Chapter V

KHILAFATH AND PAN-ISLAMISM AS SYMBOLS OF SOLIDARITY
Pan-Islamism in India was fuelled by Indian nationalism. Nationalism was responsible for transforming religious identities in India and it was the nationalist transformation of local and regional Muslim identities in to all India Muslim identities that made Pan-Islam possible. As put in by Gyanendra Pande, 'Nationalism was nothing more than communalism driven in to secular channels. Both were part of the same discourse.' The manner in which the Indians National Congress, the chief agent of Indian nationalism, addressed Muslims and their response to it, determined the construction of Muslim identity all over India. An examination of Khilafath movement in Malabar would reveal that the Muslims of Malabar began to identify themselves as part of National Muslim community only by the dawn of 20th century. As Kenneth Mc Pherson put in, 'Khilafath movement sharpened a sense of Muslimness among Tamil Muslims and a perception of themselves as a regional minority group, subsumed their previous tendency to think themselves as members of a village or district quasi-caste.' This observation about Tamil Muslim also suits to Malabar Muslims. It was in the 1920's that the Malabar Muslims were incorporated within a pan-Indian Muslim constituency through the Khilafath movement. In generating this pan-islamic consciousness, the print media had played its role and it was in the context of Khilafath movement that many Muslim journals like Kerala Chandrika (Kollam), Khilafath Patrika, Malabar Islam (Cochin), Muslim (Alleppey),

Muslim Sahakari etc. sprang up in Kerala. The enormous interest in pan-Islamic affairs led to a similar increase in the circulation of Muslim journals particularly when the Islamic world outside suffered crises like the Graco-Turkish war of 1897, the Balkan war of 1911-13 and the last phase of Ottoman caliphate from 1918-1924.

To attribute pan-Islamic consciousness in Malabar to Khilafath, however, does not mean that such a consciousness did not exist prior to that in Malabar. Pan-Islamism was a reaction against European aggression on the territorial integrity of Turkish Khilafath. The Khilafath, long held by Turkish Sultan, was considered by Sunni Muslims all over the world, as a sacred institution and any challenge to it was viewed by Muslims with serious concern. Though the Turkish Khilafath had no contact with Malabar Muslims in any meaningful way, their concern was quite symbolic. In 19th century, Bibi of Arakkal, the only Muslim ruling dynasty in Malabar, had sent a letter to Caliph of Turkey. This letter of Arakkal Bibi requesting the assistance of Ottoman caliph in its days of distress, compel us to believe that there had been diplomatic relation between the Bibi and Ottoman Emperor even before 1792 when Arakkal lost the political power to the British. The Ottoman Emperor sent a reply to this letter dated. HE 1194 Shawal, (1780/81) with an injunction , 'You shall never fail to protect Mohammedans either by word or deed as far as possible."

Muslims of Malabar had always been fascinated by the region in which Islam had originated. The Muslim holy places in west Asia had been familiar to them through the Arabi-Malayalam literature. The histories, traditions and mythologies of the Arabian heartlands, so remote in time and space, had

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constantly excited their imagination.\textsuperscript{5} The Arabi-Malayalam literature, with its Middle Eastern borrowings, during the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, had forged emotional links between Malabar Muslims and the Islamic lands and the Haj pilgrimage to Mecca had strengthened these links.

A major channel through which the Mappilas kept in touch with Islamic heartland was Haj pilgrimage. With the introduction of steam ship navigation in 19\textsuperscript{th} century, the number of pilgrims to Mecca rose up. As H.H. Risley wrote in 1891, 'Even the distant Mecca has been brought by means of Mesrs Cook's steamers and return tickets within the reach of faithful in India'.\textsuperscript{6} His reference about 'the influence of Muhammedan missionaries and return pilgrims (from Mecca) made itself felt in a quite but steady revival of Orthodox usage in Eastern Bengal',\textsuperscript{7} is also relevant in the case of Malabar.

The annual pilgrimage to Mecca was of course the most important avenue for the exchange of ideas between Muslims of different parts of the world.\textsuperscript{8} Through this Haj, the Ulemas of Malabar, were aware of the intellectual currents of the other parts of the Muslim world and were influenced by them. They were acquainted with reformist ideas of Arabian Wahabi Movement. Jamaladhin Afgani (1838-97) the Iranian scholar, had travelled around the Muslim world (visiting India in 1850's) exhorting the Muslims of all nationalities to unite under Turkish Sultan in order to free themselves of Western colonial rule. Many of the Ulemas of Malabar were influenced by him.

\textsuperscript{5} See Chapter, 'Print and the Imagined Community of Mappilas'.
\textsuperscript{7}Ibid.
Mampuram Syed Fazal, who was deported from Malabar to Arabia by the British in 1852, during his stay at Mecca, associated himself with *wahabi* movement.\(^9\) He was staunch anti-British and his book *Udathul Umara* and Sayid Alavi Tangal's *Saiful Bathar* were popular in Malabar. *Udathul Umara*, appended with *Saiful bathar* was published from Isthambul in 1273 (1857 AD). Mamburam Tangal sent the copy of *Saiful Bathar* to all Muslim *Mahals* secretly but the British confiscated and banned this collection of *fatwas*. It is a collection of answers to eight questions related to the relation of a Muslim to a non-Muslim ruler. It exhorts Muslims to fight against the Christians (British) in India.

The letter from Vice counsel at Jedda to the Political Agent of Aden dated 31\(^{st}\) October 1856, shows that Fadl Tangal continued to exercise hegemonic influence upon the *Mappilas* of Malabar even after his deportation. The letter says:

>'The influence of this man (Fadl Tangal) among his co-religionists, especially the pilgrims from Malabar Coast and Hadramouth, can scarcely be credited. These classes are the most fanatical of Mohamedan and I am convinced that his power for good or evil is rather increased than curtailed by his residence here especially when it is borne in mind that we have at least 2000 pilgrims annually arriving from Malabar coast, all of whom consider it incumbent on them to pay their respect to the Syed and receive his benediction; that the most unbounded confidence is placed in his words, that therefore any desire manifested by him would be almost certain to be carried out if possible on their return to their country'.\(^{10}\)

Another letter from the Magistrate of Malabar to Chief Secretary of Madras in 1856 writes about Fadl Thangal that 'the fanatical and reckless

\(^{10}\) Correspondence on Mopla Outrages in Malabar (CMO), 1855, p.391, TNA.
doctrine of this high priest and his influence over the Moplas of his own and other schools of this district nearly threw Malabar in to a state of anarchy. And it was inculcated that to die in mortal combat with an infidel government [British] ensured a passage to paradise and entitled him to the rewards of *shahids*. If this doctrine was not actually inculcated, the belief was never discountenanced by this *Wahabee-souled* man\textsuperscript{11} This letter also testified to Fadl Thangal's association with *Wahabi* Movement. These colonial narratives show that both Alavi Thangal and Fazal Thangal were influenced by Pan-Islamic sentiments of their counterparts in Arabia and had sowed its seeds within the length and breadth of Malabar. The Khilafath, which shook Malabar in early 20's, had its roots in the teachings of Mampuram Tangals (both Alavi Thangal and Fadl Thangal). The fact that the *Mappilas* had owed allegiance to the religious priests of Mecca was further evidenced by the reference in a letter of chief secretary of Madras to Govt. of India. The letter says, 'They [*Mappilas*] have always looked exclusively to Mecca as their religious centre and that the most promising means of convincing them that forcible conversion is illegal and an insult to Islamic religion ... would be a *fatwa* from the *Ulemas* of Mecca enclosed by King Husain'.\textsuperscript{12}

It is a fact that Malabar Muslim masses knew very little about the evolution of Khilafath as the very institution of Khilafath was not relevant to their life. However, through the preaching of these religious priests, who kept constant contact with Islamic countries, and through the Arabi-Malayalam literature, the imaginary portraits of *khalifas* and their benevolence were imprinted in their minds.

By the beginning of 20\textsuperscript{th} century, this dormant emotion became powerful when the Muslim press in Kerala took up the matter of Khilafath

\textsuperscript{11} Letter dtd. 18\textsuperscript{th} Nov, 1856, *CMO*, 1855, p.387.
\textsuperscript{12} Letter from Chief Secretary of Govt. of Madras to Sec. Govt. of India, dtd 1\textsuperscript{st} February 1922, Political, Home Dept., National Archives, Delhi.
and projected the Ottoman Sultan as the khalifa and the Ottoman Empire as the symbol of Islamic State. Hence, any news concerning the Turkish Empire was deserving of mention in Muslim journals through their news and editorial columns. The Muslim newspapers and journals evinced interest in the cause of events in Muslim countries of Middle East. In 1909, Makti Thangal started Turkeysamacharam, an evening newspaper from Cochin, which published articles dealing with religious, social and political reforms brought about by Ottoman caliphs in Turkish Empire. Malabar Islam, started in 1910 by Abdul Hamid Haji from Cochin, exclusively dealt with Khilafath Affairs. C. Saidalikutty Master (1856-1919) of Tirur published a series of articles related to the reform of Turkey Sultan in his Salahul Iqwan, a journal in Arabi – Malayalam, during the period of 1899-1907.

It may be noted here that up to the beginning of 20th century, the interests of Muslim literati on Turkey and Khilafath and other Muslim countries did not conflict with their loyalty to their British rulers at home. But as imperialist pressure upon the Ottoman Empire and other Muslim lands increased, the situation changed. The British ultimatum to Turkey in 1906 following Turko - Egyptian boundary dispute, and the signing of Anglo-Russian Convention in 1907 were matters of grave concern to Muslim literati in Kerala. To make matters worse, the sudden thrust of Italy upon Libya, a province of Ottoman Empire, in 1911 created ferment in the Muslim mind. Meetings condemning the Italian aggression were held in Calicut and other towns of Malabar in 1912 : Referring to this Muslim concern, West Coast Spectator wrote:

"We are afraid that a certain section of Muslim community is creating an unnecessary fuss about Turkish war. This section seems to think that Turkey deserves their allegiance much more than any power, we do not say, Great Britain. When speaking about Turkey and war, they adopt a spirit and
attitude certainly not advisable. In this town [Calicut] there are not wanting people to incite the religious passions of illiterate militant Moplas. Our office is daily besieged by mussalman anxious to hear the latest war news. The other day a Mopla has been asking us whether there are any Italian or Bulgarians in Calicut city, so that they may be taught a lesson; yet another calmly told us that a Jihad was expected sooner or later and then they would all march on to Isthambul killing kaffirs on the way . . . They expect Britain to step in and stop war. This shows that Khilafath had become an issue in Malabar prior to the outbreak of World War I itself.

The outbreak of 1st world war and the involvement of Turkey in the war against Great Britain created a situation fraught with difficulties for Mappilas of Malabar. As the Muslim press reported regularly on developments of the war, the Muslim leaders grew more strident in denouncing British policy in the Balkans. An important outcome of this war period was the rapid growth of a radical Muslim press in Malayalam. The Muslim papers gave extensive coverage to the news on Turkey and reported in minute details about the progress of war and the alleged atrocities perpetrated by the 'infidel Christians' on the Muslim counter parts. Thus the Khilafath movement was of fundamental importance in generating and increasing a pan-Islamic consciousness in Malabar, which was amply reflected in Muslim press. Muslim press made its presence increasingly felt by way of an increased output in Islamic tracts, pamphlets and periodicals. Mappila feelings with regard to Turkey can be easily gauged by their discourse in print, both in prose and poetry about Turkish affairs. In 1914, Malabar Islam reports, 'At Chirayinkizhu, hearing the speeches of Vakkom Abdul Quader and G.P. Nayar about the plight of Muslims due to war in Turkey, the Muslim ladies donated their ear rings to the Turkish relief fund.

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with the pledge that they would keep their ears ornament free till death as a mark of sympathy with the toiling Muslims in Turkey.\textsuperscript{14} This shows that even the ladies were being moved by the developments in Turkey. They wrote books when Turkey won the Balkan war, about the Turkish involvement in 1\textsuperscript{st} World War and later lamented the pitiable condition of Turky in Asia Minor.

When moves were afoot to abolish the Caliphate, they participated extremely in agitations that were launched by Congress and Khilafath committee in 1920's for the maintenance of caliphate. To the Muslims, the Khilafath as temporal and spiritual institution was the very essence of their faith.\textsuperscript{15} Hence the movement for its defense received spontaneous and wide spread support from the Mappilas. They considered it a religious duty to fight in defense of Khilafath 'till the last Muslim is done away with'.\textsuperscript{16}

The Khilafath message reached the villages through the pamphlets issued by central Khilafath committee and the \textit{Muthafiqa fatwa} signed and issued by 500 religious leaders. The resolution passed in the Khilafath conference at Karachi was translated in to Malayalam and circulated in the district.\textsuperscript{17} As the official letter put in, 'there seems to be no doubt that continual provocative speeches on Khilafath question, combined with the resolution of recent All India Khilafath Conference of Karachi, have produced an impression on the mind of Mappilas that the end of British Raj is at hand'.\textsuperscript{18} Many pamphlets in Urdu reached Malabar like \textit{Nusrathul Islam}, \textit{Taramai khilafath} and \textit{Dard-i-Khilafath} and all these were proscribed under

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\item \textsuperscript{14} \textit{Malabar Islam}, 1914, as cited in P.A. Sayed Mohamed, \textit{Kerala Muslim Charithram} (Mal.), Trichur, 1969, p.218.
\item \textsuperscript{15} Gain Minault, \textit{The Khilafath Movement: Religious Symbolism and Political mobilization in India}, 1982, Delhi, pp.4-7.
\item \textsuperscript{16} \textit{Khilafath patrika}, 15 Makaram 1096. Pub. Dept. (Govt.) G.O No.454, 20 July, 1921.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Moozhikunnath Brahmadattan Namboodiripad, \textit{Khilafath Smarangal}, Calicut. 1965. p.13.
\item \textsuperscript{18} Demi-official letter from N.E Marjoribank to H.D Craik No. 3730-1-Public, St. George dtd, 20\textsuperscript{th} August 1921. Poll-Horne, National Archives, Delhi.
\end{itemize}
the Press Act.\textsuperscript{19} *Muhimmathul Mu'mineen* (urdu) written by Moulana Abdul Kalam Azad, was translated in to Malayalam by Aminummantekath Pareekutty Musaliyar, Secretary of Tanur Khilafath Committee. Profusely quoting Quran and *Hadith*, the book tried to prove that British were the enemies of Islam and a Muslim, who cooperated with them, was a *fasik*.\textsuperscript{20} It also asserted that the Ottoman Khilafath was a continuation of pious caliphate and those who opposed the Ottoman Khilafath were the enemies of Islam.\textsuperscript{21} The book had gone to the extent of saying that ‘no *kaffir* may be permitted to remain in Hedjaz or *Jazirathul Arab* and the prophet in his *waziyyath* [will], have ordered to oust the *Kaffirs* from such places.\textsuperscript{22}

Print played a crucial role in strengthening the Islamic identity of Malabar Muslims during this period, when they began to feel that their future as Muslims was related to what was happening in Turkey rather than in their own territory. This mood is amply reflected in the secret report of British official in Malabar. It says:

"There are undoubted signs of agitation over Khilafath and holy places question among the Muslims of west coast. They are exercised over the fate of Turkey and even Afghanistan and though they are poorly educated the average man argues on these points with the consistency of a political agitator. There are clear signs of pan-Islamic ideas among the masses, traceable to Gandhi’s campaign of passive resistance to the common cause of

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\textsuperscript{19} D.R. Files, 1921-1930, Public 5003/1921, dtd. 30\textsuperscript{th} April 1921, Go. No. 196 (2) 7349/1921, Sl. No. 48, Sl. No. 55, KRA.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} This argument of Khilafat leaders has been exposed by Hamza Alavi in a recent article and argue that Turkish Khilafath had no connection with pious caliphate. See Hamza Alavi, "Ironies of History: Contradictions of Khilafath Movement", in Mushirul Hasan (ed.), *Islam, Communities and the Nation: Muslims Identities in South Asia and Beyond*, Manohar, Delhi, 1998, pp.25-57.
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Indian extremists and the pro-Turk intrigues. Some of the people claim Gandhi as a follower of Islam, as his actions are in keeping with its teachings. Generally speaking, the Mappila is in sympathy with the Sulthan of Turkey and the Alamirs of Afghans. This report also speaks about the rumours current in Malabar in 1919, one was about the conference held in Palestine in which Arabs, Jews and Christians took part, where it was decided that Palestine should go to Jews. Another rumour was that Ayasophia mosque in Constantinople would be converted into a Christian church. Such rumours, or 'lies of the bazaar,' had the magnetic power to mobilize rural Mappilas for the cause of Caliphate. 'West coast spectator' warned the government about the imminent danger in Malabar thus: 'They [the magistrate and police] can do no better than rigorously exclude from the Taluks [Ernad and Walluwanad] peripatetic and emotional lectures whose one idea is to inflame the Mopla mind. To make matters more interesting, they have imported a red-hot Khilafat walla from Travancore who is not unknown to Manjeri police. This warning about the 'deliberate steps being taken to give effect to Khilafath Resolution passed at the District conference shows the smouldering discontent among the Mappilas for the cause of Khilafath in Malabar. The All India Khilafath conference at Karachi has produced an impression in the minds of Mappilas that the end of British Raj was at hand. 'As a result of Khilafath propaganda, the Mappilas were better organized than they used to be and also better informed as to the strength of their position and difficulty of taking military action against them'.

Khilafath committees were formed throughout Malabar, the first being the Khilafath committee of Calicut formed in July 1920 with Hydros

23 USSF File No.299, Bundle No. 534 (Confidential), Special Branch CID dated. 5th June 1919. FMF, Secret File Vol.II, TNA.
24 Ibid.
25 West Coast Spectator, dted. 11 May 1920, No.657/C/Seret File. 235/3. TNA. Moulavi P.M. Abdul Kadar is the Khilafath walla mentioned here.
26 Fortnightly Report, 20 Aug. 1921. No.37301 - Public, TNA.
Kunhikoya Tangal as the president and this was followed by another at Kondotty.\textsuperscript{27} On 18\textsuperscript{th} August, 1920, at Calicut Beach, Gandhiji and Moulana Shoukathali addressed a massive meeting of 20,000 people and an amount of Rs. 2500 was collected from the audience towards the Khilafath fund.\textsuperscript{28} The Mappilas were moved by the following appeal of Shoukath Ali in this meeting: "If you are strong and capable, then it is your bounden duty so long as you Musalman breathe, to fight the unjust King, the unjust government that proved to be an enemy to your faith and to your God. If you are weak, then it is incumbent for you to go, migrate to another country.'\textsuperscript{29} This religious tone of the speech did make an impact upon the Muslim mind and reminded of their Muslimness. No wonder, the Muslims of Calicut dedicated their Zakath, Id festivals and Miladunnabi (Prophet's birthday) to Turkey.\textsuperscript{30} Funds were collected during Bakrid for the Muslim brethren in Smarna in Turkish Empire which was sieged by the Greek. The tone and tenure of the appeal by E. Moidu Moulavi, the secretary of the Kerala Ulema Conference to the muslims of Kerala was highly inflammatory and roused the religious feelings of the Mappilas. In it, he said:

"All are aware of the fact that our rulers, the British and their allies fought unjustly and unlawfully against the Sulthan of Turkey, our Kalifa who had been for the past several centuries protecting our sacred religion as well as holy places like Mecca, Madina, Baithul Muqadis, Bagdad, Karbala Najf etc. sanctified by our religion, wrested those places from His Majesty and divided them amongst themselves and their allies. They have done all these with the wicked intention of wiping out from the face of the world the religion of Islam which stands in opposition to Christianity. We ofcourse consider our

\textsuperscript{27} K. Madhavan Nair, \textit{Malabar Kalapam}, Calicut, 1971, p.63.
\textsuperscript{29} K. Madhavan Nair, \textit{op.cit.}, p.64. Also see, Madras Police Report 28 Aug. 1920. FMF No.22(A), Vol.II, pp.63-4. TNA.
\textsuperscript{30} Parappil Koya, \textit{op.cit.}, p.149.
religion to be dearer than our lives. Is it possible for any Muslim that has the best 'Iman' (faith) in him to help in any way a Government that tries to steal in and cunningly pull our hearts after having charmed us by means of smiles and sweet words? I believe that every Muslim having the least Islamic virtue in him will answer this question in the negative'.

Not content with this, he gives a heart-melting picture about the pathetic situation of the Muslim brothers in Smarna of Asia minor. He appealed his fellow Muslims to send a portion of the compulsory Zakath of Ramzan to the Smarna Fund. It is to be noted that 41 leading Muslim intellectuals of Malabar had signed this resolution, most of whom were Qazis of various Juma masjids.

The Muslim journals mobilized the Mappilas to the khilafath struggle using a similar language. In the course of an article under the heading 'British Government and Indian Muslims', the Khilafath patrika in its first issue made the following appeal to the Muslims:

"A government that unhesitatingly trifles with their conscience and throw overboard their own solemn promises and assurances, who put dust in our eyes and made us tools with which to destroy our own religion and religious head. Is it with such government that we should cooperate? If even a drop of sacred blood of those veteran ancestors who sacrificed their lives and worked unselfishly for the establishment of Islam, is running in your veins, how can you co-operate with the government, which is now proved beyond doubt to be the bitterest enemy of Islam.'

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31 Resolution of Kerala Ulema Sangam (KUS) Conference at Ottappalam. dated. 25.5.1921. West Coast Press, Calicut; Also see Pub. Dept. G.O. No.491. 3 Aug. 1921. See Appendix XI.
32 Resolution of KUS, op.cit., p.4.
33 Khilafath Patrika, 29th Dec. 1920. Extracts from Reports on English and Vernacular Newspaper, 1921, p.269, FMF 35. TNA.
'Kerala Chandrika' another Muslim journal from Quilon went a step further in despising the British Government. In an article captioned 'The Proffered Heaven of Dajjal', the writer Ahmad Kannu, described the present states of Muslims in India as more dangerous than the decayed days of Dajjal (Anti-Christ) about which Muhamadans pray that their lives may be taken before those days come. Dajjal's heaven is the gateway to hell'.\(^{34}\) The writer bitterly complained that 'Muslims of Malabar and Travancore particularly, are blind to their duty, nay, more, they are co-operating with the enemies of Islam.' He concluded the write up saying that the leaders, who miss this opportunity of waking up sleeping Muslims, are enemies of God.\(^{35}\)

'Malabar Islam' another pro-Khilafath journal from Cochin, urged the Mappilas that 'the unarmed Indian Muslims are unable to wage jihad but that this particularly is the time for waging a true jihad ie a spiritual warfare with spiritual weapon, as that referred to by Moulana Mohammedali, as having the power to upset minutes of a government 6000 miles away'.\(^{36}\) Similarly Kerala Chandrika, in a lead article, advocated a complete boycott of Christians by Hindus and Muslims of Kerala. 'The Christian Cobra with hood extended has got ready to sting and kill and destroy Hindus and Muslims and their religions.' In another article, under the heading 'Muhamedans and Khilafath,' the same journal used metaphor from Indian epics like 'Rakhasa Mareejan' to describe the brutality of the British.\(^{38}\) The 'Muslim', from Aleppey and 'Malabar Islam' from Cochin, published articles exposing the futility of 'Paris farce'.\(^{39}\)

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\(^{34}\) Kerala Chandrika, 7th Feb. 1921, Quilon, MNNPR. 1921. TNA.  
\(^{35}\) Ibid.  
\(^{36}\) Malabar Islam, Cochin, 8th April 1921, MNNPR 1921 - Apr – June, p.530. TNA.  
\(^{37}\) Kerala Chandrika, Quilon, April 11, 1921, MNNPR Aug-June, 1921, p.543, TNA.  
\(^{38}\) Kerala Chandrika, Quilon, 25 April, 1921 - MNNPR, 1921, p.557.  
\(^{39}\) Muslim, 10th April 1922 and Malabar Islam, 7th April. 1922. MNNPR. 1922, p.417-418.
Through this kind of write-ups, the Muslim press played its parts in triggering off pan-Islamic sentiments among Mappilas. They portrayed the British as enemies of Islam who wished to destroy Muslim power. Christianity and Europe were depicted as enemies of Islam and Mappilas were repeatedly urged to fight back against the European aggression. This was the overwhelming tone in all Muslim newspapers and periodicals of the time.

This is not to argue that Malabar Muslim reaction towards *khilafath* issue was monolithic. As Aysha Jalal commented, Muslims reacted according to their location in colonial system. Those with a collaborative network of British Government, tried justifying their loyalist stance by pointing out that the British were not directly waging war against Turkey. As early as 1914, the loyalist Muslims of Calicut met at Himayath Sabha Hall and took a decision to send a Telegram to Turkish Sulthan urging him not to act against the British and requested all Muslim mosque committees to organize special prayers for the victory of Britain. During the Khilafath movement, the British were able to placate some *Ulemas* and Muslim elites to their side and a few fatwas were issued by this loyalist *Ulemas* in 1921 opposing the Khilafath movement.

A loyalist group of *Ulemas* under the Chairmanship of Thattangara Kuttiamu musaliyar met at Pathar in Ponnani on 22nd September, 1921 and published a tract in Arabi-Malayalam captioned *Mahaqul Khalafath Ala Ismil Khilfath* (The truth about the Rebellion in the name of Khilafath). Kunhanbava Musaliyar, Mammud kutty Musaliyar (the publisher) Abdullakutty musaliyar were the prominent signatories of this tract which

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41 Notice dtd. Ist September 1914 as reproduced in Parappil Koya, *op.cit.*., p.150.
42 *Malayala Manorama*, 24 Sept. 1921.
emphasised the fact that the duty of a Muslim was to obey the government in authority.\textsuperscript{43} The tract unequivocally stated that, “though the British has been ruling India for two centuries, it has not caused any trouble to Muslims, nor it has prevented \textit{Kaffir}s from embracing our religion and if any \textit{Kaffir} objects to such conversion, the government takes action favourable to Muslims in such cases. Hence this 'non-cooperation' is a capital sin and is as obnoxious a sin as murder by poison or \textit{sihr} (witchcraft).\textsuperscript{44} In fact this was masterminded by the British authorities and hence it triggered off a debate within the community. Aminumantekathu Parekutty Musliyar was the first to come out with sharp charges against this tract. In a notice dated 16\textsuperscript{th} July 1921, he said,... 'I am always prepared to prove at any place and in the presence of any person by the unanimous documentary verdicts of \textit{Ulemas} based upon Quran and prophet's traditions that those who would speak as stated in the above notice, those who would pass resolution on the above lines, and those who would agree with these resolutions are traitors to our religion and have rendered themselves \textit{kaffir}s (infidels).\textsuperscript{45} He concludes, 'Most musaliyars mentioned in the notice are well-known by certain documents, to be enemies to Khilafath movement and as such they are counter parties to all Muslim Khilafathers. Thus no resolution passed exclusively by the Musaliyars mentioned in the notice can be binding on any Muslim.'\textsuperscript{46} E. Moideen Moulavi and K.M. Moulavi together wrote a critique to this Pro-British tract, titled '\textit{Dawathul Haq}', both in Malayalam and Arabi-Malayalam. Moidu Maoulavi and Assankoya, the local khilfath secretary of Calicut, were arrested on this account.\textsuperscript{47} \textit{Malabar Islam} opined that 'the pamphlet was likely to cause

\textsuperscript{43} Mammad Kutty Musaliyar, \textit{Mahaqul Khilafath Ala Ismil Khilafath (A.M)} Ponnani, 1921.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid., p.5.
\textsuperscript{45} G.O. No.514, dated, 15\textsuperscript{th} October, 1921. Public Department T.N.A.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid., p.2.
\textsuperscript{47} G.O.No. 699, dtd. 13\textsuperscript{th} Octo. 1921, Public Dept. \textit{FMF}. 87. TNA. Also see K.K.M Kareem, Note no. 3, p. 88.
irritation to the peaceful moplas of Malabar and reminded the authorities that their first duty was to find out such impudent fellows and cage them.  

Another pro-British fatwa was issued by K.M. Abdulla Kutty Musaliyar captioned 'Nadil Massomi ila Ma’nal khilafat Kama Hiyal-al-Mashuri' (A call to those who wish to know the meaning of Khilafath) which stated that 'the Khilafath that existed in Turkey was only kingship and the destruction of such a Khilafath would not cause any harm to the Muslims of the world'. But these pro-British fatwas could not make any impact on Mappilas and they stood firmly with the Khilafath movement.

What is interesting in all these discourse, whether pro or anti-Khilafath, the referent is Islam and the textual authorities of Islam, Quran and Hadith. Both narratives used copious quotation from Quran and Hadith to prove or disprove each other's stands and the religious identity of the Mappilas was solidified. Again, for majority of Mappilas, it was the empathy with the trials and tribulations of their co-religionists in West Asia which turned to a salient facet in the articulation of their communitarian identity. The pan-Islamic zeal was not confined within literature alone. Practical demonstration of this feeling was manifested in different ways in Malabar. There is no wonder that throughout the Khilafath movement, Mappilas were using Turkey caps and after the dissolution of Khilafath in 1924 by Kemal Pasha, this practice ceased to exist in Malabar. The uniform of volunteer core was Turkey cap with crescent and khaki shirts and full trousers. Khilafath committee accepted a white flag with Quranic inscriptions. Similarly special prayers were conducted at mosques in Malabar. Religious

49 K.M. Abdulla Kutty Musaliyar, Nadil Masoomila Ma'anal Khilafath Kama Hiyal al-Mashuri (AM), Madras, 1921, pp.1-6. TNA - Also see Malayala Manorama, 24 Sept. 1921.
51 K. Koyatti Moulavi, 1921-le Mappila Lahala, Tirurangady,1931, p.6, 7.
preachers often used their Friday sermons in mosque to propagate the ideal of pan-Islamism. Leaflets were circulated requesting help for their co-religionists in west Asia. In one such notice, the Khilafath secretary explains about the sufferings of Muslims in Smarna and complaints that 'amidst these sufferings of co-religionists, the Mappilas were living in luxury.\textsuperscript{52} Another notice issued by P. Moideen Koya, state secretary of Khilafath dated 22\textsuperscript{nd} February 1923 reminded the Mappilas about their duty to help the Angora soldiers who fight for protecting Islam. It also exhorted Muslims to pray for Kemal pasha and his associates during the Friday congregation.\textsuperscript{53} In another request by P. Husain, Joint Secretary of State Khilafath Committee, he appealed to Mappilas to contribute to the Ankora 'aeroplane fund' liberally. The appeal is made to all Muslims 'whether they are liberal or extremists, ignoring their ideological differences.\textsuperscript{54}

Another notice by P. Husain for the District Khilafath committee informed Muslims about succession of Abdul Majid Khan as the new khalifa of Turkey and requested the Qasis of the locality to use his name in the Friday sermon. On 4\textsuperscript{th} Oct. 1922, a meeting of Muslim Podujana Sabha was held at Calicut Beach, presided over by Qazi Attakoya Thangal, which decided to celebrate the victory of Turkey over Greeks and to inform Gazi Abdul Majid Khan, the new caliph of Turkey, of their happiness in this regard.\textsuperscript{55} \textit{Malayala Manorama} reported, "In Malabar, the Muslims are in a jovial mood because of the victory of Turkey in Asia minor. Besides special prayers in mosques, ornamental lamps were lit in all shops in Calicut city'.\textsuperscript{56} On 24\textsuperscript{th} November 1922, another meeting of Muslims held at Himayatul Islam Sabha Hall, 

\textsuperscript{52} Notice by M.K. Moidu, District Khilafat Committee, Calicut, 1921 as reproduced in Parappil Koya, \textit{op.cit.}, p.336.
\textsuperscript{54} P. Husain, "A request to Kerala Muslims" (Mal.) \textit{Hidayath} 23rd Dec., 1922. See also \textit{Probhodanam} Special Issue. 1998, Calicut, p.45.
\textsuperscript{55} Parappil Koya, \textit{op. cit.}, p.150.
\textsuperscript{56} \textit{Malayalam Manorama}, 23\textsuperscript{nd} September, 1922, NMML, Delhi.
Calicut, under Muthukoya Thangal and decided to raise fund for helping the wounded soldiers in Turkey in their fight against Balkan force.\textsuperscript{57}

Thus, the Khilafath movement offered an opportunity for different Muslim groups to come together and promote a sense of togetherness. Generally, the movement fostered aggressive sectarian passion and inculcated a disregard for law and order, especially in matters that had a religious connotation. As the police official wrote, 'meeting in connection with Khilafath movement are being held every few days through the district. At the last few meetings, there have been some rather violent speeches.'\textsuperscript{58} This was especially true in the case of Ernad and Walluvanad Taluks. As pointed out by K.N. Panikkar, 'although the Congress leaders sought to emphasise the importance of non-violent non-cooperation and Hindu-Muslim unity, there was an undercurrent of militancy in Khilafath movement from its very inception'.\textsuperscript{59} While the Congress leaders viewed Khilafath movement as part of their broader struggle against colonial rule, to the Muslim religious leaders, who played crucial role in mobilizing the Mappilas and their followers in the rural parts of South Malabar, it was basically a religious issue. The vast popular base of the Khilafath movement of course had its economic roots. A large section of Mappilas who were active in Khilafath movement was drawn from the peasants to whom Tenancy agitation, which coalesced with Khilafath movement, had a great appeal. Thus, 'the Khilafath propaganda and Tenancy agitation coalesced being conducted from the same platform and to the same audience.'\textsuperscript{60} Still, the sense of solidarity the Mappilas showed during the period, drew its inspiration from religious symbols. The Muslim participation in non-cooperation movement was chiefly because of Khilafath issue. It was due to this religious dimension that Khilafath meetings in South

\textsuperscript{57} Parappil Koya, \textit{op. cit.}, p.151.
\textsuperscript{58} Letter of District Supt. of Police, South Malabar dtd. 6\textsuperscript{th} Nov. 1920, FMF.82 TNA.
\textsuperscript{59} K.N. Panikkar, \textit{Against Lord and State: Religion and Peasant Uprising in Malabar, 1836-1921}, OUP, Delhi, 1992, p.127.
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Ibid.}, p.135.
Malabar were attended by Mappilas in thousands. For instance, a Khilafath meeting at Kalpakanchery in Walluvanad Taluk was attended by 20,000 people.\textsuperscript{61} When Khilafath movement ended, the Mappilas, particularly in South Malabar, left the Congress in large numbers.

The Khilafath movement which had been inspiring Mappila agitation lost its momentum when Turkey under Kemal Pasha secured favourable terms under the Treaty of Lausanne of June 1923. The abolition of Khilafath by Kemal Pasha and seizure of Mecca by Wahabis, undermined the Mappilas faith in Pan-Islamic ideal and the community steeped in to political inertia. The Government secretary observed that 'the Mappilas do not yet seem to have realized the significance of the abolition and will probably await a pronouncement on the subject from Yakub Hasan, who is due to visit the District conference on 23\textsuperscript{rd} March 1924'.\textsuperscript{62} But once they realized the fact that the movement had petered out, the community leadership came to the conclusion that 'Khilafath movement failed in Malabar due to the lack of an effective leadership and organization according to the Islamic injunctions'.\textsuperscript{63} Hence, 'following the British betrayal of caliphate, there had been efforts within Mappila religious establishments to redefine their sense of identity in a more religious format.'\textsuperscript{64} The formation of Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam in 1922 was an attempt in this regard. This Sangam, which brought about a religious reformation in Malabar Islam was the brain child of the Khilafath leaders like K.M. Moulavi, Moidu Moulavi etc. As Moidu Moulavi observed, "the rebellion also made the religious leadership realize that only through going back to Quran and Sunnath, the community could save itself from the present debacle".\textsuperscript{65}

\textsuperscript{61} K. Madhavan Nair, \textit{op.cit.}, p.81.
\textsuperscript{62} FNR, 17\textsuperscript{th} March 1924, No.2796-1 Public, TNA.
\textsuperscript{63} K. Moidu Moulavi, \textit{op.cit.}, p.67.
\textsuperscript{64} Dilip M. Menon, "Becoming Hindu and Muslim: Identity and Conflict in Malabar, 1900-1936", Working paper No.255. CDS, Trivandrum, 1994, p. 11.
\textsuperscript{65} K. Moidu Moulavi, \textit{op. cit.}, p.67.
But the sense of community-identity that emerged with Khilafath movement, later led to the development of communitarian politics in Malabar in 1930's and 1940's. The Khilafath could become a rallying point for a divided and disorganized community only by transforming specific concern about the fate of Ottoman Turkey in to a general feeling that the government was trampling on religious freedom of Muslims. As Hamza Alavi pointed out, 'it was Khilafath movement, not Muslim League that introduced religious ideology in the politics of Indian Muslims'. It is to be noted that the Khilafath leaders like Moidu Moulavi and K.M. Moulavi were instrumental in the formation of Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangam, the first of its kind in Kerala, in 1922.

What purpose the Khilafath movement served in Malabar as far as the community identity is concerned? In their eagerness to show that they are creating Hindu Muslim unity, the Khilafath and Nationalist leaders gave meaning to categories, which had until then little relevance in Malabar. Though there had been tension between Muslim peasants and upper class Hindus on agrarian front, monolithic categories like 'Hindu' or 'Muslim' had not become so marked during the 19th century. In other words the Nationalist intervention in Malabar, as in India, helped to create All India Hindu and Muslim Entete. In an area where these communities co-existed for centuries, the intervention of All India Political players helped to foster the communitarian identities. The letter of provincial Khilafat committee secretary to the president of central Khilafath committee in Bombay says, 'for the honour of Islam, thousands of lives were sacrificed and many have gone to jails leaving behind widows, orphans at the mercy of police, military and Hindus'. In the perception of the Khilafath secretary, those who died in the rebellion died not for Swaraj, nor for Tenancy but for the 'honour of Islam'.

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67 see Chapter III.
68 FNR, dated. 18th July 1922, No.442-1, Public, TNA.
In these kinds of discourses, 'Islam' and 'Hindu' categories came in to the forefront.

It cannot be argued that Pan-Islamic concern died out in Malabar with the abolition of Caliphate by Kemal Pasha in 1924. Even after that, the pan-Islamic sentiments reverberated in the Muslim press. In 1924, 'Al-Ameen' in a lead article titled 'king of Hedjas wrote:

'After the great war, evil seeds from west got in to those sacred lands (Jazirathul Arab) and with that the goddess of peace left them. With the submission of Sherif Husain, the King of Hedjas to the blandishment of English and his reduction to a mere puppet dancing to their wire pulling, great harm was done to the liberty of Arabian countries'.

The paper goes on to relate how with the abdication of Husain, 'a power that has been like an axe aimed at the neck of Islamic unity and self-respect has been removed and how this is a matter of joy'.

In another article, Al-Ameen condemns the French intervention in Syria in 1925. It reminds the Mappilas that 'It is extremely necessary for us to share the sorrows of our brethren [in Syria] and to do everything to remove the causes. Therefore we request that the Muslims of Kerala also should immediately convene meetings and telegraph this request to League [League of Nations] to withdraw French rule from Syria.

On 15th November 1925, Al-Ameen wrote that, 'let France Understand that the whole Muslim world have shown their hatred and anger at the atrocities and that all Muslims are agitated'. In 1931, Al-Ameen published an article concerning the supply of arms to the Jews in Palestine. It observed that 'if Britain does not give up her present evil policy and treat Arabs and Jews impartially, there is no doubt that the state of affairs in Palestine will become very terrible'.

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69 Al Ameen, 19th Octo. 1924, MNNPR, 1924, p.1924, TNA.
70 Al Ameen, 8th Nov. 1925, MNNPR, 1925, p.1486, TNA.
71 Al-Ameen, 15th November 1925, MNNPR 1925, 1488, TNA.
72 Al Ameen, 29th Octo. 1931, MNNPR, 1931, p.1474.
In 1929, Palestine issue was taken up by Aikyam, another Muslim journal from Ernakulam, but at the same time, bemoaned the torpidity of Malabar Muslims. Aikyam says: ‘Formerly any wave of disturbance in the farthest corner of Muslim world used to reach Malabar also. Religious and social alertness, which they had, has disappeared now. The Palestine sore which eats at the heart of Muslim world has not created any agitation among the Muslims of Kerala yet. . . Will not the Islamic blood of Kerala Muslims, which has become cold, warm up at least now? What a pity they have not even a nominal religious love and brotherly feeling. How indifferently the Muslim treated the request for help, which Gen: Nadir Khan Made? It is not creditable for them to be open to the charge that they even hate pan-Islamism’.73

All these discourses of Muslim press convince that the pan-islamic sentiments continued to agitate the mind of Mappilas throughout the colonial period.

Another channel, through which these sentiments were reflected was the resolutions of Muslim organizations, in Malabar. Throughout Malabar various Muslim organizations, in their annual meetings, passed resolutions related to developments in the Muslim world. For example, ‘Valapattanam National Muslim students’ organization in its annual meeting, condemned the French and Spanish Governments for their oppression of Moroccan Muslims and offered special prayers for the victory of the fighting soldiers in Morocco.74 Similarly, the first annual conference of Kerala Muslim Conference, held on August 23, 1931 at Tellicherry, passed a resolution appealing the Mappilas to help the Muslims affected by the Burmese Rebellion and to boycott the Italian goods.75 Again the working committee of Kerala Muslim Majilis held at Tellichery on 21st November 1933 declared

73 Aikyam, 3rd Oct. 1929, MNNPR, 1929, TNA.
74 Mathrubhumi, 14th July, 1925.
75 Mathrubhumi, 25th Aug., 1931.
their solidarity with Palestinian Muslims in their time of sorrow. In the same
meeting, another resolution appealed to the British government to prevail
upon the French government, to allow the chief of Reif Khazi Abdul Karim to
live in a country of his choice.\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Kerala Jamiyathul Ulema} in its 13\textsuperscript{th}
Annual Conference, held at Tirurangadi on 21\textsuperscript{st} August 1927, passed a resolution
condemning the division of Palestine.\textsuperscript{77} The \textit{Id} meeting, held at Calicut on
1927 under the Chairmanship of Mohammad Abdurahiman condemned the
British colonial intervention in Palestine.\textsuperscript{78} The Muslim League meeting held
at Calicut beach on 16\textsuperscript{th} December 1937 also aired their ire against British
policy in Palestine.\textsuperscript{79} The working committee meeting of Muslim League
held at Tellicherry on 20\textsuperscript{th} December 1937 in its resolution stated, 'This
conference considers that both Balfan decision, which handed over Baithul
Maqadis to Jews and the Royal commission recommendation to partition
Palestine, are great injustice to Islam as well as the Arabs of Palestine.'\textsuperscript{80} In
an article titled 'Palestine Rebellion,' K.C. Komukutty Moulavi, the veteran
congress leader reminded the Muslim League to exhibit their solidarity with
Palestine Muslims, not through words, but through genuine action.\textsuperscript{81}

In the 1940's, when Britain and western forces were actively trying to
establish a Jewish state in Palestine, driving out the Muslims, K. Umar
Moulavi, who was the qasi of jumua mosque of Calicut (Pattala Palli), in his
Friday sermon, exhorted the Muslims to join \textit{jihad} along with Palestine
Muslims and collected the names of those who were ready to be \textit{mujahids}.\textsuperscript{82}

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Mathrubhumi}, 24th Nov., 1933.
\textsuperscript{77} \textit{Mathrubhumi}, 26th Aug., 1937.
\textsuperscript{78} \textit{Mathrubhumi}, 8th Dec., 1937.
\textsuperscript{79} \textit{Mathrubhumi}, 18th Dec., 1937.
\textsuperscript{80} \textit{Mathrubhumi}, 22nd Dec., 1937.
\textsuperscript{81} \textit{Mathrubhumi}, 23rd June, 1938.
The above examples show that even after the collapse khilafath movement in 1924, pan-Islamic sentiments continued to linger among Mappilas of Malabar.

Interestingly enough, it was not the leaders of Muslim League, but the nationalist Muslim leaders who were much concerned about pan-islamic issues in Malabar, perhaps because of the loyalist predilection of the League leadership. Pan-Islamic rhetoric was rampant in the discourses of Al-Ameen and Congress leaders just to provide an additional fillip to the ongoing struggle against colonialism, whereas the Muslim League leadership found it difficult to raise pan-Islamic slogans, fearing the wrath of the British authorities. As pointed out in an earlier chapter, Mohammad Abdurahiman used religious terminology like Jihadul Akbar, to rouse the Muslims for the cause of the Nation. He did not find pan-Islamic sentiment of Malabar Muslims incompatible with patriotism or nationalism. Thus, a number of Mappila intellectuals were swayed by pan-Islamic emotions and in their writings, the culture, society and politics of Islamic countries like Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Afghanistan, Palestine, Iran etc. were given prominence. The Muslim press during the 1920's, 1930's focused on how Islam was construed as a threat by European powers by conjuring up the ghost of pan-Islamism. Thus, the Malabar Muslim's involvement in anti-colonial politics was manured by Pan-Islamism.

What impact this Pan-islamic sentiments made on the Mappilas, is the crucial question. Before 19th century, Mappilas did not understand themselves as part of larger North Indian Muslim identity, nor of transnational Islamic Ummath (Community). But, after the Khilafath movement, they began to see themselves as part of a national Muslim community and in turn, the North Indian Muslims groups began to extend their help to the suffering Mappilas, particularly during the post-rebellion period. Malabar Muslim was submerged with larger Indian Muslim political formation,
through the Khilafath movement. It weaned away the Mappilas from their regional and local ties to adopt monolithic pan-Islamic identities. This was also the case with the Muslims of Bengal and Tamil Nadu, who like Mappilas had a strong affinity to their regional languages and cultures.\(^\text{83}\)

The Pan-Islamic ideology also enabled the Malabar Muslims to ignore internal differences and come together as a cultural whole. Before 19th century, they did not understand themselves as a solidarity - Malabar Muslims in conflict with their non-Muslim neighbours. Khilafath provided a new symbol to forge a new solidarity among the Muslims of Malabar.

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