremendous role played *Muhyiddin Mala* and likes and the ideological influence it exercised in it. Primarily to say two type roles was worked out and realized by the Mala in those struggle movements, i.e. one, unification role and another one the mighty exertion or injection of strong spiritual force in the minds of Muslim worriers which helped them remain in war - front with abiding bravery, confidence and consistency. All these elements can be clearly proven on the basis of several sound historical sources and undeniable documents, which a little elaborately I explain below.

The advent of Portuguese colonisers to the land of Kerala was generally viewed by *Mappila* spiritual leadership as part of divine punishment or reminder to the community members who in the affluence of wealth and material gains began to forget the essential duties and responsibilities. One can clearly read for one obvious instance to this insightful observation made by *Mappila* spiritual leadership from the words of *Shaykh Zainuddin* as he evaluates the advent of Portuguese in *Tuhafat-al-Mujahidin*; he says pointing this aspect; “at first, a condition prevailed in *Malabar* that allowed the Muslims there to lead a prosperous and comfortable life on account of the benevolence of their rulers, their time honoured customs and kindness. But they belittled Allah’s blessings and transgressed and became heedless. So Allah set on them the Portuguese Christians and He, may be exalted, abandoned them. They

oppressed them and”⁸¹ Because of the observation in this line, the first prerequisite and preparedness to counter the colonial attack in an effective way was to ensure their community’s spiritual rejuvenation, moral upbringing, and substantial and sincere retreat to the satiations of the God. This can be understood as the reason behind the profusion of *Thasawwuf* texts and sermon books written by them in abundance which has been a manifest fact during the time of colonial invasion. In fact in the whole writings of *Qazi Muhammad* a serious reading in this respect is substantially possible. As seen from the previous chapter most of his writings have direct touch with the subject matter that can bring about spiritual revivalism in the community. Actually *Muhyiddin Mala* one of the last works of his literary career is a crowing success in this regard and therefore in it an apparent anti-colonial reading is neither difficult nor baseless.

Along with the complex political climate, it is said that the religious sphere during the period of *Qazi Muhammad* was also in a little annoying condition which demanded immediate meantime creative treatment. According to the opinion of the authors of ‘The history of great *Mappila* literary tradition’ the ascension of *Qazi Muhammad* in to religious leadership was in an intriguing period which witnessed to a strong tug of war between different *Thareeqats*. And community divided in the name of these *Tareeqaths*.⁸² But this view cannot be accepted as a balanced one since it underpins a tone of inner rivalry to these spiritual movements, but it may be some more correct observation I think in this respect which is made by *Zainuddin Mandalankunnu*, in his *Malayalam* work, ‘*Mappila* struggles and *Ulama* leadership’ in which he says that, many Sufis had reached in *Malabar* from Arabian countries, Persian and *Khurasan* and etc and they had engaged in Islamic propagation activities. And by the way of their presence, different Sufi streams also spread in the land. And though these *Tareeqas* kept its sanctity and purity during the period of its initiators, gradually after their period some deviations began to raise head from some quarters and it may have caused though not very dangerously to the unified existence of community. So though Muslim community during the period of *Qazi Muhammad* were politically a unifies entity against the powers of coloniser but

⁸¹ Shaykh Zainuddin, *Tuhfatul Mujahidin*, Nainar, trans, p. 56

⁸² C.N. Ahmed Moulavi, op, cit, p. 152

some internal minor sectarian out looks had began to affect the smooth cohesiveness of the community fabric.⁸³. In such a decisive condition there is no difficulty to safely conclude that the composition of *Muhyiddin Mala* was to manifest the authenticity of *Qadiree Sufi* order and assemble the members of community altogether under that single ideological umbrella, which will necessarily prove beneficial and highly effective in setting up and pushing forward the anti-colonial initiatives which was the inextricable task of the time.

It has been indicated in the previous chapters that the chief factors that helped preserve the abiding heroism and enduring consistency of *Mappila* Muslims in their centuries long encounter with colonial powers were nothing but the strong spiritual force embedded in them and the ever green religious zeal. Since the influence of *Muhyiddin Mala* in this regard was, as stated above, quite unparalleled and its acceptance and positive effect was far reaching, it has been evidently a strong motive not only during the period of *Portuguese* invasion but through the different stages of prolonged colonial hegemony in *Malabar*. Abounding documents can present to prove this argument. Dale, pointing to this reality, writes in his work about *Mappila* Muslims of Malabar that; “the continued popularity of some of these songs and festivals over several centuries also demonstrates how deeply this ethic permeated *Malayali Muslim* society, and as will be seen, both this kind of popular literature and the devotional festivals played a conspicuous role in sustaining the militant tradition among *Mappilas* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries”⁸⁴. It will be more evident from the reading of the lines in which Dale describes the *Mappila* preparation before setting out to the field of rebellion that how far they were spiritually empowered and emboldened and in which how far these *Malas* like spiritual literature played its role. Describing the preparations of *Mappilas* just before the intended anti-colonial initiatives, he says, *Mappilas* who initiated these attacks planned to become *Shahids*(martyrs), and in most cases they performed a series of rituals to prepare themselves for a heroic death. The exact rituals which were observed varied with the circumstances of each incident and the religious sophistication of the *Mappilas* involved, but they usually included, the aspiring

⁸³ Zainuddin Mandalan Kunnu, *Mappila struggles and Ulama leadership*, (mal), p. 48-49

⁸⁴ Stephen Federic Dale. *The Mappilas of Malabar 1498-1922*, p. 53

martyrs, divorcing their wives, dressing in fresh white cloth, the simple pilgrim apparel but also Islamic burial shroud, the performance of *Moulid* or *Mappila* songs were recited, and worship at a mosque.⁸⁵

There are several evidences which attest the fact that out of these devotional and spiritual works, *Muhyiddin Mala* had a special place in being a source of inspiration, energy and confidence while setting out to the warfront. One such apparent case can be traced from the narration of William Logan in his famous work on *Malabar* prepared during British colonial period, 'Malabar Manual'. It is while explaining the events that led to killing of British collector in *Malabar*, *H.V. Conolly*, in 1855 as part of the innumerable outbreaks unleashed in Malabar against British and *Janmi* conjoint suppressions. The killing of *Conolly* was really as part of revenge *Mappilas* harboured for exiling their spiritual leader of time, *Sayyid Fadl*. Referring to this incident, Logan says that, *Mappila* warriors who conducted the said killing had recited *Muhyiddin Mala* the night before the execution of the venture. All of them after many other religious activities and visiting of several mosques gathered in the house of *Malakkal Mammu*, and they performed a ceremony of *Nercha* and recited *Muhyiddin Mala*, while reciting it en masse, in the rising fumes of perfumes and various incenses they handed over the daggers and with this devotional process completed the mental and physical preparation.⁸⁶ It is primary evidence since the work is written during the periods of the revolts in 19th century and Logan is a British officer and one can safely assess that it must not be a rare event but behind almost all rebellious movements there must have worked well the spiritual force of *Mala* as powerful undercurrent to equip warriors with confidence and mystique. It also can be observed that *Muhyiddin Mala* got special place in this regard, because the devotees of *Mala* must have thought that it would be helpful to make impossible possible with the grace of God, as *Shaykh Muhyiddin* did it several occasions in his life, with the special blessings of Allah. And naturally while reciting the *Mala* in praise of such a God blessed Sufi leader, they must have expected for miracles while confronting the powerful enemy with meagre meantime less potent weaponry compared to the enemy's full-fledged arrangements. In the collection of

⁸⁵ Ibid, p. 121-22

⁸⁶ Willam Logan, *Malabar Manual*, mal translation, p. 629

correspondence made by British officers in Malabar district and sent to Madras state government during the period of intensified anti-British struggles on the part of *Mappilas* also have apparent remarks about it several such cases which refer to the religious devotional activities habitually conducted by *Mappila* warriors just before starting their journey to the battlefield. Since the said work which is titled 'Correspondence on Moplah Outrages in Malabr, is an eyewitness account no one can deny the substance and accounts it provides. In short, I think these sound documents are satisfactorily enough to appreciate well the tremendous role played by *Muhyiddin Mala* in forming and accelerating and intensifying the committed anti-colonial initiatives promoted by *Mappila* Muslims of Malabar not only during the time of its composition but on the same par or a little more through the later centuries of colonial domination in different colours.

However, now it has been evident that Al-Fathul Mubeen and anti-colonial literature in itself and *Muhyiddin Mala*, a Sufi spiritual poem, composed by Qazi Muhammad has been very influential lots in instilling the spirit of resistance in the minds of *Mappila* Muslims for the last four centuries against the powers of evil and injustice especially emerged in the form colonialism to subjugate the property and mindset of Kerala people. More over through the examination of the entire corpus of writings made by Qazi Muhammad, it has been manifest that he was a true representative of *Mappila* spiritual leadership since he effectively and very creatively consolidated various distinctive aspects *Mappila* identity like, spirituality, art and abiding spirit of valour through his illuminated works. Actually the last treated two works can be seen as the crowing culmination or completion of the avowed task he took up in realizing the spiritual revivalism in his community and ensuring peaceful and tolerant trans communal co-existence which was inevitable for the smooth survival of the community by defending their true identity and resisting all kinds of encroachers.

Chapter V
Conclusion

Conclusion

This research work titled 'Spiritual leadership in anti-colonial struggle: An analytical study of the life and works of *Qazi Muhammad Kalikuti*' is the culmination of a humble attempt to analytically examine the life and contributions of an important Mappila leader of 16th century A.D., in the light of a relevant theme in the special Mappila context, which enabled me to explore many remarkable aspects regarding his activism in particular and Mappila living in general. Since in the study maximum possible attempt was made to reach in to conclusions and precise findings using thorough analytical method of the available documents and critical observation of its intriguing contents and wherever possible in the light of existing sound oral tradition, I hope the substantiation of the prime argument and derived end results must be much healthy and grave. Here I sum up the most significant among them along with the necessary suggestions and thoughts rose in my mind in the course of different stages of the study.

During the concentrated reading of the relevant details and documents and the close examination of the various faces of Mappila life, along the line of my proposed concept, I could reach in to the clear cut finding that the life of *Mappila Muslim* community and its entire poises right from the beginning of their emergence, are inextricably connected with the live involvement of their spiritual leadership. And the intensity of religious devotion can be taken as the chief characteristic of this individual community and hence they have showed alacrity and alertness always to resort to elements that help breed this character and condition in their times of happiness and hardship. It has also been evident that, unlike the conclusions made by several official and prominent historians, Sufi movements have reached this land just after very little period of time, it formed itself in to a self aware movement and many eminent Sufi figures have landed here in different period of time and crossing the width and breadth of the area, has vociferously engaged for years in the missionary activities of propagating the spiritual ethos they upheld and advocated. And its high effects have been reflected in shaping the character of their living and survival. It is also obvious that the protracted anti-colonial movement led by Mappilas were clearly underlying the great unavoidable involvement of spiritual

leadership and religious devotion in the whole realms of their life. Even today this condition prevails amidst the mainstream Sunni Muslims of Kerala who are relatively showing higher dedication and diligence to adhere the legacy of ideology bequeathed by those pious ever great forefathers, without substantial changes, though a slight slowing down and disregard is visible on the whole due to several recently appeared motives. In this motives, the most remarkable one can be seen as the increasing craze of Mappilas as in the case any other Muslim and non-Muslim communities, towards the affluence and abundance mainly brought by the unimaginable leaps made by science and technology, and baffling material beauty of living and its attractions, coupled with the emergence of various so-called reformist organization which strive every nerve to detach community from every affiliation of such devotional elements through their multiple measures.

As far as the life and message of *Qazi Muhammad kalikuti* is concerned, it has been evident that he was, considering any relevant criterion, a strong presence in the long array of Mappila spiritual leadership. From the survey of multifarious contributions ranging from commendable literatures, to his live involvement in the public sphere or participatory leadership performance, it has been well evident that finding and recognizing him as the part and parcel of spiritual leadership worked influentially amidst Mappila Muslims of Kerala, is not a mistaken or unfounded venture. *Qazi Muhammad kalikuti*, like many other Mappila spiritual leaders have dealt with diverse area of religious knowledge and some important branches of material lore, like, astronomy and mathematics and etc, which might be as part of executing the command of the prophet of Islam that Muslims should have their experts who have great command in all branches of knowledge be it religious or non-religious. And the study has revealed that, since the piety and devotion was the inseparable part of Mappila characteristics, like any other community leader, Qazi Muhammad also paid enough care and spent more energy to supply sufficient meals for maintaining this distinct feature of them through literary, oral and other services. This can be understood as the reason behind getting many *Thasawwuf* works written by him along with his other contributions, in which includes, the best works for preaching and moral revival, like, *Ila Kam Ayyuhal Insan* and *Durratu Nafeesa Fil Wa'zi wa Naseeha*, and etc. From the close observation of his books it also has been

conspicuous that his concern for Arabic language was so higher and he wanted his community members to equip maximum skill and knowledge in it which is also generally found as the common concern of Mappila spiritual leadership.

During the long search for ample materials for study I have been met with some bitter facts, which I think is necessary to add here so that to be an opening to the findings of solutions for it. A lion's share of Mappila heritage is really embedded in manuscripts which lie scattered in different private archives as family properties whose patrons all are not found so generous to open its door before serious students and researches due to they have kept as watertight compartments. If Mappila heritage needs to be preserved and handed over for future generation, some urgent measures require to be taken with immediate effect. It includes as I view, make attempt to recover at any cost the lost documents and save the survived few from the verge of imminent ruin by taking up ventures to publish its copies or keep its contents in computer after scanning, and it also, I think mandatory duty of the patrons of each book archives to open up the doors of it before serious seekers since, knowledge according to Islam cannot be a private property and it never be stagnant in some uncaring hands without being effectively utilised, definitely if it is done so, it will be a great injustice one does to its authors who must have written it with the coveted aim of reaching to generations to come also apart from his contemporaries. Especially, the books of *Qazi Muhammad* demands a serious relook since it put forth many revolutionary ideas which must useful to the community to ensure their unquestioned and unthreatened living even in the today's and tomorrow's differing climate. Therefore, it must be the duty of present committed community members and followers of the fine teachings given by the pious learned forefathers, to make serious attempts as soon as possible to trace this vital treasure of knowledge from the verge of perishing and hidden corridors and present it to live circles of today's knowledge seekers.

The study has also exposed that all of his works can claim either a direct or indirect relation with the anti-colonial movements emerged in Malabar and prolonged for around 4 centuries, but his two most important works, i.e. *Al-Fathul Mubin* in Arabic and *Muhyiddin Mala* in *Arabic-Malayalam* hybrid language is specially

mention worthy in this regard due to the highly influential roles played by them in the said sphere. *Al-Fathul Mubin* as clarified from the study is a direct anti-colonial poem in itself and all other themes dealt in it are either brought to strengthen the effect and influence of the idea or to ensure the wider arena of the stiff confrontation oriented against cruel alien invaders, made possible by the joining hands of entire victims, irrespective of their class, creed and community. Meanwhile *Muhyiddin Mala* is the one and only traced out *Arabic-Malayalam* poem of *Qazi Muhammad* and it is the first known poetic work in the long array of rich *Arabic-Malayalam* literature and in the detailed discussion about the aspects of poem I have tried to give in the light of evidences, answers or solutions to the potential doubt that how it can be instrumental in promoting the movements formed and operated against colonial powers amidst Mappila Muslims of Kerala. It was the spiritual force embedded in it in the form of the hot narration of the life and miracles of *Shaykh Jeelani* who has been a revolutionary presence in the turbulent turn of time challenging much effectively all threats rose from different quarters against the identity of Islam and Muslims, worked as the influential ingredient in instilling the spirit of resistance in the minds of *Mappilas*, against all the powers of evil and injustice, especially emerged in the form of colonialism which has no moral backing or justification in terms of humanitarianism. Moreover, in the study I have necessarily examined the question of doubt raised against the authorship *Muhyiddin Mala* from some quarters. Whatever may be the motives behind raising such an unwarranted issue, since the reasons put forth by them as a path breaking finding are never, in the grave evaluation, sound or substantive, and the counter arguments are so strong and I think quite irrefutable, so it is better to say that instead of unnecessarily causing for such valueless publicity stunt, come forward to accept the reality which is proved in the light of sound evidences and which is a widely agreed factor, having the consensus of people for last many centuries.

It is well proven that both these poems are best creations in its language i.e. one in Arabic and other one in Arabic-Malayalam, and sometimes it can safely find its secure place in world classics with high literary value and the ever green relevance of the theme, but as far I understand, both has not got due acknowledgement and serious appreciation taking in to account this fact. As far I know both of them have

not been included in syllabus texts of any standard which really needs to do for the ever more increased appreciation and understanding of the poems even in Kerala, and I hope some urgent measures need to be taken by those who thinking seriously in this regard to ensure the implementation of this necessity. Necessarily it will yield benefits by many ways since apart from the language and literary values, the theme dealt by them are so relevant even today and will be so tomorrow too, especially in Indian like pluralistic political and religious context.

However, during the readings and examination of documents and facts for the elaboration of the topic, I have been several times reminded that there have much more to get explored in the area of Sufi presence and their activism in Kerala. Really the wide range of literature penned down by them in different centuries is really mammoth in number and highly influential in their appeals, which demands serious further studies to trace its full potentials. So, the findings and insights attained as a result of this study, is definitely a morale booster or a strong stimulant for further, more careful study in the very area, and while submitting this work the researcher hopes for being this helpful and encouraging to continue in the area with mind, eyes and ears opened up and with more diligence and alertness.

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