CHAPTER III

THE EUROPEAN DOMINATION AND ITS IMPACT ON THE COMMUNITY

The kingdom of Calicut, its benevolent ruler, honest people and the biggest mart, so vividly described by Marcopolo, Ibn Battuta, Mahuan, Abdurazsack and Pyrard de Laval was soon to become the arena of a long drawn out blood bath with the landing of Vasco da Gama, on 17th May 1498. "The discovery of the Cape of Good hope... was an evil day for the Mappilas... In the keen struggle for supremacy on the Eastern seas Mappilas came out vanquished... and never have they regained their wealth and their glory".¹

Recent studies have brought to light the brunt of Western onslaughts especially of the Portuguese, this "Oldest community of South Asian sub-centiment was destined to bear".² The Portuguese entry into the Indian waters was not motivated by the idea of trade profit alone. They in fact carried on the vengeance of the cross on the crescent. A detailed survey of the formative factors of

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Portuguese policy reveals the magnitude of the problem.

Four main motives inspired the Portuguese leaders in chronological order but in varying degrees. 3

1. The crusading zeal against the Muslims.
2. The desire for Guinea gold.
3. The Quest for Prester John.
4. The search for oriental spices.

During the fifteenth century Portugal was a united kingdom virtually free from civil strife when countries of Western Europe were either convulsed by foreign or civil wars - The Hundred Years' War, the War of the Roses, etc. - or else they were pre-occupied by the menace of the Turkish advance in the Balkans and in the Levant. Spaniards were experiencing a period of ruinous anarchy before the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella and they could not effectively compete with the Portuguese. Portuguese capture of Ceuta in August 1415 was inspired mainly from crusading ardour. Since Ceuta was one of the terminals of Trans-Sahara gold trade its capture provided the Portuguese, information of the source of the

gold dust, the Upper Niger and Senegal rivers. Attempts were made to establish contact by sea and divert gold trade from the camel caravans of Western Sudan and the Muslim middlemen of Barbary. There was great demand for gold in Western Europe during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and especially in Portugal because while other states had gold coins Portugal did not have any since 1383, which was resumed in 1457 after gold dust arrived from West Africa.

Mysterious legend of the Christian king, Prester John, in the Indies with 30,000 men on his table of emerald with the grandeur of 12 Arch Bishops seated on the right and 20 on the left had been current in Portugal. It was believed in Portugal as elsewhere in Christendom that "this mysterious Priest-king, when once definitely located would prove an invaluable ally against the Muslim powers, whether Turks, Egyptians, Arabs or Moors". The Portuguese hoped to find him in an African region where he would be able to help them against the Moors.

From 1452 to 1456 the Portuguese crown got a series of papal Bulls promulgated on request, which gave

4. Ibid., p. 18.
5. Ibid., p. 19.
it the monopoly of conquest, conversion, and commerce.

1. Dum Diversas, 18 June 1452.
2. Romanus Pontifex, 3 January 1455.
3. Inter Caetera, 13 March 1456.

In the first, Pope authorised the King of Portugal to attack, conquer, and subdue the Saracens, Pagans and other unbelievers who were inimical to Christ; to capture their goods and their territories, to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery and to transfer their lands and properties to the King of Portugal and his successors.

The second Bull Romanus Pontifex was even more specific and it has been rightly termed the charter of Portuguese imperialism. The bull starts with meritorious accomplishments of Prince Henry since 1419, praises his apostolic seal as a true soldier of Christ and defender of the faith in eloquent terms especially for compelling the Saracens and other unbelievers to enter the fold of the Church. It specifically credits him with the intention of circumnavigating Africa and thus making contacts by sea with the inhabitants of the Indies 'who it is said honour the name of Christ' and in alliance with them, prosecuting the struggle against the Saracens and other enemies of the faith. The Prince is authorised to subdue
and to convert Pagans (even if Untainted by Muslim influence) who may be encountered in the region lying between Morocco and the Indies. The crown of Portugal is thus given the monopoly of Navigation, trade and fishing in the extensive maritime dominions. Pope Nicholas V decreed that "since this work is one which forwards the interest of God and Christendom, this monopoly does in fact apply not only to Ceuta and all the present Portuguese conquests, but likewise to any that may be made in future. The legitimacy of any measures taken by the crown of Portugal to safeguard this monopoly is explicitly recognised by the Pope. Portuguese were further given permission to trade with Saracens but not arms to "those enemies of the faith". Prince Henry and his successors were authorised to build churches, monasteries and to send priests to administer sacraments in those regions. Finally, "All other nations were strictly prohibited from infringing or interfering in anyway with the Portuguese monopoly of discovery, conquest and commerce".6 The importance of the last clause was underlined by the Solemn proclamation of this bull in Lisbon Cathedral on 5th October 1455, in the

6. Ibid., p. 22 ff.
original Latin, and in Portuguese translation and before a congregation which included representatives of foreign communities in the Portuguese capital—French, English, Castilians, Galicians and Basques—who had been specially summoned for the occasion.

It seems that Prince Henry's household was in financial crisis. Barros informs us, during the siege of Ceuta one of Henry's captains, Diogogomes told Martin Behaim of Murenberg, that Prince Henry gained information of gold-producing land from Moorish prisoners which led him to try to reach these lands south of Sahara by sea in order to trade with them and to sustain the nobles of his household. Gold dust was first obtained by barter from the natives (Tourages, in this instance) in 1442.

Development of slave trade helped to finance Portuguese voyages down the West Coast of Africa. The slaves were originally obtained by raiding the un-armed people of Touareg encampments and Negro villages. These raids on unarmed people were characterised as if they were knightly deeds by the court chronicler, James Eanes de Zurara, and was in fact so regarded by the majority of his contemporaries. Later the slaves were obtained

by barter from chiefs of Senegambia and Upper Guinea, either criminals, prisoners of war or victims of witchcraft.

The lure of the yellow metal certainly played a prominent part in the development of the Portuguese voyages of discovery down the West African coast after 1442. They never succeeded in finding the elusive source of West African and Sudanese gold, which was mostly mined in the region of Bambuk on the upper Senegal river, at Mali on Upper Niger and at Lobi on the upper reaches of the Volta. This gold mostly in the form of gold-dust was originally taken by bearers through the kingdom of Mali and Ghana as far as Timbuktu. It was there traded to Arab and Moorish merchants who carried it by camel caravans across the Sahara to the Islamic states of North Africa whose ports were frequented by Jewish, Genoese and Venetian traders amongst others. In the second half of fifteenth century by means of their fortified factories at Arguin and by other unfortified factories in the coastal regions of Senegambia, the Portuguese were able to divert a considerable proportion of this Trans-Sahara trade to their own ships and establishments on the coast. Fort 'Saint George of Mine' erected in 1482 on the orders of Dom Joao II was able to
tap not only the gold trade of Western Sudan but that derived from the river-washings on the Gold Coast itself. For about 100 years (c.1450-1550), the Portuguese caravels thus dominated Moorish camel caravans in the gold trade. The great quantity of this guinea gold brought to Lisbon was converted into 'cruzados' and was re-exported to pay for the goods which Portugal needed and helped to put Portugal on the currency map of Europe.

During 1496-1521 an annual average of 170000 'dorems' worth of gold was imported from St. George of Mine alone and sometimes more. Something like 150,000 Negro slaves were secured by the Portuguese between 1450-1500.

The resources derived from the flourishing gold and slave trades enabled King Dom João to prosecute the search for Prester John, which had evidently become something of an obsession with him. Though their notions were vague about the situation of the Kingdom, the Portuguese knew that it was somewhere beyond the river Nile, which was then regarded by learned Europeans as forming the boundary between Africa proper and "Middle India". They hoped first to get access to Prester John by way of

8. Ibid., p. 29.
the Senegal, the Gambia, the Niger and finally the Zaire (Congo) rivers, each of which they successively mistook for a tributary of or branch of the Nile, when first encountering their outlets into the sea. As they worked further down the coast of West Africa the prospect that this continent might be circumnavigated and way opened by the sea to the kingdom of Prester John and the Indies became more plausible. It was also in the reign of Dom Joao II that the quest for Prester John became coupled with the quest for Asian (as distinct from African) spices.

In the mid-1480s reconnaissance expeditions were carefully organised to seek for Prester John and spices by sea. The chief maritime discovery was made by Bartholomew Dias who leaving Lisbon in 1487 rounded the Cape of Good Hope in early 1488 and voyaging some distance up the coast brought the news that the sea route to the Indies was open. Most of the agents who were sent overland seems to have failed. But one of them, an Arabic-speaking squire named Pedro Covilho, who left Lisbon in the same year as Bartholomew Dias reached the West Coast of India in 1488. Then he visited the Persian Gulf and the Swahili coast of East Africa as far South as Safala. This adventurous journey which lasted for over two years gave him a very good idea of the trade of the Indian Ocean in
general and of the spice trade in particular. On his way back to Portugal at the end of 1490 in Cairo he received the message from the king to proceed to the Kingdom of Prester John which was supposed to have been located in the highlands of Abyssinia. Having sent a detailed report he went to 'Prester John' where Emperor Negus of Abyssinia honourably received him and was detained with honours till his death 30 years later.

There are conflicting views whether Covilho's report reached the king or not. If it did, that was why Vasco da Gama was ordered to go to Calicut, the most important Indian port of spice trade. Probably it did not, as Da Gama and his men were surprised at the high degree of civilization attained by the Swahili cities of Mozambique, Mombasa and Malindi. At Calicut Juma also was unable to distinguish between Hindu temple and Christian church which Covilho must have surely reported. Finally Vasco da Gama was provided with trumpery presents for the ruler of Calicut and the most unsuitable goods—Cloth, brass utensils, beads and the like to barter for the pepper and other spices which he sought. Covilho would certainly have reported that these could only be purchased with gold and silver.9

9. Ibid., p. 34.
It shows that it was only after 1430s that the Portuguese king became seriously interested in tapping the Asian spice trade at its source. Till then their relatively modest demand for Asian spice had been satisfied by what they got like the rest of Europe from the Venetians who purchased them from the Muslim merchants of Mameluke Empire in Egypt, and Syria. It is possible that once he was convinced that the sea route to India could be found, the king would have considered the possibility that Asian spice trade could be diverted from its overland route to the Atlantic Ocean in much the same way as the gold trade of Guinea had been largely diverted from trans-Saharan camel caravans to the caravels of Fort St. George of Mine.

In a jubilant letter to Ferdinand and Isabella written a couple of days after the return of the first of Da Gama's ship to the Tagus in July 1499, king Manuel announced his decision to 'wrest the control of the spice trade in the Indian Ocean from the Muslims by force with the aid of the newly discovered Indian Christians. In his letter to Rome dated 23 August 1499, king Manuel described himself Lord of Guinea and of the conquest of navigation and commerce of Ethiopia, Arabia, Persia and India'.

These developments in Portugal show that Vasco da Gama's landing at Calicut was the culmination of a long-planned national policy aimed at the destruction of the Saracens, Moors and any other community of Muslims 'as may be encountered'. When a white-skinned man of Gama's crew was passing through the streets of Calicut, a Spanish-speaking Tunisian Bontaybo asked him "What the devil has brought you here?". The reply was, "We have come to seek Christians and spices". This again shows that their primary concern was Christians, which would again mean their bitter hatred of Muslims, reminiscent of the Crusades.

Vasco da Gama on his second meeting with the Zamorin insisted that all the Muslims be banished from the city, which the king refused to do. Thereupon 2nd November 1498 his fleet commenced a furious bombardment of the city which was stopped only when it was pointed out to the captain that the ships themselves were being damaged. The retaliation of the Zamorin's guns were ineffective and Barros commented: "Their shots came like

bowls". While Vasco da Gama remained off Calicut there appeared a flotilla of twenty-four Calicut boats, all laden with rice. He seized the boats and their crew numbering 800. "He ordered his men to cut off their hands, ears and noses. This done, their feet were tied together, and in order to prevent them from untying the cords with their teeth, he ordered his men to strike them on their mouths with their staves and knock their teeth down their throats. They were then put on board, heaped one upon the top of the other, and covered with mats and dry leaves; the sails were then set for the shore and the vessels set on fire". 12 This was just an example of Portuguese cruelty to Muslims. The succeeding Portuguese captains tried to rival one another in cruelty to Muslims. Even some of the authentic historians of Kerala seems to have ignored the Portuguese national policy as stated in Papal Bulls and King's letters to neighbouring rulers and try to lighten the weight of Portuguese brutality. L.M. Pannikar observes, "The Portuguese king could not have selected a worse officer if he wanted to establish peaceful relations with the Indian rulers and carry on trade. Cabral had neither tact nor foresight. He had an overweening pride which suspected an insult in every innocent

movement, and was short-tempered.* But a careful student of history would be convinced that these personalities were mere embodiments of their national aspirations in vengeance against Muslims. If the aim of Portuguese entry into India was, as H. E. Miller has stated, "the drive for economic power, the control of the spice trade and the amassing of the wealth associated with the Orient", how the burning of Hajj pilgrims even after extorting all their gold and valuables and the massacre of 2000 Arabs at Pantalayini Kollam* who were leaving the country could be justified. The Zamorins of Calicut with their Muslim allies waged a desperate war against the Portuguese. The atrocities committed by the Portuguese has been well described by Zaynuddin who regards the arrival of Portuguese as a punishment of Allah: "They oppressed the Muslims, corrupted them and committed all kinds of ugly and infamous deeds, too bad to be described. The Portuguese scoffed at the Muslims and held them up to scorn. They

15. Vasco da Gama plundered a ship carrying Hajj pilgrims which belonged to Shabantra Loyas' brother and set it on fire with the crew. He saw the women bringing up their gold and jewels and holding up their babies to beg for mercy. Jane A. G., Vasco da Gama and his Successors, London (1910), p. 66.
ordered them about insolently, employed them to draw water, bespattered them and spat upon their face and body. They prevented the Muslims from their journeys, especially their pilgrimage to Makkah. They plundered their properties, burnt their cities and mosques, seized their ships and trod down the Quran and other books under their feet and burnt them away. They violated the mosques, instigated the Muslims by bribery to accept Christianity and prostrate before the cross. They adorned their own women with ornaments and fine clothes in order to allure the Muslim women. They put to death hajis and other Muslims with all kinds of cruelties and reviled publicly the Apostle of Allah. They held the Muslims captives, binding them with heavy fetters and rushed them into the market to sell them as slaves, tormenting them, at that time, with all kinds of punishment in order to get more profits. The Portuguese kept Muslims in dark, dirty and stinking houses. They beat Muslims with shoes when they purified themselves with water after excretion. They tortured the Muslims with fire, sold some, and kept some as slaves and employed some of them for all kinds of hard labour without any compassion. He continued:

"The Portuguese after great preparations sailed to the ports of Jazrat, Konkan, Malabar, and the coast of Arabia, lay in wait for the ships of the Muslims and seized them. Thereby they amassed abundant wealth and acquired a large number of Muslim prisoners". He laments, "How many a Muslim woman of noble birth they took as captives, and violated their honour to bring into the world Christian children who would be enemies of the faith of Allah and agents to cause affliction to the Muslims! How many Sayyids, learned men and nobles they captured and tortured and put to death! How many Muslim men and women they converted to Christianity! How many such shameful and abominable deeds they committed! The tongues get weary of describing them, and hate to put them into words. May Allah chastise them very severely!"

We hear the same pathetic laments in Fath al-Mubin by Qazi Muhammad, one of the leaders of the Mappilas in the 'holy war'. Qazi Muhammad had been very actively involved in the Chaliyam battle of 1571 with the other Qazis, Sayyids and Yogis. He describes how people came from far off lands to take part in the battle. He described

that due to the Portuguese destruction of coastal settlements and the constant bombardments of Mappila centres, "then people began to walk along the mountains. But they walk in perpetual fear (or the Portuguese)."19

The Mappilas were so hardpressed that the leaders called for a Jihad—h Holy war. Sayn uddin says of his temptation to write the Tuhfat: "I, therefore, compiled this narrative with a view to inspire in the faithful the desire of fighting the worshippers of the cross; for a holy war with them is an obligatory duty, because they invaded the territories inhabited by the Muslims, and also captured from among them a multitude whose number cannot be counted......"20

The war was fought with the Zamorin and his Muslim allies on the one hand and the Portuguese and the allies they could get in Malabar—princes who were disgruntled at the increasing power of the Zamorin Kajas. While his Nayar forces were unbeatable on land, the navy chiefly manned by Muslims and led by Kunjalis was invincible. The Portuguese dominating the sea and checking the navigation of the Muslims, the resources of the Mappilas declined. Yet the ideas of 'Jihad' and 'Shahid' rendered them bold and courageous.

19. Ibid., p. 248.
The Kottupalli Mala, a very popular song of the Mappilas re-printed several times by many, gives an instance of martyrdom of a man. The hero is Kunhi Marakkar, the martyr, of Manath House of Veliyankod. The central theme of the song is that the hero was sitting among his friends on a carpet just after his 'Hikah' for the feast and nuptial union. Just then an old man came running and asked, "Is there anybody amongst you who wants to enter heaven and permanently reside there?" He then described that at dusk on the previous day a Christian ship was seen in the sea. Two of the sailors came ashore in a canoe caught hold of a Muslim Maiden and took her to the ship. Anybody who save and bring her back will get heaven. Thereupon the bridegroom walked out of the pandal as if going to toilet. He went to his house to see his surprised mother, from whom he asked permission to court martyrdom, but was refused. He walked past the mother who fell unconscious, and arranged a boatman to take him to the ship at night and wait for his signal not far. Thus he got on board the ship. A guard tried to stop him, but was killed. He saw the vile unbelievers heavily drunk and tried to find out the girl. After long search he found her, lead her to the waiting boat and asked the boatman to take her
ashore. Then he killed all the heavily drunken sailors. The captain meanwhile woke up and fought with him. Kunhimarakkar thus died the death of a Shahid. The boatman and the girl witnessed his body being cut to seven pieces and being thrown into sea. His mutilated body was washed ashore one piece each appearing in Takur beach, Kalatt, Beypore, Calicut, Muttungal, and Badagara. The place where his head reached was Kottuppally. Then there is the description of how the chieftain of the Muslims of the place one day dreamt that the severed head was in the river and it should be properly buried. Then the author goes on to narrate the typical 'Karamah' of a shahid. The tradition was so live among the Mappilas that in many places 'Jarams' (Shrines) were erected as a holyman or the leader of the community dreamt that some part of the Martyr's severed body had appeared in the locality. This incident shows the response of the community for the call of martyrdom made by Zaynuddin and others and how it actually worked. This was one aspect of the total response of the community.

The Mappilas also tried to seek help outside.

21. The Mala took its name from this Kottuppally, also known as Albhutha Ratnamala (Garland of wonderful diamonds).
They had the advantage of various foreign Muslim communities settled as traders in Calicut. They were 'Indian Muslim traders and seafarers from Gujarat, Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal' and 'Many of the originally Hindu coast-dwelling peoples of India from Gujarat through Malabar and Coromandel to Bengal had been converted to Islam by the fourteenth century'. Naturally these non-Malabar communities were also eager to bring about the destruction of Portuguese on the sea. Fathul Mubin of Qazi Muhammad itself was meant for circulation among Muslim rulers. "When they hear this (news of Zamorin's war with Portuguese) they would consider joining him in war..... especially in 'Sham' (Syria) and 'Iraq'. Among the Muslim rulers the sultans of Bijapur and the Pasha of Egypt took active interest in joining hands with the Zamorins. That was why Zaynuddin's Tuhfat... was dedicated "as a gift-book to the most illustrious of sultans, the most noble of monarchs, one who has made the holy war his chief consolation, and holds the elevation of the word of Allah by military expeditions as a precious ornament, The mighty, victorious and compassionate Sultan Ali Adilshah

22. C.R. Boxer, op. cit., p. 45.
(of Bijapur). It was from him that Albuquerque in 1510 seized Goa. The ruler of Gujarat had his own reasons to fight the Portuguese. The trade of Gujaratis all over Asia was adversely affected by the Portuguese 'Cartas' and later from the time of emperor Akbar onwards the Portuguese had friendly relations with Mughals which increased the hatred of Bijapur, because of the enmity between Mughals and Bijapur. The diversion of spice trade caused loss of trade of his subjects and the Arab traders and a huge revenue.

In 1509 the Zamorin's naval alliance with Qansau al-Ghauri, Sultan of Egypt, and Sultan Mahmud Begarha of Gujarat ended in failure. After an initial victory the combined Egyptian and Indian fleet under the command of Amir Hussain, the Kurdish governor of Jiddah was totally defeated in Gujarat harbour. Albuquerque's occupation of Goa in 1510 cut off the last hope of help from the Deccan. In the same year he sacked Calicut and the Zamorin was poisoned at his instance by the heir apparent. In 1513 Portuguese built a fort in Calicut. This was abandoned in 1526 and Zamorin

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25. Majumdar, R.C., Ray Chaudhuri H.C., and Datta K., Advanced History of India, London (1948), p. 332. Tuhfat attributed the defeat to the decree and will of Allah, 'which is indisputable and against which nothing can avail'.
was compelled to allow the construction of the Chaliyam fort in 1529 using the materials and Tombstones taken from the ancient Jamaat mosque. The Mappilas fought bravely as Alburquerque himself noted, "better than any other people he had ever seen". But in the face of the formidable enemy more was needed than courage. The Mappilas shared no military tradition. They were good sailors but lacked experience and preparation for sustained naval fights. They lacked a strong leadership until the appearance of the Kunjalis. They had no territory of their own except that of the Ali Raja of Cannanore, whose opposition was made ineffective by his position within range of Portuguese cannon. Finally the Mappilas were subject to the whims of the Zamorin, who dispensed the funds and equipments and controlled the aid of the Nayars.

The Portuguese on the other-hand possessed superior firearms, skill in naval action, leadership and unity. They could have the co-operation of the rival rajas who resented Zamorin's pretensions. They had also the advantage of a network of forts at Cannanore, Cochin and Quilon which provided a safe haven for their ships and cut off Mappila financial resources necessary for a

26. When the Chaliyam fort was finally captured in 1571 by the Zamorin and his Mappila allies, the war that formed the central theme of 'Fath al-Mubin' (complete victory), the building materials of the fort were returned to the Mappilas for rebuilding the Jamaat mosque, "which the Portuguese had destroyed in building their fort". W. Logan, Malabar Manual, Madras (1951), I, p. 333.
prolonged war. The establishment of the Goa consolidated Portuguese arms in an almost unshakable position.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Muslim resistance took a unified form under the command of Kunjali Marakkars. They were originally a community of Cochin Mappilas who were compelled to move to Ponnani following Portuguese oppression of Muslims in Cochin, and the Cochin Raja's friendship with the Portuguese. When the Cochin fort was erected the Zamorin launched an attack and Muslims of Cochin naturally helped him. The Zamorin had persuaded 'Ismail Marakkar, the head of the Mohammedan Community' to issue orders to his men not to import rice from the Carnatic coast.27 This shows that Marakkars were the leaders of the community of Muslims at Cochin as 'Koya of Calicut' or 'Shahbantra Koya' under the Zamorins. Later the Marakkars took service under the Zamorins. It seems that it was after the attack of Henry de Menezes in 1525 on Pantalayani Kollam, which was a stronghold of Kunjalis, and on Ponnani where he destroyed several Moorish ships, that the Marakkars appeared as the spear-head of Mappila resistance.23 The origin of the

name 'Marakkar' is explained in many ways. But it never seems sensible that 'Marakkar' originated from the Arabic Markab (canoe) or Tunisian word 'Martaba' (Sailor). 29 Anyone related with sea or ship was called Marakkan. Marakkar may be a honorific plural as is the case in innumerable words in Malayalam. 30 The pet name 'Kunja' (younger, beloved) is added with 'Ali'. The word Kunjali would therefore mean 'Dear Ali the Navigator' or 'Sir Ali the Navigator'. 31 If Kunjalis are described only as the naval chieftains of the Zamurrins, their role as the 'Defenders of Islam', against Portuguese atrocities become narrowed down. Since many of them had names of Illams attached with families it is assumed that they were descendants of rich merchants who contracted marriage alliance with important families in Malabar. 32 This would explain the source of their influence from Gujrat to Ceylon towards the end of sixteenth century. 33 Instead

30. 'Maram' or 'Kattamaram' is the oldest form of Canoe, Some three or four floating wood planks tied together with ropes as still used in fishing. They won't sink or overturn.
31. Miller, Mappila Muslims of Kerala, p. 68.
33. From the description of their operation in Ceylon places like Puttalam, Kotta and Vidala were as familiar to them as Calicut or Ponnani. Ibid., p.94. O.K. Nambar, The Kunjalis, Admirals of Calicut, Bombay (1963), pp. 81-96.
of the direct fight in the tradition of 'Caverpada', the Kunjalis used the tactics of hit and run. They used the 'Ghurabs' that could sail in deep and shallow waters alike, and smaller boats for operation.

It is said it was after the death of Kutti Ahmad Marakkar that Kunjali II assumed the office. So it can be assumed that Kutti Ahmad was the first 'Kunjali' and it was a title. Kunjali I might have lived up to 1538. In fact there were three more who were conferred the title of 'Kunjali' in succession. There is evidence to believe that the third among them, Pattu Marakkar assumed the office after the destruction of the Chaliyam fort in 1571 and the fourth Kunjali succeeded him in 1595. This helps us to believe that it was after the death of Kutti Ahmad Marakkar that the Zamorin conferred on his naval captains the title of 'Kunjali'.

It was under the first Kunjali that the dreaded Kutti Ali terrorised Portuguese shipping. Their tactics was unique. They would wait close to the shore silently for the arrival of enemy ships. The men stationed on the top of hills would give signs and they would dash with their small boats like bloodhounds, get on board the ship and kill as many as possible. If they can't hold
the enemy then they would retreat to shallow waters.
The huge Portuguese ships could not follow them in shallow waters. They could also give protection to ships in the high seas under the cover of the 'battle'. In 1523 Kutti Ali thus helped 200 ships to come safely to Calicut. 8 ships laden with pepper were send to the Red Sea escorted by 40 other ships. Marakkars' protection enabled Calicut, to carry on her trade with West Asia though often it was interrupted.

The Muslim business men in Ceylon also suffered at the hands of Portuguese much the same way as the Muslims of Kerala. The Zamorins under the leadership of the Kunjalis tried to destroy Portuguese influence in Ceylon and interfered in Cylonese politics on behalf of the brother of the King, Mayadunn who was an avowed enemy of Portuguese. In 1539 the Kunjalis fought Martin Alphonso de Souza at Vidulal. when the battle came to an end, "300 dead Muslims covered the battle field and the whole camp with its rich booty fell into Portuguese hands, including 400 cannon, 2000 muskets and many other weapons and 22 war-paroes". 34 The victory of Vidalal was so important for Portugal that

"it was extolled all over Europe".\textsuperscript{35} It was during the operation at Puttalam that Ali Ibrahim and Kunjali I were killed. Kunjali's death is shrouded in mystery.\textsuperscript{36} For nearly four decades he had fought the Portuguese on sea and land and in 1540 he died broken-hearted.

The Zamorin then tried to get the help of the Ottoman emperor Sulaiman. A navy under Sidi Ali Reis entered Indian waters, but the attempt turned futile. Earlier Gujarat had obtained Egyptian assistance under Sulaiman Pasha,\textsuperscript{37} which also was ineffective due to various reasons, and this incident is, referred to by O.k. Nambiar as the 'Indo-Egyptian Axis'. Tired of the naval setbacks, the Zamorin sent Chinnakutty Ali to Goa for reconciliations and a treaty was signed at Ponnami in which the Zamorin agreed to accept Portuguese 'Cartas' for Moorish ships. Even after the purchase of such cartas the Portuguese extorted huge sums on point of the sword. Kunjali II opposed the 'Cartas' system and gave protection to Malabar ships. He also began attacking Portuguese ships they could set sail only with a huge navy for protection.

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{35} O.k. Nambiar, \textit{Kunjali}, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 93.
  \item \textsuperscript{36} "Some say that they were done to death by secret orders of Mayadunne, and others that they were killed by the villagers in consequence of their over-bearing conduct towards them". \textit{Ibid.}, p. 96.
  \item \textsuperscript{37} Qazi Muhammad, \textit{Fath al-Mubin}, p. 247.
\end{itemize}
The Portuguese became a byword for cruelty. They had all the unknown savage ways for killing and torturing the victims, as had been described in 'Tuhfah' and 'Fath al-Mubin' especially in places where they had fortresses. In Cannanore a lady paraded in the street carrying the dead body of her husband. She was related to the Arakkal royal family. This roused the mob and the natives attacked the fort furiously and a reinforcement to the fort from Goa was repelled by Kunjali.

The simultaneous attack on Goa by the Sultan of Bijapur, on Chaul by the Sultan of Ahmadnagar and on Chaliyam by the Zamorin shocked the Portuguese. The Zamorin's naval captain, Kuttipokker secretly descended on Chaul, and later attacked the fort at Mangalore. 38

The Chaliyam battle was a total war for the community and the Zamorin. A call for 'Jihad' was made by the religious leaders, and 'Tuhfah' itself was meant for this purpose. "Men came like ants from far off places" says the author of Fath al-Mubin, 'the carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers and labourers with what all arms and provisions they could carry'. Trenches were dug and barricades were raised.

38. O.K. Nambiar, op. cit., p. 111.
The fort was blockaded and the occupants were reduced to starvation till 'they took to eating dogs and carcasses'. The yogis, pandits, Sayyids Qazis and Mashaikhs recited sacred books. Offering were made to sacred shrines of India, Arabia and the Zamorin daily visited the besieging forces and inspected trenches. The Portuguese surrendered and the fort was razed and not one stone was left. The materials were returned to the Mappilas for rebuilding the ancient Jamaath Mosque which the Portuguese had destroyed. The Zamorin permitted Pattu Marakkar, who led the attack on Canniam, to erect a fort at Putumpanam, granted all honours of a Nayar chieftain and the title of Kunjali (the third).

The Portuguese retaliated for the Canniam defeat with fire and sword all along the Malabar coast; ships were destroyed, the crew, killed, settlements were bombarded and cities were reduced to ashes. It was then that the ruler of Calicut was compelled to seek an alliance with Adil Shah of Bijapur in 1579. The Portuguese were convinced of the need to estrange Mappilas and please the Zamorin for their existence. Albuquerque even tried to poison one of the Zamorins whom he could

not win over to his side. In 1573 the Zamorin granted them permission to erect a fort at Ponnani, but the Kunjalis continued their resistance capturing all the Portuguese ships on the sea, and one of them Kutti Musa even established a naval base in Mannar in Ceylon with the help of the ruler of Jafna. The third Egyptian armada sent in sixty years to Indian waters was again futile. One of the reasons for the defeat of such grand enterprises was the disunity among the naval powers and suspicion of each others' intentions. The Zamorin lost all hopes and thought of befriending the Portuguese. Since the Cochin Raja was estranged from them, the Portuguese entered into a treaty with the Zamorin at Ponnani. This treaty destroyed the Zamorin-Marakkar axis and was reflected in the communal harmony that existed between the Hindus and the Muslims for centuries. Kunjalis strengthened the fort at Putuppanam, with additional defence facilities from land and sea. Pyrard de Laval says that it had fine wall paintings depicting the adventures of Kunjalis and of all the ships captured and sunk by them. The friendship between the Zamorin and the Portuguese was resented by Kunjali and the Mappilas. In the changed circumstances

he often acted by himself and probably became an overgrown subject. Thereupon the Zamorin took the help of the Portuguese for his destruction. In 1599 a joint Portuguese-Calicut attack on Kottakkal from land and sea was defeated. This victory made Kunjali justifiably proud. He caught the imagination of the people, princes and lords. He had helped Rani Tirumala Devi of Ullal to fight Banga Raja of Mangalore and she had sent him 3000 bags of rice to the fort and promised further help. And the Nayak of Madura was prepared to permit him to build a fort at Rameswaram. The Portuguese were still besieging the fort. On 16 December 1599 a combined force of the Zamorin and Portuguese Captain Furtadd finalised the plan to reduce the Putuppanam fort. The agreement arrived at between the two has been described by Faria and De Couto. It is said Kunjali had only 300 Muslims whereas on the other side there were 1200 Portuguese assisted by 12000 Nayars of Calicut and a reinforcement from Cochin was further expected. The battle that followed was bitter and forms glorious chapters in the history of Mappilas, but too risky for Kunjali since he was surrounded by enemies on land and

sea. Kunjali opened negotiations and came out of the fort to surrender to the Zamorin. The moment he left the fort the treacherous Portuguese under Belchior rushed to the fort and set fire to the stockades, houses and the ships that were in or about it. The Calicut Nayars were enraged by this act of perfidy. Thereupon Kunjali retired to the fort. On further negotiations, Kunjali got assurance from Zamorin to spare his life and of the 250 men with him. 'The admiral of Calicut' decided to surrender on 16 March 1600. On that day the gate of the citadel opened and Kunjali came out with the gallant remnants of the garrison with his sword in hand, points lowered and delivered it to Zamorin in token of submission. The Portuguese captain advanced and seized him. "This treachery was revolting to the code of honour of the Mayar soldiers, who would not have the Portuguese lay hands on their brave countryman, in violation of the well-known terms of surrender. A tumult arose among the Calicut Nayars who fell upon the Portuguese in an attempt to rescue the captive". The Portuguese hurried him away under a strong escort to their lines leaving the Zamorin to suppress the tumult, which he did

42. O.k. Nambiar, op. cit., p. 133.
with utmost difficulty. The allies made a ceremonious entry into the fort, Furtado and the Zamorin hand in hand. The Zamorin gave up the town to be sacked by his soldiers and so diverted their mind from dwelling on the sordid incident. The Zamorin gave Furtado a gold leaf on which the terms of a treaty of friendship was inscribed. "That was the end of kotta and the eclipse of an intrepid naval tradition as surely as that was the end of the prestige and glory of Calicut". The whole citizens of Goa poured in unending streams to the square where a special scaffold was erected for hanging Kunjali and his brave companions. Kunjali conducted himself "with great dignity and courage which won the respect of his pitiless foes". The execution went for several days and all the forty prisoners whom the Zamorin had handed over were put to death. Kunjali's body was quartered and exhibited on the beach at Bardes and Panjim. "His head was salted and conveyed to Cannanore to be stuck on a standard for a terror to the Moors".

The emotional shock of defeat and the serious

43. Ibid., p. 134
44. Ibid., p. 140.
economic deterioration were accompanied by problems arising from the aggressive religious policy of the Portuguese. In his letters to captain, Cabral, the King of Portugal had instructed him that all the Moors who do not accept the law of faith and forbid commerce and exchange, should be killed with fire and sword and fierce war against them should be carried on. To effect this policy large numbers of priests and other religious workers accompanied the Portuguese military and administrators. In fact their large number often created serious difficulties of finance and morale.

Danvers notes that in 1635, two-thirds of the Portuguese in Goa were church-related. In 1632, 1000 out of 1500 Portuguese soldiers became monks after arrival at Goa because of better prospects. Right of private trade and the great privileges of the church were the two distinguishing characteristics of the Portuguese system.

At times notably during the period of Arch Bishop de Menezes, who became Arch Bishop of Goa in 1595 and served as Governor, 1607-1609, the ecclesiastical establishment was also in effective control of the political policy

and activity. At the same time the Portuguese attitude to Hindus differed due to economic considerations. The Hindu rulers were their source of supply of pepper. Zayn uddin complains that the Franks entertained anti-pathy and hatred only towards the Muslims and to their creed alone, evincing no dislike towards the Nayars and other pagans of similar description. At the same time the church did not look upon Hindus as different from Muslims and it realised that it was to the Hindu community that it must look for its growth. The work of proselytisation was therefore carried forward energetically, especially in Goa, where thousands were baptized. Finally a royal decree forbade the practice of Hinduism in the Portuguese domain and commanded the destruction of idols. The policy became so rigorous that by 1561 Goa and its surrounding islands were almost converted, during the viceroyalty of Dom Constantine de Braganza (1553-61). The exodus of the Hindus from Goa to the

Mainland reached such alarming proportions that his immediate successors had to give specific assurances to the Hindus of Goa.

Economic retogression, estrangement from Hindus, bitterness against Christians and a new militancy was the result of continued Portuguese hostility to Muslims. Each of these was passed forward in some measure into modern times, shaping both Muslim history and present attitudes. The economic retogression had a severe effect upon the community and produced radical changes in their situation. "The Portuguese domination compelled them to turn inward from the profitable seaward commerce in search for new avenues of economic well-being. But there they found the land all but totally occupied by the Hindu landlords and their lessees. The Mappilas did not have adequate resources or initiative to work their way out of the predicament. It is here that we must find the starting point for the community's later poverty, ignorance and inwardness".\(^50\)

With the coming of Dutch in 1603 due to many reasons the Portuguese power was on the wane. Once the Europeans became conscious of the wealth of India, the

\(^{50}\) R. S. Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 75.
English East India Company in 1600, the United East India Company of Netherlands in 1602, and the Danes Company in 1616 and the last the French East India Company in 1664 were founded. In Kerala a triangular competition developed between the Portuguese, the Dutch and English. The new Europeans were primarily interested in trade, not territory. They assumed authority over selected areas required for trading activities which they defended with whatever strategems required. These people were primarily businessmen; but neither the advance agents of the state or religion were apostles of non-violence. Yet the decline of the Portuguese did not mean salvation for the Mappila Muslims, because they yielded their power not to the old coalition of Hindus and Muslims, but to another group of foreigners with similar aspirations and strength as their predecessors.

The Dutch led the new wave with policies that represented a modification from the Portuguese approach. While they were not averse to territorial acquisition and maintained a religious concern, these interests were largely qualified by a utilitarian concentration on business. Everywhere in the East, the Dutch became the commercial monopolists of the seventeenth century. Pressed by Marthandavarma in the South and by the Zamorin
and the English in the North, with revenues growing less and less, their position steadily deteriorated until the final withdrawal from Cannanore in 1790 and Cochin in 1795.

The Dutch left no visible long-term impact on Malabar coast and especially on the life of the Mappila Muslims. In the first instance they had gained the support of the community in overcoming the Portuguese. They revived and broadened the range of commercial activities, and to a 'minor' extent Mappilas shared in its benefits. At Cannanore they maintained friendly relations with their immediate neighbour, the Ali Raja, and later they concluded alliances with Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan. But for the Mappilas they were the new Portuguese who varied, but continued the trend of their predecessors.

"The Dutch religious policy was directed chiefly against the Roman Catholic Portuguese, who represented the nation and faith that had stood against Holland's religious freedom. Their sense of divinely appointed mission was as vital as those whom they opposed."

51. Mainly because Malabar was only one of the 32 settlements of the Dutch where there were chief factories of the Company in the year 1650. "Malabar formed but a small part of the possessions of the Dutch East India Company". A Galletti, The Dutch in Malabar, Madras (1911), pp. 3-4.

52. H.S. Miller, op. cit., p. 30.
By the time when the English gained ascendancy they had taken lessons from the experience of other European traders, especially the interference in politics of the land and of the aggressive religious policy. Hence they followed a milder approach in religious affairs and in accordance with the view of Sir Thomas Roe, preferred to live as private merchants under the titular authority of local rajas and utilizing conciliatory methods. This brought them closer to the people and provided experience that stood them in good stead in later years. They did make huge profits even upto the tune of 65 per cent. While the English traders were successful in achieving alliances with the Hindus in order to further their trading activities, their relations with Mappilas were less favourable. The commitment of the English to the pepper rajas, their suspicions of the neighbouring Ali Raja, their dislike of the Mappila sailors who threatened shipping, and their competition with the Zamorin produced a generally negative situation for the Mappilas. Thus the over-all impact of the post-Portuguese period was less brutal on the community but the net effect was the same. The Zamorin was powerful but Mappilas were no longer a major political asset and they were relegated to the background of events. The destruction of their economic prosperity was now sealed
and stamped. The frustrated Muslims were in the process of becoming a community of petty traders, landless labourers, and poor fishermen.

When the Mappilas turned to the interior they found ready converts from low castes, and interior settlement centres developed. With their entanglement in rural economy, mainly the land tenure system, causing much stress and strain. Though they did not put their hope in an Islamic state, they had enjoyed the obvious advantages of a favourable alliance with the ruling power. Now for two centuries, they had been experiencing a new situation where power was in the hands of a coalition of Christian foreigners and Hindu rajas. The situation could no longer be viewed as a temporary problem. It had taken on the appearance of permanency. There seemed to be no one who could help the Mappilas out of the dilemma. The voice of Zain al-Din was stilled and there was none to replace it; for not the least of the effects of the European blockade of Kerala shores was that, it cut off from the Mappilas the source of their preachers and holy men, who had come from Arabia to guide and encourage them in the faith. "All considered Islam in

53. The development of the community in the interior settlements has been discussed in detail in Chapter Two.
Kerala had never been in greater distress since its
advent.

The second half of eighteenth century was a
turning point in the history of Muslims of Kerala. This
period witnessed three important developments in the
history of South India. Firstly the French and the English
plunged into the Deccan politics as was evident in the
second Carnatic War of 1749-1754. Secondly the rise of
Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan during 1757-1799 and finally
the emergence of British as the dominant power in South
India and their assumption of sovereignty.

Hyder Ali the ruler of Mysore who has been de­
cribed as "one of the ablest personalities in the history
of India" had three reasons to invade Malabar. The

54. R.B. Miller, op. cit., p. 84. P.A. Syed Mohamed,
Kerala Muslim Caritram, p. 146, takes another view.
He claims that it was at this time that Muslim
religious leaders began to labour for change and
to revitalise religious education. It seems that
Miller makes a too hasty assessment. In fact with
Portuguese pressure on the South Arabian coast
large number of Sayyids migrated to Asian coastal
settlements as is revealed from the field survey to
be discussed in the next chapter. Even on the
Malabar coast there was no dearth of preachers.
Zaynuddin had come not from Arabia but from Malabar-
Coramandal coast.

55. H.C. Majumdar, Advanced History of India, p. 685.
Michaud describes that Hyder as a young boy had
witnessed the victorious marches of Nadirshah which
thrilled his imagination and often he appeared armed
with a sword. His steady growth to become the ruler
of Mysore was also a thrilling episode. Michaud,
History of Mysore, Madras (1926), pp. 16-19.
political weakness of the land, the wealth of Malabar, traditional and acquired over centuries of trade, and port-facilities and prospectus of trade for the land-locked Mysore. It is said that he was invited by Ali Raja for help against Nayars and some are of opinion that he was trying to establish a safe route to the friendly French port of Mahe. It was from Mahe that he received his main supply of arms. His army trained on Western lines would be useless without Western arms.

The Mappilas about 8000 in number, joined his army as irregulars. He conquered North Malabar and Calicut and the Zamorin committed suicide. The pent-up resentment of the Mappilas took violent form against the ruling Nayars and Brahmins. Haidar fixed the tribute of the Rajas who were asked to settle the alleged claim of the Mappilas. As his ally the Ali Raja became his lieutenant in North Kerala. He assumed monopoly of the exports from Malabar setting up his chief factory at Badagara. The Nayars rebelled later in 1766 and Hyder Ali invaded


57. The relative importance of Malabar and Mahe to Hyder's possessions on the West-Coast is discussed in detail by B. Sheik Ali, "Malabar as a Potent factor in the Second Mysore War", in Eighteenth Century India (Essays in Honour of Prof. A.P. Ibrahim Kunju), Trivandrum, (1981), pp. 46-54.
Malabar again defeating the Nayars at Putyanadi. But the unrest continued and he came again in 1768. He was failed in his attempt to capture Travancore and was forced to withdraw, but took Trichur and Cochin in 1776. In 1779 English captured Mahe cutting the hope of French support and in 1780 defeated Haidar's forces at Tellicherry and took Calicut. Battles raged involving the Muslims, the Nairs, the British and the French till Hyder Ali died in 1782.

In Malabar Nayars stood as his most consistent opponents and Mappilas stood as his supporters, welcoming the change that he brought to their situation. While he punished all the rebels; 'the Nairs were the object of his special resentment'. "They were hunted remorselessly down, and hanged without mercy as soon as captured. Their wives and children were sold into slavery, and Hyder even published an edict degrading the caste below the rank of Pariahs".58

Malabar came under Tipu Sultan, Haidar's son and successor in 1732. But discontentment grew up against his administration. One factor in the disaffection was the exorbitant exactions of Tipu's revenue

collectors. Another alienating factor was the ruthless destruction resulting from the scorched earth policy of the conqueror - mainly the destruction of peppervines. Maranna Prabhu, an envoy from the Malabar Council to Calicut in 1734 saw on his way sandal trees and peppervines being cut. "People told him that the Nawab had given strict orders for their destruction as it was because of these commodities that the Europeans sought to make war on him". By such policy of the administration pepper, produced at the rate of 15000 candies per annum, prior to Haidar's invasion of 1764 declined to 300 candies by 1800. 'Not one in fifty peppervines was left standing'. The Mappilas under Kurikkal of Manjeri rebelled in 1736 and again in 1783. They joined Ravi Varma and the Coorgese in an insurrection and the Sultan had to march in person to suppress rebellions. As a punitive and precautionary measure the Sultan wanted to transfer the capital of Malabar from Calicut to Feroke on the southern bank of Beypone river. He was bent upon destroying the rebel forces now and made a proclamation:

"From the period of the conquest until this day, during twenty four years, you have been a turbulent and refractory people, and in the wars waged during your

rainy season you have caused numbers of our warriors to taste the draught of martyrdom. . . . Hereafter you must proceed in an opposite manner, dwell quietly and pay your dues like good subjects; and since it is the practice with you for one woman to associate with ten men, and you leave your mothers and sisters unconstrained in their obscene practices, and are thence all born in adultery, and are more shameless in your connections than the beasts of the field: I hereby require you to forsake these sinful practices and to be like the rest of mankind, and if you are disobedient to these commands I have made repeated vows to honour the whole of you with Islam and march all the chief persons to the seat of Government". 60

It is said some thirty thousand Brahmins fled to Travancore. The Malabar Rajas headed by Ravi Varma of the Zamorin's house invested Calicut and early in 1739 Tipu himself descended the Tamarasseri ghat and made his triumphant march. Many Rajas and rich landlords fled to Travancore. By a marriage alliance of the Bibi's daughter

60. M. Wilks, *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Madras (1869), Vol. II, p. 120.
C.A. Kareem claims this edict, not corroborated in other writings, "was born out of the evil genius of the greatest critic of Tipu, Colonel Wilks".
with one of his sons, he tried to win over her, and the Mappilas of Malabar to his side. Tipu attacked Travancore with a strong army in 1789, but was compelled to return to Mysore in 1790 with the coming of monsoon and as a coalition of his enemies threatened his kingdom from the North. The combined army of the Raja and the English then reduced Tipu's strongholds one after the other. By the treaties signed at Seringapatam on 22 February and 18 March 1792 Coorg, Cochin State and Malabar district came under British supremacy. This treaty marked the end of an important phase of the history of Muslims of Kerala but the scars it left on their life was an endless emotional crisis.

Mysorean rule, 'for the first time in history of the land gave the Mappilas much-needed psychological boost. The fact that they were for the first time living under Muslim rulers made it appear that matters had finally come in their way'.

This period also marked an unprecedented numerical growth of the community. To a minor degree it was result of conversion of the caste Hindus during Mysorean reign. "More significant was the number of low-caste and out-caste Hindus who joined Islam, which asserted their
equity, gave them freedom from their traditional masters, and provided new possibilities for economic improvement." W. Logan, the Malabar Collector noted that between 1871 and 1881 some 50,000 Cherumans have availed themselves of the opportunity. By all means conversion to the creed of a reigning power was attractive in many ways, just as it happened in the case of conversion to Christianity in the case of low-caste people during the days of British hegemony. The Muslims were naturally favoured by rulers for positions. They not only obtained service in large numbers in the military forces, but were also employed in the administrative system as noted by Buchanan. The most important aspect was that, Mappilas were able to purchase at low cost or seize land rights held by fleeing landlords, this being the first large-scale opportunity for them to gain possession of land. This was important in the traditional caste-ridden land revenue system of Malabar. Now, the attitude of Muslims to land rights changed. Mysorean era resulted in a temporary release from the shackles of that feudalistic system for the Muslims. Many of the converts

61. R.E. Miller, op. cit., p. 94.
from landless classes, who were placed only in the ranks of the lowest tenants and labourers, to bear the full weight of injustice was now given the vision of land-ownership and new economic hopes.

But when the British occupied Malabar a large number of Hindu landlords who had fled during the Mysorean invasion either disposing their estates on nominal prices or leaving them behind, returned and laid claim to their former estates. The newly established British courts supported the Jennies. The British policy in general was "to preserve the rights of the superior class of subjects". Even their genuine complaints were turned down as "private matters beyond the reach of the government". As the Joint Commission noted, "From the beginning of 1791 instead of seeking to conciliate the Mappilas the members of Zamorin's family thought only of attacking and subduing them. The Kottayam Raja not only allowed, but seemed to encourage the Nairs to oppress and maltreat the Mappilas and to injure their temples in revenge for former molestation of a similar nature by the Mappilas". With the psychological boost and the growth of militancy the Muslims had

now the will to fight the oppression which hitherto they had passively accepted.

During the hundred years from 1821 to 1921 a total of fifty-one outbreaks took place. A recent study by Stephen F. Dale has revealed many vital facts of these outbreaks. William Logan, the Malabar Collector and Special Commissioner for the District (1881-82) reported that while 98% of the Jenmis were Namboothiri Brahmins or Nayars, 27 per cent of the agriculturists were Mappilas and 34 per cent of the eviction decrees had been passed against them. The Mappilas incessantly fought the British with their 'War knives', stones and sticks and neither side won. The murder of Collector Conolly in his Bungalow in 1854 in retaliation of his capturing 7561 war knives was the peak of the revolt. The British retaliated causing much destruction to life and property in Muslim majority areas. A huge fine of 38337 rupees was levied of which 30936 rupees were realised.

and given to Conolly's wife. They branded the rebellions as 'Hal Ilakkam' (Acts of Ecstasy) and passed the notorious 'Mappila Outrages Act of 1362', which prevented 'unlawful gathering' and put Malabar under Martial Law. Even the workers on the fields were terrorised and fields were left uncultivated. Properties were confiscated, mass fines were levied, arms were captured. All the arrested were banished or tortured to death and the construction of mosques was prohibited.

It has been proved that Sayyid Fazl, the Ba-Alavi Saint of Mamkuram known as Mamkuram Tangal among his devotees, had an important role in some of these outbreaks. When the Mappilas planned an attack either on a British official or an oppressive Jenmi, they would spend much time in prayer, and fast and would go to Mamkuram to seek the blessings of Sayyid Fazl. Returning they would put on white robes, divorce their wives, and


68. It seems that even in the beginning of 20th century a Tangal had to bless a Mappila to die as Martyr. Thurston quotes the President of Mumath ul-Islam Sabha (founded in 1900) as saying in 1909, "It is he (Jarathingal Tangal) that sanctifies Musaliyar and where there is no Musaliyar to bless them there is no Mappila to die as martyr". E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, IV, p. 431.
spend much time in mosques. Then often a 'moulud' was performed and when the act was committed they would wait for the arrival of the police or army to fight and die. The strong influence of the concept of Shahid was evident from the fact that only 20 out of 350 Mappilas who directly participated in the attacks survived while 322 fought to death. When a survivor was interrogated he regretted that he could not become a 'Shahid' and enter paradise, and hence preferred to go to Mecca. Sayyid Fazl's teachings show that he was very much aware of the community's problems, namely, the economic exploitation and the consequent inferior social status. Doctrinal purity was an important aspect of his teachings. Mappilas were always in contact with Islamic world outside and in the middle of the 19th century reformist

69. Parents and brethren would feel proud of Shahids. If anyone survived bullet or bayonet attacks they would remark "Why did this would be Shahid not die" or "He is gone; he is nothing to us". In 1894 when only two out of the thirty-two of the rebels survived. "The mother of one of the survivors was heard to say indignantly "If I were a man I would not come back wounded". Fawcett, 'war songs of the Mappilas of Malabar', The Indian Antiquary, XXX (1901), p. 501.

70. Fawcett observed regarding the Mappilas in agrarian system of Malabar; "The customary land tenures are, as it were, arranged specially for the purpose of making people discontented". (Ibid, p. 502) Sayyid Fazl is said to have remarked "It is not a crime but a merit to kill a Jenmi who evicts".
preachers of Arab origin were touring the Mappila land.\(^{71}\)
The anti-British nature of the movement is evident from
the fact that when Kondotty Tangal and his followers
helped the British officials in Conolly’s murder case,
they were branded as ‘Kafirs’ and it was proclaimed that
those who will kill them will obtain ‘fi sabil’
(Paradise).\(^{72}\) The Mappila out-breaks had many things in
common with the Faridi movement of Bengal. It was a
regional variant of the Islamic revivalist movement, a
response to the new economic and political context
created by the British occupation of Malabar.

Many Muslim families had migrated to the
princely states of Travancore and Cochin in protest
against the British oppression. The Mappila awareness
of the need for self reliance and reform resulted in the
formation of \textit{Manzil ul-Islam Sahba} at Malappuram, in the
year 1900.\(^{73}\) Various voluntary organisation for the

\(^{71}\) Sayyid Mahmood Sella who was interviewed in Calicut
in 1840 by Collector Conolly stated that he had left
his home in Baghdad 16 years ago and travelling in
Arabia came to India, and employed himself in
religious instruction. Sayyid Abdul Hydrose arrested
in Calicut in 1855 admitted that he left his home
in Hijaz four years ago and earned his living by
travelling about in the country and preaching.
Stephen F. Dale, ‘Mappila outbreaks, \textit{Journal of
Asian Studies}, XXXV (1), (1975), p. 91. Both admitted
their connections with Sayyid Fasi.

\(^{72}\) Ibid., p. 93.

\(^{73}\) On 9th September 1900, eight hundred Mappila leaders
assembled at Malappuram to form the organisation
which started functioning in Ponnani, the traditional
centre of spiritual leadership of the community.
\textit{P.A. Syed Mohammed, op. cit.}, pp. 211-12.
social and educational uplift of the community were formed following the example in the first quarter of the twentieth century. Moulana Shoukath Ali was accorded a grand reception at Tellicherry on 16th June 1911 when he was touring Malabar on behalf of the committee for a Muslim University. The pioneers of these movements were a few Thangals, Moulavis and some British sympathisers. The 'Khilafat movement' sparked the last Mappila outbreak in 1921. Thousands of Muslims assembled in Calicut on 14th June 1920 to hear Mahatma Gandhi and Moulana Shoukath Ali on Khilafat movement. Khilafat volunteers toured the villages wearing fez caps with crescent, in their Kaki uniforms with white flags. It was true that when the Mappilas fought with their simple war knives against the mighty British army, thousands lost their lives. Even the Muslim officials in the government services were not spared. The Kondotty Tangal, the Muslim divine of Kondotty was attacked as he supported the enemies. A letter which the present writer found written by the then Tangal (1921) to the Captain of the British garrison stationed at Perode, requesting his protection against Variyamkunnath Kunhahamed Haji, the Khilafat leader and his followers, testifies that the Khilafat movement was not only against the British but against all those who
sided with them. This was another expression of Mappila religious sentiments and his love of freedom. The sufferings of the community aroused national leaders and in Kakinada session of the Indian National Congress in 1922 a "Mappila relief committee" was formed under the Presidentship of Moulana Shoukath Ali. Relief centres were opened in the 'war torn' Mappilanad. The administration launched the 'Andaman scheme' which they said was intended to help the Muslims but actually to deport hundreds of their leaders to the Andamans. Mappilas still cherish the memory of thousands who were rounded up, deported or sent to the jails of Cannanore, Madras, Selam, Coimbatore, Trichinopoly, Bellary, and Alipore and of the leaders who proudly received bullets shouting 'takbir'. The community contributed more than its share to the freedom struggle.

The lot of the community changed for the worse during the 150 years of British rule. The neglect of

74. The letter in Malayalam was displayed in the history section of the exhibition organised in connection with the Farook College Silver Jubilee Celebrations (1973). The letter is now with Abdurahman Tangal of the family.

    K.K. Mohammed Abdul Kareem, Khilafat Labala (Mal.), pp. 131 ff.
vernacular education on the one hand and bitterness against "English" on the other made them 'illiterate' and ignorant. The mass fines and tax burden for the maintenance of government machineries like Malabar Special Police made them poor. Being a far off district of the Madras state after independence, their demands, were not heard. Only after the formation of the state of Kerala in 1956 did developmental activities, with the slowest pace, creep into the area.

The foundation of Farook College at Feroke in 1943 was the most important event in the history of the community after independence. One of the biggest colleges in Kerala, often called the 'Aligarh of South India', the service of this institution to the community has been great. The formation of the Muslim Educational Society in 1964 was yet another giant stride in the path of progress which eventually became instrumental in the formation of All-India Muslim Educational Society in 1970. The astounding progress which the society could make under the leadership of Dr. P.K. Abdul Safoor manifested the community's awareness of the need for self-reliance and reform. Doctors, Engineers, Professors and Lawyers, the Planters of Wynad, Businessmen of Calicut, Exporters of Cochin, Landlords of Brarad, Timber merchants of Nilambur and Business tycoons of Kasaragode all joined the enthusiastic
Muslims, who only contributed just five rupees a month. The Society boosted the creative energy of men of all vocations.

The history of the community will be incomplete without a reference to the Muslim League. True to the Mappila traditions the leadership of the organisation had always been with the Sayyids. In the post-independence turmoil men like Hassan Kutty Kurikkal and Perool Ahamad Sahib kept the organisation alive and after the formation of the state of Kerala the League became a decisive factor in politics. The state had the first Muslim Chief Minister when C.H. Mohammed Koya was sworn in as the Chief Minister following the fall of the ministry under P.K. Vasudevan Nair. Perhaps no other leader had been so popular with Mappilas in recent times as 'C.H.'. His pen and tongue had been equally effective in snubbing the critics, and at the same time extolling the honour of the community. The unending struggle of the Muslim League legislators under his able leadership won many favours for this 'Backward class' of the 'Backward Area'. The unity and solidarity of the community was once again manifested in the overwhelming response shown by the Mappilas in and outside the country, to the Malappuram Relief Fund instituted by its respected President Sayyid Mohammed Ali Shihab.76

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76. The Collection of fund was launched to help the victims of the Police firing of 29 July 1980, outside the Malappuram District Collectorate.