CHAPTER IV

ANTI-COLONIAL LITERARY CLASSICS OF PORTUGUESE PERIOD: A STUDY

4.1 TAHRĪD AHIṢĪMĀN ALA JIḤĀDĪ ABDATI SULBĀN

The poem Tahrid Ahliism an ala Jihadi Abdati Sulban (Instigation of the believers to fight against the Cross-worshippers) was written by Sheikh Abu Yahya Zainuddin bin Ali (Zainuddin 1), the grand father of Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdum, the author of Tuhfat-al-Mujahideen. Tahreez highlights the miserable state of affairs of the Muslim community during the Portuguese period. It gives stress on the religious responsibility of a Muslim to carry out an armed struggle against the Portuguese and free their community and expropriated land from the foreign hands.

4.1.1 Sheikh Zainuddin Abu Yahya bin Ali bin Ahmadul Ma’abari (Sheikh Zainuddin)

Ponnani of south Malabar has great significance as a centre trade as well as centre of Muslims on or after the advent of Islam. Ponnani became an important religious centre with the arrival of Makhdums to that place. The Makhdums, an Arab tribe from Yemen were said to have migrated to Kayalpattanam and Kizhekkarai in Tamilnadu, that region was known to the Arabs as Ma’bar. Ali bin Ahamedul Ma’bari migrated to Cochin. His

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1Makhdum, meaning master or worthy of service is a title os honour conferred upon the hereditary Quiades of the ‘great Jumu’ah Masjid’ of Ponnani.Sheikh Zainuddin Abu Yahya bin Ali bin Ahmadul Ma’abari, who took initiative to construct the grand old mosque here.
2Ma’bar is an Arabic word used for the first time by Yākūt (1179-1229CE) in his Geographical Dictionary to denote the east coast of the Indian Peninsula. It is unable to locate from the account of Yākūt and other Geographers exactly where, at what point, the east coast (Ma’bar) begins. And the exact area it comprises along that coast. According to Abul Fida (1273-1331CE), Ma’bar begins, at three or four days’ journey to the east of Kawlam (Quilon) and the first locality from the side of Manibar (Malabar) is Raskumhur (Cape Comorin i.e. Kanyakumari). Ma’bari, the term means one who belongs to Ma’bar. When this family moved place to place the members of this family retained the appellation to denote their ancestral home.(S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, Tuhfat- al Mujahidin (Eng., trans.). University of Madras, 1942), p.6 ; see also S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, Arab Geographers’ Knowledge of Southern India, University of Madras, 1942, pp. 18-9,53-56.
son, Sheikh Zainuddin Abu Yahya bin Ali bin Ahmadul Ma'abari, the Senior Sheikh Zainuddin (1467CE/873HE), author of this work, was born at Cochin.3

His father was Aliyyu bin Ahmadu-l-Ma'abari. Zainuddin bin Ibrahim ibn Ahmadu-l-Ma'abari, who was the brother of his paternal uncle, was a celebrated scholar and the Quadi of Cochin at that time. Zainuddin Abu Yahya acquires his primary education from this scholar. Later on, this scholar, Ibrahim ibn Ahmad appointed one of his representatives as Quadi at Cochin and then he took over the Quadi position of Ponnani. Zainuddin Abu Yahya also shifted to Ponnani along with his paternal uncle when he was a child as his parents were expired. Sheikh Ibrahim ibn Ahmad was the first scholar came to Ponnani from the famous Makhdum lineage. Later on noted scholars of this family became the spiritual leaders and Quadies of the Muslim community of Kerala. These scholars were invited by the Muslim community from different parts of Malabar to lead them for their spiritual affairs. These Quadies were given all kinds of facilities by the community. Thus the scholars from this gifted family led the Muslim community from Coromandal (Tamil Nadu) to Mangalore (Karnataka). The first Quadi of Ponnani, Ibrahim ibn Ahmad Makhdum had resolved the problems of Muslims in different areas of Malabar and given Fatwas as well.

Zainuddin Makhdum I, the senior, the central character of our discussion, left for Calicut to get accomplished his higher studies. Calicut was the main centre of Malabar Muslims at that point of time. There were many great Islamic scholars available at Calicut. He completed his studies in Islamic Jurisprudence from a prominent scholar of that time, Fakhruddin Abubacker al Shibliyati. Later on he completed Hadith studies (sayings of the Prophet Muhammad) from prominent Islamic scholars of Egypt like Kamluddin Muhammad bin Abi Sharif, Sheikh Zakariya al Ansari, Sheikh Shamsuddin al Jawjari, Abdurahiman Âdam -el- Misri et.al. Abu Yahya Zainuddin bin Ali was elevated as a Muhaddith (an expert in Hadith studies) after spending a period of five years in that

particular institution. He was given *Ijāzah* (admissibility) for giving *Fatwas* in different issues pertaining to the society.

Zainuddin Makhdūm had in-depth knowledge in the field of spiritual as he had depth in the areas of religious scriptures. He became an adherent and disciple of Kwaja Qutbuddīn Bin Izzuddīn Chishti and later on he was granted permissibility in the field of *Qādiriyā* and *Chishtiya Tarīqat*. He made a pilgrimage along with his colleagues to Mecca after his studies completed from Egypt. He returned to his home town, Ponnani after offering *Haj* and *Umra* and also visiting historical places and Islamic centres. He called a public meeting at Ponnani to discuss the possibilities and necessity of building a Jumu’ah Masjid in that locale. The people of Ponnani extensively supported his idea by all means. After the completion of this Juma Masjid he began to take religious teachings from this mosque. People from the different areas approached to get resolved their religious problems. Afterwards all of his life long and sincere services, he took a permanent leave from this material world in 1521 C.E. he was buried there at Ponnani itself.

He authored several outstanding works in Arabic language include *Murshidu-l-Tullab*, it is one of the great philosophical works. *Sirājul Qulūb*, in it he describes the incidents taking place in a person after he departed his life. *Shamsul Huda*, it has been contained sermons and advices. *Tuḥfatul Akhiyār*, this work contained descriptions about the prophet and his debates and arguments on different issues, *Irshādu-l-Qāsidīn*, this is a summary of *Minhājul Ābidīn*, a great work of *Hujjatu-l-Islam* Muhammad bin Gazzālī. *Shu‘abu-l-Ímān*, this is a translation of a Persian work into Arabic of Allama Nuruddīn with same title. *Kifāyatu-l-Farāhiz*, it is a summary of Imam Sabarufi’s work *Kitābu-l-Sṣaṣa maṣṣa Shīfah*; it is a summary of *Kitābu-l-Shīfah* of Gīyās-u-l-Mālikī. *Tas‘hīlul-Kāfiya*, it is an interpretation of *Al Kāfiya* of Ibn Hajib. Apart from all of these works Zainuddīn had an interpretation for *Tuḥfah* of Ibn Wardi, *Irshād* of Ibrāhu-l-Qamāri and so on.

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also began writing *Qasasu-l-Ambiya*, description of all messengers has been discussed in it as came in Qur’ān. But he could only complete from Adam to Dawūd. He also started writing *Mawāisu-wa-Majālis*, a short biography of Prophet Muhammad (pbuh). He couldn’t complete that as well. Before the completion of that work he departed his life.7 Apart from the above mentioned works, there were three other famous works in his account. *Hidāyatul-Azkiyā ilā Tarīqi-l-Awliya*, is an excellent philosophic and poetic work. There were interpretations of these works from Java and Mecca. And it was printed and published in the nineteenth century. Son of the author, Sheikh Abdul Azeez Makhdūm himself had written two interpretations for the same work was named, as it was a brief interpretation, he wrote another descriptive one named, *Maslaku-l-Awliya*, its manuscript was completed from Ponnani itself. This manuscript is said to have preserved in a library at Hyderabad. The second interpretation of him was printed and published from Egypt in 1292 H.E. Zainuddin’s second poetic work was *Urjūza*, another philosophical work in poetic nature. His third work is *Tahrīd Ahli-Imān alā Jihādi Abdati Sulbān*, it was another historical poetic work.8 This prominent work was one among the six anti-colonial literary works here we are discussing. Although he has two other poetic works in his account apart from the *Tahrīd*, he became popular as *muhaddith* (transmitter and narrator of the Prophetic traditions), jurist, grammarian, reformer and all that of his time.

4.1.2 *Tahrīd Ahli-Imān ala Jihādi Abdati Sulbān*

*Tahrīd Ahli-Imān ala Jihādi Abdati Sulbān* (An exhortation to the believers to fight against the worshippers of the Cross), at the life time of the poet Abu Yahya Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdūm, the Muslim community of Malabar were leading a prosperous life by harmoniously co-existing with the non Muslim people of the area. Muslim community was lavishly enjoying their life with a healthy atmosphere created by the local non-Muslim rulers of Malabar. Though the major kingdoms and petty rulers were fighting among each other because of their ego clashes and self proclaimed sense of superiority

and all, the Arab merchants and the local Muslim people were safe enough and independently dispensing their personal and social affairs in almost all kingdoms including under the petty local rulers. While enjoying religious freedom, social and economic liberty as well as professional security under the generous local rulers for several centuries, there was sudden emergence of a new foreign group in the land of Malabar – the Portuguese came with whole lot of ambitions and landed in 1498. Soon after the arrival of the Portuguese, they started showing extreme dislike and committed unwarranted atrocities towards the people of Malabar especially against the Muslim community.

i. Excerpts from the poem:

The author, Sheikh Zainuddin bin Ali begins his poem with the praise of the Almighty and the Prophet Muhammad. He seeks God’s help for those Muslims who were struggling to save their fellow travellers from miseries, sorrows, disgraces and embarrassments. He says:

"Praises are to You O! Lord; in situations of every kind.
You are absolutely attentive to our needs and sorrows.
Blessings and peace be upon the best of Your creations,
on Muhammad who heralds everyone for the best of the community.
We appeal to You, O! the most merciful, the utmost benevolent Lord, to save us from harm and to accomplish our aspirations,"
to help those who fight to liberate
the people from misery, mistrust
and mortification.
We extend towards You the hands
of weakness and aspiration
and humbleness; let our terrains be
everly rescued from ruin”.9

ii. Atrocities Committed by the Portuguese

In the first part of the poetry, the tyrannical deed of the Portuguese is narrated:
Their atrocious acts against Muslims goes to the extent of tearing up the Holy Qur'ān,
violating the chastity of women, burning mosques and capturing people as slaves.

They tyrannized in Malabar in
ways more than one! Various
modes of violence, and numerous
garrulous mischief!
Like taking people captives so
brutally, plundering and burning
their mosques so harshly!
Desecrating their Holy Book
pitilessly! Then did they infringe,
the chastity of their women, no
need to say, so heartlessly!10

They destroyed their property, demolished their cities and establishments,
prohibited pilgrimage to Mecca and tortured or mutilated or even killed even if anybody
was found proceeding for Hajj. He follows:

9 Zainuddin Abu Yahya bin Ali bin Ahmadul Ma‘abari, Tahřīd Ahlī-†īmān ala Jihādi Abdati Sulbān
10 Ibid., verses : 7&11, p. 92
Demolishing their cities 
enslaving the believers, 
Prettifying the women but only 
to seduce them. 
Preventing Muslims from the 
holy Hajj pilgrimage -
calling off the journey to the 
best of the lands, 
and killing Hajj pilgrims and 
other believers, 
with various types of 
persecutions, 
and with grievous harm.\(^{11}\)

The Portuguese treated them captives like animals, confined them into narrow rooms, forced them to hard labour, compelled hem to bow before the Cross and laughed at the Muslims and the Prophet. In the following lines reflect the same views:

Thrashing and isolating those 
who chant the name 
‘Muhammad’, 
abusing the Prophet without 
any hesitation, 
taking them captives and 
putting them 
into narrow quarters like 
sheds for senseless sheep 
ridiculing Islam and those 
Muslims

\(^{11}\)Ibid., verses : 14-16, p.93.
who pass by them, and
laughing at them publicly. 12

iii. Necessity of Jihad

After unfolding the atrocious deeds committed by the Portuguese, the poet Sheikh Zainuddin bin Ahamed, talks about the necessity of Jihađ in details and its greatness, significance of giving charity and the punishment for those who keep away from Jihađ, in the following verses:

Fighting them is the obligation of every Muslim strong in physique, provision and force
O! gentlemen, our hope is in you.
We will surpass all difficulties with the grace of the Lord of the holy throne.
We are thirsty O! and you are pouring down.
If we are liberated from the given agony
you will certainly be rewarded without any limits. 13

12 Ibid., verses: 17, 20 & 24, p.93.
The poet emphasizes the prominence of the God and the need of Jihād and continues:

Struggling for a day in the pathway for our Lord, is precious than the whole world and all assets. Indeed, any virtue compared to the holy struggle is mere a drop of water spilling over in the ocean.

Following the significance of Jihād he talks about charity:

He who carries forward the holy struggle and spend the wealth on it will be rewarded.\textsuperscript{14}

He criticises who abstain from the Jihād:

Whoever dies in holy struggle and without its intention, certainly dies a hypocrite of some sort. But whoever enters Heaven will not have to return to the world even if to get more blessings.\textsuperscript{15}

\textsuperscript{14}Ibid., verses 44, 47-8 & 51, p.94.
\textsuperscript{15}Ibid., verses: 56-57, p. 95.
It is a duty of every capable Muslim to join Jihād. That is pricier than all the wealth one posses in this world. Those who abstain from this accountability will be awful losers. He explained the greatness of martyrs who will have a noble status before the Almighty. He clearly says in the following verses:

"Certainly they are alive with their Lord
In greatness and in substance- so get ready to be the martyrs.
Many say we seek but a return of the soul to the body;
to sacrifice ourselves in the path of God a second time,
his head will be donned with the crown of dignity
by the Lord of the Universe, for honouring him with glory
O! Muslims, the community of the most praised,
come on to this holy struggle with greater determination"\(^\text{16}\)

The poet criticises Muslims who were in company with the Portuguese and says:
O, People do not make the Portuguese your associates
Even if you fear destruction and loss of business\(^\text{17}\)

The author wind up the poem demands the Muslims to learn lessons from the history of the Israelites. In the concluding part of the poem, he advises Muslims to lead life righteousness. He admonishes them that God will not change the condition any

\(^{16}\text{Ibid., verses : 66,70,76&83, pp. 95-6.}\)
\(^{17}\text{Ibid., verses: 85, p. 96.}\)
people or any community until they themselves change the same. It is the duty of the Muslims to put in to their best efforts for their own advancement and amelioration.

Indeed the children of Jacob (Yaqūb) played gracelessness in Syria committing sins, tyranny and shameful deeds of manifold types. Then they repented and God returned to them their country.

God, the most merciful and kind, had promised to remit the penalty once they decided to go back.

Lord, the owner of the Universe, will not change either the state of blessing or that of disaster of a people if those people do nothing to change their own destiny.

The whole stories narrated in this poem about the attitude of the Portuguese towards the Muslim are very important. It was the Portuguese who paved the way for the advent of the British. Had their entry been effectively blocked in those days by helping Muslims, India would have been saved from the foreign rule. Muslims as a community stood firm and opposed, tooth and nail, to the foreign invaders. They had to suffer for the resistance. It is evident from this poem that Muslim scholars who wielded control over the community exhorted them to wage a holy war to save the nation. *Thahrīd* is not an isolated work in this area of resistance literature.18 The erudite Islamic scholars of Malabar had cautioned and publicized their reservations with profound understanding that the threat of inviting a western a European power on the polity of Malabar. Thahrīd

K.M Muhammad a noted Arabic scholar opines that “The crucial role played by Muslim scholars deserve mention especially in such a context when effective resistance, if extended by other communities also, would have changed the history”.¹⁹

Zainuddin had made an invaluable contribution to the history of the narratives of *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn* has been well attested by the European authors. The narration of the events of *Tahrīd* is in full conformity with that of *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn* which *ipso facto* proves the credibility of *Tahrīd*. Zainuddin bin Ali being the forerunner who lived before Ahamed Zainuddin it can be easily presumed that for writing *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn* Ahamad Zainuddin had obtained the details from *Tahrīd*. The other work, *Fat’hul Mubīn* of Quādi Muhammad bin Abdul Azīz (1606CE/ 1205HE) also has obtained information from *Tahrīd*. All the three works provide a remarkable contribution to the history of Kerala.²⁰

**iv. Political-Anti-colonial Significance**

This work has tremendous political significance in the medieval history of Kerala. This is one of the few historical books on Kerala written in the 16th century on the subject of struggle, stimulating against the Portuguese invasion ensued on the east coast of the Indian Sub-Continent. If truth be told, this work was creating a ground-breaking effect in the history of medieval Indian Peninsula. Even long before fifteenth century the centre of maritime trade in the east coast was shifted from Venad, the southern territory of Kerala (the Kulashekhara Empire), to Calicut, the then powerful territory of the Zamorins.

In that particular point of time, the author Zainuddin bin Ali’s lifetime, Muslims of Malabar were mainly concentrating on trade and commerce; especially, in the Trans oceanic spice trade. The relationship of the then rulers, the King Zamorins of Calicut, with the Muslims was hale and hearty. Calicut was slowly but surely attaining prominence in the maritime trade by the beginning of the fifteenth century. Arab Muslim settlement in Malabar also steadily increased. As a consequence, this development the

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¹⁹ Ibid. p. 128
²⁰ Ibid. 128-9.
Arabs and local Muslims monopolised the trade. Zamorin became the wealthiest and most powerful rulers on the Malabar Coast. Facilities were given to Arab Muslims to settle and acquire lands and practice their religion. Many of them undoubtedly was held in high esteem.21

According to Castenda, the Portuguese historian (writing in 1528), the kingdom of Calicut was very influential in terms of power and population. He adds: "so great was the trade and population of Calicut and the surrounding country and the revenue of its sovereign... that he was able to raise a force of 30,000 men in a single day....completely equipped for war."22

It was during Zainuddin's period that the Portuguese landed on Malabar Coast. The first team of Portuguese under Vasco da Gama arrived at Kappad near Calicut in 1498. After a reconnaissance survey, they returned to "Lisbon in 1499 with freight which repaid sixty times the cost of the expedition".23 This achievement by Vasco da Gama created a positive impression to the Portugal King Emmanuel. After two years, Vasco da Gama was again despatched the Portuguese King, and reached at Calicut in 1502 and established their trade centres. At the same time in Lisbon, as Pedro Alvarez Cabral's expedition to Malabar Coast in 1500 was a grand failure, the Portugal King, designed 'the Portuguese Policy in the East'. Their intension was to take over the trade and commerce of Kerala and the entire eastern waters, territorial occupation, proselytizing the whole populace into the Catholic Christianity and most likely, an eastern crusade against the Arabs and the Muslims of Kerala.

22 Ibid.129.
23 According to William Wilson Hunter, "King Emmanuel, after loading him with wealth and honours, assumed the dignity of 'Lord of the Conquest'. Navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India. His claim to posses the non-Christian world to the east of he Atlantic dividing line was perfectly clear from the point of view of the then European public law. It had been solemnly granted by papal bulls and ratified by Spanish treaties. That is why, King Emmanuel dissipate no time in trying to convert his claims to the 'Conquest of India' into a reality. In 1500 he despatched a fleet of thirteen ships strongly armed with artillery, manned by the boldest sailors and steered by the skilful pilots of the time. It also carried an abundant provision for proselytism in eight Franciscan Friars, eight chaplains, and Chaplain-Major". (William Wilson Hunter. A History of British in India. Vol.I, (New Delhi: Indian Reprints Publishing Company, 1972), p.105-7.)
This earliest anti-colonial literary work seems to be authored in 1502, after the second arrival of Vasco da Gama to the coast of Malabar. For the reason that the Portuguese atrocities against the people of Malabar had been accelerated by the second expedition of Vasco da Gama. The author died in 1521 CE. By the time Zamorin’s power was began to declining due to his continuous fight against the Portuguese as well against the subordinate principalities.

Considering the given situation, the author, Abu Yahya Zainuddin rose to the occasion and applying his scholastic wisdom he produced this narrative poetic propaganda in Arabic language. As an eye witness to the predicament of the people of Malabar and Muslims in particular; he made a clarion call firstly, to the Muslims of Malabar, then to the ruler of Calicut, and lastly to the Muslim rulers of other countries. In this context it is interesting to note that in 1524, the Kunjali Marakkars, and then powerful Muslim trading community was ousted and from Cochin due to the intrigues created by the Portuguese against them with ruler of Cochin at that particular point of time. As they were forced to shift from Cochin and allied with the ruler of Calicut and settled at Ponnani (south Malabar), the seat of Islamic learning and the author of this work itself was the spiritual leader of the time in Malabar. The Kunjalis must have been inspired by the teachings of Malabar scholars and so the message of Tahrīd and the same. As intended to create a much broader and united force with Zamorin, against the then powerful naval force, the Portuguese, the Kunjalis again shifted from there to Kottakkal, a few miles north of Calicut. The Kunjalis were the founders of the Indian naval force; in commemorating their service to the nation, the naval base at Mumbai is known in the name of the Kunjali Marakkars.

Taking into account of the atrocious deeds of the Portuguese, as ascribed by William Wilson Hunter, “Da Gama’s successes were, however, stained by cruelties never to be forgotten. On capturing the Calicut fleet he cut off the hands, ears, and noses of the crews, eight hundred men, and sent them heaped up with dry leaves to the Raja to make of. The teeth of the prisoners were beaten down their throats with staves. A Brahman
messenger was compelled to confess himself a spy under the torture of live coals. His lips ears were cut off, the ears of an unclean animal— a dog were sewn to his head; and the mutilated wretch was returned to Zamorin". 24

The appeal and instigation made by the poet, Zainuddin to fight the Portuguese ‘Cross Worshippers’ and get martyrdom out of that can be seen in the poetry, in view of the afore mentioned events. “Those who died in the battle have to treat not as mere layman but as the guest of God. Therefore be ready to fight for God. Martyrs have constant births after death and will again try to achieve martyrdom, because the reward of God is bounteous. The God will change the soul of martyrs in to birds of green colour. They will fly with joy in heaven and eat the sweet fruits of heaven. Drink water from the heavenly streams. The God will forgive your all evil deeds. God also remove you’re the difficulties of your old age. God will provide you heavenly women. Also remove his seventy families from sins.

The poet declares to fight with the Portuguese in tough tone of voice. “It is the duty of every Muslims to fight Portuguese with weapons, body and money. Slaves without the permission of masters and daughters without the permission of father can join the warfront. Those who where facing difficulties in their way of existence, weak, unarmed have the duty to fight till death.”

All Muslims should join the war whole heartedly. Allah’s creation including the humans, animals, birds and other creatures will become happy by seeing this. Don’t give the leadership to Portuguese at any cost.”

“These lessons in the Christian methods of armed trade made the foreign Arab merchants realise that the struggle between them and the Portuguese was for life or death”, William Wilson Hunter observed so.

24 William Wilson Hunter (1972), Op.cit, p.100 (Hunter notes that ‘we should remember, however, that mutilation was then common in Europe, and that Correa (Gasper Correa is our chief authority for Da Gama’s cruelties).
v. Literary Elements in the Poem

Tahrīd Ahlīn alā Jihādī Abdāti- l- Sulbān is a narrative poem of the sixteenth century and in it the poet himself is the narrator. As he is witnessing the happenings occurred in front of his eyes and he is portraying he without any slow down or twist and turn. The discourses in the poem made by the author are as a first person narrator. The author preferred tawīl meter to narrate the events applying the ‘end rhymed’ method and using plain style with simple terms. As Abu Yahya Zainuddin was not known as poet, it is untenable to compare this poetry with any modern or medieval litterateur in the Arabic literature.

No matter what, the author of his work, Abu Yahya Zainuddin primed an invaluable contribution to the history of medieval Malabar by portraying the then contemporary events. The significance of his work “further increases for being the first authentic work” pertaining to the afore-narrated point of time.

4.2 TUHFATUL MUJĀHIDĪN FI BA’DI AKHBĀRI BURTUGĀLIN

Among the Arabic language scholars who lived in Kerala, Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdum will be among the most unequalled and the unforgettable ones. With his invaluable works in religious literature and history, especially with the production of Tuhfatul Mujahideen fi ba’azi Akhbari-al-Burtugaleen (A presentation of the holy warriors in respect of some Portuguese affairs), he attracted the attention of the Islamic world. Makhdum’s contributions, assuming the role of a writer as well as a community leader at the same time, were indeed marvellous, considering the hostile circumstances he faced in 16th century Malabar. Tuhfat-al-Mujahideen is an archive of Kerala’s medieval historical research studies and a work of freedom struggle as its name indicates. The aim of Makhdum in writing the book was to elaborate on the resistance of Kerala’s Muslims against the Portuguese.
4.2.1 Ahmad Zainuddin ibn Muhammad al-Gazzâli (Zainuddîn Makhdûm)

Sheikh Zainuddîn Makhdûm was born at Ponnani in Malabar. His full name is Ahmad Zainuddîn ibn Muhammad al-Gazzâli. No date was recorded on his birth. But it was recorded by a noted historian, Shamsullâh Qâdiri that Zainuddîn Makhdûm died at Ponnani in 1583. In some references it is recorded that Zainuddîn Makhdûm was the son of Abdul Azîz, but that is not correct because he died without having children. He was the paternal uncle of Zainuddîn Makhdûm and taught him at Ponnani. He had his primary education at Ponnani itself. Later on he went to Mecca and had his higher education under prominent scholars such as Shihabuddîn Ahmad ibn Hajar al-Hyâtî, Al Sheikh al Jalîl Izzuddîn ibn Abdul Azîz al Zumari, Abdul Rahiman ibn Zîyâd, Abdu Rahiman al Sufi and others. Al Sheikh Ahmad Zainuddîn Makhdûm al Ma'bari al Malaibari lived at the time of the great Mughal Emperor Akbar. He had a cordial relationship with the then ruler of Bijapur, Sultan Ali Âdîl Shah (1557-1580 C.E.). His famous work Tuhfatul Mujâhidîn was dedicated to Sultan Ali Âdîl Shah, the fifth sovereign of Adil Shah Dynasty. Zainuddîn Makhdûm is said to have communicated with Muslim countries in Arabic for the ruler of Calicut, the Zamorin.

Zainuddîn Makhdûm has authored several outstanding works in Arabic language excluding this seminal work, Tuhfatul Mujâhidîn fi Ba'di Akhbâri al Burtugâlîn. It is an

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25 Muhammadul Gazzâli, father of Ahamed Zainuddin Makhdûm, the author of Tuhfatul Mujâhidîn fi Ba' di Akhbâri al Burtugâlîn and the third son of Sheikh Zainuddîn bin Ali (author of Tahriz). He was a famous Islamic scholar of Malabar. Some copies of his work, Fatâwâ have been discovered from a library of some mosque near Arakkal Palace of Kannur. After being appointed as Quâdi at Chombal near Mahe, north Malabar, he married local woman from there and settled down there.


27 Sheikh Abdul Azîz was the second son of Sheikh Zainuddîn bin Ali. He was born at Ponnani and studied under the Quâdi Ahamed of Calicut. After his father's death he became the Makhdûm of Ponnani, gave the leadership to the Muslim community and actively took part in the siege of the Portuguese fort at Chaliyam in 1571CE. He had married but had no children. He died at Ponnani (994HE).


29 Ibid.


31 P.A. Saithu Muhammad, Kerala Muslim Charitram, (Calicut: Al Huda Books, 1996)
exceptional creation of being the first authentic work on Kerala history. Another work of the author, Qur'ratul Ā'yn is a work on the Shariah in accordance with the Shāfi School of thought, deals with questions on religion and its summarised commentary is known as Fat'hul Muīn, written by the same author. This work was completed in 1574 C.E. These are the only few books on Islamic jurisprudence of the Shāfi School of thought written in Kerala. This book has got wider circulation in many countries like Indonesia, Java, Malaya, Yemen, Ethiopia etc., apart from Kerala and Tamil Nadu. This book was published from Malabar, Egypt and Singapore several times. Many people had made interpretations for the same like Tashriḥul Mustafīdīn; interpretation for this made by Sayyid Ahmad Alavi Al Thaqāf of Mecca in 1878 CE and published in two volumes from Egypt. Another interpretation Iānātū Tālibīn by Sayyid Abubakar Bakri in 1882 CE (four volumes) was published from Cairo. It was also translated into Malayalam language by C. Abdullah Moulavi, is preserved as unpublished. Another interpretation for Fat'hul Muīn in Arabic by Quādī Ahmad Shirāsī of Calicut was also remaining unpublished. The book, Iḥkāmu Aḥkāmu Nikkāh was authored by him discussing marriage a divorce issues. He himself has written an interpretation on this work in the name, Al Manhajul Wādīh. Another work by him is Al-Ajwībatul Ajfba anil Māsalatil Garība which contains solutions to different Islamic issues and related problems of the commoners, solved by prominent scholars, including his teachers. It was published by Kodancheri Kunhi Muhammad in 1349 HE. Sharahu-l-Sudur fi Ahwālil Mawtiqubūr. It is a summary from the book of Imam Suyūṭī. From the above said writings of Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdūm - Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn and Fat'hul Muīn - gave him the maximum reputation for his enduring literary contributions in Arabic language.

The importance of the work Fat'hul Muīn can be derived from the fact that two descriptive commentaries were produced on it by Arabic scholars. They include Jannātu Tālibīn Ala Hālāti Alfādi Fat'hul Muīn written by Sayyid Abu Baker ibnul Arif - Al

Sayyid Muhammad Shah and *Tarshihul Mustafisin Ala Hashiyati Fat’hu Mū’īn* written by Al Sayyid Alavi al Saqāf. Both of these works have been published from Egypt.\(^{36}\)

### 4.2.2 Tuhfatul Mujāhidin fi Ba’di Akhbāri Burtugālin

Introducing this work seminal work, *Tuhfatul Mujāhidin fi Ba’di Akhbāri Burtugālin* (A presentation to the holy warriors in respect of some Portuguese affairs), this work has won wider recognition as it contained trustworthy documents of a particular period of the global players, who propelled the wheel of trans-oceanic trade and economy. Rating of this work was very high as it was translated into English by a Persian-Arabic interpreter to the Army Head Quarters of Fort St. George in Madras Presidency as early as 1833 CE in London. Later on it was edited rendered into Portuguese by David Lopez in 1895 CE. The Arabic text was edited by Shamsullah Qadiri in 1931 CE; S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar has translated it into English and published from Madras in 1942 CE. It was translated into Malayalam by K. Moosankutty Moulavi in 1937 without having the first portion which discusses the merit of Jihad. This work has also been translated into many other European languages include Latin, French, Czech, Spanish, Portuguese, etc.\(^{37}\) Lt. R. M. J. Rowlandson comments on the authenticity of *Tuhfatul Mujāhidin* in the preface of his translated work as “It is creditable to the Sheikh, that the testimony of these (Western) authors establishes the fidelity of his narrative; since, besides a very minute and extraordinary agreement on many minor points of detail, in the relation of leading events, it is seldom found much at variance with their accounts”.\(^{38}\) Muhammad Husayn Nainar opines that from the present work one thing can be inferred that Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdūm was genuinely pious, self-respecting and independent. His style of writing is very simple and direct without rhetorical ornament, yet he is not from the affectation of ornate style so common with most Islamic theologians who had stepped their minds in the Qur‘ān and Traditions.\(^{39}\)


Zainuddin's description has distinctive value for the history of medieval Malabar. It is one of the earliest indigenous works, that presents brief information on the then existed socio-political conditions of Malabar.\(^{40}\)

\textit{Tuhfatul Mujahidin} consist of five sections including the introductory section. In the introduction he reveals purpose of portrayal of the work, in the first part of the work deals with the laws pertaining to Holy War against the Nonbelievers and its instructions, the future Reward for the same waits for and a campaign for such war. The second part brings in the early arrival of Islam into the land of Malabar. Following which the work, speaks out certain peculiar customs practiced by the Hindu inhabitants in Malabar in the third part. Then, comes to the fourth, of the advent of the Franks (the Portuguese), in the countries of Malabar and also relating some of their disgraceful acts there. This section is again divided into chapters. It gives a clear picture of the Portuguese deeds commencing from 1498CE and ends to 1583 CE.

In the introductory part of this work the author frames the reasons which led him to compile this narrative; mainly to urge the Muslims to fight against the foreign intruders who had occupied the territories of the Muslims unjustifiably and oppressed.\(^{41}\) According to a noted historian, A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, “the criticism he makes of the Portuguese atrocities, is dignified and moderate. Even modern European writers who have been horrified at the harrowing details of Portuguese enormities, had to put up the specious plea that such descriptions were probably exaggerations”. He also adds that “A


\(^{41}\) The author of \textit{Tuhfatul Mujahidin} composed this narrative: “having in view, the arousing of the faithful to engage in a holy war fare against the worshippers of crucifixes, that they should engage in it, being a duty of divine command, these infidels having invaded territories inhabited by Mohamedans, and having taken prisoners from against them a multitude whose numbers cannot be computed; having also put many of the faithful to death, and compelled a vast body of them to embrace Christianity; and, lastly, made captives of their females, and when bound and in shackles, having violated their persons, in this manner causing Christian children to be brought in to being, who also have in after time occupied themselves in aggressions and injuries against the faithful, and in tyrannically oppressing them. Now touching the title of this work. I have styled it ‘Tohutful-ul-Mujahideen’, or an offering to warriors who shall fight in defence religion against infidels; it being a history of the affairs of the Franks in the countries of Malabar, and recounting their infamous machinations against the religion of Islamism”. (M. J. Rawlandson, \textit{Tohutful Mujahideen, an Historical Work in the Arabic Language}, London: 1833, p. 7-8)
comparison with the contemporary sources will show that *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn* is a historical work written on modern principles”.

After these three chapters, which contain almost half of the narrative, commences the fourth chapter. This portion thoroughly historical providing a description of the Portuguese from the time of their first appearance in the land of Malabar in 1498 CE right up to 1583 CE pass through a period of eighty five years. The details contained in this portion - include firstly the Muslims, before the arrival of the Portuguese, appear to have been in good condition, and they were treated by the native Hindu rulers with great consideration and reverence.

Secondly, as a result of the Portuguese challenge, the Muslims lost their trade monopoly. They became no longer the sole carriers of trade to the Western countries. Thirdly, the martial dynamism began to decline along with their fervent faith. Finally, the Portuguese, influence became all powerful in due course.

i. The concept of holy war

The first chapter discusses the merits of Holy War (Jihad), providing with the verses of the Qur'ān and the Sayings of the Prophet that relate to the benefits for these who commission themselves in holy war against un-holiness. The author exhorts the whole section of Muslim community including women, children and also servants without the consent of his masters, to wage a holy war against the non-believers. To support his thesis, the author extensively quotes from the Holy Qur'ān and the Hadith. 

According to Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdūm, there are two sets of unbelievers. One is the group that permanently dwells in their countries. *Jihād* against them is a collective duty, that means if some among the Muslims discharge that responsibility, then, the rest of them will be released from that duty. The other set of unbelievers are those who invade

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Muslim territories as is the situation we are facing now. Engaging them in war in such circumstances is the responsibility of every able-bodied individual adult Muslim, male and female living in the city.\textsuperscript{43}

The author gives an account on how a war has to be fought, duty of the Amīr (leader or the commander) and how the war booty has to be dealt with. The task of accumulating the spoils of war and its fair distribution is the responsibility of the Amīr. The commander is bound to give the spoils taken from the killed-to the one who killed him. The remainder of the spoils of war is to be divided into five equal shares. One of these five shares is to be divided further into another five portions. Out of these five portions, one portion is to be used for the public welfare of the Muslims such as fortifying the boundaries of the country, building forts, bridges, mosques, and for paying the remunerations of the Quādies and Imāms. The second portion is to be distributed to the relatives of the Prophet (s), the descendants of Hāshim and Muttalib. The third, fourth and the fifth portions are to be set apart for the orphans, the poor, and the wayfarers. The remaining four main shares shall belong to the fighters who were present all the time of the battle and were engaged in it.\textsuperscript{44}

The author observes that the fight is against the foreign occupation and atrocities committed by the Portuguese, with the help of Muslim-friendly Zamorin, who is a non-believer. "It is well known that the Muslims of Malabar do not have a leader who possesses power and can exercise authority over them and be mindful of their welfare. All of them are subjects of the rulers who are non-believers. Notwithstanding, they kept on fighting their foreign enemies who were trying to dominate over them. They have already spent their wealth to the extent of their means in the cause of this struggle, with the generous help from the Muslim-friendly Zamorin, who has been generously spending his wealth from the beginning. Yet, the enemies have been able to cause the Muslims large scale loss of lives and to rout them out of their commercial and industrial


\textsuperscript{44} Ibid. p.14.
enterprises and to destroy their houses, as a result of which they became weaker, their poverty and destitution became intense and they became helpless and powerless."45

The author criticises Muslim Sultan and Emirs for not taking interest in the affairs of the Muslims of Malabar. "The Muslim Sultans and Emirs--may Allah heighten the glory of the helpful among them--did not take any interest in the affairs of the Muslims of Malabar, although jihad is an obligatory duty upon them. Whoever from among the Sultans comes forward with wealth and sufficient preparations to challenge these non-believers and drive them out of Malabar and liberate the ports they have occupied, he will be a fortunate man deserving Allah's help and support."46

The author glorifies Jihad to an extent that he gives prominence to Jihad over Hajj. "The situation of one who takes part in the holy struggle is much different from that of a hajj pilgrim. The warrior in the cause of Allah is setting out on a journey to Allah renouncing his self and his wealth. The benefit of his engaging in war is for the society as a whole. This is how one hour fighting in the cause of Allah becomes more virtuous than performing hajj fifteen times."47

ii. Advent of Islam

The subsequent chapter presents a brief description of the first appearance of Islam in Malabar, and the development of several prosperous seaport towns on the West Coast. The author explains with history of the arrival and spread of Islam in Malabar. According to Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdum, "there arrived at Kodungallur a party of Muslims, who were poor, with a sheikh. They were on their way to visit the footprint of our father Adam in Ceylon. When the king heard about their arrival, he set for them, entertained them, and treated them hospitably. The leader of the group, the sheikh, informed the king about Prophet Muhammad (s) and the religion of Islam. They also talked about the miraculous incident of the splitting of the moon. Allah, glory be to Him

46 Ibid., p. 15.
47 Ibid., p. 25.
and exalted be He, caused to enter in his mind the truth of the Prophet's mission. He heartily acknowledged him and his love for the Prophet took possession of his heart. He asked the sheikh and his companions to call on him on their return journey from their visit to the footprint of Adam for the reason he might go with them. He commanded the sheikh to keep this very confidential and not to let anyone in Malabar know about his secret intention. Thus, on their return journey from Ceylon, they called on the king. The king asked the sheikh to arrange, without any one’s knowledge, the ship and other things necessary for his journey with them.

There were laying in the port several ships belonging to foreign traders. The sheikh requested the owner of one of the ships to let him and a group of poor people travel on board his ship. The ship owner readily, and with pleasure, agreed.

As the day fixed for the voyage neared, the king gave orders to the effect that none of his family or ministers shall come to visit him for seven days. Then he set himself dividing his kingdom into several provinces and set clear boundaries for each of them; then appointing governors for each province and wrote out detailed instructions defining the limits of territories of each so that one might not encroach upon the limits specified for the other. This incident is quite well-known among the Hindus in Malabar. He was the sovereign monarch of the whole territory of Malabar with Kumhuri (Kanyakumari) as its boundary in the south and Känjarakut (Kasaragod) in the north.

Then the king embarked with the sheikh and his people during night time and reached Pantalāyani where they landed and stayed for a day and night. Thence they proceeded to Darmadam where they stayed three days. Then they set sail till they reached Shuhra (Shahar al-Mukalla), where the king stayed for several days with the sheikh and his people. There, another party of travellers joined them. It was a group bound for Malabar with the mission of preaching Islam and constructing mosques and establishing regular prayers there.
The king fell ill while staying in Shahar al-Mukalla. Realising that illness was getting worse and his recovery very remote, the king beckoned to his side Sharaf bin Mālik, a member of the group bound for Malabar, and Mālik bin Dinar, his half brother from his mother's side and others, and said: "Do not give up the idea of travelling to India even if I die of this illness." 48

"We do not know anything about your country, where it is and how vast it is. We had intended to come with you," was their reply to the king. Hearing this, the king thought for a while and then gave them a letter in Malayalam. The letter contained detailed information about his kingdom, its provinces, the members of his family, and the names and other details of the rest of the kings in Malabar. The king further advised them to go ashore anywhere off Kodungallur, Darmadam, Pantalāyani or Kollam. He further instructed them, specifically, not to disclose to anybody in Malabar anything about his serious illness or about his death in case it so happens. Before long, the king passed away. May the Almighty Allah shower on him His abundant blessings". 49

Followed by the description of spread of Islam in Malabar, the author gives a detailed description about the voyage of Mālik Dinar and his companions to the land of Malabar and their initiation to construction of several mosques and preaching of Islam in the different parts of Malabar. "A few years later, the party consisting of Sharaf bin Mālik, Mālik bin Dinar, and Mālik bin Habib, his wife Qamariyyah, their children and friends set out on their voyage to Malabar. They reached the coast of Kodungallur after several days of voyage. They handed the letter the king had given them to the then 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 there. Mālik bin Dinar decided to settle down in Kodungallur and assigned Mālik bin Habib, his nephew, to the rest of the regions of Malabar to build mosques and preach Islam. Thus Mālik bin Habib, taking all his belongings, moved to Kollam with his wife and some of his children. He built a

48 Ibid., pp 29-31.
49 Ibid., p. 31.
mosque in Kollam, and settled down his wife and children there. Leaving them behind there, he moved further to Ezhimala, and built a mosque there, too. Then he reached Barkur, Mangalore, and Kasaragod and built mosques in all these places. Having accomplished all these, he returned to Ezhimala and stayed there for three months. Then, he visited Sreekandapuram, Darmadam, Pantalâyani, and Chaliyam and built mosques in all these places. He stayed in Chaliyam for five months. Then he went back to Kodungallur and stayed with his uncle Mālik bin Dinār. In the meanwhile he made a second trip visiting all the mosques he had built in various parts of Malabar and performed prayers in all of them.\textsuperscript{50}

The author also contradicts many of the general impressions prevalent in Malabar. "This is the history of the advent and spread of Islam in Malabar. We do not have any clear evidence to say for sure which year this happened. The majority opinion is that it happened in 200 AH. However, the general impression with the Muslims in Malabar is that the aforesaid king's conversion to Islam took place during the time of the Prophet (s). They believe that the king one night saw in person the splitting of the moon, following which he set out to meet the Prophet (s) and after meeting the Prophet (s), he died at Shahar al-Mukalla on his way back to Malabar with a group of Muslims. There is but little truth in this. It is a widely accepted belief today that the king's grave is not in Shahar al-Mukhalla, but at Zafār in Yemen and that this grave known as Samuri is looked upon as a holy place by the local people."\textsuperscript{51}

\textbf{iii. Customs of the people of Malabar}

In this section of the work, the author enunciates the unique usage customs of the Hindu inhabitants of Malabar region and the treatment rendered towards the Muslim community by the local Hindu rulers.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., pp. 31-2.
\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., pp. 32-3.
The author gives a complete picture of the then prevailing customs and practices followed by the Hindu inhabitants, which he describes, "some very strange and unique customs are prevalent among the Hindus in Malabar, such as not seen anywhere else in the world."  

The author depicts how the war was conducted by the Hindus. He is highly appreciative of the Hindu warriors. "If a ruler is killed in a battle, all his troops will come together to fight against his adversary, his forces and his country, till they have killed them all or laid desolate the entire land of his enemy. They will not turn back until and unless either one of these happens. Therefore, both sides dread the idea of killing the leader of the forces of the other side. People of Malabar are never treacherous in their wars. When war was found unavoidable, they fixed a date for it in advance. Nobody acts against the terms of this mutual agreement. Deceit in this respect is looked upon as undignified and base."  

The author narrates how the people respected the dead. "Year long abstinence is observed by the Brahmins, the carpenters and others of the patriarchal system to mourn the death of elder members of the clan such as father, mother or elder brother; and for the Nāirs, who are of the matriarchal system, abstinence is on the death of mother, uncle and elder brother. During the period of abstinence, it is taboo for them to trim their hair or nails, eat fish or meat, chew betel leaves, or have intercourse with women. They never deviate from such practice as they believe that the deceased are blessed by their doing so."  

Subsequent to this the author talks about the system of inheritance existed there and how it was influenced by the Muslim community especially in north Malabar, "In the matriarchal communities like the Nāirs, the deceased will be inherited by his/her brothers on the mother side, sisters' children, aunts and other relatives of his or her mother. Inheritance right, weather it is the right to property or to the political power of kingship,

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52 Ibid., pp. 39.
53 Ibid., pp 40
54 Ibid., pp. 40
does not go to one's children, but to one's nieces and nephews. This custom of denying inheritance right to male children, following the Hindu practice, has crept into most families of the Muslim community in Kannur and the neighbouring places. They read the Qur'an; they learn it by heart; they recite it beautifully; they acquire religious learning; they perform prayers and other forms of worship; yet, it is extremely strange and surprising that this custom prevails among them."\(^55\)

Then he explains the details of inheritance and marriage methods among different communities of Hindus, both upper and lower caste people, "the right for inheritance of the deceased father is for his children in the Brahmin, the goldsmith, the carpenter, the blacksmith, the Thiyya and the fishermen communities. Marriage among these communities has certain rules and customs to be followed. But marriage among the Nāirs is only a man tying a string of thread around the neck of a woman. After that, things are the same as before. For her, practically there is no difference between the one who has tied the string around her neck and the others. In the Brahmin community, if there are many brothers in a family, only the eldest ever takes a wife in marriage. The next gets married only when the eldest is not likely to have an issue. This is to avoid quarrels and disputes over inheritance when the number of heirs multiplies. The younger brothers, as a rule, engage in illicit sexual relationship with Nair women. The children born of them by Nair women thus are not entitled to inherit their father's wealth."\(^56\)

Now he comments on the dress code of the Hindu community, both men and women, "the Hindus of Malabar 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 the body bare. All are alike in this regard: men and women, elders and youngsters, the rich and the poor, the kings and the subjects, all alike! Generally women will appear before anybody. However, the Brahmin women, as a rule, remain indoors! They do not go out like the rest

\(^{55}\) Ibid., pp.40
\(^{56}\) Ibid., pp. 40-1.
of the women. Nāirs let their women adorn themselves with expensive clothes and ornaments and attend big festivals so that their beauty is seen and enjoyed by men.\textsuperscript{57}

Followed by the explanation about the various local customs and practices the author gives a picture of the succession of rulers, “In Malabar, the eldest, even though senior by a minute, succeeds to the throne, no matter whether he is blind, stupid or disabled or be from sons of maternal aunts. However, nothing is so far heard about anybody killing a senior person to grab power in haste.

The author also gives a picture of the practice of adoption prevailed. “The practice of adopting from another clan, when it is the case that there is very few or none to inherit a family property or kingdom is prevalent among the people in Malabar. Adoption is not always of children. Sometimes even adults are adopted. The adopted person is treated like a real son, nephew or brother and is given inheritance, power and position, without discrimination. This custom of adoption is prevalent among all sections of the Hindu society, among the rulers and common people, among the high and the low. Thus, through this custom, the line of succession is never broken.”\textsuperscript{58}

The author also gives a detailed account of the caste system and rigid caste divide which existed. The low thus, through this custom, the line of succession is never broken. 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. There are among them high castes, low castes and castes of other degrees in between. A bath is obligatory on high cast Hindu in the event of any physical contact with the members of the low castes or they happen to be together within the boundaries and limits prescribed for intercourse. It is taboo to take food before the compulsory bath that washes him clean. If he takes food before doing so, he will be degraded from his rank and will result in his being excommunicated. In that case, he will have no option other than leave

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 41.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p.41-2.
the place and go to a remote and unknown place, where he will not be recognized, to spend the remainder of his life. Else, the local ruler will seize him and sell him to one of the inferior rank, whether the purchaser is a boy or a woman. Or else, he comes to us and embraces Islam, or becomes a yogi or turns a Christian. The same fate awaits a high caste member if he or she eats the food prepared by the low caste. 59

The author also explains how the above mentioned customs attracted large number of people to Islam and he also explains how the local people and the rulers treated Muslims. "Due to their ignorance and stupidity, they strictly follow these customs believing that it is their moral responsibility to uphold them. It was while they were living in these social conditions that the religion of Islam reached them by the grace of Allah. And this was also the main reason for their being easily attracted to Islam." 60

The author of Tuhfatul Mujahidfn, gives a detailed description of the then existing medieval Malabar Muslim state of affairs. Sheikh Zainuddin sticks to the facts that the liberty and autonomy experienced by the Muslim community with immense satisfaction under the generous Hindu rulers of Malabar. "Muslims throughout Malabar have no leader possessed of power to rule over them. But their rulers are Hindus, who exercise judicial authority and organize their affairs by enforcing payment of debt or fine if anyone is subjected to such payment. Notwithstanding these, Muslims enjoyed great respect and regard from the Hindu rulers. The main reason for this is that the construction and development of the country is taking place largely through the Muslims. Hence the rulers make it convenient for the Muslims to organize Friday congregation prayers (jum 'ah) and the celebrations like Id. The remuneration for the muadhdhins (those who call to prayer) and the Quâdies (religious judges) are paid by the government. The government makes special arrangements for implementing among the Muslims their own religious rules and regulations. In greater part of Malabar, whoever neglects the jum'ah (the Friday congregation) is punished or made to pay a fine." 61

59 For details, see pp. 42-44
60 Ibid., p.44...
61 Ibid., p.45-6.
He also discloses the application of criminal laws to both Muslims and non-Muslims with slight customary variation. “In the event of a Muslim committing a crime punishable with death, they carry out the sentence with the consent of the elders of the Muslim community, and the mortal remains of the man will be handed to the Muslims for burial. Afterwards, the body is given the ritualistic wash, prayers for the dead is performed and buried in the Muslim cemetery. But when a non-Muslim commits similar crime, they either kill him or gibbet him, and leave the body to be devoured by dogs and jackals. People of the other communities enter Muslim houses only after obtaining permission in advance. They will not enter their houses without permission for catching an accused hiding inside even he is wanted for a crime of murder. They ask the household only to force him out by leaving him to starve or by other means”. 62

Sheikh Zainuddin ends up this section with a tiny sketch of another institution of newly coverts to Islam and the treatment was given to them. “In the case of Hindus embracing Islam, other Hindus do not, as a rule, put any impediments nor do they harm them by any means. On the other hand, they are customarily treated with respect along with the rest of the Muslims, even if they were of the lower caste. In the early days, Muslim traders raised funds collectively for helping those new converts to Islam”63.

iv. Advent of Portuguese a brief description of their unprincipled deeds

With the rise of the Portuguese power, the prosperity of the Muslims declined. The Portuguese opposed the Muslims, bestowed upon them miseries of manifold types and treated them with contempt in almost every respect. The narrative reveals a base description of their behaviour towards the Muslims. But the enthusiasm of the Zamorin of Calicut and his commitment to the cause of the Muslims were always bounteous.

The author of the work, Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdum, gives details of the first arrival of Portuguese at Calicut and their observation as regards to the then prevailing

62 Ibid., p.46.
63 Ibid., pp.45-6.
Malabar situation to carry out their objectives. Apart from this, he also narrates their enmity towards Muslims and the Zamorin, their forced displacement from Calicut, erection of forts at Cochin, Kannur and Kollam and capturing of Goa harbour and so on.

“It was in the year 904 AH (1498 AD) the Portuguese made their first appearance in Malabar. They arrived at Pantalayani in three ships. By then the trade season through sea routes was almost over. From Pantalayani they moved to Calicut by land, stayed in that town for few months and returned to their homeland after collecting information about the conditions of Malabar. On this occasion, they did not engage themselves in any trade. The main purpose of their trip to Malabar, according to their own accounts, was to seek information about the pepper-land and to establish trade in that commodity, for at that time they were buying pepper from other traders who export pepper from Malabar.”

According to the author, the Portuguese came after two years, this time in six ships. They landed at Calicut and they themselves engaged in trade. They approached the officers of the Zamorin with a request to stop the Muslims from their trade and trade

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64 Vasco da Gama and his team exactly anchored off at Pantalayani (Kappad), this place is located fifteen kilometres north of Calicut. It was in the year 1498, third week of May. The name of the ships they arrived at Calicut are said to be St. Rafel, St. Gabriel and St. Michael. Memorial of Gama’s arrival can be found there at Kappad.

65 Vasco da Gama and his men were welcomed by the ruler Calicut, the Zamorin by sending a team to Vasco da Gama to give him a traditional welcome. At the same time, Gama was not given any assurance for trade with Calicut. He was informed that the matters related to trade will be discussed later on with Portugal. He left for Lisbon with a bad impression that it is because of the Moors’ intervention, his trade goods were not sold at Calicut and also they were denied an immediate trade treaty with Calicut. (Hamza C., Tuhfat Ul Mujahideen, Calicut, 1999, p. 121)

66 A new expedition was fitted up with Pedro Alvarez Cabral as commander. It consisted of 33 ships (According to Sanjay Subrahmanym, the expedition under the command of Cabral was ‘comprised only 13 ships and carried about 1500 men.’ In his return to Lisbon ‘Cabral had lost a large number of vessels that the hostility the Portuguese had faced on this expedition from the natives of Indian Ocean’...): (Subrahmanym Sanjay., The Career and Legend of Vasco da Gama, pp. 175, 187) and carried 1500 men. After the hazardous voyage, Cabral anchored off India with only six ships. In 1500 CE September 13, in this second voyage, they said to have brought pineapple, cashew, guava, red chilly etc. in to India. Unlike the first voyage of Gama, Cabral’s mission was a successful one. His agent Aires Correa could arrive at an agreement with Zamorin for trade after a prolonged discussion of two and half month under which the Portuguese erected a factory at Calicut. But the Portuguese started to claim extraordinary rights on the sea. (Sreedhara Menon A., A Survey of Kerala History, Natinal Book Stall Kottayam, 1967, p. 2005; see also Panikkar K M., Malabar and the Portuguese, New Delhi, pp 40-1; Hamza C., Tuhfat Ul Mujahideen, Calicut, 1999, p. 121)
voyages to Arabia, promising to pay double the loss the Zamorin might suffer by preventing Muslims in this respect. Then they began to encroach upon the rights of the Muslims in all directions. So the Zamorin gave orders to capture and kill the Portuguese invaders. Following this, about sixty or seventy of them were put to death. The rest took to their heels and sought refuge in their ships, and started firing from the ships to the shore. Those on the shore returned fire to the ships."

They were forced to move to Cochin then Kannur (50 miles north of Calicut): The Portuguese then moved to the Kochi port and made peace with the inhabitants of that town, and built a small fort and camped there. That was the first Portuguese fort built in India. They demolished a mosque situated on the coast and built a church in its place, employing local people as labourers.

Then they arrived at Kannur, made peace with the people there, built a fort and engaged in trade. Then they set sail to their homeland with their ships heavily laden with pepper and dried ginger. That was, after all, the main purpose of their coming here by undertaking such long journeys. The Portuguese came again after a year, this time in four ships. Harbouring at Kochi and Kannur, they accumulated as much pepper and dried ginger as they wanted and returned home. 67 Two years after that they came again to Hind with twenty or twenty one or twenty two or eighteen ships, and having laden their ships with variety of merchandise besides pepper and dried ginger, they returned to their own country. Thus their influence kept growing. 68

It was during this time the Zamorin attacked Kochi and, according to his wont, caused heavy devastation and loss to them. In this encounter the Zamorin slew two or three of the Kochi chieftains and then returned to Calicut. 69

67 As Cabral's expedition to Malabar was utter failure, the then Portugal King Dom Manuel never reinstated Cabral in royal favour. (Subrahmanyan Sanjay p. 191)
68 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (2007), op.cit., p.50.
69 Ibid., pp.50-1.
The author says that the Zamorin killed his subordinate chieftains because their alliance with the Portuguese had helped the nephews of the chieftains to usurp the throne of Kochi and the neighbouring places with the aid of Portuguese, contrary to the time-honoured custom of electing to the throne the senior-most man from among the relatives. Thus the Portuguese were treated with consideration and respect by the usurpers. The Portuguese in return helped them much in their wars and, in times of need, assisted them with money; and also set apart for them a tenth of their profits from trade. As a result the importance and influence of the Portuguese were increasing.

The author keeps on talking about the Portuguese growth and development day by day in the land of Malabar. Thus it became customary for the Portuguese to come with ships laden with people and cargoes and to return with pepper, dried ginger and several other produces, year after year. After the Portuguese settled in Kochi and Kannur and secured a firm footing there, the inhabitants of these towns with their dependents engaged themselves in sea voyages taking with them passes from the Portuguese to avoid risks. Each ship, however small, was issued with a pass, for which the Portuguese fixed a fee: at the time of the voyage the master of the ship took the pass on payment of the fee. The Portuguese impressed upon the people that the system of pass introduced by them was to their advantage and thus induced them to submit to it. Whenever the Portuguese fell in with a ship which did not possess their pass, they seized the ship, its crew and cargo. On account of this highhandedness, the Zamorin, his subjects and dependents were constantly fighting against the Portuguese.

70 There were several petty kingdoms during that period and its rulers always fought each other for supremacy.

71 Cochin was at that time a very small principality dependent on Calicut. It was the Zamorin's (Raja of Calicut) privilege to settle even the succession of that principality. The Cochin Raja had no right to coinage, and the Zamorin even interfered in matters of administration.' (Panikkar K. M., Malabar and the Portuguese, Voice of India New Delhi, 1997, pp. 43-4) At the same time Cochin Raja wanted to challenge Zamorin and to become an independent sovereign over there. Unni Rama Varma was the ruler of Cochin at that time who made this new alliance with the Portuguese little foresaw the humiliations and misfortunes waited. The Portuguese Governor became his lord and master in a span of time.

72 For controlling the trade and traffic the Portuguese introduced a system of cartaz or pass system, but it gradually disappeared due to piracy and capture of native vessels. (Kurup K K N, Mathew K M., Native Resistance against the Portuguese: the Saga of Kunhali Marakkars, University of Calicut, 2000, p. 13)
Then the author is describing the gradual growth and penetration of Portuguese in every sphere of the native interests, by taking advantage of the then prevailing internal political conflicts and confrontations and corresponding and comprehensive reaction against the emerging foreign threat from the parts of the powerful Zamorin. Thus it became customary for the Portuguese to come with ships laden with people and cargoes and to return with pepper, dried ginger and several other produces, year after year. After the Portuguese settled in Kochi and Kannur and secured a firm footing there, the inhabitants of these towns with their dependents engaged themselves in sea voyages taking with them passes from the Portuguese to avoid risks. Each ship, however small, was issued with a pass, for which the Portuguese fixed a fee: at the time of the voyage the master of the ship took the pass on payment of the fee. The Portuguese impressed upon the people that the system of pass introduced by them was to their advantage and thus induced them to submit to it. Whenever the Portuguese fell in with a ship which did not possess their pass, they seized the ship, its crew and cargo. On account of this highhandedness, the Zamorin, his subjects and dependents were constantly fighting against the Portuguese.

The Zamorin made his all effort to resist the Portuguese footing in Malabar. As day by day the Portuguese threat was increased, Zamorin advanced his preparation through all possible ways to confront the arch rival. "The Zamorin spent a lot of his wealth in this war, and before long he and his subjects declined in strength. So the Zamorin dispatched letters to Muslim Sultāns seeking help. They did not come forward to help him. But the Sultān of Jazrat (Gujarat), Sultān Mahmud Shāh, the father of esteemed Sultān Muzaffar Shah, and Ādil Shāh73 the grandfather of the great Sultān Ali Ādil Shah, gave orders to get ready their war ships and escort-vessels which were later found to be unsuitable to be put to sea. The Sultān of Misr (Egypt), Qansuh al-Ghawri74, had sent one of his Emirs, Amir Husayn, with thirteen ships and some troops. Amir Husayn reached

73 Mahmud Shah I was the Sultan who ruled over Gujarat between 1458 and 1511CE. The Adil Shah mentioned here was Ismail Adil Shah, the Governor of Bassein between 1510 and 1534 CE under the Adil Shahi reign. (Nainar S. Muhammad Husayn Tuhfatul Mujahideen (Trs.), University of Madras, 1942, pp. 56-7)
74 Sultan Qansuh al Ghawri was the last king of slave dynasty of Egypt (1510 - 1516 CE - period of reign). The slave dynasty ended with the death of Qansuh al Ghawri in a war with Salim Shah I, the ruler of Ottoman Constantinople.
the Diu port in Gujarat. Then they sailed to Shiyul and with them were Malik Iyās, the nāʾib at Diu, and his escort-vessels. They came across few Portuguese ships and in the fight that ensued; Amir Husayn captured one big Portuguese ship. Amir Husayn and his troops, then, returned to Diu with their ships. He stayed there for a few months during the rainy season. Subsequently, on the instruction of the Zamorin, about forty ships from his city and elsewhere arrived at Diu as reinforcement to Amir Husayn.”

Though a trilateral confluence was formed by the Zamorin to drive off the Portuguese from Indian Ocean, the Portuguese could trickily drive back this alliance. “Learning about Amir Husayn and his men camping in Diu, the Portuguese set sail in twenty ships prepared for war and appeared suddenly before Diu. Responding to this unexpected Portuguese arrival, a combined trilateral alliance was formed by Amir Husayn, without preparation; put to sea his ships and those of Malik Iyās, together with the small ships that had come from Malabar. When the Portuguese met the combined forces, they fixed their attention upon the ships of Amir Husayn, and captured few of his ships while the remainder got separated. Thus by the decree of Allah and His indisputable command, the accursed Portuguese returned victorious to Kochi. Amir Husayn and a few of his soldiers could escape along with the troops of Malik Iyās, the Malabaris and their ships. Amir Husayn returned to Egypt.”

The author also describes the subsequent attacks of Portuguese in and out of the country, especially their attack on Calicut city and its surroundings then Ponnani and moved towards Aden, there, they were vanquished completely. They secured their foothold at Cochin and Kannur in Malabar. He ends up this chapter of the fourth section by narrating the capturing and occupation of Goa the Portuguese

Qansuh al-Ghawri, the Sultān of Misr, was indignant at the defeat and so he dispatched twenty-two ships fully equipped with all the paraphernalia of war, under the command of Amir Salmān al-Rumi along with Amir Husayn.

75 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (2007), op.cit., p.52.
76 Ibid., p. 53.
The forces of al-Ghawri with their ships reached the well protected port of Jeddah and then proceeded to Camrān port. There, Amir Husayn started a war with the people of Yemen and plundered their country. Over this, Salmān al-Rumi left him and sailed to the port of Aden, and then he returned to Jeddah. There in Jeddah, a fight broke out between Amir Husayn and Salmān al-Rumi on account of Amir Husayn's fighting and plundering the Muslims. So Salmān had to leave Jeddah and return to his country. Amir Husayn was, before long, captured by Sultān al-Sharif Barakat of Hijāz, and was killed by drowning in the sea. It was after these incidents, that news reached Jeddah that a war had erupted between Sultān Qansuh al-Ghawri and Sultān Salīm Shāh al-Rumi; Qansuh al-Ghawri had lost and was soon murdered, and Salīm Shāh al-Rumi had captured his kingdom.

Then the author of Tuhfatul Mujahidin tells us the re-arrival Portuguese at Calicut equipped with enormous warfare materials and attacked many places in India and abroad apart from Malabar region. On Thursday, 22nd of Ramadan, 915 AH (1510 AD), the Portuguese arrived at Calicut, attacking the city. They set ablaze the congregational mosque there, which was built by the renowned Nakhuda Mithqal.

The author ends up this chapter with a brief description about the Portuguese entry to Goa and their deeds over there. The Portuguese entered into Goa and established their permanent foothold there. He also stress that it was because of the top secret understanding between the Amirs and principal men of Goa the Portuguese; they could recapture from the then Muslim rulers. “Then they fought the people of Goa and captured Goa and occupied it.” The Goa port had been in the hands of Ādil Shah, the grandfather of Ali Ādil Shah the Great. The Portuguese made Goa their capital in India and established their rule there. But, before long, Ādil Shah fought against the Portuguese and recaptured Goa and routed them from there. Thus, it once again became part of Islamic territory (Dārul Islam). Infuriated by this, the Portuguese came back with massive

77 Sultan Salīm Shāh was the Sultan of Turkey who put an end to the Mamlūk Dyanasti by killing Qānsūh al Ghawri in 1516CE and ruled over Egypt till 1519CE. After his death he was succeeded by Sulaymān the Magnificent (1520-1566CE) (S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (2007). op.cit., p. 103).

78 The Persian word naquda means captain of a ship. The Mithqal mosque situated at Kuttichira, Calicut is built originally by an Arab named Naquda Mithqal.
preparations. They fought the Muslims there, captured Goa again and made it part of their
domain. It is said that Emirs and principal men of Goa had a clandestine understanding
with the Portuguese; hence it was easy for them to recapture Goa. Then the Portuguese
built several forts and huge buildings and towers there. If Allah wills anything, He brings
it to pass. Thus their power began to grow day by day.”

In this second chapter the author talks about other dishonourable deeds of
Portuguese against the Muslims. He opens discussion on this chapter with a self criticism.
He says that But he interpret it as a result of their wayward life in spite they were granted
all the worldly things by God. As a Muslim scholar he can not but look into the things
that happens in this world but as a direct result of men’s deed.

Anyhow what has been meted out to Muslims by the Portuguese is beyond ones
ability to describe. From the words of the author itself one can assume that ‘How many
such atrocities and cruelties! The tongues get weary of describing them and hate to put
them in words,’ the author says. ‘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 them on their back to cross filthy, muddy tracts as they toured around the
countryside; spit at them and on their faces; obstructed their journeys especially hajj
journeys; plundered their wealth; seized their vehicles; set fire to their houses and
mosques; trampled under feet and burned the Holy Qur’an and other religious books;
reviled publicly the Prophet (s); defiled and polluted the places of worship; made them
speak ill of and ‘against the religion of Islam; forced them to bow before the cross and
gave money to those who did so’.79

A full fledged attempt to convert Muslims was made but in vain, lastly they were
left with no option but to coexist with Muslims. However they resorted to influence the
king of Kochi to expel the Muslims en masse from there and offered to give him more
revenue instead of them. But the answer was disappointing but indicative of Muslims
role: “Muslims could not be expelled from his country as they were his subjects from

79 For the details of the Portuguese atrocious deeds see pp. 56-8
time immemorial and besides, they were a great deal instrumental in the development and prosperity of the country". 80 (p. 58) This is testimonial from another Hindu King; this shows the exemplary role of Muslims even in Cochin. The author binds up this chapter by lamenting that “the Portuguese showed enmity only towards the Muslims and their Faith and no to Nairs or other unbelievers of Malabar”. 81

The third chapter begins as saying that as a result of the prolonged war, the weakness of the Muslims increased and the demise of the Zamorin who has spent huge amount to support the war. As the younger brother of Zamorin who succeeded him was of the opinion that peace with Portuguese is the best option and entered into a treaty permitting the Portuguese to build a fort in Calicut, in exchange of allowing his Muslim subjects to undertake trade voyage to the Arabian port of Jeddah and Aden in four ships every year. 82

But when they completed the construction of the fort they forbade Muslims from any further voyage to Arabia. This was to monopolise the trade in pepper and dried ginger, main items the Muslims were engaged in trade with. This was a great source of distress for Muslims and other subjects and leads the Zamorin to sent letters to the Muslim Sultans urging them to make preparation for war with Portuguese. But with no avail. They have even tried to kill Zamorin on the pretext of giving him some precious gift but he escaped. The winding up of the chapter is with the indication to the war the Portuguese was about to wage a war against the Muslims but were defeated and considerable damage was inflicted to their warship. 83

80 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (2007), op.cit., p.58.
81 M.J. Rawlandson opines that “here the Sheikh states what was not the case, since of the victims of Auto-da-fés (inquisition committed by the Portuguese against non-Christians, particularly, on the Hindus of Goa) at Goa at greater part, according to M. Dellen, were usually Hindoos. That the hatred of the Portuguese towards the Mahomedans was more inverteate than towards any other class of people is true; and it was so chiefly because they found them the most obstinate and formidable opponents” M.J.Rawlandson, Tohftufal Mujahideen, an Historical Work in the Arabic Language, (London: 1833). p.110.
82 S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (2007), op.cit., p. 59
83 Ibid., p. 59
In the fourth chapter the author narrates the Zamorin-Portuguese rivalry, the capture of the Calicut Fort from the Portuguese and also various incidents which ensued almost in the length and breadth of Malabar from 1524CE to 1531CE including a civil strife took between Jews and Muslims at Kodungallur. Sheikh Zainuddin so says, “Civil strife broke out in Kodungallur between the Muslims and the Jews of the locality. The Jews killed a Muslim that led to the riot. The Muslims sent messengers to their brethren in various towns of Malabar seeking their aid to retaliate upon the Jews. The inhabitants of Calicut with their relatives from Pantalayani, the people of Kakkad, Tikkodi with their relatives from Chaliyam, and people from Parappanangadi, Tirnrangadi, Tanur, Parawanna, Ponnani, and Weliancode gathered in the Chaliyam Friday prayer mosque. There, they resolved to attack the Jews of Kodungallur. They also resolved to wage war against the Portuguese and not to make peace with them except with the permission of the Zamorin.”

The chapter ends up with an indication to the emerging trade relation and that many ships were caught by the enemy ‘many ships belonging to Bahadur Shah, the Gujarat Sultan and the people of Malabar, had, by misfortune, fallen into the hands of the Portuguese on various occasions.’

At the fifth chapter the author deals with treaty between the Zamorin and the Portuguese. The peace treaty signed by them allowed the Portuguese to build a fort at Chaliyam (just eight miles away from Calicut). This was on the sea route of the Zamorin and his troops to Arabia and caused much tension to them.

It has also lead to humiliate and hurt the feelings of Muslims as “They entered Chaliyam River towards the end of the month of Rabi’ al-Aakhir in the year 938 AH (1531 AD) and constructed a strong fort, at the same time demolishing the ancient Masjíd al-Jami’ (congregation mosque) that had been built in the early stage of the advent of Islam to Malabar—of which mention has already been made—along with two other mosques. They used the blocks and other materials of the demolished mosques for building the fort and a church inside the fort.”

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84 Ibid., S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (2007), p. 62
85 Ibid., S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar (2007), p. 62
Towards the end of this chapter the author draw our attention to the death of the Zamorin and Nanbiyardhar’s declaration of war against the king of Chaliyam and the eventual surrender of the later. With the coming of Amir Mustafa al-Rrni, the military chief of Gujarat ruler Bahadur Shah to Diu port in Gujarat who routed the Portuguese and they fled the place, shamefully defeated and humiliated thus ends the chapter.

To put an end to the current tension between the Portuguese and the subjects of Zamorin a third peace pact is signed by the Zamorin and its main condition was that Zamorin’s subjects should be allowed to send at least four ships annually with merchandises to Arabia. (p70). Chapter six concludes with the request made by Sulthan Bahadur Shah that the Zamorin send Malabar Muslims to Gujarat to fight the Portuguese at sea. 86

With the attack and defeat of Sulthan Bahadur Shah by Humayun and the later consequent resort to seek help from the Portuguese lead to new dimensions. It facilitated the occupation of much coveted port of Diu by Portuguese. Anyway Sulthan Bahadur Shah was killed by them and thrown to the sea. Here a number of confrontations between the Portuguese and Muslims of different parts are reported as a result of their engagement in trade, which lead to uneasy and rivalry between the Zamorin and the Portuguese once again.

The chapter comes to an end with the words ‘The Portuguese had captured a few ships belonging to the people of Kakkad near Kannur the same year.’ With the arrival of Sulaiman Basha, the wazir of Turkish sulthan Sulayman Shah and his failed attempt to capture the port of Diu starts the eight chapters. The deceitful killing of Faqih Ahmad Marakkar and Kunhi Marakkar by the king of Ceylon is another incident of note in this chapter.

86 This request might be due to the pre-conceived notion that only Malabar Muslims can defeat the Portuguese enemy that they have prolonged experience in fighting the enemy at sea.
Chapter nine says about the fourth treaty which was concluded between the Zamorin and the Portuguese in the presence of Thanur king and Kodungallor king. A detailed description is given in the tenth chapter of the rivalry between the Zamorin and the Portuguese where it has reached its peak, as a result of the latter’s attack of a ruler of Malabar who has become an ally of the former. This ruler was nicknamed as pepper king; his army entered Kochi, its king has also joined hands with Portuguese, retaliates and set ablaze to many houses. Here the Portuguese army comes from Goa d inflicts great damage to the Muslims and put fire to an old congregation mosque.

The author concludes this chapter with the arrival of a new character, in his own words ‘In Rajah, 960 AH (1553 AD), a Turk by the name of Yusuf, arrived at Ponnani from the Maldives, notwithstanding it was not the season for trade trips. He came with a number of very huge cannons captured from the Portuguese who were living on the island.’(p 78). Here the eleventh chapter starts with giving a vivid picture of the pathetic condition of Muslims because they were not allowed to engage in trade as a result of this long lasted enmity. Seeing this ruler the Zamorin attempted another treaty with the Portuguese. This chapter also speaks at length about an energetic and zealous leader Ali Adhraj and his heroic fight against the Portuguese, but he was also killed. The rest of the chapter is an over all evaluation of the gains of the Portuguese and the damages they have inflicted upon the poor inhabitants.

The chapter ends with the author’s mentioning of a compelled conversion of some Ethiopian Muslims in Goa and their subsequent return to Islam. Outraged acts by the Portuguese, Muslims from many places organised them selves and without the licence of the Portuguese set out at sea in cargo with full preparation for war. They managed to seize many of their ships and this emboldened the subjects of the Zamorin and they also started capturing their ships. This was a huge set back to the Portuguese and they were left with no option to under take trips in the sea other than the escorts of fully equipped warship. In this chapter the well known hero who valiantly fought against the Portuguese is introduced. Many ships owned by the Portuguese were captured. Another thing of worth notice here is the letter send by Arakkal Ali Âdil rajah to the Sultan of Bijapur, Ali
Adil Shah to put an end to the rule of the Portuguese who has caused all miseries and weakness to the Muslims. Though he made some steps forward it was finally defeated because of his own men as they secretly delivered food and provision to the endangered enemy with this unhappy end the chapter ends.

Chapter thirteen is one of the eventful accounts of the courage showed by the Zamorin when he along with his subjects especially Muslims were pushed into the wall by the Portuguese. He besieged the fort at Chaliyam until they were run out of provisions and conquered in front of the Zamorin and requested to give them a safe passage that he agreed. At the end of this chapter we see that the fort was demolished and its blocks and bricks were given to rebuild the mosque which was destroyed by the Portuguese to build the fort.

4.3 FAT’HUL MUBĪN

Al-Fath-ul-Mubeen li Samiriy alladi Yuhibbu-al-Muslimeen (The clear victory for the Zamorin, who love Muslims) is a work written during the same period in which Tuhfat-al-Mujahideen was written. Its full name is Al-Fath-ul-Mubeen li Samiriy alladi Yuhibbu-al Muslimeen (The clear victory to the Zamorin, who love Muslims) the book was written by Qazi Muhammad bin Ahamed (d. 1025 H.E.) of Calicut. Elaborated in 537 lines, this book is also a poetical work in Arabic on Kerala. Fath-ul-Mubeen narrates an epoch-making event in which the Muslims, the Nair warriors and the naval force of Kunjali Marakkars jointly attacked and savaged the Portuguese fort at Chaliyam (Calicut) in 1571 C.E. Devoting this book to the Zamorin by the then spiritual leader of Muslims and Qazi of Calicut, Mohammed bin Abdul Aziz, clearly prove that relationship between the two communities, namely, Hindus and Muslims were harmonious, tolerant and cooperative.
4.3.1 Quādī Muhammad bin Abdul Azeez (Quādī Muhammad)

Quādī Muhammad bin Abdul Azeez was a renowned Islamic scholar of 16th century Malabar. He is the author of Muhiyyuddin Mala87, the first Arabic Malayalam literary work written in poetic form. He had in his account more than a dozen works in Arabic. He was the Quādī of Calicut and one of the outstanding spiritual leaders of the Muslim community. His father was Quādī Abdul Azeez Sheikh Usman. He attained thorough knowledge in Arabic grammar, Islamic Jurisprudence, Mathematics etc. He was enlightened in the various area of knowledge with the help of Quādī Abdul Azeez Makhdūm Ma'bari(maternal uncle of Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdūm II) and Abdul Qādir Hamadani and Sheikh Usman, his father. He became the authority in the various field of Islamic knowledge. He departed this world in 1025 H.E (1616 C.E).88 He was the compatriot of Sheikh Zainuddin MakhdūmII, the author of Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn.

He authored great many more works in Arabic both Poetic and Prose form apart from the seminal one Fat'hul Mubīn, Muntakhabātul FarāĪd (Selected Gems ), Nazmul Ajnās (Grammatical Rules), Nazm Qatarunnada (Dew drops-Grammar), Nasīḥātul Muamīnīn (Sermon to the True Believers ), Mudkhīlul Jinān (Entry to the Paradise ) Maqāsidu Nnīkāh (Significance of the Marriage ), Manzūmāt fi Tajvīdul Qur'ān(Qur’ān Reading Rules), Manzūmāt fi Ilmūl Aftāki wa Nnajūm (Structure of Astronomy and Astrology),Manzūmātul Riyādat (Structure of Mathematics),Durratul Fasfih fir Wā'ādi wa Nnasihāt (A Modest Wider Sincere Advice and Preaching), Dur'ratul Fasīha (Gem of Eloquence), Nazmul Awānim (Verse form of Arabic Grammar), Manzūmat fi Khutūtī wa Rasā'il (Method of Letter Writing), Marthiyātū fi Sheikh Usmań (Elegy on Sheikh Usman ,one of his teachers) and many other works in his credit.89 His Arabic-Malayalam

87 This Arabi- Malayalam poetic work was authored by Quādī Muhammed bin Abdul Azīz in commemoration with a Muslim Saint, Sheikh Muhammed Abdul Qādir Jillānī (Baghdad), on whose memory; the Qādiriyah Tarīqāt was formed by his disciples, after his demise. Muhiyyuddin Māla was written with the intention of spreading the miraculous events among the people of Kerala in regard to their iconoclast, Abdul Qādir Jillanī. The work was written in 1027HE 1607CE). ( Mammed Koya P.P., Kozhikkôte Muslingalude Charitram, Calicut: Focus Publications,1994, p.106)
88 Abdul Azeez T., Fat'hhu-l- Mubīn Malayalam (trans.), Calcut: Alhuda Book Stall,1995, p.31
legendary lyrical work, *Muhiyyuddin Mala* was written in 1607 C.E. It was just five years ahead of the production of *Aadhyaatha Ramayaham*, by an unparalleled literary icon and the father of modern Malayalam, Ramanujan Ezhuthachan. He sincerely wished the *Quadies* must boldly face the challenges of age both in spiritual form as well as physical. He was the front runner as like his forefathers in fighting for the country’s freedom against the overseas intruders. He took over the leadership of Malabar Muslim community at a time when the people of the area, were altercating among themselves over the issue of ‘Tariqat’. He pained when he had noticed the people his community were parting each other on different cult of ‘Tareeqats’ he who organized the community rooting for the *Qadiryya Tariqat* of Abdul Qadir Jilani, thus he strived for the unity of the community.

4.3.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF CHALIYAM FORT

Beypore was the biggest port in the Zamoin’s kingdom. His trade with outside world was mainly conducted through this port. Beypore port was situated north to Chaliyar harbour. Chaliyar fort which was built by the Portuguese in 1531…which was situated south of the Chaliyar harbour was a major obstacle for the Zamorin’s foreign and inland trading. The famous historian Sardar K.M. Panikkar described this fort as “A pistol directed towards Zamorin’s throat.” It was the Zamorin, he who fought against the Portuguese enemy from the beginning to its victory.

4.3.3 Al-Fath-ul-Mubeen li Samiriy alladi Yuhibbu-al-Musilimeen (Al-Fath-ul-Mubeen)

The full name of the work is *Al Fat’hul Mubin li Samiriy illadi Yuhibbul Musilimeen* (Clear Victory for the Zamorin, who loves Muslims). The title of the work stands for the Victory attained by the confluent forces (Muslim- Nair) led by the Zamorin

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90 Ibid., 151-152
as a result of forty years of constant combat against the Portuguese. This victory was accomplished in 1571 C.E. (970 H.E.). This work was dedicated to the King Zamorin. According to the author, he dedicates this work to the King, because Zamorin loves Muslims. It consists of 537 stanzas.

The work *Al Fat'hu Mubin* had been dedicated to the then ruler of Calicut; the author says he dedicates to Zamorin because he loves Muslims. Liberation of the Portuguese naval fort situated by the banks of the river Chalyar was the most significant incident in the history of the Zamorins and Kunjalis. There are not an adequate amount of reliable source materials available in relation to the fight and resistance intended for liberation of the fort, led by the Mappilas of the Malabar. But the poetic work *Al Fat'hu Mubin* as an immaculate commentary by the then Quädi of Calicut, Quädi Muhammad bin Abdul Azeez is a befitting and relevant one.94

According to Prof. T Abdul Azeez this work was written in between 1579 and 1607 C.E. Chaliyam fort was attacked in 1571 C.E. only. A well known historian of Malabar, Dr K.K.N. Kurupu says that this poetic work was an effective endeavor to broaden patriotic strength of mind in the society and also to facilitate and persuade the people to get acquainted with the historical thoughts.95 The moment we weigh up this work, on the basis of this background the work ought to have more historical significance.

The central point of inspiration for this work was a conflict between the sense of delight of the historic victory brought about by the concerted effort of Muslims along with Zamorin and sense of ardent sentiment and annoyance over the treaty between the Beejapur Sultan, Ali Ädilshah and the deceitful Portuguese an eight year after this triumph.96

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95 Ibid, p.28.
Qadi Muhammed commences his work by praising the Lord and prays for the Prophet, Muhammed (pbuh), Prophet’s relatives, his disciples and his followers. This is an amazing illustration of a unique warfare story. It had taken place in the Malabar region. A significant event of this stature was not occurred previously to this one. It has been amazingly narrated by an aboriginal of Malabar about an uncommon war. This warfare happened among Zamorin, the king of Calicut, who loved Muslims and the Portuguese infidels - the enemies of Zamorin. The poet Qadi Muhammad swears by Allah, king of kings, I have versified some scenes of the events, to make out knowledge for the rulers of other countries about this story. He again says with full of conceit that If they listen to this perhaps they think to prepare for a warfare or at least to get a lesson out of this. Possibly this war story spread all over the world especially Syria and Iraq. Then he says that versification of poetry is just like producing gold from silver. He put emphasis on versification and makes clear stand that for the purpose of knowledge is as same as worshipping before the Almighty. After clarifying his intention to produce this poetry, he talks about the cordial relationship between the Zamorin and Muslims.

i. Advent of the Portuguese

According to the author, the Portuguese landed at Calicut in 903 (H.E.). The author examine the purpose of their advent was to create a monopoly in the spices trade. However, the author explains the deceitful way they entered the trade. The Zamorin rejected the friendly advice rendered by his own people. Initially, the Portuguese behaved like slaves. However, when they attained dominance, they stared extending their

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97 Verses: 8-14, p.3.
98 Here the poet must be appealing for a bail beforehand because as he well aware of the Qu’ranic instruction as: ‘As for the poets, the erring ones follow them, See you not they speak about every subject (praising people - right or wrong) in their poetry? And that they say what they don’t do’. (26: 224-26)
99 Verses: 61
100 Verse: 60 The purpose of their arrival was to monopolize trade of expensive spices like black pepper ginger etc. and they had no objection to others for doing trivial business.
101 Verses: 62-64 He (Vasco da Gama) came to Zamorin’s Durbar with gifts and informed him that desirous to live here as ordinary subjects
terrains and trade aspirations. The author depicts the Portuguese as a very dishonest, cruel and disgraced people.

ii. Construction of fort at Calicut and consequences

The poet talks about the Portuguese fort construction at Calicut after narrating the story of their arrival its repercussions: from Europe to West-Asian shorelines to Shanghai harbours. The poet elaborately discusses the incidents happened when Zamorin compelled to drive the Portuguese away from the Calicut Fort

They have been permitted to build a fort at the centre of the Calicut by the Zamorin. Their deceitful attitude was previously well known the ruler; the Zamorin took an assurance from them that his subjects won’t be mistreated. The bull-headed attitude of he Portuguese is getting more severe as the fort construction get more progressed.

Verses: 66-72 Thus the Portuguese lied low as servants until they get the foothold over there in the Zamorin’s domain then they turned hostile
Then they conquered territories of China and several provinces of Sindh in India.
Then reached in Kamaran (an Island) in the Red Sea and captured the ships of Turkey Sultan and imprisoned their people.
Turned towards Jeddah followed by that, the Governor of the region was prepared with all arrangements to drive them away.
They established their footing in Ceylon and expropriated areas next to the Seashores
They built forts in some countries and stretched their hands for tortures
Thus they committed several misdeeds; we are unable to count up, p. 6-7

53-59 More wicked among the creatures and adherents of viciousness
Faranks: (the Portuguese), they are the arch rival of Allah, and His Holy Prophet and also of his followers; they are the cross-worshipers, venerators of idols and bend it over them.
Disgusting feature and stature, as devils having the eyes of cats
Pissing like dogs and restrain from cleaning it as prohibited by their religion
They are cunning and commit brutality and far from cleanliness among the creatures of God
Came to India for trade as locusts but in reality their intension was to create trouble, p.6

Verses: 90-109

The poet inscribed that the fort was constructed in 920 H.E. (1515 C.E). It was not the Chaliyam Fort as noted down by some people. But in reality, Chaliyam Fort was constructed only after eleven years, it (Calicut Fort) was built. This truce was made after the Zamorin had been soundly defeated at the relentless wars waged against the Portuguese. As per the conditions of the earlier treaty with Zamorin and Albuckerk, Zamorin’s subjects were allowed to export four vessels of ginger and pepper to the ports of Jeddah, Arabia and Aden. According to the new pact, as given below: 1 All spices of Zamorin’s domain be sold off to the king of Portugal. 2 The goods, bought by them would give a nominal toll to the Zamorin. 3 If the Portuguese procure horses and elephants, they will pay special levy for that. 4 For the dikta of the ruler of Calicut, would be given ‘certificate of security’. 5 the Portuguese shall be permitted to build a fort at Calicut.

They began tormenting the people when the fort construction was got completed. Demanded one tenth of levy for elephants and same as many other unnecessary things. They blocked the ships were going towards Mecca; that was the major dangerous thing. He has told Zamorin that we are ready to give as double amount of toll as the Muslims give. Then trickily, the Zamorin was invited to his fort, deception was the aim. He told that we have an appropriate present with us for Zamorin. Respected Zamorin come directly and receive the same. Though the Zamorin entered into the fort, God’s blessings saved him from the danger. This incident created a rift between them and the Zamorin; suddenly a high power meeting of Zamorin’s Ministers and Commanders were held. All of them unanimously opined that if the Portuguese dominance is continued here majority of the natives would become Christians. The Zamorin called a Minister and gave him directives for the preparation of the war against them. The Minister was clever, diligent, prudent and thoughtful. He splashed out wealth and investments; formed up cargo ships as well as armed ships. He organized both Muslims and Nairs and collected big cannons. This siege was continued for two years and dug up trenches both sides of the fort. The security man had been deployed were asked to be vigilant through out day and night. Then fired against the fort with cannons and guns and smashed its domes. They fought back like tigers and they were not frightened due to lose of soldiers. We had heard that even by one day it would have been created death of at least thousand people. They fled away from the scene by leaving the fort as and when they saw this huge loss. Only because of the blessings of the Almighty the fort was surrendered; it was in 930 H.E.

iii. Portuguese shifts to Cochin

The poet gave an in depth description that how the state of affairs was aggravated at Calicut because of the over highhandedness and encroachment upon the affairs of Zamorin’s Kingdom. He explained that in the beginning they acted as servants of Zamorin then they started creating serious troubles to the local people. Zamorin never reacted to the trivial complains against the Portuguese from his subjects.

106 Verses: 86-89.
107 According to the work Tuhfatul Mujähidin this fort was conquered in 932 (1525 C.E.). Opcit., note no.2 p. 46.
The Portuguese directly went to the archrival of Zamorin (the Raja of Cochin). The Portuguese desired that the Cochin ruler should maltreat the Zamorin. The poet also explains capability of Cochin raja. It was nothing but the raja of Cochin, who was the owner of Cochin harbor as well as having a powerful army. Cochin was always afraid of Zamorin and the aggression of his powerful army. As the tradition of those days; if there is any new Zamorin enthroned, he would make a setout towards Cochin along with his army. When the Portuguese approached the Raja of Cochin, he not only honoured them but also promised with war-fare assistance. He told them that Zamorin always attacking me. If you could extent your support for me your demands will be fulfilled. Thus they made fortification in his territory therefore they became more powerful. Zamorin was annoyed by this deed. So he moved towards Cochin for war. The Raja of Cochin supported the Portuguese in the war; three chieftains were killed at Zamorin side. As at war the Raja of Cochin and Portuguese were in one side and Zamorin was in the other, it was ended up only when the Raja of Cochin retreated to his palace Zamorin’s rivals were supported by the Cochin Raja with wealth, weapon and soldiers. Portuguese were creating tremendous trouble through sea and Raja of Cochin through land. They blocked ships sailing especially, journey of the pilgrims to Mecca.

iv. Atrocities committed by the Portuguese

The author highlights the atrocities committed by the Portuguese. The Portuguese burnt several places; destroyed places of worship and enslaved the local population. They tortured and slaughtered the innocent civilians. They molested and raped several women in front of their immediate relatives, who were also captives. Many women

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108 As Cochin was one of the major subordinate kingdoms in central Kerala it had subject to obey the diktats of Zamorin the Raja of Calicut. But Cochin was expecting a powerful ally or any rival of Zamorin to defy the commandments of Calicut kingdom
110 Verses: 116-22
111 Verse 73, 123. Also see Verses 168-174, 180-182 for a detailed account on the atrocities committed by the Portuguese.
112 Verse 74, for a detailed account and the extent of the torture committed, see verses 184-195. For instance verse 188 describes that the captives were forced to consume their own flesh.
113 Verse 183:
became widows and children became orphans. They forcibly converted Muslims to Christians and put severe restrictions on the freedom of movement. The Portuguese then turned against the Zamorin and started defying the king. Initially whoever entered the durbar of Zamorin through deception was killed. Portuguese were under the false impression that once they captured the Palace the entire kingdom was under their occupation. However, an army which came from the sea side challenged the Portuguese. This led to a three year long war in which both Hindus and Muslims were part.

When Portuguese took the control of Calicut they insisted the natives and Arabs to take Portugal passport (Cartaz) for maritime purpose, or face penal consequences. The Cartaz had a declaration that Muslims are the slaves/servants of the Portuguese. The main aim of the Portuguese was to convert Muslims or to eliminate them.

v. Support from Muslim nations

The disgraceful attitude of the Portuguese were constantly informed many a ruler in the Muslim countries. Along with the appraisal of the atrocities, the Sultans were also asked to send the naval fleets to save the people. Naval fleets were sent from Cambay (Gujarat) two times. Firstly, Admiral Hussein came with a naval force from Egypt. It was Mr. Salman Pasha firstly reached at Calicut from the Turkish army officials and later

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114 Verse: 175.
115 Verse: 176.
116 Verses: 177-78.
117 Verse: 75.
118 Verses: 78-79
119 Verses: 79 &81.
120 The goods, weapons, and profile of travelers in the ship were recorded in the Passport.
121 Verse: 127.
122 Verse: 129.
123 Verse: 130.
124 According to the other of Fat’hu-l-Mnbeen Amīr Hussain reached at Calicut in 940 H.E (1538 C.E). But in the Thuhfatul- Mujahideen the incident is reported as in 941H.E (1539 C.E). The Makhduoms of Ponnani and the Islamic scholars of Calicut were said to have requested the foreign rulers through letters especially the Egyptian and Turkish rulers to provide extensive military assistance to Zamorin.
on Suleiman Pasha as well. Captain Alfeeri and Mustafa had come here; like wise how many leaders and Admirals reached here! As and when the naval fleet arrives, Zamorin had send own naval force for official reception and piloting them whenever they reach at Calicut, that there should not be any form of disturbance for them. While the naval fleet of foreign Sultans arrived at Gujarat. The Portuguese force was also reached there as a destiny to confront them; God's destiny can not be changed. The naval fleets of Sultan were forced to return without seeing the way to Calicut. In the beginning all Muslims were succeeded in fighting against the Portuguese crookedness. Later on the Kannur and Thanur parties have made truce with them only because of the materialistic inquisitiveness. They used the passport (cartaz) issued by the Portuguese for crossing the sea. Thus they traveled without any impediments. This created rift between Muslims and they fought among each other. The poet says that the ships of Muslim subjects under some subordinate rulers of Zamorin, who traveled with the Portuguese cartaz were burned by Muslim subjects of Zamorin. The poet further adds that all those incidents did not make easy to get defeated the Portuguese. There was no other way in front of Zamorin but to plead truce with the Portuguese.

vi. Erection of fort at Chaliyam

Now the poet is talking about re-emergence of Portuguese at Calicut from Cochin. Due to the betrayal mind-set of Zamorin's subordinate chieftains in the region of the Calicut Kingdom, created a miserable situation as far as Zamorin is concerned. That forced him to take favourable decisions for the Portuguese. As part of the agreement the

125 A Portuguese Admiral Alvano de Norota came to Calicut in 1539 C.E. with the message of the king of Portugal
126 Amir Mustafa Rumi (Turkey) came to Diu harbor with the intention of fighting the Portuguese in 938 H.E. (1531 C.E.), he carried huge resource and enough weapons for a full-fledged war. The Governor of Diu was Malik Tukan son of Malik Iyas. He was under the Sultan Bahadursha. When the Portuguese knew about the presence of Mustafa Rumi they pushed for Diu harbor to capture it. But Amir Mustafa made a war fare against the Portuguese by using cannons and defeated them.
127 The people of Thanur, Paravanna, Parappanangadi and Thirurangadi were the subjects of a chief subordinate to Zamorin, Thanur Raja-Vettathu Raja, who was so jealous and angry with Zamorin. He was very anxious about the increasing strength of Zamorin. As a result of this, he allied and supported the Portuguese against the Zamorin. It is said that a ruler belongs to that particular region converted top Christianity because of tremendous Portuguese persuasion. But later on he came back to the Hindu Religion because he didn't get as much gain as he expected (F.M)p.49
Portuguese erected a fort at Chaliyam. Quādi Muhammad says the Zamorin permitted them to put up another fort; they completed it with as much as tallness. He again clarifies that just like the first one- Calicut Fort by intending to avoid any kind of underestimation of the Portuguese might, from the part of Zamorin. Chaliyam fort was only one of its kinds as recorded by the witnesses and travelers. This fort set up by them was indefensible and towering one; huge cannons were mounted around it. The fort was positioned in an island- river Chaliyar was surrounded it; and it seemed to be fenced. Its western part was sea faced and eastern part was river. Its lower part meant for good’s conservation and upper part was having several storeys with stairways. Wooden entrance was built there in the centre of the fort’s outer wall. On each door has got a small door decorated with attractive pictures. The way to was jus like entering to hornets’ nest; and a well is situated at the centre of this building compound. Fort was encircled with hoses and hoses were separated with walls. Mortars mounted at the citadel and its inapproachability and military might induced the Portuguese to create unscrupulous activities towards the local populace particularly haunting the Muslims.

vii. Military and political strategies of Portuguese

After the arrival of Portuguese at Calicut they realized the influence of Muslims, both natives as well as foreigners were monopolizing the pepper trade. The apprehension of Arab traders about their new trade rival was also not dissimilar to this one. Centuries before the coming of Portuguese at Calicut, the Muslims must have been a privileged and influential group over there. Until and unless this particular trade group was overpowered, the Portuguese could not have accomplished their enduring security in terms of their seaborne trade, political and territorial expansion as well as proselytism. To achieve their goals, they applied enormous means of stringent war strategies. The poet extensively talks about the Portuguese zealous attitude for battle, enmity towards their opponents and has evinced the varying victory and defeats among Portuguese and

128 Verses: 150.
129 Verses 151-67: p. 11-12
Zamorin in the prolonged war.\textsuperscript{130} They began relentless tortures and cruel deeds. They demolished places of worship and its symbols. They slaved; several Naduvazhies (Subordinate rulers) and institutionalized mastership over them.

viii. War strategies of Zamorin’s unified soldiers

The Poet Quādi Muhammad articulate explicitly his views about the changed approach of Zamorin; finally he declares war against the Portuguese violent behavior. Poet says that Allah transformed Zamorin’s mind-set, he preferred the way to fight the unprincipled Portuguese. Two Ministers were sent with army; everything was entrusted to them only. Both of them were sent with the confederacy of the Hindu Muslim army to ensure the seizure of the Chaliyam Fort.\textsuperscript{131} Zamorin’s Army boldly reached at Chaliyam and the fort was seized in the early morning itself. The army burnt everything around the surroundings of the fort; fort premises became just like a harvest over paddy field. Thus the fort was seen isolated and lofty as a pruned tree.\textsuperscript{132} The poet also describes the joint privileged group meeting to observe and deliberate the war strategy against the Portuguese. Valiant warrior Seethi Ahamad al Qumami.\textsuperscript{133}

ix. Hindu -Muslim friendship (solidarity)

Association with Muslims and a Hindu King

The work gives the impression that Zamorin as a just ruler who made Kozhikode a well off city and also projects him as a king who loves Islam and Muslims. The king is depicted as prosperous ruler of the Calicut kingdom.\textsuperscript{134} The poet says that let them be acquainted with the boldness of Zamorin. He is the saviour of Islam and executes our religious tenets and recommends the Quādies to pray for our caliph (Turkey Sultan) at

\textsuperscript{130} Verses: 334 - 40
\textsuperscript{131} Verses: 218-19, 221.
\textsuperscript{132} Verses: 229-30 & 31.
\textsuperscript{133} Name of an age- old lineage at Calicut. Seethi is syncopated form of Sayyidi (honorable before the names of Muslim Saints)
\textsuperscript{134} Verses :15-16
Friday sermon.\textsuperscript{135} The author exhorts the Muslims to be loyal to the King and ask Muslims to pray for him as it is their duty.\textsuperscript{136} The author points out that the King is fighting for both Muslims and Hindus. He even goes to the extent of criticizing Muslim rulers, as these rulers never fight for Muslims and even make deal with the enemies of Muslims.\textsuperscript{137}

**Hindu Muslim Harmony**

This work elaborately deal with the Hindu-Muslim Friendship (Solidarity) existed at that moment of the history. There are several verses\textsuperscript{138} in the work which highlights the solidarity between the Muslims and Hindus, in general and Nairs, in particular. Several verses of the work confer a view about how Nairs and Muslims jointly fought against the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{139} The work also narrates the good-natured relationship existed between the Hindu King Zamorin and the Muslims.

\textsuperscript{135} Verses :17-18.
\textsuperscript{136} Verses :19-20; 49.
\textsuperscript{137} Verses: 50-52.
\textsuperscript{138} Verses:397-409 Everybody experienced a sense of humiliation they blocked all pathways towards-trench to make the Ruler’s coming trouble-free)
Nair people gathered in one area and Muslims at another place
Squadron leaders moved between two groups to supply information
The Muslims preferred one specific place at the battle field and Nairs moved another area
The entire Muslim Forces took an oath by touching Holy Qur’an that we will die first after-fighting the enemy
Then the Nair warriors replied that; you are minorities, we don’t leave you to fight them alone
We all can fight together and march towards the Fort
All of them agreed to this view; doesn’t matter ensuing from this, there must thousand people have got to die
Zamorin turn out to be restless as hearing this news because aggression of this kind may invite thousands of setbacks
Unneeded perish won’t be created for his (Zamorin) territorial army; that was his convention
Loss of a warrior from his (Zamorin) army as painful as an arrow at his chest
Loss of a Muslim is more distressing for him (Zamorin) than the loss of ten Hindus
He ordered the army that one and all present there at the trench and then fight the enemy
\textsuperscript{139} Verses: 402-403; 408-409, Then the Nair warriors replied that; you are minorities, we don’t leave you to fight them alone
We all can fight together and march towards the Fort
Loss of a Muslim is more distressing for him (Zamorin) than the loss of ten Hindus
He ordered the army that one and all present there at the trench and then fight the enemy.
x. Political and Anti-Colonial Context

Political condition of Malabar was hot-tempered in the 15th and 16th century. There were four major kingdoms in Kerala at that particular point of time. Relationship between these major kingdoms as well as rulers among its subordinate principalities was also not hale and hearty. It was quite natural and permissive to any foreign forces to easily enter in to the Malabar political state of affairs. Portugal the first colonial forces anchored off Calicut in the last decade of the 15th century. The prolonged presence of Portuguese in the soil of Malabar caused unthinkable and unspeakable troubles and transforms in the socio-politico, economic and cultural history of the people of Malabar. The protracted presence of Portuguese touched every stratum of the society of Malabar.

The author of this work perceives that the combined attack lead by Zamorin against the Portuguese as a holy war - Jihad (struggle in the path of god). He also appends that the Zamorin had sent number warships in the different parts of the Ocean. The warships were run in between Ceylon and Sind caught the Portuguese and enslaved them.¹⁴⁰ This can be inferred that the poetic view shaped regarding the combined war waged by the Zamorin be obliged to be a sincere gratitude towards the ruling kingdom because of the freedom, safety, and security feelings and prosperity and social status enjoyed by the subjects, especially the Muslim community under Zamorin's rule. But one can comprehend that as for Zamorin, all his proceedings against the Portuguese was a deliberate resistance to block the escalating domination of an overseas nation over his country. He realized that only a confederacy of all sections of his country can tactically counteract the foreign naval force. This was apart from all sort of foreign military assistance against his archrival- the Portuguese. Despite the fact that the poet will not be of the same mind, there are enormous verses sheds light on the view that the resistance he talked about is purely a native collective attempt on colonial territorial aggrandizement.

¹⁴⁰ Verses: 198-200
xi. Existing Social- customs and practices

The Poet sheds light on the distinctive social customs of the land Malabar by explaining King Zamorin's personality and good manners that reflects the cultural heritage of Malabar. He articulates that the Zamorin will not grab any property from anyone through illicit means and commits any misdemeanour. He will not assault the territory of his subordinate chieftains. If they defy his orders, they will be pardoned after accepting some gift from these petty rulers. But any powerful leader behave with enmity; then their country will be conquered nevertheless it is a petty kingdom. Zamorin act upon like this because of the advices by his predecessors. In any case, any of the rulers becomes captive in a war, only Zamorin has the right to execute that captive ruler. It is so carrying out; to keep away any form of suicide attack from the people of the executed ruler. (Exercising of this right will not arise very often). Soldiers of the executed ruler generally defy the executioner. They even have the guts to die to get revenged. Zamorin's opponents would be clued-up on the war prior to its occurrence to get the enemy equipped with the war.

He (Zamorin) has the reputation for his bravery among other petty rulers, although they commit perfidious acts at war. Petty chieftains of the village act as His (Zamorins') commandants at the time of war. He makes most of the resources tendered by the people as tax and fine, for the welfare of the people. He was clever, adroit and valiant and a patient ruler and also grants pardon if requested. The author linked Zamorin to Samiriy during the Prophet Moses' time. According to the author the Zamorin might belongs to the family of that Samiry. Samiry was the originator of the Heifer worship and later on it became a religion. Let him be led by the Almighty to everlasting right path and his objects be fulfilled.

141 Verses: 34-37.
142 Verses: 38-40.
xii. Hindu Muslim Unity

It is not evident that any work had been dedicated to a non-Muslim personality by a Muslim other than this one at least in that particular point of time. One thing can be conceived that an Islamic scholar and a spiritual leader of Muslim Community and the then Quādi, who was born also at Calicut, offering such a work to a non-Muslim King, the Zamorin, reflects how strong and harmonious state of affairs was prevailed among the two communities represented by them. Therefore, Malabar not only was becoming an excellent model for rest of India but also for the rest of Muslim world. As a consequence of this, author of this marvelous work as well, becomes the paramount personalities among his compatriots.143

xiii. King Zamorin and the poet

One can comprehend the ardent love of poet with the King Zamorin. In every occasion, when he unveils different episodes of this song, he becomes beyond a literary ballad singer. Though the Poet asserts his clear intention for its writing (blessings of the Almighty hereafter), When he starts praising the King Zamorin, he becomes loquacious and putting out of his mind from that world of plainness (intention of God’s reward), which exposes his untainted nature of affection towards Zamorin.144 In the end the poet says that it is dedicated to Zamorin, the rationale behind this act is the King has made a high opinion among his Muslim subjects.145 He keeps on admiring Zamorin’s administration of justice, generosity and care for Muslims and he adds that all that he have revealed about him is only one tenth of king’s actual features.146

Here the poet once again espouses the greatness and distinctiveness of Zamorin and denigrate the Muslim rulers of different kingdoms for not doing anything to secure the Muslims of Malabar from the clutches of the arrogant and discourteous Portuguese.

143 Fat’hul Mubīn, Mal. trans., p.27.
145 Verse: 521, p.32
146 Verse: 522, p. 32.
He further discloses the features of his beloved king. He asks rulers and emperors that have you ever heard of such a war happening among Arabs or others? He advises them that let all of you learn a lesson from this Hindu king. How many of the Muslim rulers were reacted on this miserable state of affairs the Muslims of this region, intruded upon the highhandedness of the Portuguese. There is no acknowledgement of any Muslim ruler even giving a glance at these subjugated Muslims and anybody sheathed off sword for them to defend the feeble Muslims from the enemy. The poet Quādi Muhammad says that Zamorin does not belief in our religion nevertheless he fought the enemy and spent his treasury for the same. He conquered the Chaliyam fort. Nobody other than did anything.

xiv. Cultural facet

Fathul Mubeen had been written in the last decades of 16th century might be immediately after the liberation of Chaliyam Fort from the Portuguese in 1571 C.E. Although the intension of this poetical narration is explicated by the poet consciously or unintentionally this work draws out the then prevailed culture and nature of Malabar. At the time of any carnival Muslims had the right to be there at the right side of the king. When the poet talks about Zamorin’s personality there itself the glorious tradition of Malabar also automatically reflects Zamorin will not appropriate any property from anyone through illegitimate ways and commits any misdemeanor. He will not assault any province of his subordinate chieftains. If they defy his orders, they will be pardoned after accepting some gift from these petty rulers. But any powerful leader behave with enmity; then their country will be conquered nevertheless it is a petty kingdom. Zamorin act upon

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148 This matter is exaggerated by the poet. The rulers other than Zamorin from the North African shore to the Strait of Malacca had waged war against the Portuguese not only due to religious enmity but their economic and nation’s security concern. Zamorin’s intention was also not different from this. To end up the Portuguese naval dominance in the eastern waters the global resistance played a great role that cannot be ruled out. In this concerted endeavour Zamorin also played a major role that is also admirable. (Prof., Abdul Azeez T., Fat’hul Mubfn Malayalam The author relates Zamorin to Samiriy of Moses time At the time of Prophet Moses there was a Samiry This Zamorin might belongs to the family of that Samiry Samiry was the initiator of the Heifer worship and later on it became a religion. fmTrans., Alhuda Book Stall Calcut, 1995, p. 75).
149 Verse: 20.
like this because of the advices by his predecessors. Zamorin’s opponents would be clued-up on the war prior to its occurrence to get the enemy equipped with the war.

xv. Literary Elements

It is a long narrative poem of 537 lines. His literary dexterity sprang from the in-depth understanding of Arabic language expertise and its various components. The poet Quāūdi Muhammad get going with plain style in this work that trims down all ambiguity and create a sense of clarity in the ideas he offer to the reader. It shows his profundity in Arabic language. This poem is in rhyming form – end rhyme with a realistic narration. Although the characters talk about in this poem are realistic.

4.3.4 Concluding the work.

The poem *Fathul Mubîn* is a comprehensible poetic work of later Medieval Malabar by native of Calicut. This unique Arabic narrative poem throws light on various historic facts of the Malabar’s medieval gloomy days. In this work Quāūdi Muhammad institutionalizes the legendary recording about Cheraman Perumal’s embracement of Islam at Prophet’s time itself and took trip to Arabia. This is a well-known legend in the history of Malabar. Theme of this poem is an enticing story of the incessant war waged by Zamorin and the Muslim – Nair army confederation which liberated and demolished the Chaliyam Fort of the Portuguese in 1571 C.E. Here one can understand that that the true patriotic spirit f the poet and his sincere regards and reverence with the King Zamorin. This kind of veneration towards a Hindu King from an orthodox Islamic

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\[150\] Verses: 34-37.
\[151\] Verse: 40.
\[152\] It is a popular legend. Some Dervishes who were their journey back to their native place happened to meet the Cera King, Perumaal from Kodungallur and they informed about the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) and his faith. He wished to meet the Prophet and joined them for a journey to Arabia. Subsequent to the meeting with the Prophet he was said to have embraced the faith of Islam, on the way back to his home town, Malabar he got down there in Yemen, toady’s Oman Sultanate, he died at Salala and buried there at Dafar. It is said that as per his direction, a missionary team lead by Malik bin Deenar spread the faith of Islam and put up eleven Mosques in the different parts of Kerala. There disputed opinions regarding this issue.
Scholar of Malabar itself portraits a clear witness to the communal amity prevailed in the days of the yore.

4.4 CONCLUSION

All the above three anti-colonial works of the medieval period have similar themes and purposes. *Tahrīd Ahlīlmān ala Jihādi Abdāti Sulbān*, the pioneering work amongst them, explicitly shows its aim to educate and prepare the people to wage war against the Portuguese intruders and to attain martyrdom out of it. It also differentiates between the people who became martyrs in the path of the Lord and others. He warns those who abstain from taking part in the *jihad* that they will have to face the consequences thereafter. *Tuhfatul Mujahideen*, a medieval epic of Kerala, aims not only at instigating the Muslims of Malabar to *jihad* against the colonialists, but also at inviting the attention and seeking the support from different Muslim emperors of the world in fighting out the enemy. The work also sheds light on the socio-political dynamism of medieval Malabar. *Fathul Mubeen*, a legendary literary classic of the same period, shows the healthy and harmonious coexistence between different communities until the arrival of the Portuguese. It also describes the magnanimity of the Hindu rulers, the Zamorins of Calicut, towards the Muslim community. All these three works, authored by traditional Islamic *ulemas* of that period, depicts the significance and privileges experienced by the Muslims of medieval Malabar.