Chapter II

SOCIAL CHANGE AMONG THE MUSLIMS OF KERALA: A HISTORICAL PROFILE

The progress of a community – religious, ethnic, nationality or other forms of groups formed on the basis of particularistic identities – towards modernity – in whatever manner it is defined – depends on the extent to which it is prepared to internalise or at least reconcile with modern ideas and trends. Such ideas and trends can be indigenous in origin or at times the creation of other communities and social groups. Whatever may be the nature or source of their origin, they have to be progressive, scientific in spirit and capable enough to address the regressive tendencies, outlooks and ways of living of the community or communities. However, what is implied here is not a juxtaposing of tradition and modernity, ie, an imminent, necessary, comprehensive, and continuous confrontation between the two. Though such confrontations could not be ruled out, there can also be a space or realm of reconciliation between certain aspects of both. Put it differently, a community could retain some of its traditional characteristics and still strive for and attain modernity.

The basic issue here is, therefore, the extent to which a community is prepared to accommodate progressive ideas by shedding its backward looking ways of behaviour and social philosophy and outlook. The attitude of the community towards co-religionists and fellow religionists and the manner in which it addresses the gender question, all matter prominently in this regard. Viewed thus social change is a comprehensive process which aims at instilling self-confidence, egalitarian values, spirit of comradeship and scientific outlook in a community. It is true that in this comprehensive sense social change also depends on the nature of property relation and structure of power that exist within the community and the society or state or nation of which that community is a part. Stated differently, social change also needs, interalia, democratization of power and property relations. However, social change here is used only in a very limited sense of attaining progressive social outlook and spirit of accommodation by being
susceptible to modern ideas, including education and relinquishing taboos, ‘dos’ and ‘do-nots’ which have little relevance in the modern world. This chapter attempts at reconstructing the social change that took place among the Muslims of Kerala, particularly the Muslims of Malabar, until 1957.

1. Islam in Kerala

Needless to say, the history of Islam in India has no uniform nature in origin, spread and socio-economic and political background. For instance, introduction of Islam in North India was fundamentally different from South India, especially on the Kerala coast. The North Indian Muslims are the descendants of the Muslim invaders who came from Central Asia and who were the ruling class until they were overthrown by the English [Panicker, 1976:17]. The first political contact of Muslims with North India started with the conquest of Sind, present day Pakistan, by Muhammad Ibn Qasim, in 711 – 712 A.D.¹ In 725 AD, Arab conquerors established states in Sind at the mouth of the Indus river and along the Indian coast of the Arabian Sea [judypat.com/india/islam]. But the Arab hold on Sind did not last long, as, in the early 11th century, Muhammad Gazni defeated Raja Jayapala of the Hindu Shahi Dynasty of Gandhara and made Peshawar the center of his territory [wiki/Muslim_conquest]. However, the spread of Islam in North had to wait until the conquest of Muhamed Ghori (1175 – 1206) which eventually led to the formation of the Delhi Sulthanate [Azeez, 1992:1]. Later the Mughal rule carried this to its logical conclusion. ‘In the spearhead side the Sufis (Islamic mystics) played an important role in the spread of Islam in India. They were very successful in spreading Islam, as many aspects of Sufi belief systems and practices had their parallels in Indian philosophical literature, in particular non-violence and monism. Interestingly, the Sufi movement attracted followers from the artisan and untouchable communities’ [wiki/Ahmadiyya].

Coming to Kerala, there is no direct epigraphic or literary evidence to support the dating for the origin of Islam. There are earlier references to the Muslims in Malabar in the notes of Arab travelers and geographers [Miller, 1976: 51]. Historians have tried to link the spread of Islam in Kerala with the conversion
of King Cheraman Perumal. The tradition of Malik Ibu Dinar is considered as the first missionary activity in the spread of Islam in Kerala [Kunju, 1995: 24]. Generally, it is assumed that the Mapilas as a Muslim community originated shortly after the beginning of Islam wherein it was part of an ongoing process of communication and economic relationship between Arabia and Kerala [Miller, op.cit., 5]. The pre-Islamic Arab traders who visited Malabar coast at regular intervals provided a friendly atmosphere. As there was no effort on their part to change the social fabric, they merged with the local people. The local Hindus also warmly accepted the Arabs as they accepted merchants and sailors, and the Arabs in turn reciprocated by a non-aggressive policy [Ibid., 41].

Among the Muslims of Kerala, the Mapilas are predominant. The term, Mapila is specially used to indicate the indigenous Muslim population of Malabar region. Originally the Mapilas emerged out of an Indo-Arabian community formed through marriage relations between the local women and the Arab sailors and merchants [Kunju, op.cit., 278]. It is easy to presume that these women and their children adopted Islam. Thus, actually, Kerala Muslims are inheritors of two different traditions: on the maternal side they imbibed Hindu customs and on the paternal side Islamic faith and belief [Muhammed, 1995: 35]. As distinct from the rest of India, the Arabs and Islam in Kerala do not have any claim of imperial or aristocratic traditions. And as they had no political ambitions, the rulers had no malice towards them also. Instead, the Kings in Kerala who realized the significance of Muslim contribution to trade and economic prosperity encouraged their settlement.

Since the beginning, the Muslims have a cordial relationship with other communities and, therefore, were given full freedom to observe their religious practices and were also allowed to build mosques and religious centres [Ghosh,1987:1]. The local pre-Islamic traditions and architectural styles had deep imprint on the Kerala Islam and is proven by the fact that the mosques built by the early Muslims were not of the sarascenic architectural style. The Arabs had no prejudice against the Temple architecture and adopted it without any fuss [Kunju, op.cit., 24]. With the missionary activities, encouragement and patronage readily
extended by the rulers and chieftains, and perhaps more important than it, due to social reasons, the Muslim community began to expand throughout Kerala [Samad, 1998: xv]. Concentration of numerous Arabs in Malabar, especially in Eranad and Valluvanad Taluks, evidently transformed the region into a Muslim dominated area. From the beginning to the 15th century A.D, the Muslims of Kerala, especially in Malabar, enjoyed privileges and favours with the support and co-operation of Hindu rulers and common people. There is no evidence of the community fighting an offensive or even defensive war till the 15th century. However, things began to change with the advent of the Portuguese and the British as the Muslims lost their privileged position in Kerala society and consequently had to pass through many vicissitudes and struggles.3

2. Stratification

In the Islamic world, Sunni and Shia are the two traditional sects. The Sunni or Ahle-Sunnah-wal-Jama'at sect believes in the traditions of the Prophet and the transfer of power to four Khalifs who succeeded him.4 Against this, Shiaism emerged with the belief that the Prophet's spiritual authority was passed on to his descendants, beginning with his son-in-law and cousin, Ali (fourth Khalif), who married Prophet's daughter Fatima and their sons Hassan and Hussain. The majority of Indian Muslims belong to the Sunni sect of Islam to which people of Arabia, North Africa and Turkey belong. The Sunnis are guided by the four traditional schools of Islamic jurisprudence – Shafi, Hanafi, Hambali and Malikki – and the time honoured theologian, Al-Gazzali [Kurup and Ismail, 2008:279].

In some parts of South Asia, the Muslims of Sunni tradition are divided as Ashrafs and Ajlafs [Engineer, milligazette.com: 2004]. Ashrafs claim a superior status derived from their foreign ancestry whereas the non-Ashrafs are assumed to be converts from Hinduism and are, therefore, drawn from the indigenous population. Ziauddin Barani, the fourteenth century Turkish scholar and a member of the court of the Tughlaq Dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate regarded the Ashraf Muslims as racially superior to the Ajlaf Muslims. He divided the Muslims into grades and sub-grades, and in his scheme, all high positions and privileges were to be a
monopoly of the high born Turks, not the Indian Muslims. Even in his interpretation of the Qur'anic verse, "Indeed, the pious amongst you are most honored by Allah", he considered piety to be associated with noble birth. In addition to the Ashraf- Ajlaf divide, there is also the Arzal caste among Muslims. In the 1901 Census, the Arzal group was seen recorded and is also considered as Dalit Muslims ‘with whom no other Muslims would associate and who are forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground’ [wiki/islam_in_India]. Some of the backward or lower-caste Muslim communities include Ansari, Kunjra, Churihara, Dhobi and Halalkhor. The upper and middle caste Muslim communities include Syed, Shaikh, Shaikhzada, Khanzada, Pathan, Mughal, and Malik [Sahay: 2010]. However, it is worth noting that the caste system among the Muslims has never been as rigid as among the Hindus.

The Muslims of Kerala belonged to the Sunni sect and the Shia branch is almost absent. But, later, due to the emergence of revivalist groups within the Sunni fold, the orthodox group of Ulama came to be known as ‘Sunni faction’ and others, by such names like Mujahids and Jama'ats. ‘Ahamadiya’ and the ‘Qur'an-Sunnath Society’5 are two other groups which are distinct from the Sunni fold and who have little acceptance within the community. From the very start, the Muslims in Kerala had regional identities. For example, Muslims of Malabar are collectively referred to as Mapilas [John: 2010] and are racially different from the Muslims of the erstwhile Travancore- Cochin region. Traditionally, Malabar Muslims are converts from both the upper caste as well as lower caste Hindus, in addition to their claim to be the descendants from the Arabs. The Travancore-Cochin Muslims are not the descendants of Arabs but of the immigrants from Tamil Nadu [Panicker, op.cit., 8-9]. Some of the sub-groups among the Muslims of Kerala are known by such names as Dakkini, Labba, Nainar, Rawthers, Saits and Methans [Ibid., 39]. But these groupings do not have the rigour of the caste hierarchy of the Hindus and all of them mingle together and behave like a single community in their basic religious practices and in all social relations, except in the case of the Ahmadiyas.
3. Traditional Social System and Change among the Muslims in Kerala

Islam, as a religion, made drastic changes in all the societies wherever it got a space and recognition. In Islam, religion and society are identical and cannot be separated from each other. This inseparability is all the more conspicuous in the Muslim community of Kerala. During the emergence of Islam in Malabar, the *Brahmins* and *Nairs* were two groups who were the custodians of everything—wealth, education, knowledge, and authority—and controlled all aspects of human life. Life of the large majority was worse than animals and their existence was only for the pleasure and sustenance of the leisurely life of the privileged classes [Bahauddin, 1992: 85]. In such a social milieu, the advent of Islam naturally exerted great influence on the lower classes of people, particularly so, as it did everything possible to eradicate slavery except forbidding it directly. As a great liberating force, Islam taught that it was an act of merit to set free a slave; if that could not be done, the slave was to be treated as a member of the family; if a slave-girl had a child by her master, she became free automatically and her children were entitled to inheritance [Mujeeb, 1972: 83]. Further, the practices of excommunication also induced its victims to embrace Islam, so that they could breathe free and fresh air within the fold of the new religion [Samad, *op. cit.*, 7-8]. Thus, to a great extent, the converts to Islam improved their social status and economic conditions and began to enjoy all the privileges equal to the ‘Arab Muslims’ [Radhakrishnan, 2004:12]. And the rate of conversion was large scale in Malabar where feudalism and casteism among the Hindus was stronger than elsewhere. But, feudalism had a temporary break when the Mysorean rulers Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan had control over the region during 1766 to 1792. They eliminated the intermediaries in land and the *Brahmins*, mostly the landlords, had to part with a portion of their land to the government. It was the first time that tillers got some rights in the land they tilled [Bahauddin, *op. cit.*, 85]. Although the British period brought feudalism back as it suited their political motives, the colonial period brought some important beneficial changes in the society. There was a practice of recruiting soldiers from among the *Nairs*, who were attached to local feudal agents. The Europeans started to recruit separate groups of soldiers
from *Tiyyas, Mapilas and Mukkkuvas* and it was an important change [Kurup, 1991:1-2], besides attempt to modernize society through education.

However, all these did not mean that the Muslim population in general, particularly those who were converted to Islam, were redeemed socially, though they enjoyed protection from the oppressive ways of the caste Hindus. Their lack of access to education, political power and economic assets continued keeping the community backward. Additionally they had their regressive practices and ways of life. It is here that the efforts, gradually initiated by individuals and institutions in course of time, intended to change the community socially found positive results. And the most significant of these initiatives were to be seen in the reforms that were introduced in the political, educational and religious spheres.

4. Political Factors/ The Khilafat and the Community

Two factors that had played a crucial role in the political awakening of the Muslim masses were the *Khilafat Movement* and the Malabar Rebellion. While the former helped, of course in a very limited way, in bringing the community into contact with the national freedom movement and thereby to the national political mainstream, the latter episode encouraged the community, particularly the innocent masses, to look at their life situations, especially the then existing feudal power and property relations, and react to them. That both of them had not helped the community too far, neither in the direction of democracy nor bringing progressive changes in their attitude, points towards the limitation of these movements. At the same time, one could not deny the positive contributions they had made in shaping a political consciousness among the Muslim masses.

*Khilafat Movement* played a crucial role in the political awakening of the Muslims in Kerala, especially those belonging to the Malabar region. It may be recalled that the community’s tryst with political power, in the pre-independence days, was confined to the Arakkal Family in the Northern Kerala which was part of the then royal set up. Apart from this, ordinary men and women showed little interest in the political affairs of the country and, by and large, they kept aloof from the freedom movement and other similar initiatives. However, the *Khilafat*
Movement of 1919 brought about subtle changes in the attitude of the community as it drew the community to the national political mainstream. Needless to say, Khilafat in Kerala was a by-product of the trio – political, religious and agrarian issues - and had its own impact on social change and identity of Mapila community of Malabar. It helped them to establish a socio-religious and political identity – an identity that stood them (still stands) in good stead in the post-independence Kerala politics.

Thinking that the linking of the Non-Co-operation Movement with the Khilafat Movement would bring the whole Muslims to the national mainstream and freedom movement, the Congress made the Khilafat part and parcel of its programme. It definitely brought the Hindus and Muslims under a single political umbrella. Formation of Khilafat-Non-co-operation Movement Committees of Muslims and Hindus, participation of large number of common people from both communities and arrests of several leaders like M. P. Narayana Menon, K. Kelappan, E. Moidu Moulavi, Mohamed Abdurahman Saheb and Assankoya Mulla made it a mass movement, the first of its kind. Interestingly, there were also instances of Muslims scholars standing against the Movement. For instance, when hostile and aggressive attitudes of Khilafatists were flaring up, a Ponnani Mussaliyar had published a pamphlet, citing the Quran, at the instigation of the government, against both the Khilafat and Non-Cooperation Movement [Kunju, op.cit., 110]. Also it is worth noting that the Khilafat workers, after destroying the Government offices in Eranad and Valluvanad Taluks, organized a parallel government with Variyankunnath Kunjahammed Haji as its head who proclaimed himself as “Rajah of the Hindus, Amir (leader) of Muslims and colonel of the Khilafat Army” [Lemerciner,1983:219]. The combined efforts of Khilafat and Non-Co-operation Movement in Malabar region kindled the spirit of nationalism among the peasantry also [Kurup, 2006:29]. Thus, for a moment, there seemed to develop a confluence between the Congress, the Khilafat and local economic/agrarian issues, in Malabar [Radhakrishnan, op.cit., 16-17]. But this was short lived as the British, following the ‘Divide and Rule Policy’, broke the Hindu-Muslim solidarity and turned many Hindus into their informants. To aggravate the situation, the
Congress withdrew its support on the ground that struggles in Eranad and Valluvanad Taluks were ‘violent and communal’ in nature [Panicker, op.cit., 30]. To the Muslims, the stand of the Congress was shocking and they blamed the Hindu leadership of the party for having left them in the lurch at a critical juncture [Kunju, op.cit., 1989: 130]. These developments together created a religious polarization and Muslims started suspecting both the Congress and their Hindu counterparts of collusion. This was greatly responsible for distracting them from the mainstream of the freedom struggle and national politics. The Congress leadership neither tried to remove this misunderstanding nor made any effort to bring the Muslims back into its fold as they feared that this would alienate the Hindus and thereby the support of the majority community for the party [Panicker, op.cit., 35-36].

Looking back, it becomes clear that though religion was an important factor behind the Malabar Rebellion, it was not the sole reason that resulted in it. As, A. Sreedhara Menon and Padmanabha Menon had pointed out, the 1921 Revolt also had a non religious core to it. To understand this one has to recall the fact that the Muslims as a community were the victims of European colonialism than any other sections in Kerala [Radhakrishnan, op.cit., 253-254]. By the extermination policy of Portuguese, the Mapila folk – mostly fishermen and traders - migrated to the interior parts of Malabar [Azeez, op.cit., 7] where the society was feudal in nature. The landowners were mainly the Namboodiris and the rich Nairs and majority of migrated Mapilas were either landless peasants or poor peasants holding lands on verumpattom tenure. Though Tipu Sultan tried to alter the statusquo through his land revenue administration eliminating intermediaries between the Government and the cultivators which forced the jennies to flee to the South and making the Muslim farmers the actual owners of their land by paying tribute to the state [Lemerciner, op.cit., 217], this was short-lived as Tipu was defeated by the British (1792). The old jennies, who fled to the South during the Mysorean interlude, now, supported by the British authorities, returned and assumed the administrative control over their landed property. This naturally followed a period of vengeance of the caste Hindus against the Muslim peasants and ordinary folk. Land was
denied to them to build mosques or establish cemeteries [Ibid.] and the tenants were heavily charged with unfair taxes compared to their Hindus counterparts. Their objection to it and reluctance to pay the revenue deteriorated the social relationship between the landlords and peasants to an almost unbelievable extent. One could hardly overlook this socio-economic dimension of the Revolt.

Further, the social identity of the assailants and the victims in the outbreaks also reveal the socio-economic content of the struggle. An analysis reveals that majority of them were young (between 15 and 30 years of age) rural proletariat, poor tenant farmers, landless labourers and petty merchants. Again, if religion were the prime cause, the orthodox Muslims would have readily supported the outbreaks which they did not do. This was revealed by the fact that the Muslims in the town areas of Kozhikode and Kannur, who took to commerce and trade never participated in the outrages. Majority of the victims of the revolt were landlords and their assistants [Dale, 2004: 25-26]. Though the crowds who attacked and destroyed the public offices in Eranad, Valluvanad and Ponnani Taluks were Mapilas, sometimes Nambudiris, Nairs and Thiyyas acted as leaders in many parts of Valluvanad [Kunju, op.cit., 113-17]. All these examples lead to the conclusion that Malabar Rebellion was something beyond a communal revolt.

However, it is undeniable that the experiences from the Revolt generated a feeling among a section of Muslims to think in communal terms. This feeling was further aggravated by certain administrative backlash that followed the event. For instance the system started in the Government owned Mapila Schools to begin regular classes with Fathiha (prayer, the first Chapter in the Qur’an) was abolished by the decision of District Board when K. Kelappan, Congress leader, was its Chairman. Besides, the Hindu leaders in Congress did not agree with the demands such as separate schools for Mapilas and appointment of Arabic Teachers to teach Arabic [Panicker, op.cit., 41]. All these on their part also prepared a favourable ground for the Muslim League to flourish as this encouraged Muslims to join the League. The League also well capitalised the situations in Muslim pockets in Malabar. And it became one of the political factors for social change among the Muslims of Kerala, particularly in Malabar.
5. Educational Factors  1. Islamic Attitude towards Education

Education is one of the most important parameters of social status of a community. It makes human beings rational, helps control the basic instincts and promotes social development. Genuine learning and scholarship are central to Islamic faith and culture. It may be recalled that the Arabic script Qur’an itself means ‘reading’ and the very first verse of the revelation to the Prophet Mohamed is an exhortation to read and a direct instruction to learn. Further, Qur’an says, “Proclaim! And thy Lord is Most Bountiful, He who taught [the use of] the Pen, taught man that which he knew not” [Holy Qur’an,96 :3-5]. Interpreters say that these words insist on the acquisition of knowledge. The Qur’an repeatedly stresses the importance of Ilm (knowledge), and Ilm is the second most used word in the Qur’an after the name of God, as it mentions in more than 300 places the importance of knowledge. Islam not only gives importance to religious/theological knowledge but also attaches importance to secular branches of knowledge.

Islamic approach to education is egalitarian, as learning and acquiring knowledge in Islamic tradition is the duty of every Muslim male or female. The Prophet, therefore, exhorted his followers to accept whatever adds to their wisdom, irrespective of its source, and to seek knowledge by even going to China. Consequently, from the 7th century onwards, they received knowledge from different civilizations and had been the torch-bearers of knowledge during the Middle ages [Samad, op.cit., 20]. It is also clear that these sayings do not imply division of knowledge into religious and non-religious compartments [Puri, 2007:194] and all these made the community to value knowledge and its contribution to science and technology on a global scale, particularly in the medieval period, has been amply recorded [Khalidi,1996: 106]. This tradition the community carried with it, in varying degrees, everywhere it has migrated.

5.2. Modern Education and Kerala Muslims

The response of Indian Muslims towards modern education has been lukewarm at the outset. Needless to say, introduction of modern education was a typical British contribution. The Christian Missionaries who set up numerous
schools and colleges had religious propagation as one of the main objects. A course in Bible was compulsory, Muslim girls were forbidden to veil their heads and some texts had hostile attitude towards Muslims as well [Samad, op.cit., 23-24]. Though this was an inhibiting factor many visionaries exhorted the masses to go for modern secular education, particularly English education [Kunju, op.cit., 254]. In 1868, the Muhammedan Literacy Society was founded by Khan Bahadur and C.I.E.Nawab ‘abd al Lathif ’ in Culcutta, and its members, upper and middle class Muslims, discussed the basic social, political and religious issues the community faced. To them it was clear that these could be addressed only through embracing English education. The prominent figure of the Society, Nawab, introduced English language and literature to Hastings Culcutta Madrassa and found out wealthy people to subscribe funds to help pay Muslim students’ fees [Cantwell, 1999:5-6].

In Aligarh, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), a great thinker and educationist, urged the Muslim elites to go for modern education to better their future [Engineer, 2006: 83]. The Aligarh Movement started by him in 1872 was mainly aimed at the educational, social, cultural and political development of Muslims of India and roused the Muslims from their age-old slumber to receive western education and culture [Thankarajan, 1994:163]. Among the Muslim reformist scholars in India, he immensely influenced the Islamic Movement in Kerala, especially in educational endeavors [Samad, op.cit., 39]. He also thought of founding a Muslim College, where western culture could be disseminated directly along with religion, but on the western model. The result was the establishment of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College, at Aligarh, which became the Aligarh Muslim University, in 1920. It was deliberately modeled after Oxford and Cambridge with teaching conducted in English, the curriculum an unmitigated replica of western one combined with Islamic religious instruction. It was distinguishable from the Christian Missionary College only by the substitution of Islam for Christianity as the religious extra [Cantwell, op.cit., 11-12]. In North India, there was a favourable response to this in the early years and resulted in the emergence of a western educated elite among the Muslims.
In Kerala, even though the *Holy Qur'an* and the Prophet inspired acquiring all kinds of knowledge for long interest of Muslims in educational activities confined only to religious knowledge which refused the learning of sciences. Western education had spread in Malabar during the first half of the 19th century. Certain false beliefs tutored by religious scholars inspired them to describe ‘English as the language of hell [Gangadharan, 1995: 210] and Malayalam (*Aryanezhuthu*), ‘the language of Hindus’. Besides, there was a fear among them that children would turn atheist or at least irreligious if they attended secular or missionary schools [Khalidi, 1996:111]. The 19th century efforts against the orthodox *Ulama* launched by Moulavi Mumtaz Ali Khan in North India and Vakkom Moulavi in Kerala did not succeed at large [Kareem, 2008: 208]. Their study on religious topics transmitted through generations was unscientific. On the whole, towards the close of the 19th century, the condition of Muslims in Kerala was pitiable. They had fallen into an abyss of ignorance and superstition [Azeez, *op.cit.*, 17]. There is nothing surprising in this as the early institutions of teaching of the Muslims were organized unscientifically with religion forming its core.

Earlier institutions for religious teaching at primary level among the Muslims were known as *Othupallis* and were under the instruction of *Mullahs* (Religious Teachers). These unscientifically organized institutions taught to recite *Qur’an*, even without understanding its meaning. Senior students instructed junior students, and the curriculum was limited to memorizing the verses of the *Qur’an* and obtaining some elementary religious knowledge useful for daily life [Kunju, *op.cit.*, 249]. Another stage of development was the emergence of *Madrassas* with a reformed structure than that of the *Othupallis* and which gradually resulted in the emergence of modern *Madrassa* system which operates even today. As it had adopted scientific system in religious education, different from the traditional syllabi and teaching methods, it has been described as the *Madrassa Movement*. It started during the early decades of the 20th century at the initiative of many progressive *Ulams* and it created a tempo in the Muslim community.

Another set of educational institutions known as *Dars* were arranged in prominent mosques for higher religious education. Subjects taught in *Dars* were
related to faith (aquaid), moral science (akhlaq) Islamic mysticism (tasawwuf),
grammar and books on Prophetic tradition such as Mishkat, Bukhari, Muslim, etc
[Engineer,1995:13]. In the early days of Islam, scholars from Arabian countries
used to visit such centers. One such prominent institution in Kerala was at
Ponnani. For long Ponnani - ‘Little Mecca of Malabar’- became the religious
headquarters of Kerala Muslims. It was through Darses that Islamic sciences
remained intact in the hearts of Muslims of Kerala and still their religious life is
ordained by thousands of such institutions spread all over the state [Samad, op.cit.,
22].

Educational changes among the Mapilas began at the time when the
Malabar Rebellion of 1921 undermined the vitals of the society in Malabar. The
British Government introduced a series of educational reforms and adopted certain
measures to bring the Muslim children to attend schools. In 1926, giving emphasis
to Mapila education, a Special Education Officer was appointed and three years
later in 1929, twelve Deputy Inspectors, majority of them in Eranad and Ponnani
taluks (where Mapilas were majority), were appointed [Kunju, op.cit., 252]. To
strengthen the effort, in the very same year, the Government appointed part-time
Qur’an teachers in non-Muslim Schools and implemented special scholarship for
Muslim girls [Thankarajan, 1994: 1-5]. The establishments of Muslim Teachers
Training School (1931), a Muslim High School at Malappuram (1936) and a High
School for Muslim Girls at Tirur (1940) were important steps on the part of the
British Government to spread education among the Mapilas [Kunju, op.cit., 252 -
57]. Some schools, having considerable number of Muslim students, were
identified as Mapila Schools and the list of holidays for these Schools was also
revised. Instead of Saturday, Friday was made holiday for all Mapila schools in
Malabar. The summer vacation was also similarly modified as one and a half
months during the period covering Ramzan [Thankarajan, op.cit., 72].

In Cochin, in 1919, the Dewan, Vijaraghavachari, declared that the Muslims
were socially and educationally backward and the progress of the state would not
be complete without their uplift. So, an Education Reforms Committee was
constituted in the following year and Seethi Sahib was a member in it. It was by the
effort of Seethi Sahib that fee concession and stipends were granted to Muslim students and Arabic teachers were appointed in schools. In Travancore, official steps to bring the Muslims to the mainstream education started in the 1910s. Fee concession to Muslims students, full salary grants to Muhammedan primary schools, appointment of Munshis in elementary schools to teach Arabic and the appointment of Muhammedan Inspector of School\textsuperscript{10} were important steps adopted during the period. In 1915, for the first time, Maharaja Sri Mulam Thirunal decided to appoint Arabic Teachers in schools where minimum 25 Muslim students were enrolled. Where sufficient number of qualified teachers was not available, Vakkom Abdulkhader Moulavi, who was made the president of Arabic Examination Board, was authorised to appoint teachers after conducting proper tests [Kunju, \textit{op.cit.}, 255-57]. Later, in 1923-24, six Muhammedan vernacular schools were opened as a result of which the number of Muslim students increased from 16,351 in 1925 to 31,550 in 1935. The number of schools providing instruction in Arabic also increased from 131 to 253, during the period [Pillai, 1940:734]. A Reforms Committee in December 1932, recommended special school for Muslims, improvement of the quality of Arabic teaching, separate school for Muslim girls, large number of scholarships for Muslim students and fee concession to them in colleges. In 1933-34, Government appointed a Muslim Assistant Inspector for schools and sought the co-operation of Muslim associations in its endeavour to give quality education to the students belonging to the community. As a result of all these, the number of Muslim students increased from 32,337 in 1936-37 to 56,494 in 1947-48 [Kunju, \textit{op.cit.}, 258-59].

5.3. Women Education Among Muslims

Fundamentally, Islam gives women right to education equal to men. All \textit{Qur’anic} verses relating to education advocate that the acquisition of knowledge is directed to both men and women [Bagchi, 2008:63]. But, in India, traditionally, education was reserved for males who belonged to the socially and economically privileged sections. Certain traditional practices and concepts were dominant in deciding the social status of men. As a result, attempt at universalisation of education was practically ineffective for a long time. Neglect of women education
within the Muslim community has to be looked at from this angle. As among the Hindus, male dominance was advocated by many Muslim religious scholars as well. They justified it interpreting the ideals of Qur'an in the light of some ‘unreliable sayings of Prophet’. In Kerala, prejudices of Ulamas to English and even to Malayalam, absence of intellectual endeavor to lead the community in the right direction and lack of separate institutions for girls (at the places where religious conservatism was dominant), all worked against women education.

For a long time Muslim women were not free to get proper education. Maximum they were permitted was to learn for fulfilling basic religious needs. Religious knowledge was imparted to girls who belonged to wealthy families at classes arranged in their residences under a closed system. The teacher (Ustad) and student could not see face-to-face and he recited the verses of Qur'an repeatedly to enable the student who always sat behind a screen to learn the same by-heart [Naha, 2010]. Boys and girls even had separate pattern of examinations in Madrassas. For instance, in Malappuram, girls had oral questions and answers while boys had written. Such a system was adopted due to a prejudice that script to women was not permissible.

In Travancore, even though there were special concessions to Muslim students, the proportion of girl students to that of the boys was disappointing. For the first time, in Travancore, a Muslim girl passed Vernacular School Leaving Certificate Examination and entered the College for Women for further studies, in 1925-'26. To attract the Muslim girls to schools through propaganda a Muslim graduate was appointed as Assistant Inspector of Schools, in 1933-'34. Besides, in 1935-'36 sanction was accorded to teach Arabic in all mixed primary schools. In the same year, the Government sought the co-operation of Muslim associations in different parts of the state by means of grants-in-aid for doing propaganda. All these resulted in increasing the number of Muslim girls attending schools. It rose from 4,853 in 1933-'34 to 6,052 in the next year and to 10,450 in 1935-'36 [Pillai, op.cit., 732-33].

The establishment of girls’ schools, unified scholarship system, organized activities of private agencies and social service organizations resulted in
encouraging women education and led to the modernization of Muslim women. However, education as a trend among Muslim girls, especially in Malabar, and their presence in higher education emerged only very late, notably after the formation of Kerala state.\textsuperscript{11} Dr. Jaleel, who had been the Principal of Farook College from 1957 to 1979, says, ‘in the college girls were admitted for the first time in 1959. There was much hesitation and anxiety, and there was considerable fear as to what the reaction from the community would be. There were only a handful of girls in the college during those days, pioneers who braved traditional norms and societal pressure to seek a foothold in the education field’ [Jaleel: 2007]. If this was the experience in Farook College, one could infer the condition in other institutions.

It is a historical fact that the Muslims in Kerala were very slow in taking advantage of English education. So the question of rivalry between the Muslim elite and the elite of other communities did not arise in the state in the beginning [Panicker, \textit{op.cit.}, 9-11]. However, things began to change gradually. When Government and philanthropic organizations and well-meaning persons began to express interest in establishing schools and institutions for higher learning, education began to progress slowly but steadily in Malabar and, interestingly, as the Muslim community began to achieve socio-political and educational progress rivalry between the Muslim elites and the elites belonging to other communities took place in Kerala as well [Kunju, \textit{op.cit.}, 254]. Also, as a result of spread of modern education, an atmosphere conducive for religious and social reform emerged in the community.

6. Social Change Through Reform Movements

Reform is a basic need for a society for its self-sustenance and progress. And, as a matter of fact, every reform movement arises out of certain grievances, demands and hopes of the society at large. A reform, religious or otherwise, requires an agency to mediate social change. By the close of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, a number of socio-religious reform movements took shape in Kerala, which were also the earliest democratic mass movements. Its impulses affected every caste in
Hindu society as well as the Christians and the Muslims. Hindus had among them Brahmins and non-Brahmins communities. Brahmins, Nairs, Warriers, Pisharadis and Marars enjoyed certain social privileges that were not shared by the rest of the Hindu community [Wikipedia/Caste_system_in_Kerala, 2010]. Among the non-Brahmins, a number of lower castes were labeled ‘untouchables’ and access to education and public roads were denied to them and their women had no right even to wear sufficient dress. Until the 20th century, governmental positions were denied to lower castes and non-Hindus [knowindia/state_uts.php?id=64]. So, the weaker sections were forced to struggle against the existing system. For instance, the Ezhava Memorial (1896) was an agitation, led by Dr.Palpu, for the removal of their social disabilities.\(^\text{12}\) The most important social movement in Kerala was the agitation for the removal of untouchability. The Vaikom Satyagraha (1924-1925), demanding the opening of the temple roads to the 'Avarna' Hindus, and the Guruvayur Satyagraha (1932) for the entry of untouchables to Guruvayur temple were led by socio-political and reformist leaders among the Hindus, irrespective of castes. Later, by the promulgation of the Temple Entry Proclamation (1936) by Sree Chitra Thirunal Maharaja, the ban on low-caste people from entering Hindu Temples in the state of Travancore was abolished [Wikipedia/Temple_Entry_Proclamation]. In the State of Cochin, the Maharaja issued Temple Entry Authorisation Proclamation V of 1123 and opened Temples for all Hindus irrespective of caste in 1947-48 [Menon, 2007 : 317].

Among the Hindus the reform movements were spearheaded by a long array of social reformers beginning with Sree Narayana Guru and Chattambi Swamikal to Ayyankali, Vaghbhatanda Guru and V.T.Bhattathiripad. These reform movements also covered almost all the low castes and communities in the Hindu Fold, from Brahmins to Pulayas. This, in fact, had a deep impact on the caste structure, inter-caste relationship and intra-caste social practices including the gender question.

Sree Narayana Guru (1856-1928) spearheaded one of the most important social reform movements in Kerala. He consecrated shrines in several parts of the state primarily for the worship of Ezhavas and permitted entry of Pulayas and other
lower castes who were considered inferior to the Ezhavas [Ibid., 313]. Shiva Temple at Chempazhanthi, near Thiruvananthapuram, is famous in this regard. Sahodaran Ayyappen (1889-1968)\(^{13}\) in 1917, organized a grand feast of all castes sitting together under one roof that came to be known as misra bhojanan. Ayyankali (1863–1941), emerged from the Pulaya community, boldly travelled through the public roads of Venganoor on a bullock cart and (braving physical attack of caste Hindus) struggled for the right for Dalit children to study in schools. As a result, the Dalits in Thiruvithamcore began to enjoy the freedom to walk on public roads (1900); sent their children to schools (1914) and women were allowed to cover their nakedness in public [Wikipedia/Ayyankali, 2010]. Chattambi Swamikal (1853–1924), as a social reformer was mainly confined to the ranks of the Nair community with a belief that social awakening among them would serve as an inspiration to the non-Brahmin castes [Menon, op.cit., 312]. He denounced the orthodox interpretation of Hindu texts citing sources from the Vedas and professed non-violence [Wikipedia/Chattampi_Swamikal, 2010]. Vagbhatananda Gurudeva, (1885-1939), another social reformer, denounced caste barriers and idol worship and also vigorously campaigned against addiction to liquor [Wikipedia/Social_Cultural_Movements, 2010].

Among the Brahmin community also there were many inhuman practices and evil social customs. Dictatorial ways of the eldest male member in the family including the polygamous rights enjoyed by them, the practice by which, junior members entered into sambatham (illegal alliance for their sexual needs) with Nair women, destiny of women to live as chronic spinsters, system of arbitrary trial called ‘snarathavicharam\(^{14}\) and ostracism of women for suspected adultery were the most noteworthy in this regard [Issac, 2009]. The reform movement initiated by the Nambudiri Yogakshema Sabha at the institutional level and reformists like V. T. Bhattathiripad made Nambudiris shed much of the above practices. In the words of V.T.Bhattathirippad consequent on these ‘Nambudiri became a human being’ [Menon, op.cit., 315].

Social reform movements among Muslims, particularly of the coastal regions of southern Kerala naturally followed these examples. They aimed at
removing ignorance and superstition from the community by spreading modern
education, along with religious education. The result was the development of a
new outlook among the mass of the people, both towards education and religion.

6.1. Early Reformists among the Muslims

Reform Movement among the Muslims, initiated by visionaries, was
primarily a movement with a religious content. As stated earlier, soon after the
inception of Islam in Kerala, its believers fell victims to the vicious motives of the
Ulamas. The orthodox Ulama who were against progress put every kind of obstacle
to the education of the Muslim masses as modern education was declared as
anathema [Kunju, op.cit., 149-50]. The scholars (Ulama) who were expected to lead
and guide the people to true religion became themselves corrupt and exploited the
ignorance of the masses for their own selfish ends and encouraged the elements of
Shirk and Bid-ate. Reverence for holymen bordering on worship, seeking their
intercession with God, worship at their tombs, offering nerchas (contributions) to
their shrines, Kodikuthu and Aandunercha/Chandanakudam were patently un-
Islamic, but these practices were encouraged by orthodox Ulamas, probably for
pecuniary benefits [Ibid.].

Islam has always condemned separate priesthood but there were (still are to
certain extent) admissible signs of such a growth among Indian Muslims. Islam
was iconoclastic, but Indian Muslims often displayed veneration for saints and
their tombs that reminded one of the worship of relics [Kabir, 2006: 145]. In
course of time, religious rites and observances, perfected by Prophet Muhammad,
underwent changes and superstitions and evil practices spread among the devotees
[Samad, op.cit., xv]. Besides, the orthodox Ulamas prevented parents from sending
their children to schools established by the Government and those who flouted
their dikhat were looked on with disfavour, and those who sent girls were
definitely ostracized [Kunju, op.cit., 249]. Popularity of Ulamas among the
uneducated masses and their general ignorance about religious teachings made the
community highly susceptible to all kinds of exploitation - political, economical
and social. The sad plight of the Muslims touched the more enlightened members
of the community and, therefore, following the footsteps of the great reformers in Islam, like Ibu Timiya, Shaikh Ahmed Sirhindi, Shah Waliyullah, Muhammed Ibu Abdl Wahab, Jamaluddin al Afgani, \textit{et.al.}, they organised reform movements in Kerala to guide the masses in the right direction \cite{Samad, op.cit., xv}. These movements which originated during the last quarter of the 19th Century became powerful from the beginning of the 20th century \cite{Ibid., 24}. Many leaders also played an important role in this.

6.2. Role of Reformers

Sanaulla Makthi Thangal, Chalilakatt Kunhali Haji, Vakkom Abdul Qadar Moulavi, Hamadani Thangal, K.M.Moulavi, Mohammed Abdurahiman Sahib, E.Moidu Moulavi and K.M. Seethi Sahib were some of the leading scholars who have worked towards socio-religious reformation among the Muslims in Kerala. While some of them mostly concentrated in socio-religious matters, others upheld true Islamic spirit and prompted every individual to do their duty to their homeland by participating in the Indian freedom struggle. All of them believed that for reforming the community certain pre-conditions such as proper knowledge in Islamic topics, modern education and scientific system of teachings in \textit{Madrasses} need to be fulfilled.

Among the modernists, Sayyid Sanaullah Makthi Thangal (1847-1921) was the first important leader of social reform movement among the Muslims \cite{Gangadharan, 1995:210}. He was a multi-lingual scholar, voluminous writer, organizer, reformer and polemicist. Being educated, he was appointed as Excise Inspector by the British government, but resigned to engage in social and religious movements. Keeping religiosity, he tried himself to be a Muslim with modern outlook and greatly tried to lead the community to the national mainstream. The \textit{‘Tha’leem-ul Ikwan’}, published by him, in 1888, was the first text to learn Arabic letters in Kerala. Journals like \textit{Sathyprakashom} (Weekly), \textit{Paropakari} (Monthly) and \textit{Turki Samacharam} (Daily) were also published at his initiative, though they did not last long \cite{Abumajida,1989}. With a modern outlook, the scheme of education and syllabi drafted by him for primary level onwards had included Malayalam, Arabic,
english and arithmetic and published in the journal ‘Salahul Ikwan’ in 1906 [samad, op.cit., 46]. he called upon the community to acquire modern education and eschew un-Islamic principles and practices and gave due emphasis to the promotion of women’s education [kabeer, 1987: ix, 46]. he was the first among the Muslim scholars in kerala who strived for women education. His book ‘Nari Narafichari’ discussed basic issues like polygamy, equality, freedom and education which were favourable to the cause of women. He published pamphlets in both Malayalam and Arabi-Malayalam against the matrilineal system, a system of inheritance and property succession which was in vogue among the dominant Hindu communities in Malabar and which was it copied by a section of the Muslims also [Hussain, 2012 : 10].

Interestingly, the efforts of makthi thangal were received differently by the Muslims of Travancore-Cochin and Malabar. While the former responded to it enthusiastically, there was stiff opposition from the latter. There were many reasons for this which came primarily from the orthodox sections were primarily responsible for such an opposition. First, the orthodox Ulamas mostly preferred customs and practices to justify their tradition to fundamental tenets of Islam. Second, thangal’s opposition towards all un-Islamic practices like Kodikuthu, Nerchas and Maulid were not acceptable to this section. Third reason was his campaign to inspire the Muslims to acquire English and Malayalam education, which was contradictory to the stand taken by the Ulamas. They were also critical of his stand towards women education and property succession. Though the orthodox sections violently attacked him, thangal courageously fought them and created a new awareness in the community [samad, op.cit., IX]. Along with it, he also focused his attention on the ideological attack on Islam made by the Christian Missionaries. In fact, thangals’s contribution to social change among the Muslim community was second to none and it even encouraged others to organize similar movements.

Chalilakath Kunhammed Haji (1864-1919) was the real founder of Madrassa Movement [Kunju, op.cit., 1989: 250]. He was the first Malayalee who took degree from the Latheefiya Arabic College, a prestigious centre of religious studies located
at Vellore and was well versed in philosophy, astronomy, astrology, languages like Urdu, Persian and Tamil [Kabeer, op.cit., 49]. It may be remembered that the characters of Arabi-Malayalam which the Muslims used for long for written communication were insufficient to represent all the letters in Malayalam though the language was very expressive in its spoken form. To compensate this, Kunhammed Haji inserted some additional letters to the language and this formed one of his notable contributions [Moulavi.M, 1989]. It was astonishing that many Ulamas who came out of Darasses were unable to speak or write Arabic even after their long years of learning. As a solution to this he also launched a scientific scheme in Darul Uloom Madrassa, Vazhakkad, by introducing 'subject-wise period system' and tools like desk, bench, chalk and blackboard, which were absolutely novel to the Muslims in Kerala. The system of education started there also emphasized the teaching of modern subjects like logic, astronomy, geography, natural science, mathematics and malayalam along with religious topics [Kunju, op.cit., 250], though it met with much resistance from the orthodox Ulama and vested interests. In many places, difference of opinion over the question of these initiatives often led even to physical conflicts [Azeez, op.cit., 18].

Sheikh Muhamed Mahin Hamadani Thangal was another celebrated scholar who rendered invaluable services for social and educational reforms in the community and his sphere of activity was mainly the erstwhile Cochin state. He was one of the pioneering spirits in the formation of Aikya Sangam Movement as it was crystallised from the Nikshpksha Sanghom, founded by him at Kodungallur. He had written reforms-oriented articles in journals like Muslim, Al Islam and Swadesabhimani. Along with his disciple Sayyid Muhammed Thangal, he published 'The Alkashaf', 'Arabic-Malayalam-Sanskrit' tri-lingual dictionary and as recognition to this he was nominated to the Sri Mulam Assembly of Travancore [prabodhanam.net/1989_spl]. He established several organizations like Lajanat-ul Hamadani (Azhikode) and the Lajanat-ul-Islam (Eriyad) with a view to promoting modern and religious education [Kunju, op.cit., 151].

Vakkom Moulavi (1873 -1932), was another very notable name in the history of social renaissance of Kerala. In a sense, he dedicated his entire life and
resources for the education and cultural revival of Muslims of Kerala, Travancore-Cochin in particular. He was a pioneering reformer the Muslim community in Kerala had produced in educational, social and religious fields and was attracted to the reformist ideas of Sayyid Jamaluddin Al Afgani (1838-1898), Sheikh Muhammed Abdu (1849-1905) and Sayyid Rasheed Rila (1868-1935) through the reading of ‘Al Manar’, an Arabic journal published from Egypt [Ahmadkutty, 1997:8]. It was through his efforts that modern education spread widely in the south. He is often referred to as the ‘Father of Muslim Renaissance Movement in Kerala’ and was deeply religious and was a political visionary and social reformer who was intimately connected with Sri Narayana Guru.

It was largely because of Moulavi’s efforts that the Government of Travancore decided to teach Arabic in schools to attract Muslim students. Again it was under his leadership that the Thiruvithamcore Muslim Mahajana Sabha (All-Travancore Muslim Society, 1928) was founded. This was the first representative organization of Muslims in Travancore and, though short lived, it could persuade the Government to take many steps for the benefit of Muslims in the field of education [Kunju, op.cit., 151]. In addition to it, some other associations were also formed in different parts of Thiruvathamcor like the Islam Dharma Paripalana Sangham of Nilakkamukku, Hadiyyul Islam Sangham of Pallippuam, Chirayinkil Taluk Samajam and Lajanattul Muhammadiya of Alappuzha and Nasarathul Islam Sabha (1915) established at Alappuzha [Ibid., 151]. In 1905, he started the Swadesabhimani, under the editorship of K.Ramakrishna Pillai who later came to be known as Swadesabhimani Ramakrishna Pillai. It had relentlessly fought against bureaucracy, nepotism and corruption in the society and the maladministration of the Government [Muhammed, op.cit., 44]. Besides this, he propagated reformist ideas through Journals viz., Muslim and Deepika (Malayalam) and Al-Islam (Arabi-Malayalam) [Kunju, op.cit., 152]. With the help of these journals Moulavi attempted to bring the community towards the direction of the Qur’an and Practices of the Prophet and to maintain unity among the Muslims. Vakkom Moulavi’s article, in Al Ameen in 1910, titled ‘Ulamakkal Chinthikkumo?’ (Would the Scholars Think?) was a sincere attempt to criticize the irresponsible attitude of
educated section within the community towards the problems faced by the ordinary masses [Sahib, 1989]. It was another thing that these efforts did not bear fruits in the desired measure, as Moulavi failed to muster enough support from the Ulamas and other prominent leaders of the community.

K.M. Moulavi (Kathib Muhammed Moulavi 1886-1964), was a disciple of Chalilakatt Kunhali Haji who could be compared with Vakkom in scholarship and progressive ideas. He was the Secretary of the Khilafat-Congress of Eranad Taluk and also played active role in organising Congress-Khilafat Committees in Valluvanad, Ponnai and Kozhikode Taluks [Ibrahim, 1989; Kutty, 2012: 149-152]. On account of this, the British Government accused him of instigating people against the British administration and as such had to fled the country to take refuge in Kodungallur in Cochin State. At Kodugallur he engaged in reform activities together with local leaders and was responsible for the founding of Aikya Sangham [Kunju, op.cit., 154]. There, he had given leadership to Kerala Muslim Aikya Sanghom (KMAS) and published Al-Irshad and Al-Islah journals [Ahamedkutty, op.cit., 12-13]. Later, when the Kerala Nadvathul Mujahideen was formed in 1950, he became the first President of the organisation. The reform activities started by K. M. Maulavi influenced youngmen like Abdurahman Saheb, K. M. Seethi Saheb, B. Pokker Saheb and Uppi Saheb who later became well known scholars in theology and jurisprudence [Panicker, op.cit., 72].

Muhammed Abdurahman Sahib (1898-1945) was a well-known nationalist and an English educated reformer among the Muslims in Malabar. He mobilised the prominent persons in Kodungallur, made them aware of the necessity for spreading modern education among the Muslims, and later played a crucial role in the formation of the Cochin Muslim Education Society. As a representative of this organization he met the Dewan which proved to be beneficial to the community. As a result the Government granted monthly stipend to all students belonging to the community besides establishing scholarships to brilliant students. He also succeeded in convincing the Dewan about the need for appointing teachers in Arabic. His articles about the sufferings of the Muslims as a result of the Malabar Rebellion, published in the newspapers from Madras and Bombay, attracted
nationwide attention and brought relief to the masses as different people came forward with helps of various sorts [Azeez, op.cit., 21-22]. Abdul Khader Khasuri, a nationalist Muslim from the province of Punjab established the Jam'iyat Da'wa wa Tablighul Islam (J.D.T, established in the year 1922), a refuge centre for the poor and orphans, in Kozhikode [Rashid, 1989], thanks largely to the efforts made by Abdurahman Sahib. While starting ‘Al Ameen’, on 12th October 1924, he had two basic objectives in mind - religious reform among the Muslims and encouraging people to participate in the National Movement.

E. Moidu Moulavi (1890–1995) was another prominent reformer who established his imprint both as a socio-religious reformer and also as a leader of the Indian National Congress. Interestingly, politically he was not only a great leader of the Congress Party, but a strong opponent of the Muslim League. As a skilled orator and organizer, he was instrumental in drawing Mohammed Abdul Rahiman into the Indian independence movement. He was also the founding secretary of the Majlisul Ulama, an organization formed for social reform amongst the Mapila community and encouraging them to participate in the National Movement [Wikipedia / Moidu Moulavi, 2010]. He had played a great role in the founding of ‘Ameen Weekly’, published from Thrissur, in 1946, under the editorship of A.I Khalid. Later, in 1955, he became the chief correspondent and publisher of Bharathabhumi (Weekly), run by P.P. Ummerkoya [Abumajida, 1989]. His participation in the freedom movement was an inspiration to many Muslims to join the Congress Party. He was the kingpin behind the Khilafat Movement in Kerala, Quit India Movement and the Payyannur Salt Sathyagraha for which he had served prison sentences for various durations. Also it must be said to his credit that when many others of his ilk tried to acquire positions of power, Moidu Moulavi declined the offer made by Government of India to make him a member of the National Parliament. And this he did to devote all his energy for the educational and social upliftment of the community.

K.M. Seethi Sahib (1898 - 1961) is another memorable name among the social reformers within the Muslim Community of Kerala. Like many others, Seethi Sahib also devoted his attention to the cause of the socio-educational uplift
of the community. He was instrumental in establishing the Cochin Muslim Education Association in 1917 to promote education among the Muslims. It was largely as a result of the activities of this association that the Government of Cochin decided to appoint Arabic teachers and offer stipends to Muslim girls [Azeez, op.cit., 33]. His role in the upliftment of the Mapila community in post-independence India was very significant and hence he's sometimes referred to as the "Chief Architect of the Mapila revival" in Kerala. He was one of the founding members of the Chandrika newspaper in 1934, and Farook College at Calicut later. In 1928, Seethi Sahib was elected to the Cochin Legislative Assembly and later became Speaker of the Kerala Legislative Assembly, in 1960 [Wikipedia /Seethi_Sahib, 2010]. His unique contribution in the socio-political fields made him the unquestioned leader of the All India Muslim League and the Kerala Islahi Movement.

In addition to the above noted reformers, many progressive leaders and Ulamas also played their role in the emancipation of the community, both from utter ignorance and social backwardness. Illustrious leaders like A.M.Koya Kunhi, Manappattu.K. Kunjumuhammed Haji and Kottapurathu Seethi Muhammed Haji are but few names in this regard who rendered yeoman services for not only reforming the community but also forging unity within it. Local efforts by progressives to effect changes in the community also resulted in the formation of regional associations at different places. It is another thing that most of these organizations disintegrated subsequently.

6.3. Organizational Attempts at Reforms 1. Kerala Muslim Aikya Sanghom

Formation of the Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangham, in 1922 at Kodungallur, was the most important landmark towards institutionalization of social change in the community. The objectives of the Aikya Sangham were: to liberate society from social evils and superstitions, to spread education, to promote unity among Muslims and other religious sects and to work for the economic progress of the community [Panicker, op.cit., 70]. It worked under the inspiration of Vakkom
Moulavi [Azeez, *op.cit.*, 19] and illustrious leaders like Manappattu K. Kunjumuhammed Haji, Kottapurathu Seethi Muhammed Haji, K. M. Seethi Sahib, K. M. Maulavi and E. K. Moulavi [Ahmadkutty, *op.cit.*, 73] rendered their service for the uplift of the community. In fact, it was the first organization that brought different sections within the Muslim community of Kerala under one roof. Its original mission was to end parochial and family quarrels in and around Kodungallur, but soon transformed itself into an organization of the Muslims all over Kerala with concerted efforts for social and religious reforms. It created general awakening among the Muslims in all spheres of life emphasizing the messages of reform and education, especially the cause of modern English education.

Incidentally, the *Sanghom* also fought against many evil customs which existed among the Muslims in Kerala. A case in point was the resolution passed by it at its annual meeting in 1923 against *Channanakudam* and *Kodikuthu*. The resolution was a revolutionary one as it disturbed the interest of some *Ulamas* who strongly defended such practices as a religious necessity, and the conservative Muslims who opposed it declared the association as ‘anti-religious’ [Lemerciner, *op.cit.*, 220; Alangadan, 2012: 207]. They, therefore, started a vilification campaign and propagated that the organization had been formed to create disunity among the Muslims. However, in spite of all these, the *Sanghom* worked for 12 years successfully without any political affiliation and in 1934, at its 12th and the last conference held at Arakkal, resolved to merge with the *Muslim Majilis* (formed in 1931) on the ground that the objectives of the two associations were similar in nature [Sharafudeen, 1993:54]. The services rendered by the *Aikya Sanghom* during this short period, despite stiff opposition from orthodox quarters, were greatly successful in creating a lasting impact on the religious, social and educational fields in relation to the Muslims. In education, many institutions including primary schools, high schools and *Madrassas* were established under its guidance and inspiration and it helped in motivating the youth to go for College/University education consequent on which many of them could occupy distinguished positions in the society. 19
The activities of the Aikya Sanghom had helped to bring to limelight the evil intentions of the orthodox Ulamas, who firmly stood for uninterrupted continuity of many customs and practices, unsupported by the fundamental documents of Islam, but motivated merely for pecuniary benefits. While the activists who belonged to the organization were ardently arguing for reform and revival, they had not expressed a craze for material profit and it made them acceptable to a section of the community. Its ideological attack on the orthodox Ulamas tempted the latter to rethink and to change themselves of their traditional beliefs and attitudes. Nevertheless, in its beginning, though the organization was aimed at unity and settling disputes among the Muslims, it ineffect turned to be a nucleus of disunity. Political factionalism within it also created many a controversy. Inspiration from non-controversial leaders like Vakkom Moulavi was a notable strength of the Salafi Movement. Its adoption of the traditions of the Prophet and his contemporaries, as reported in the most reliable sources (Qur'an and six cantonal texts), was an advantage in getting the support of elites section. Those who followed this showed punctuality in contact with Mosques for congregational prayer and became broadminded to offer women right to attend the Mosque. Religious texts and knowledge became accessible to the laymen by systematic propaganda made by its votaries. As far as the community was concerned the organization did yeoman service in the social, cultural and educational fields and as such its services remained invaluable.

6.3.2. Islahi / Salafi / Wahabi / Mujahid Movement

The movements for Islamic revival launched by the Sunni sect are generally termed as Islahi Movement. It is otherwise called as Salafi Movement as it invited people to Islam as understood and practiced by the Holy Prophet and the first generation of pious and righteous Muslims Salafu-Salih. Great Salafs like Imam Ahmed Ibn Hambal, Shaikul Islam Ibn Thymiah, Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab, Imam Shaukani, et al. advocated observing religious practices reported in reliable Islamic sources and to reject all the innovations and fabrications. The most effective of them was started by Abdul Wahab, in Mecca, as an attack on religious corruption, taking the form of a puritanical rejection of all accretions to
and all declensions from ‘pure’ Islam, with a desired return to the simplicity of faith (and society) of the Prophet of Arabia [Lemerciner, op.cit., 1]. So, internationally, it is also known as The Wahabi Movement. In India, attempts of modernist religious scholars to socially and religiously refine the community came to be known as ‘Mujahid Movement’.

It was Shaik Ahmed Sirhind (1564-1624) who paved the way for the emergence of Salafi Movement in the country. It is worth recalling here that almost all religious customs and principles of Hinduism were transplanted into Muslim religious rites and rituals, probably with the exception of idol worship and belief in reincarnation. It may be recalled that the priesthood appeared and assumed vital role in moulding the lives of the Muslims. The priests indulged in misinterpreting Fiqh (religious procedure) and controlled the community with complex fatwas (religious decree). They kept the community away from religious and modern education exploiting the ignorant socially, financially and spiritually. It was against this that Shaik Ahmed Sirhindi fought and was largely responsible for the reassertion and revival of Islam in India as a reaction against the syncretistic religious tendencies prevalent during the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar. But, his attempt could not succeed in attracting the ordinary masses. Another attempt in this direction was the one initiated by Shah Waliullahi Al-Dhahlavi (18th century) and which was continued by his disciple Syed Ahmad Shahid (Syed Ahmad of Rae Bareli/Ismail Shaheed- 1786-1831). Shah Waliyullahi Al-Dhahlavi (d. 1176 AH.) fought against the orthodox priests who encouraged ignorant members of the community to become part of Sufi cults [angelfire.com/sk/shoukath/ salafimovement]. Syed Ahmad Shahid who was influenced by Wahabi Ideology from Mecca established the Mujahidin Movement, in the 1820s [Ahmad, 2000:55]. Thenceforth, the movement was carried out in different places by organizations receiving different names, all of which together came to be called as Ahle-i-Hadith. It is to be noted here that almost all the Islahi scholars were also known leaders of freedom struggle, determined to drive out the foreign rulers from India, besides attempting spiritual and social rejuvenation of the Muslim community [junction kerala.com: 2010].
The reformists under the banner of Islahi Movement in Kerala, popularly known as Mujahids, by the initiative of the Kerala Muslim Aikya Sanghom and Kerala Jamiathul Ulama and the Kerala Naduvathul Mujahid gave invaluable contribution in modernizing the community. The Movement attempted to restore Islam to its original purity and simplicity and diligently called upon the Muslims and also the non-Muslims to the fundamental and undiluted doctrines of Qur'an and Sunnah (practices of the Prophet and his contemporaries). It strived hard and made efforts (Jihad) for the propagation of the genuine teachings of Islam [Ahmadkutty, op.cit., 69-70] and also a progressive outlook in many respects. It condemned dowry system and other un-Islamic practices. Social and religious reform activities of the Mujahids, in Kerala, has been continuing, and are embodied in Islamic organizations, namely, the Kerala Jamiyyathil Ulama (KJU), the Kerala Naduvathul Mujahideen (KNM) and its auxiliary organizations which formed later in different times. From the beginning, it has been facing strong opposition from the Muslims themselves. Incidentally, those who opposed reformers and their endeavors later volunteered themselves to be reformed at least in the sphere of education and social customs [Samad, op.cit., 41].

6.3.3. Kerala Jamiyathul Ulama

Reform Movement initiated by the Muslim Aiyka Sanghom got momentum and acquired a systematic nature of an organization with the establishment of the Kerala Jamiathul Ulama (Forum of Religious Scholars - KJU), in 1924 at Aluva. It was formed to strengthen religious revivalism and to guide and lead reform movement towards its logical end. K. M. Moulavi, M.C.C. Abdurahiman Moulavi, E.K. Moulavi, et. al., were its initial leaders [Samad, op.cit., 41]. Its membership was, and is, limited to religious scholars only. It is recognized by and registered with the Muslim World League (Rabitat-ul Alam al-Islami) at Mecca, an international forum [Ahmadkutty, op.cit., 76]. Islahi scholars had initially identified that one of the basic requirements of the Muslim community during those days was educational reform, and consequently they set up an Education Board to work towards this goal [junction kerala.com]. They gave impetus to modern education, especially among women. It was as a result of the effort of
KJU that the women folk who were forbidden by the orthodox Ulama from the portals of mosques started attending Juma (Friday Prayer) and daily congregational prayers. The organization started many institutions to teach revivalist ideas. Some notable institutions in this regard were Madeenathul Uloom Arabic College and Madeenathul Uloom Orphanage, Pulickal, and Anwarul Islam Women’s Arabic College, Mongaom [angelfire.com: 2009]. The students from these institutions came out well versed in Islamic subjects and Arabic language, and competent to guide the community to the genuine teachings of Islam [Ahmadkutty, op.cit., 74-75]. The Kerala Naduvathul Mujahid, formed in 1950, existed (and still exists) as a mass organization upholding the spirit of the Kerala Jamiathul Ulama. The Jamat-e-Islami which emerged in 1948 in Kerala was, in a sense, the product of the early Mujahid Movement as its activists were associated with the Mujahids. Despite strong resistance, scholars belonged to this stream bravely moved forward and became instrumental in bringing the community away from religious ignorance and educational apathy.

6.3.4. Samasta Kerala Jamiathul Ulama

Samasta Kerala Jamiathul Ulama was a breakaway group of the Kerala Jamiathul Ulama. It was a fact that the prominent leaders among the traditional Ulama did not openly reject the Kerala Jamiathul Ulama at first. However, when the modernist and reformist movements within Islam like Wahabism and Salafism began to attack the traditional Islamic practices followed for centuries, the KJU faced a split (1925) on ideological and organizational grounds. On 26th June 1926, a meeting of some religious scholars was held at the Town Hall in Kozhikkode, under the chairmanship of Hashim Koya Tangal, and formed a new religious organization with the name Kerala Jamiathul Ulama which later prefixed Samasta in the place of existing KJU [Irivetti, 2002: 43-44]. It started officially functioning with the blessings of Varakkal Mullakoya Thangal and Pangil Ahmed Kutty Musliar [Kurup and Ismail, 2008:273], prominent scholars who belonged to the orthodox tradition. It was officially registered on 14th November, 1934. The SKJU represented social traditions and conservative values which existed among the
Muslims in general [Engineer, op.cit., 14-17]. Their claim as the followers of genuine Islamic traditions and conventions was challenged both by the *Mujahids* and *Jamatis* and it often led to ideological conflicts in many parts of the state. In the early days of the reform movement, the *Sunnis*, with distinctive identities, opposed all types of reforms introduced by theologians and revivalists and in Kerala too their approach was not different. However, the innovative movements in Islamic society in Kerala, especially launched by the *Mujahids*, opened the eyes of the *Sunnis* in the direction of reform and resurgence [Kurup and Ismail, op.cit., 281-83]. Thus, following the steps of revivalists, *Sunnis* also began to administer steps to bring social change among the Muslims through modern education and socio-cultural activities.

### 6.3.5. Tablighi Jama’at

*Tablighi Jama’at* is an Indian reform movement, founded by Mohammed Ilyas (1885-1944) in 1927. It emerged from the reformist Sufi project represented by the renowned *Darul-Uloom Madrassa* located in Deoband, near Delhi, in the mid-1920s. Since its establishment in 1866, the *Deoband Madrassa* set in motion a powerful movement to reform popular traditions, exhorting Muslims to closely follow the Prophetic model and to abandon, what it condemned as, un-Islamic customs. Literally, the word *Tabligh* means communication of message/revelation/fulfillment of a mission. The Qur’an says, “Let there be no compulsion in religion and truth stands out clear from error. Whoever rejects anything worshipped beside the God (*Allah*) and believes in Him hath grasped the most trustworthy hand-hold that never breaks. And God *heareth* and *knoweth* all things” [*Qur’an*, 2:256].

At the last sermon of the Prophet, he ordained his companions to carry the messages that they got from him to the people who were not present there. To fulfill his call, his disciples spread to different parts of the world and the *Tablighers* belonged to this tradition. Although it had its roots in the South Asian Muslim environment with which it is still closely identified, the *Tablighi Jama’at* is now said to be active in almost every country with a significant *Sunni* Muslim presence.

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Probably, it is the largest Islamic movement in the world today. *Tablighi-Jama’at* concentrates mainly on spiritual welfare of Muslims and it has an inward looking attitude which professes the withdrawal from all concerns except *Ibadha* (worship) [Ahmad, *op.cit.*, 59]. It is focused on personal religious practices, probably reform from within and never leaning towards political ambitions. To this movement, religious reform and purification were the responsibility of common people and the society at large, apart from the routine work of the *Ulamas* and the seminaries.

It entered Kerala by the middle of the 20th century, and became very popular among professionals and educated. One of the early leaders of it in Kerala was Mohammed Moosa of Thodupuzha. Regular study classes (*Tha’leem*) aiming to bring about self-change through study and practice and periodic meetings were the important features of the movement. They abstained from debates and discussions and so they had to incur the enmity of few other Muslim groups. But their emphasis on monotheism lead it to interpret offering prayers to creatures of God as contradictory to the teachings of the *Qur’an* and the Prophet. This attitude, sometimes, invited the enmity of the orthodox section who believed that mediation of the dead saints was necessary for the fulfillment of the aspirations of the common man. *Samastha* voiced opposition against *Tabligh-Jama’at* when it started attracting the masses through its puritanical views and began propagating the same. However, the intensity of the *Sunnī’s* attack on the *Tablighers* began to subside when the traditional orthodox *Sunnis* began training their guns against the revivalists like *Mujahids*. The *Tablighers* were not absolutely free to use the premises of the Mosques and, therefore, annexed the institutions dominated by the orthodox for their styles of propagation. But there were no restrictions in the institutions administered by the moderates and the liberals in the *Sunnī* stream in the Kerala context. The *Tablighers* now have their own institutions for religious purposes including Mosques in different parts of Kerala [Kurup and Ismail, *op.cit.*, 291-92]. As their emphasis is on religion, they are not running any educational or social institutions under the banner of their organization, though such institutions were established by individuals belonging to the sect.
6.3.6. Ahmadiya-Jama’at

_Ahmadiyya_ was (still is) an Islamic religious movement founded in India during the later quarter of the 19th century. It was founded by Mirza Gulam Ahmed (1835-1908) in Qadian province of Punjab in 1889. The founder claimed himself as the _Mahdi_ of Muslims, the _Messiah_ of the Christians and the incarnation of _Krishna_ for the Hindus. He claimed to have the divine mandate for the revival of Islam and denied Muhammed as the last Prophet because of which he was often labeled as anti-Islamic. The claim of Mirza Gulam Ahmed was that he was not a ‘new Prophet’ but only a renewer (_mujaddid_) of Islam and true follower of Prophet Muhammed. The adherents of the _Ahmadiyya_ sect are referred to as _Ahmadis_ or _Ahmadi Muslims_. _Ahmadiyya_ views on certain beliefs in Islam have been controversial and hence the sect was considered to be outside the orbit of Islam [Ibid., 287-88]. Darul Uloom Deoband, Islamic University, in India has declared _Ahmadis_ to be non-Muslims [wiki/Ahmadiyya : 2010]. But officially, in India, _Ahmadis_ are considered to be Muslims by the Government of India on the basis of a court verdict –Shihabuddin Koya vs. Ahammed Koya (A.I.R. 1971 Ker 206) [thedailystar.net/law/2004]. It has some influence over the Islamic society in Kerala, since the time of Mirza Gulam Ahmed. It entered Kerala through one Abdul Quadir Kutty, a Burma-based rice merchant from Kannur. He initiated the movement as a result of his close contact with and influence of Muhammed Deedi who was deported to Kannur from Mahal Island in 1896. The first unit of the _Ahmadiya Jama’at_ was formed in November 1915 in Kannur with about 100 members and later on it spread to Kozhikode and Malappuram.25

The _Ahmadiya Jama’at_ was opposed tooth and nail by all sections of Muslims in Kerala irrespective of ideological differences. The most noted among them were Chalilakath Kunjahammed Haji, Vakkom Moulavi, E.K.Moulavi and K.M .Moulavi [Kurup and Ismail, _op.cit._, 289]. The SKJU was one of the first Islamic organisations in the world that declared the _Ahmadiya_ group (Qadiyanis) as non-Muslims, embarrassing even the reformists who later followed suit after the global Muslim scholars and organisations including Saudi-based _Rabitat ul-Alam al-Islami_ issued the fatwa (legal order) of ‘_kufriyyat_’ (non-Islamic nature) against them.

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The common Muslims of Kerala ostracized them without any communal intermingling. They did not enter into marital alliance or share religious platform with the *Ahamdiyas*. They administered Mosques, *madrasses*, cemeteries, etc. exclusively for them [Kurup and Ismail, *op.cit.*, 289-90]. But this religious distance did not affect political and individual relations. The organization was (still is) politically neutral and the members were/are free to form their own socio-political allegiances without affecting the religious life. In Kerala, till now, nobody from the *Ahmadiya Jama'at* has been elected to any representative body. But in Jammu and Kashmir, its activists were elected to the State Legislature [Koya, 2010].

Thus prominent and progressive individuals and associations/organizations established by them played an important role in redeeming the Muslim community from social and educational backwardness on the one hand, and religious orthodoxy and superstitious beliefs. On the part of the masses, they were receptive to these winds of reforms in varying degrees. Consequently the degree of change was also differential, particularly in a regional and gender sense. The implication is that a noticeable difference could be seen in the extent of social change among the Muslims living in the three geographical regions – Travancore, Cochin and Malabar – and also between the two genders.

**7. Role of Media**

Simultaneous to various organizations and reform leaders, media also played a significant role in ushering in social change in the community. There is nothing surprising in this, as in every society press plays a crucial role in the articulation of public opinion. This is so even in traditional societies. And in the case of Muslim renaissance in Kerala journals and periodicals like *Satyprakasham*, *Swadeshabhimani*, *Muslim*, *Al-Islam*, *Deepika*, *Al Ameen*, etc. played a crucial role. This, however, need not be taken to mean that no other journals/publications existed during this period nor that such periodicals did not play any role in the subject matter under discussion. What is implied here is that the aforementioned were the prominent ones which played the role of catalysts in social change.
It is worth noting that even prior to the introduction of printing, the Muslims in Kerala had ‘text model’ publications of literature in *Arabi-Malayalam* language. Later, with the introduction of printing technology, numerous journals were launched by progressive sections within the Muslim Community in Kerala. For long, many journals and periodicals that were published belonged to the *Arabi-Malayalam* language as that was the major language used by the community in the state. Among the earlier journals, *Hidayathul Ikwan* (Arabi-Malayalam monthly), edited by Abdulla Koya Thangal from Thirurangadi (grandson of Mampuram Sayyid Alavi Thangal) has been considered as the first influential journal [Abumajida, *op.cit.*, 1989]. It was aimed at promoting religious as well as general education and discouraging the *Mapilas* from participating in anti-British struggles. It was also said that a journal by name *Malayali* had been published in *Arabi-Malayalam*, from Malabar in 1880.

*Satyprakasham*, a Malayalam weekly, published from Kochi in 1888, by the joint effort of Makthi Thangal and Khadir Shah Bapu Sahib was, perhaps, the first in the regional language owned by the Muslims [Koya,1962: 460]. It had tried to answer the Christian Missionaries criticisms leveled against Islam [Abumajida, *op.cit.*]. Its circulation lasted only for a short period and then Makthi Thangal started *Paropakari* and after that *Turkey Samacharam* in 1909. These two mainly discussed news related to Usmaniya Khalifs and along with it published political, social and religious articles [Ibid.]. In 1899, another journal - *Swalahul Ikhwan* - started publication from Tirur gave coverage to international political events with particular emphasis to news items pertaining to *Turkey Khilafats*. But unlike many other publications it published articles on science, especially astronomy.

Vakkom Moulavi was the most renowned personality among the Muslims journalists. He founded the *Swadeshabhimani* weekly newspaper, under the editorship of Ramakrishna Pillai, on January 19, 1905, to lead the fight against corruption and to struggle for the democratic rights of the people of Travancore [wiki/Swadeshabhimani_%28new-spaper%29]. Its declared objective was ‘to expose injustices to the people in any form’. Besides this, Moulavi edited and published *Muslim* (monthly in Malayalam, 1909), *Al-Islam* (Arabi-Malayalam,1910)
and Deepika (1931) with a view to reforming the community. First two publications gave prominence to the early writings of E. Moidu Moulavi and A. Muhammed Yusuf Thangal and became the pioneers of the reformist movement. In Deepika, he also serialized the Malayalam translation of the Quran, together with his brief commentary and the original text written in an elegant calligraphic style by Moulavi [Wikipedia/Vakkom_Moulavi].

In Malabar, Muhammed Abdurahman Sahib started Al Ameen, at first as a Quarterly (1924-1931) and then as a Daily (1931-1936) relentlessly fighting against the British rule as well as the superstition that existed among the Muslims [Moulavi.U, 2002: 141-42]. It is interesting to note that it was at Al Ameen Press that the Communist Manifesto’s first Malayalam version was printed, which factor showed his socialist vision. As the existence of the press was a challenge to the British rule, they confiscated it many times leading to the closure of the daily quite frequently. Finally, after a break of ten years, later, Al Ameen was re-started in 1946 from Thrissur, by A.I. Khalid, uncle of Muhammed Abdurahman Sahib [Abumajida, op.cit.].

Other prominent publications included Al-Irshad (1923), Al-Islah (1925), Al Murshid, etc. Of these, Al-Irshad, and Al-Islah were edited by Moidu Moulavi. Later in 1935, K.M. Moulavi also launched another journal – Murshid. It aimed at preparing the Muslims for a system of life based on the genuine tradition of the Prophet and his contemporaries, as against the unauthentic customs and traditions then prevalent in the community. Moulavi also had his own column to answer questions and decrees on religious matters. Besides, it published translations of works of well-known scholars like Sayyid Abdul a’la Maududi, Moulana Abdul Jalal Nadvi, Sayyid Sulaiman Nadvi and Moulana Hasan Ali Nadvi [Ibid.].

Yet another journal with long standing was the ‘Malabar Islam Vrithantham’ (weekly, 1909), started by P. Abdu Muhammed Haji. Its readership spread to both Malabar and Thiruvithamcore alike and successfully existed for 13 years [Ibid.]. Another notable journal published from Malabar was Al-Ithihad (Arabi-Malayalam) the publisher of which was E.K. Moulavi. It was launched in 1954, from Thirurangadi, and had a peculiarity in that the editor himself had written a series of
articles in the journal with a pen name *Khadimul Islam* all of which were moving historical narratives about *Kerala Muslim Aikya Sanghom*, from its formation to its eventual merger with Muslim *Majlis* in 1931 [Ibid.].

It is interesting to note that publication launched by the Muslim community did not confine to religious and educational matters alone. There were visible attempts to address women issues as well as those pertaining to the youth. *Muslim Mahila* (1925) started by Munampam P.K.Moosakutty was a case in point. It gave great emphasis on education and development of women. In 1929, K.C.Komukutty Moulavi began to publish *Nisa-ul Islam* (Arabi-Malayalm) from Kazargod in which he published a translation of the book of Maulana Abdul Haleem Sharar. Another notable one belonging to this category was the *Muslim Vanitha* (later renamed *Vanitha*), a monthly (1946, Thiruvalla), edited by a woman, M.Halema Beevi. She was also the editor of *Bharatha Chandrika* (1945-1948), a weekly that had political affiliation to the Muslim League. ‘*Yuvalokam*’ (monthly, 1925) started by M.Muhammed from Kozhikode and later took over by K.C.Komukutty Moulavi existed for nine years. Other journals targeting youth were *Yuvajanamithram* (monthly, 1929) managed by O.Mahinali Sahib and N.Moidu, sympthisers of Muslim League, *Yuvakesari* (1934) and *Yuvavu* (1956, Kalpetta) established by P.M.A.Thangal [Ibid.].

Journals with specific focus on education were also not missing. For example, a group of educationist and scholars like C.O.T.Kunhipakki, K,Muhammed, P.N.Muhammed Moulavi and T.Ubaid started a teachers-oriented Journal - *Muslim Training School* - Quarterly from Malappuram in 1935 [Ibid.]. Again *Mapila Review* (1940) started by M.Muhammed Sahib (he was English educated and served as DEO of Malabar) was an all inclusive monthly, which focused on education related themes and its subscribers were mainly the Managers of Muslim Schools. It dealt with every branch of knowledge under the sun, religion, history, socio-cultural matters, science, poetry and short story. Being satisfied with the content and purpose of the journal, Ulloor.S. Parameswara Pillai observed that the *Review* was “…… attempting to bring genuine message of Islam to the Muslim folk and thereby maintaining a brotherly relations among all
communities………". The Sargom Digest (1955-1956) by P.A.Syed Muhammed was also a publication which belonged to this category [Ibid.].

Besides journals which handled themes relating to social issues and religious behaviour, there were also a few which laid great stress on organizational activities. Chandrika established in the 1934 at Thalassery and started publishing from Kozhikode during 1938-1939 was the first major attempt to launch a newspaper as a political mouth-piece [wiki/Chandrika, 2010]. Besides this, periodicals like Swaraj (Weekly from Alappuzha) by P.K.Kunju, Mujahid (monthly, 1945) by All India Muslim League, Poura Kahalom (1945, Thrissur) by Punnayur Kunjalikutty, New Ansari (Perumbavoor, 1955) by Congress-sympathiser, Majeed Marakkar [Abumajida, op.cit.], Muslim Aikyom (1921) started by P.A.Ahammadunni Sahib for Kerala Muslim Aikya Sanghom, Al-bayan, started in 1929 in Arabi-Malayalam which ceased to exist after a few months and later restarted in Malayalam, in 1956, by Abdulla Moulavi for Samasta Kerala Jamiathul Ulama, to counter the revivalists and to propagate orthodox religious concepts, Jama’at Times (1954) started by the Kerala Jama’at Federation, and Al Jihad (1950), Kahalom (1954) and Muslim (1957) established by Kunju Muhammed belonged to this category. There were also quite a few publications which provided an ideological platform for various shades of opinion. The best example in this regard was Chinthakan (Monthly) published during 1952-1957, by P.Abdulla from Kozhikode which gave space for expressing ideological differences for sects among Muslims like Sunni, Mujahid, Jama’at-e-Islami and Ahmadiya [Ibid.].

In addition to the above, there existed journals like Islam Deepom (1921, Malayalam) published from Kollam by P.K.Yunus Moula and Sayyid Bava as co-editors, Isha-ath (1930) edited by P.M.Abdul Khadir Moula, from Alappuzha, Yuvakesari (monthly,1946-1951), edited by C.S.Abdul Azeez, Shamsul Islam Missionary (monthly,1924) by Badaruddin, Kerala Chandrika (1924) by M.Abdulrahmankutty, Munirul Islam (1925) and Musalman (1927) by Sayyid.M.Bave Sahib (Kollam), Muslim Lokam (monthly, 1931) by P.A.Muhammed Kunju, Prabhadhom (daily and weekly,1946) by Thangal Kunju Musliyar, Islamic Culture (monthly,1955) by Muhammed Khasim,Vikjanaom,
Subhodhini and Thulika (after 1950) by M. Abdul Khadir, and Al Ameen (weekly, 1956) by S. M. Muhammed Haneefa, and Keralaprabha (Weekly, 1948), by K. P. Moideenkutty (publisher) and K. K. Abu (editor) [Ibid.]. Some of the journals discussed socialist ideals (for example Keralaprabha) while others contained translation from important thinkers on religious and social themes (for example, Yuvakesari). Thus, on hindsight, it is clear that journals and other periodicals helped to spread the message of social reform among the rank and file of the Muslim community. In more than one sense, these publications through their relentless efforts provided the much needed space for debate on social-economic and political issues.

8. Social Change Among the Muslims: An Appraisal

Historically, educational condition of Muslims in all the constituent parts of Kerala was very poor. From the late nineteenth century onwards, Islamic reformist movements in Kerala have played a key role in bridging the sharp dualism between the Ulama and the modern-educated class, in promoting modern as well as religious education, including women's education. Besides these, initiatives of the Government were also there to change the conditions of the Muslims in the field of education. Officially, free primary education was introduced in the first decade of the 20th century in Travancore, in the second decade in Cochin and in the third decade in Malabar [Nair, B, 1994: 21-22]. As a result of the efforts of Government and reformist leaders, modern education began to spread among the Muslims, creating an atmosphere conducive for religious and social reform. But the fact that the Muslims who belonged to Malabar could not attain the level of education of their brethren in the south remained an undeniable historical reality.

This was clear from the fact that in 1871, the total number of Muslim literates in Malabar was 15,693 out of a total of 5,81,609 people who belonged to this religious group and in percentage terms this was only 2.7 [Chair for Islamic Studies and Research, 2002: 10]. Regarding the educational condition of Mapilas in the 1880s, William Logan, the Collector of the Malabar District and author of the celebrated Malabar Manual had this to say: “They [Muslims of Malabar] are
moreover, as a class, nearly almost, if not altogether, illiterate. The only education received is a parrot-like recitation of the Qur’an, which, being in Arabic, none of them understand. The number of Mapilas who have advanced so far as to learn to read and write English in Schools, could very probably be counted on the fingers of two hands” [Azeez, op.cit., 198]. During the beginning of the 20th century, as per the official record of Madras Government, the literacy in Malabar was just three per cent [Gafoor, 2010]. The year 1921 has historical significance, particularly concerning the community. Total literacy in that year increased to 8 per cent [Kurup, 1991: 1-2]. The figure of Mapila literates in the year was 62,385 and, after a decade, it increased to 87,694 [Chair for Islamic Studies and Research, op. cit., 60]. In 1921, there were only 1,198 males and 29 females who were literate in English. In 1931, it increased to 3,204 males and 96 females [Ibid.].

However, this position began to increase as Government took some radical measures to enhance the level of education of the Muslim masses. During the last decade of the 19th century, for instance, when the British government appointed an Assistant Inspector and religious teachers (mullas) in schools, the Muslims enrolment in schools increased gradually. In 1902, the number of students increased to such a level that the Government had to appoint two Assistant Inspectors. In 1912, Muslims established a school at Kozhikode, under the control of the Hidayathul Islam Sabha [Gafoor, op.cit.]. In Travancore, on the other hand, to attract Muslim students, Arab Munshis were appointed in Elementary Schools from the year 1915-16 onwards and in 1918-19 Muslim Inspectors for vernacular school were appointed. And later, Muslim Vernacular Schools were (for boys) opened in 1923-24 [Kunju, op.cit., 257]. In Malabar, after the Revolt of 1921, the Government initiated steps to begin regular classes with prayer from Islamic text (Fathiha, beginning Chapter in Qur’an) in the Mapila schools and this was an attraction to Muslim children to go to schools. Later, on the basis of the recommendations made by the Education Reform Committee, special school for Muslims including separate schools for Muslim girls were opened along with instituting large number of scholarships and fee concessions in Colleges. In Malappuram, a government recognized school was opened in June, 1936, with the sanction to start a division of
forty students. Later, the school was upgraded to the Malappuram Muslim High School [Sharafudeen, *op.cit.*, 64]. As a result, the number of Muslim students increased from 32,337 (both sexes) in 1936-'37 to 56,494 in 1947-'48. Following Table makes clear the region-based progress in literacy, during 1911-1951.

Table 2.1

Decadal Percentage of Literacy: Proportion to the Population 1911 – 1951

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Thiruvithamcore</th>
<th>Kochi</th>
<th>Malabar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>37.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note*: Data for 1941 was not included in this calculation because doubtful authenticity.


The Table gives the picture of literacy for the period during the first half of the 20th century in the three distinct geographical regions – Malabar, Cochin and Travancore. In Malabar, at the threshold of the second decade of the century, rate of literacy was only 11.1 per cent. Male literacy (19 per cent) was just about eight percent higher than the average, while female literacy, which stood at 3.5 per cent, was very poor. In 1921, the Muslim literate females in Malabar were only a meagre seven per 1000 population. In 1931, it increased to just 11 per 1000 [Chair for Islamic Studies and Research, *op.cit.*, 10] In 1925-26, for the first time a Muslim girl passed Vernacular School Leaving Certificate Examination and entered the college for further studies [Kunju, *op.cit.*, 257]. The decadal literacy in 1951 was 31.3 per cent, which marked 20.2 per cent growth from the 1911 position. Significant progress marked in gender-wise literacy when the male literacy reached 41.3 per cent and that of the female literacy 21.7 per cent within a period of 40 years. Comparatively better rate of literacy was shown in Thiruvithamcore and
Kochi regions at all levels during this period than that of Malabar. Following Table deals with District-wise Literacy Status of Muslims in Kerala in 1961.

Table 2.2

District-wise Literacy Status of Muslims in Kerala in 1961.

<table>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thiruvanathapuram</td>
<td>1738085</td>
<td>178811</td>
<td>780766</td>
<td>53286</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>19.86%</td>
<td>19.18%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kollam</td>
<td>1929809</td>
<td>229648</td>
<td>960507</td>
<td>67976</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>29.60%</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alappuzha</td>
<td>1809530</td>
<td>196714</td>
<td>1017743</td>
<td>49375</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>25.10%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kottayam</td>
<td>1730436</td>
<td>106782</td>
<td>971681</td>
<td>29685</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>27.80%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ernakulam</td>
<td>1858440</td>
<td>187918</td>
<td>927153</td>
<td>53180</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>28.30%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Thrissur</td>
<td>1634251</td>
<td>228568</td>
<td>784750</td>
<td>53485</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>23.40%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palakkad</td>
<td>1775477</td>
<td>612534</td>
<td>595906</td>
<td>85754</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>14.00%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kozhikode</td>
<td>2619283</td>
<td>989008</td>
<td>1036805</td>
<td>149440</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15.10%</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kannur</td>
<td>1779852</td>
<td>623077</td>
<td>724973</td>
<td>100938</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>16.20%</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>16875163</td>
<td>3353060</td>
<td>7800284</td>
<td>643119</td>
<td>46.22</td>
<td>19.86%</td>
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Source: Kerala Muslim Jama’ate Federation, *Kerala Muslim Sthidhivivaram* (1962), Cochin, Kerala Muslim Jama’ate Federation, p. 71.

Of the total population spread over nine districts, only 46.22 per cent individuals were literate. The Muslims constituted 19.86 per cent of the total population and their literacy was only 19.18 per cent and it was far below the aggregate level for the whole state. The three northern districts - namely Palakkad, Kozhikode and Kannur - belonged to Malabar region and this region has importance for this study because Malappuram District was later carved from Palakkad and Kozhikode districts. The region together had a total of 61,74,612 persons out of which 36.02 per cent belonged to the Muslim community. This came to 66.34 per cent of the total Muslim population of the state. When the total literacy in these districts was 38.18 per cent, literates among the Muslims were only 15.10 per cent, ie, 22,24,619 out of 3,36,132 persons. At the same time, Muslim literacy in other six districts was 28.12 per cent out of a total Muslim population of
Although this trend among the Muslims in central and southern Kerala was found far better than the north, it has to be considered as part of the general trend than the influence of any religious groups or organizations. But, in the case of Malabar, the situation was different in many respects. The community in Malabar had to be emancipated from many taboos, and superstitious beliefs and the crucial role played by individuals, institutions and organizations belonging to the community for social and educational change must be evaluated in this context.

Thus, the social reform movements among the Muslim community passed through several vicissitudes. They had their ups and downs, turning points and milestones, both negative and positive, and progressive and not too progressive phases. However the fact remains that, if at all the community could emerge out of its deep slumber and traditional mores, it was mainly due to these reform movements and the individuals and organizations who had made their own contribution, tirelessly. They made the community which was like a rudderless ship, always drifting aimlessly according to where the winds of status quo, religious orthodoxy and traditional values carried it, to one which became aware of the values of education, need for organization and adoption of a progressive attitude towards life. It is true that these movements could not succeed in democratizing the community or the institutions established in the name of the community. To expect such an outcome from them is too much. They were not meant for such revolutionary changes and they did not have the strength and leadership for such an outcome, either. Their only purpose was to awaken the community and make it understand the need for looking at the currents of changes that were taking place in the world outside. Many of these organizations had, definitely, succeeded in this, particularly in making a heterogeneous mass of people to feel the need for forming a community and a distinct identity. It was with these limited changes that the Muslim community catapulted itself to the orbit of post-independence politics of Kerala.
9. Notes

1. Muhammed Ibn Quasim, 20-year-old Syrian chieftain, defeated Raja Dahir, the King of Sindh, at what is now Hyderabad in Sind.

2. Kerala's only Muslim kingdom was Kannanore's Arakkal family. Historians disagree as to the time period of Arakkal rulers. Some claim that ancient coins date the Arakkal rulers to the 8th century. Kerala historian A. Sreedhara Menon seems to believe that the Arakkal kings came to power in 16th or 17th century and issued their coins at the earliest in the 18th century. One of the rulers that presided over the kingdom was Junumma Beevi who ruled for 49 years. By 1909, Arakkal rulers lost Cannanore and cantonment. By 1911 there was further decline with loss of "chenkol and udaval". During those years they allied and clashed with the Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English. The British played the biggest part in removing all vestiges of titles and power from the Arakkal rulers. One of the last kings, Arakkal Abdu Rahiman Ali Raja (1881 -1946), was active in helping his subjects. The last ruler was Ali Raja Mariumma Beevi Thangal. After her time the family broke up [John, 2010].

3. The Muslims had no compromise with the British. Since the inception of the British rule in Malabar, there had been more than 50 Mapila risings or riots which had far reaching repercussions in the social, political and economic life of Malabar [Kunju, *op.cit.*, 130]. The Muslim attempt of 1792, the year of the establishment of British rule in Malabar, under the leadership of Unni Moosa Moopan of Elampulassery, to dislodge them marked the inauguration of a series of struggles which culminated in the great rebellion of 1921 [Panicker, *op.cit.*, 35-36].

4. Abubakker Siddik, Umer Ibn Hathab, Oosman Ibn Afan and Ali Ibn Abithalib, respectively. To the Muslims, it is a usual obligation to pronounce the term “Rali-Allah-anhu”, means ‘the God is satisfied on them’, on hearing their names.

5. It is a new group formed by Chekannoor Moulavi, who has been suspected having been murdered, perhaps for this question.

6. The Arabic word ‘Khalif/khalifa’ means successor. The Khilafat is an Islamic system of governance in which the state rules under Islamic law. Administrative system based on Islamic principle had passed over from the Prophet Muhammed to his four companions Abubakker, Umer, Utzman and Ali, and then to different dynasties. At the end of Khilafat Banu Abbas, when the Muslim countries were about to vanish, the Turks consolidated it. The *Osmania Caliphate/Sultanat Usmania* was founded by
Ameer Osman Khan Ghazi (1288-1327AD) by taking the territories of Byzantine kingdom. It continued for about 600 years (1288-1924AD) during which 37 Khalifs and Sultans remained in power. In 1924, Mustafa Kemal Pasha (also known as ‘Attaturk’), the leader of the Turkish National Movement, abolished the Khilafat by dethroning Abdul Majeed bin Abdul Waheed/Abdulmecid II (the last Sultan, 1923-1924) and Turkey was declared a republic transferring powers to the Grand National Assembly.

The Ottoman emperor was nominally the supreme religious and political leader of all Muslims across the world. During the World War I, European powers, particularly England, had promised to protect the Ottoman emperor's status as the Khalif. However, the Treaty of Versailles (1919) and the Treaty of Sèvres (1920), with the domination of the victorious countries including England, reduced its territorial extent and diminished its political influence and, as such, popular outcry on behalf of the Khilafat emerged across the Muslim world. In India this was reflected in the Khilafat movement (1919–1924), a pan-Islamic, political protest campaign launched by Muslims. To its founders and followers, the Khilafat was not a religious movement but rather a show of solidarity with their fellow Muslims in Turkey. The Muslims in India established a central body called ‘Khilafat Committee’ in Bombay. Mohammad Ali and his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali joined other Muslim leaders such as Sheikh Shaukat Ali Siddiqui, Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari, Raees-Ul-Muhajireen Barrister Jan Muhammad Junejo, Hasrat Mohins, Syed Ata Ullah Shah Bukhari, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad and Dr. Hakim Ajmal Khan to form the All India Khilafat Committee and later the branches of this committee were set up all over India. [For details see: Itzkowitz, 1980; Kinorss, 1979; Kurup K.K.N, 1991; Menon.A, 1997; Karakkunnu, 1996; http://z7.invisionfree.com/ashhad4u/ar/t9849.htm; www.india9.com/i9show/Khilafat-Movement-65273.htm; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire].

7. In Malabar, the feudal class called Jennies (landlords) were the sole owners of landed property and were, sometimes, agents to collect maximum land revenue for the British. Verumpattakars formed the bulk of the cultivators who took land from the jennies on huge rent for cultivation. They had no fixity of tenure on land as the latter had arbitrary power to evict them at any time. The system continued till the Malabar Tenancy Act (1929), which conferred fixity of tenure and fair rent on all Verumpattakars.

8. For details see Chapter III
9. Earlier centers of religious education at the primary level, attached to Mosque where Religious topics were tutored mostly in unscientific manner.

10. S.Sulaiman, who was the first Muslim graduate in Travancore was the first Muslim Education Inspector.

11. For details see Chapter V

12. Untouchable and other backward communities were denied the right to admission in Government schools and entry in public service. The Ezhava community was the largest victim of it though their brethren converts to Christianity enjoyed all rights and privileges. Under this circumstances, a petition signed by more than 13,000 Ezhavas, under the leadership of Dr. Palpu (who had been denied entry as a Doctor in the Travancore Medical Department), was submitted on 3rd September 1896, to the Maharaja of Travancore, demanding the right to enter government service and this came to be known as the Ezhava Memorial. When it seemed that many of the Ezhavas were thinking of embracing Christianity in dejection, Dewan Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer, realizing the imminent danger, prompted the Maharajah to issue the proclamation. But it did not produce the expected result. Then, in 1900, a second petition was submitted to Lord Curzon, the Viceroy of India, during his visit to Trivandrum, which was also not considered favourably by the authorities. Nevertheless, the Ezhava Memorial helped to rouse social and political consciousness among the backward social groups and prepare them for future struggles for social justice. [For details see: Menon. A, 2007; Raman, 2010; Sabukuttan 2002; http://knowindia.gov.in/ knowindia/ state_uts.php? id=64; india.gov.in/ knowindia/state_uts.php?id =64; en.wikipedia.org/ wiki/ Sree_Narayana_ Guru_ Samadhi; en.wikipedia.org/ wiki / Temple_ Entry_ Proclamation; en.wikipedia. org/wiki/Talk% 3ACaste_ system_in_ Kerala].

13. He belonged to the Ezhava community, but due to his fight against the social evil of caste system came to be sarcastically called as Pulayan Ayyappan.

14. Smaarthavichaaram was the ritualistic trial for adultery conducted among the Nambudiris with the permission of the King. If a Nambudiri woman (Antharjanam) was suspected for sexual misdeeds, a primary interrogation was made on her maid to confirm it, and then she was isolated in a special cell called anchampurayilackal for trial and punishment. Since isolation she will be considered as a Saathanam (an inanimate object) and mental and physical torture starts with this. The trial team was consisted
of a smarthan (the judge), four lawyers and a Brahmin representative (all appointed by the king). During the trial, the accused woman had to mention the names and specific body marks in private parts of jaarans (men involved). It is to be noted that though the accused men were tried they had chance to deny their involvement in it. They had been declared guilty only after verifying the marks on private parts and a sathyapareeksha (test of truth) at Suchidran temple to prove their innocence. The jaarans who were found innocent had a privilege to take part at the shudhabhojanam (pure meal) arranged for the trial team at the close of the trial. The final judgment called Dehavichedam was the ceremonial excommunication or ostracism (Bhrashtu) of the guilty, probably the woman. At the outset, women had to suffer while men get loopholes to escape. This practice is nonexistent today and last reportedly took incident place in 1918. [For details see: Menon.P, 1878; namboothiri.com/articles/sudham.htm Eda-Shudham of Nambudiris; and www.keralacafe.com/ all_about_kerala/ index12.html].

15. Shirk (worship/prayer to others than God) and Bid-ate (practices non-tutored by the Prophet).

16. Nerchas mean ‘offerings to their shrines’, Kodikuthu means ‘flag hoisting heralding the annual festival’ and Aandunercha/Chandanakudam means ‘holding celebrations on death anniversaries of holymen’.

17. Date of birth of Sheikh Muhamed Mahin Hamadani Thangal is not known, though it is stated that he passed away in 1922.

18. The Malabar Muslim Education Association (1911), the Muslim Samajam, The Mufidul Islam Sangham and Anvarul Islam Sangham and Cochin Muslim Education Association were some of them. All of these became dysfunctional after a short span of life.

19. Its leaders played an important role in the establishment of Farook College, the first Muslim College in Kerala and one of the biggest in South India.

20. Those who lived during the life time of the Prophet and happened to learn Islamic practices from the original source.

21. Qur’an and Six Texts ‘ authored by Imam Buhari, Muslim, Ahmed, Abu Davood, Nazae and Ibnu Majae, containing reliable reports from the life and teachings (Hadids) of the Prophet Muhammed.
22. Reform movement started by Imam Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab and Imam Muhammad Ibn Saud (the founder of Saudi dynasty) in the mid-18th century was probably the forerunner of modern Salafiya‘h. The modern Salafiya‘h gained momentum in Egypt whose advocates established supremacy of Islamic law but with fresh interpretations to meet the community's changing needs.

23. The Kerala Naduvathul Mujahidin and Jamat-e-Islami and Sunni are now working in Kerala as social organizations and so they are organizationally studied in Chapter IV.

24. As an organization with the same title, Kerala Jamiathul Ulama was already in existence there is technical ground for denying registration for another organization with the same name. To overcome technicalities, the organisers prefixed “Samasta”, and thenceforth the Samasta Kerala Jamiathul Ulama (SKJU) assumes a place among the Muslims in Kerala.

25. The Ahmadiya Jama‘at in Kerala, at present, has six zonal units – Kannur, Kozhikode, Palakkad, Malappuram, Ernakulam and Karunagappally. It gives equal importance to spiritual as well as general education. As a result, the community has a good asset of Advocates, Doctors, Engineers and other professionals and businessmen. The Ahamadiya Jama‘at has a social service organization, ‘Humanity’ - equivalent to the Red Cross and has been approved by the UNO, in 2009. It has a worldwide net work, London-based ‘Muslim Television Ahmadiya’, for propagation. It was the first in Muslim tradition in the world performing missionary activity. Setting up of Book stalls and organizing public meetings are the methods adopted by it in Kerala for its propagation. [Koya, op.cit., 2010].

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