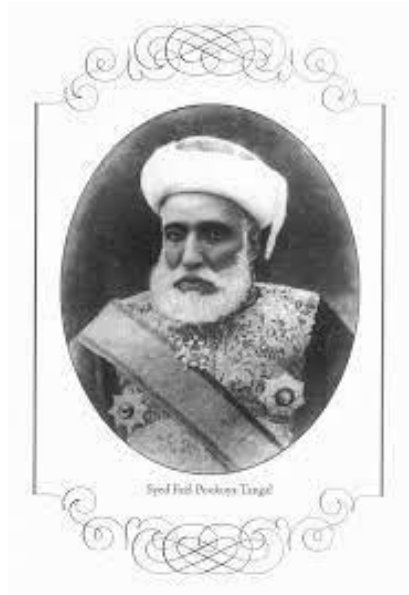


HADRAMI SAYYIDS AGAINST COLONIALISM: THE MALABAR PAGE

Hussain Randathnai



Tomb of Sayyid Alavi Moula al Daweela



Sayyid Fazl bin Sayyid Alavi (Fazl Pasha)

The role of religious leaders in Islam is centrally important, but at the same time loosely defined. There is no tradition of priesthood in Islam, no caste or family that has special power, no sacrament that sets some man apart from their fellows and no monasticism. Indeed it has not been uncommon for people regarded as religious leaders to mingle with the general population, often filling other occupational roles in society as well. As observed by Shah Waliyullah(1703-

1762), those who have religious knowledge, whether they acquire it by means of revelation, or wisdom or visions, are recognized by others as having gifts of leadership and signs of grace and are therefore obeyed, for this is the central requirement of Islam in doing what is commanded and eschewing what is forbidden.¹ Muslims may be predisposed to accord this authority to *sayyids*- the men descended from Prophet Muḥammad or from some saintly lineage or to those holding some judicial or educational position. But the true basis of the authority has been the standard of personal knowledge and its pious embodiment expected of men who are exemplars to their fellows and communal representatives to Muslims and others.

With the arrival of the Europeans to the sub-continent the responsibility of the *ulama* and *sayyids* became manifold, that in the face of European onslaughts, the community found its only hope in them. The *fatwas*² of the *'ulama* or the spiritual consolation or encouragement of *sayyids* assumed importance in political sphere also. They had, of course, no coercive power, and they wouldn't deal with a whole range of issues related to the organization of the state, but they were however, to become a vehicle for disseminating even more detailed guidance in minute concerns of every day life of the individuals as well as the society. Politically the importance of *fatwa* lay in declaring *jihad* against the oppressors - the land lords and the Europeans. So to the Europeans and the land lords, the *fatwa* was a call to the religiously conscientious Muslims to mobilize the community in the absence of any powerful war lord, and to make them rise in defiance of the foreign power.³ The British authorities often referred to all those people whom they found arousing the public against the British in the name of the religion as *'ulama* unless those people were known to them as professional soldiers, land lords, civil servants or the like.⁴

As mentioned above due to the absence of a political authority, the *Ba Alawi sayyids* and the *ulama* of Malabar played an important role in the life of Mappila society. Being the pillar of economic and political strength of the kingdom, the Zamorins of Calicut had always respected the *sayyids* and had accepted their verdicts. They were honoured and lands and endowments were provided for their comfortable life.

It was the tolerance and respect shown by the Zamorin towards the Muslims that attracted Shaikh Sayyid Jifri, a prominent Ba Alawi sufi of Hadhramaut to come and settle at Calicut in 1746 A.D. He was received by Manavikraman, the Zamorin along with Muhyaddin b. Abdussalam, the qazi of Calicut. The king requested the shaikh to settle at Calicut and granted him a coconut grove on the banks of the Kallai river and a land and a house near the pond at Kuttichira. He was exempted from all the taxes.⁵ Following Shaikh Jifri his brother Hasan Jifri reached Calicut in 1754 AD. He later settled at Tirurangadi. More members from the Jifri and other Ba Alawi sayyid families migrated to Malabar and settled at various parts. Koilandy became a centre of sayyid families from Hadhramaut. Other centres of Ba Alawi migration were Pantalayani, Kadalundi, Ponnani, Malappuram, Parappanangadi, Thirurangadi, Chaliyam, Kuttayi, Chavakkad, Kannur Valapatanam, Kappad and Cochin. In all the places the sayyids started sufi centres and served the common people through spiritual relief.

In Malabar until the advent of the British the call for *jihad* by the religious leadership against the Europeans was accepted overwhelmingly. When the British established their rule, the *'ulama* of Malabar, as in North India, mostly stood for resistance against the government. But, unlike in the north, the circumstances were different in Malabar. During the invasion of the Portuguese, Malabar was ruled not by a Muslim ruler as in the north but by the Zamorins and other Hindu

Rajas, who protected the Muslim subjects with utmost toleration. This had led the religion leadership to consider Zamorin's, territory as *dar-al Islam* and the persecution of the Portuguese had provided them enough reason to declare' *jihād* against the enemy. It was in 1792 the British occupied the territory of Malabar by replacing the Mysorean rule. As in the north, where the British replaced the Mughals, in Malabar also their victory was over a Muslim power. Here the changing of *dar- al Islam* to *dar- al Harb* was very clear that like their Hanafi *dar-al Harb*.⁶ The Mappilas, unlike the north Indian Muslims who were Hanafites, belonged to the Shafi School of law and sought religious guidance from the scholars of Shafi School. The Mappila religious leadership being mostly immigrants from Hadramaut and Southern Arabia, got in touch with the Yemenite jurists whose verdicts were sought for religious guidance.

Saif- al Battar, the *fatwa* said to be issued by, the Hadrami sayyid Sayyid Alawi Tangal(1166/1753-1260/1844) of Mambram,⁷ and *Uddat al Umara* ⁸ compiled his son Sayyid Fazl are important sources to study the attitude of the Mappila religious leadership towards the British rule. Quoting *Tuhfa* of Ibn Hajar, Sayyid Alawi insists that, if an Islamic country is attacked by the infidels, it is incumbent up on all Muslims to resist the enemy with all his efforts to save the country.⁹ The author refers the Europeans (*Afranj*) as the worst disbelievers¹⁰ and prevents the Muslims, in appointing the Christians as domestic servants (*ahilla*) because they will not seek good in their master.¹¹ Quoting Qur-ānic verses and traditions Sayyid Alawi asserts: Since the *Kuffār* (the British) had entered the country all the Muslims despite the old and women up on whom the participation in the fight is not compulsory should take part in the fight.¹² The Muslims who remain as subjects under the European rule and satisfy with it, are sinners and are liable to exemplary punishment, even though they seek the welfare of Muslims through Christian rule.¹³ To praise the European rulers and to pray for their welfare is a sin which needed repentance and if a Muslim praise the Christian religion over his own, he is a *kāfir*, that a Muslim cannot praise a debauchee.¹⁴

If one simply says that the laws of the Christians are of justice, he becomes a heretic, because *shari'ath* is the only code of justice. If one says so unintentionally and for temporary gains, it is prohibited, though not disbelief. If a country basically belongs to the Christians and not usurped from any Muslim ruler, then for Muslims it is permissible to seek job in such a country and to engage in trade activities. But if the country is occupied from any Muslim power no Muslim should be allowed to serve or hold business there.¹⁵ If a Muslim got his religious freedom in the country occupied by the infidels and he thinks that with that much freedom, he can maintain and expose his religion, even then, it is recommended for him to migrate to a Muslim country or *dar-al Islam*, because it is foolish to think that in such a territory one can expose his religion and exalt the law of *shari'ath*. If one is confident that he can fight away the enemy to restore the prestige of the religion, then it is better to remain there and to fight with the enemy with the best of his ability. If he is not confident of his success in the fight, *hijra* or migration to a *dar-al Islam* is incumbent up on him.¹⁶ Both the *fatwas* cited above also define the international position of Muslims under the Ottoman Sultanat. In the *Saif al-Battar* the author praises Sultan 'Abdul Majid(1839-1869) and offers prayers for him.¹⁷

The influence of Sayyid Alawi Tangal and his son Sayyid Fazl over the Mappilas are vividly recorded by the European scholars. In the words of S.F.Dale, "In personal terms they laid claim to and generally have been accorded a special mark of respect, the *taqbil*, the privilege of having

the hand or knee kissed by the devout Muslims and a variant of this ceremony was perhaps the most important feature of the pilgrimage which Mappilas made daily to Mambram during the life time of Sayyid Alawi and his son Sayyid Fadl. The ceremony itself visibly demonstrated one of the reasons why lower caste Malayali Hindus were persuaded to convert to Islam. The Mambram Tangal transmitted sanctity through physical contact with his fellow Muslims, and in this sense at least the Mappilas can be said to have constituted a genuine confessional community, whatever social differences divided individual families.¹⁸

The tomb of Sayyid 'Alawi developed into a centre of pilgrimage to both Muslims and Hindus, particularly to the lower caste. Contact with the Tangal and his blessings developed a sense of optimism and strong will among the Mappilas to fight against an oppressor and to save their bosom faith. The immediate incident which provoked Sayyid Alawi was a land lord-British conspiracy to create a Hindu - Muslim conflict. In Muttiyara, three kilometres away from Mambram, a group of *goondas* sent by a land lord spat on the clothes which the Muslims had spread near the mosque after washing. The action naturally provoked the Muslims and they turned against the miscreants and this led to a minor clash. The incident reached the ears of Sayyid Alawi who advised the Muslims to keep restraint. The conspiracy became evident when the British troops made an unexpected attack on the mosque and shot at the Mappilas who were sitting there. The Muslims under Kaithakath Marakkur Kutty retaliated the British troops at the spot and in the encounter eleven Mappilas including the leader were killed.¹⁹ The Muttiyara incident wounded the feelings of the Mappilas who took every step to counter-act the land lord-British conspiracy.

Mr. Dale points out that Sayyid Alawi, doesn't appear to have actively organized armed resistance to the British or the Hindu dominated society, but he is known to have hated the British and evidently offered his sanctified prestige in support of such actions by others.²⁰ But the *fatwa*, *Saif-al Battār* spread by Sayyid Alawi and his participation in the Cherur fight of 1843 clearly shows that Sayyid Alawi not only offered "his sanctified prestige" but also actively organized armed resistance against the land lord- British conspiracy.²¹ Thus the leadership of Sayyid Alawi Tangal was responsible to a great extent, for the growth of militancy among the Mappilas during the British rule. The first hint of the role of Sayyid Alawi in the out breaks reached the authorities when two of his supporters including the sword bearer of Manjery Attan Kurikkaḷ were captured inside the Tirurangadi Mosque.²² The authorities couldn't take any action against the Tangal, for fear of provoking a religious resistance. In April 1817 Collector James Vanghan reported to the Madras government that "any attempt to seize the Tangal by force would be attended with the most dreadful consequences, no less than a general rise of the Mappila population, every one of whom have for common use a long and dangerous knife...."²³

The authorities also pointed out to the relationship existed between Sayyid Alawi and Attan Kurikkaḷ. After Kurikkaḷ had been killed and his lands had been escheated to the government, his son with a force of about hundred Mappilas made an attempt to seize and occupy these lands. The government found that the rebels had the blessings of the Tangal. Though the rebellion was suppressed and the rebels were arrested, the Collector feared that the involvement of the Tangal might lead to further consequences.

The involvement of Sayyid'Alawi in the rebellions and his leadership to the fighters, however,

gave a new turn to the nature of the outbreaks. Unlike the earlier revolts in which religion had played only a minor role, the religious elements dominated the scene and the rebellions assumed the shape of a holy war.²⁴ In the words of Dale, "they were, in fact initially inspired and sanctioned by the Mambram Tangals, who addressed the Mappilas as an Islamic community and not only expressed economic and social grievances in religious terms but also attached more purely religious or doctrinal issues".²⁵ Now the outbreaks were performed in the highly stylized ritual of the "suicidal *Jihād*". Sayyid 'Alawi was also known as Taramal Tangal²⁶ or Tirurangadi Tangal.²⁷

The authorities kept no doubt regarding the influence of Tangal in the anti British outbreaks. To quote Innes, the Collector of Malabar, "Tirurangadi for many years past been the centre of Mappila fanaticism and the Mambram or Taramal_Tangal had been its high priest."²⁸ Earlier Logan, the British Collector of Malabar during the outbreaks had pointed out the same opinion: "The Arab Tangal or High priest who was generally credited with having incited the Mappilas to commit these outrages. The Tangal died shortly afterwards and was buried at the Mambram mosque situated on the river bank opposite to Tirurangadi. Fanatics who intent to commit outrages and those who committed them do as a rule even now proceed to the mosque to pray at the Tangal's shrine."²⁹

When Sayyid Alawi died on 7 Muharram 1260/29 January 1844 he was succeeded by his son Sayyid Fazl(1240/ 1824- 1318/1901), who followed the foot-steps of his father in his antagonism towards the British. He wrote books and issued *fatwas* to make the people conscious of the consequences of the British rule or the rule of *kuffār* as he often referred. The officials at the same time alleged that he and his father "have been at the bottom of most of the outbreaks."³⁰ According to one C. Kanaran, Deputy Collector, it was Sayyid Fazl's favourite texts in his Friday oration at the mosque at Mambram, where he was the leading *tangal* from 1844-1852, that it was no sin but a merit to kill *a jenmi* who evicted (any of his tenant).³¹ Sayyid Fazl collected and compiled all the Qur-anic verses and traditions of Prophet Muhammad in the name *Al Qawl-al Mukhtār fil Man'i an Takhyir-al Kuffār (The Selected Statements to Prevent the Preference to the Infidels)*.³² He also propagated the *Saif-al Battār*, the *fatwas*, as done by his father against the British, through the mosques and his disciples were sent to different parts of Malabar to spread the doctrine of *jihād*.

Mr. T.L. Strange, the judge of Sadar Adalat appointed by the British government on 17 February 1852 to submit a report on the outrages. He found fanaticism to be the root cause of all the unrest and put the responsibility up on "the notorious Sayed Fazal of Arab extraction" for all the disturbances.³³ To quote the report of Magistrate "the fanatics then and now considered it almost essential to success in their enterprise that they should have visited and prayed at Taramal Tangal's tomb and kissed the hand of the Tangal living in the house close by. So great an ascendancy had Sayyid Fazl at this time attained that the Mappilas regarded him as imbued with a portion of divinity"³⁴ He continues: "They swear by his foot as their most solemn oath. Earth on which he spat or walked is treasured up. Marvellous stories are told of his supernatural knowledge. His blessing is supremely prized. And even among the higher class of Mappilas his wish was regarded as a command and no consideration of economy was allowed to stand in the way of its being gratified"³⁵. "On the very day(17 Feb) that the government appointed Mr. Strange as Special Commissioner, Mr. Conolly, the Malabar Collector, reported

that 10,000 to 12,000 Mappilas great number of whom were armed, met at Tirurangadi and held a close conclave with the Tangal on rumour being spread that he was at once to be made prisoner and disgraced"³⁶ It was thought necessary to have religious sanction and to receive the blessings of Mambram Tangal, or- some other Mappila divines to undertake a holy war. His injunctions and *fatwas* were strictly followed without question and even the loyalist Mappilas approached him with due respect. All the '*ulama* Including the Makhdums accepted him as their supreme spiritual guide. Sayyid Fazl issued a *fatwa* to the effect that the *jenmi* who oppress the people and disgrace the religion should be murdered.³⁷ He patronized the festival(*nērcha*) held in memory of the martyrs of the Cherur fight and it gave the Mappilas an inspiration for succeeding *jihāds*.

T.L.Strange in his report endorsed the repressive measures recommended by Conolly, the Collector who was planning to suppress the revolt with an iron hand. Conolly was arguing for long with Madras government that Sayyid Fazl should be banished from the state to prevent the revolt. Accordingly the government ordered his banishment and on 19th March 1852 Sayyid Fazl, with his family, companions and servants (fifty seven persons in all) set sail for Arabia.³⁸ Through his action, the Collector was adding fuel to the fire, that his own fate was decided by the issue. His stringent measures, already had brought the fury of Mappilas against him and now it was intensified with the banishment of Sayyid Fazl. When justice was denied completely from all sides, the Mappilas became desperate and resorted to 'suicidal' attacks and individual terrorism. Collector Conolly was murdered in his well guarded bungalow at Calicut between 8 and 9 PM on 11th september 1855. ³⁹ The British officials who led the repressive measures also were not spared by the Mappilas. Among the murdered there was Captain Platt who advocated artillery attack against the Tirurangadi mosque. The antagonistic relationship between the British and Sayyid Fazl continued even after his deportation. His attempt to retain the governorship of 'Zafar was frustrated by British intervention in 1879.⁴⁰ Sayyid Fazl had advised the Mappilas, not to respect the oppressive land lords and forbade even the use of traditional honorific titles when addressing the *jenmis* and the Nairs.⁴¹

Sayyid Fazl had left no single dominant figure to succeed him at Mambram. But he had left a number of disciples who were influenced by his personality and doctrines. One Pocker Kutty Musliyar who had been associated with the shrine at Mambram continued the preaching *jihād* and he was known to have been in personal contact with some of the Mappilas who martyred themselves following the murder of a Namboodiri *jenmi* family.⁴² Kunhikōya Tangal, a relative of Mambram Tangal and one of the rebel leaders had the following statement: "My reason for joining these people arise from the dictates of religion; for when a member of Muslamans is in trouble and in danger it is for us Sayeds to join and die with them. Seeing their grievous state, I, thinking of the face of God, joined them."⁴³

Another Ba Alawi Sayyid Husain Shihab Tangal of Panakkad (1239/1823-24- 1302/1884-85) a contemporary of Sayyid Fazl was another prominent leader who encouraged rebellion against the British imperialism. He was born as the son of Sayyid 'Ali Shihabuddin and was educated at Malappuram, Tanur and Ponnani. He served as the *qāzi* of Tirurangadi and Malappuram. He joined with Sayyid Fazl in his anti - British campaign and issued *fatwas* to that effect. The deportation of Sayyid Fazl and the repressive measures of the authorities couldn't change his mind. He encouraged the rebels with his blessings and the authorities got direct evidence for the

involvement of the Tangal in the out break of 1882 under Kalangadan Kutty Hassan. He was arrested and copies of *fatwa* issued by him were confiscated. He was sentenced for life imprisonment and remained in the Central jail of Vellore till his death.⁴⁴

Prayer at the tombs of saints like Sayyid Alawi, and *Shahids* played as a stimulant and inspired the participants in *jihād*.⁴⁵ The intending *shahids* used to visit the shrine at Mambram before they set out to fight and they took their pledge before the shrine. The assassins of Conolly, the Collector of Malabar had prayed at the shrine at Mambram before their plot to invoke the blessings of Sayyid Alawi who had been buried in the tomb and it was a usual practice followed by the Mappilas. The religious leadership of Sayyid Alawi and his successors and the political conditions of the time created far reaching changes in the social and religious life of the community in the later half of the nineteenth century. The popular form of sufism became deep rooted in the community and it brought among them solidarity and social unity. This facilitated their mass mobilization against the common enemy. The community which had been suffering already through the illegal eviction and the exorbitant rents due to the injustice of land lord-British conspiracy, now found asylum in the new leadership. At the same time the hatred of the community towards the land lords increased so much so that they no more accepted the superior position maintained by the land lords in the society and became reluctant to respect them. Sayyid Fazl while attempting to heighten the awareness of the identity of the Mappilas and increase their independence from the dominant Hindu castes issued many *fatwas* which refuted to the superiority of the land lords and the caste Hindus. He told the Mappilas that they shouldn't plough on Friday and forbade the using of honorific titles or *achāra vālkku* while addressing the high castes.⁴⁶ The Mappilas readily followed the injunctions with letter and spirit, and some of them it is said, have even gone beyond the instructions and broke the ploughs of Nairs who would not cease work on Friday.⁴⁷

Sayyid 'Abdulla Koya Tangal (d.1908), the nephew and the successor of Sayyid Fazl, tried to maintain a policy of reconciliation with the authorities and tried to put an end to the outbreaks. Like Karamat 'Ali in Bengal, 'Abdulla Koya tried to reform the Sunni Islam by maintaining a peaceful relationship with the British. He started a journal called *Hidāyat al lkhwān*, which was the first of its kind in Arabic Malayalam. Through the publication he made aware the community of the importance of modern education and urged them to put an end to the hostile activities against the British authority.⁴⁸

In the Rebellion of 1921, the major peasant insurgence in Malabar the *sayyids* and the *ulama* gave a lead. Chembrasser Tangal, Seedikoya Tangal, and Konnara Tangal were the chief sayyids who lead the rebellion. The *ulama* including *sayyids* appealed to the Mappilas to defend their bosom faith and *fatwas* and pamphlets were circulated to incite the people for insurrection. This undoubtedly made the Mappilas even more disposed to support the kind of social and political goals implicit in the concept of a Khilāfat kingdom. Sir.W. Vincent, Home Member of the government of India, in his speech at Madras Legislative Assembly on 8 February 1922, attributed the sole responsibility of the rebellion up on '*ulama*'⁴⁹. But at the same time, though the *ulama* were powerful enough to incite the Mappilas to rebellion, once they had resorted to violence it became beyond the control of *ulama* in stopping it. This fact was evident in the rebellion at Manjeri, where one Mappila retorted that "they wouldn't remain silent even if the Mambram Tangal himself were to rise from his grave and order them not to create a disturbance."⁵⁰ However the Mappilas were very particular in getting a religious sanction for

their deeds and it was for this, they sought the blessings of the *'ulama* and sayyids and it was considered a certificate to paradise even if the rebels were defeated and killed. At Mambram, the successors of Sayyid Fazl were less interested in the rebellion and often remained loyal to the authority but the rebels never forgot to visit the shrine and seek the blessings and the practice had become a widely accepted tradition.

NOTES:

1. Shah Waliyullah, *Hujjathullahi al Baligha*, quoted in, M. Mujeeb, *The Indian Muslims*, London, 1967, p. 29
2. *Fatwa* is a verdict or a decision on a point of law by the learned doctors of Islam. The *fatwa* document is a conventional form and varied little over the centuries. It is headed by a pious invocation in Arabic often written in a very involved and stylized manner and varying from period to period. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Brill, Leiden, 1983, Vol. IV, p.86
3. Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Islamic Revival in British India, Deoband, 1860-1900*, Princeton, 1982, P. 51 fn; Wilfred Cantwell Smith, in C.H. Philips, ed., *Politics and Society in India*, London, 1963. pp. 47-49
4. Mushir ul Haque, op. cit., p. 2
5. He was born at Tarim in 1139/1726-27 and by the age of twenty attained the perfection of knowledge. He was initiated to the Qadiri order by Muhammad b. Hāmid b. Shaikh 'Abdullah [Trimingham puts the year of the death of Shaikh 'Abdullah as 1720 (Trimingham, op.cit., p.216)]. If it is correct Shaikh Jifri had no chance of meeting him because he was born seven years after the death of 'Abdulla) and to Ba'Alawi order by 'Abdullah al Haddād, Shaikh 'Abdu Rahnan, *Kawkabiddurriyya fi Manaqibi Qutub Shaikh Jifri*, Published by the Author, 1329/1911 .p.2
6. The establishment of Mysorean rule was merely a political change for Mappilas and they never regarded it as the establishment of an Islamic rule over the rule of the infidels. The religious leadership also found no difference between the rule of the Zamorins and that of the Mysoreans. Despite the fact that the former being a Hindu rule and the latter a Muslim, to the Mappilas Malabar under both the regims was *dar-al Islam*. Since the Mysorean rulers were Muslims and they continued the existing, religious freedom as before, the leadership never thought of any confrontation with the Mysoreans, though to the Zamorins and his allies, the new rule had brought ill will and inconvenience. The revolt of Attan Kurikkal and his supporters against the Mysorean power was a part of land lords' reaction against the new revenue experiments and was neither sanctioned by the religion nor supported by the religious leaders. When the Mysoreans replaced the traditional system with their new policies, the Mappilas as well as the low caste Hindus were elevated to a status of equal citizenship in social and economic pursuits. The disappointed and disgraced land lords who had fled to the south, were waiting for an opportunity to return and revenge. The British authority who had replaced the mysoreans not only brought back the traditional system but also gave maximum powers to the land lords to harass the tenants. The Mappilas, till now enjoying considerable freedom, were again brought under the weight of land lordism. They were denied of their economic and religious existence and the Mappila leadership at last found rebellion against the land lords, the only way to save themselves from the plight. The reactions

which were primarily aimed at the land lords, ultimately turned against the British government, with whose support the land lords exploited their Mappila tenants.

7. Sayyid Alawi (1752-53 -1844-45)' (Sayyid Alawi came to be known as Mambram Tangal, for his house was situated at Mambram on the northern bank of Kadalundi river , just opposite to the Tirurangadi Mosque standing high on the south bank of the river. Born at Tarim as the son of Muhammad b. Sahl Mawladdawila, Sayyid Alawi became an orphan at an early age. When he reached the age of 17 years he migrated to Malabar and established his seat at Mambram. After his death in 1844-45 he was buried in the mausoleum complex there. He was succeeded by his son Sayyid Fazl who followed the footsteps of his father. The tomb of Sayyid Alawi is venerated by Mappilas and it acted as a medium of inspiration during the Mappila out breaks. For a detailed study of Mambram Tangal, see, K.K. Muhammad Abdul Karim, *Hasarath Mambram Sa.yyid Alawi Tangal*, Tirurangadi, 1975
8. Sayyid Fazl had included *Saif al Battar* in his '*Uddat al Uamara ' wal Hukkam li Ihanat-al Kafarata wa 'Abadat al Asnam(Requirements for Leaders and Rulers to Prevent Disbelief and Idolatory)*, Egypt, 1273/ 1856. The book was prohibited in Malabar by Conolly, the Collector.) the book written by his son Sayyid Fazl 1240/1824-1318/1901
9. Sayyid Fazl,(ed.), *Uddat...*, p.25
10. Ibid., p.28
11. Ibid., p. 29
12. Ibid., p.26
13. Ibid., p. 29
14. Ibid., pp.30-31
15. Ibid., p. 39
16. Ibid.p.39
17. Ibid. p.34
18. S.F. Dale, *The Mappilas of Malabar*, p. 114
19. O. Muttukkoya Tangal, *Mambram Maqām*, Tirurangadi, 1989, pp.24-25. A *nercha* festival is held every year in the name of the martyrs of Muttiyara.)
20. S.F. Dale, *The Mappilas of Malabar*, p. 116
21. See C.M. Muhammad Moulawi, *Britante Parājayam Athava Cherur Chinth*, Published by the Author, n.d.pp. 2-23. The Cherur fight was against one Kaprat Panikkar of Cherur near Vengara. Panikkar was the land lord of the area and he, with the support of the British, disgraced the Mappilas, most of whom were converts from lower castes. They placed their grievance before Sayyid 'Alawi Tangal with whose blessings they took to fight against the Panikkar. It is said that within no time tangal himself reached the spot miraculously and actively participated in the battle. Panikkar was assisted by sixty British soldiers of Vth Madras regiment under Captain Leader. According to the British Version four of them were killed in the battle while the Muslim sources put the number as twenty. The bodies of Muslims who lost their life in the battle were taken by the British soldiers to Tirurangadi with the intention of cremating them, but at the protest of the Mappilas they left the bodies there and the Mappilas themselves buried them in Manthani Paramba near Tirurangadi.The authorities prohibited the Mappilas in visiting these graves. In the fight seven Mappilas lost their life. They are: Puwwadan Moideen,

- Punadakkapuram Moideen, Punthirundi Ismail, Pattarakkadavil Husain, Mussakkutty , Ali Hassan, and Cholakkal Bukhari. For details of the Cherur fight, see, R.G. Burton, Mappila Rebellions", *Journal of the United Services Institute of India*, C.N. Ahamad Moulawi, K.K.Muhammad Abdul Karim, *Mahathya Mappila Sahitya Pāirambariyam* op.cit. pp. 178-179 & 389-392; C.M. Muhammad Mawlawi, *Britante Parājayam*, op.cit; O. Muttukoya *Tangal, Mamburam Maqam*, op.cit., pp.25-26; K.K.Muhammad Abdul Karim, *Hasarath Mamburam Sayyid Alawi Tangal, Tirurangadi*,1975
22. S.F.Dale, *The Mappilas of 'Malabar*, p.116
 23. Tamil Nadu Archives, *Malabar District Records, Police, 1817*. pp. 435-6.
 24. In the early revolts led by Attan Kurikkal and Unni Musa, the religion had played only a minor role. Their fight was mainly for personal ends rather than a holy war.
 25. S.F.Dale, *The Mappilas of Malabar*,p. 119
 26. ¹ Logan, *Malabar Manual, Superintendent. Govt., Press. Madras. 1951*,
 27. Vol.I,p.67
 28. Ibid ., p. 87
 29. C.A. Innes, *Malabar: Madras District Gazetteers. Superintendent, Government Press. Madras, 1951.(First Published in 1908 edited by F.B. Evans and republished in 1933, p. 79*
 30. Logan, *Malabar Manual, Vol. I, P. 557*.
 31. Minute of J. Grose, Member Council of Governor of Madras 18 August. 1893, *Madras judicial proceedings*, No. 1567, 30 September 1896, p.131.Conrad Wood.op.cit..p.45
 32. Information given by C. Kanaran, Deputy Collector of Malabar to W. Logan. Govt. of Madras, *Malabar Special Commission, 1880-82, Vol. II, p, 48*
 33. For the full text see his Uddat....., pp.92-165
 34. ¹ Logan, *Malabar Manual, Vol.I .,p. 567*
 35. Magistrate's Report, dated on 29 November 1851, *Ibid.*, p.567
 36. *Ibid*
 37. *Ibid. India Office Library, Moplah Outrages Correspondence, Vol. IV, p. 441*
 38. Logan, *Malabar Manual, Vol.I .,p. 567*
 39. See Innes, op.cit.,p.80.
 40. K.K. Muhammad Abdul Karim, *Hazrath Mamburam....* op.cit.pp.64-70
 41. India Office Library, *Moplah Outrages Correspondence, 1V, p.276*
 42. India Office Library, *Moplah Outrages Correspondence, Vol. IV, p. 336, S.F. Dale, The Mappilas of Malabar, p. 135*
 43. *Correspondence on Mappila Outrages in Malabar, (1849-1853). Vol. 1. p.32*
 44. C.K.Karim, *Kerala Muslim Charithram Stidivivara kanakku Directory, op.cit.,Vol.111, p.258*
 45. Innes, op.cit., p.79
 46. India Office Library, *Mappila Outrages Correspondence, Vol. IV, p.276*
 47. Conolly to Secretary, Judicial, 11 Feb. 1852, *Madras Judicial Proceedings*, No. 125, 20 Feb. 1852, p.696.
 48. C.K.Karim, *Kerala Muslim History, Statistics and Directory, Charithram Publications, Kochi, 1991, p.248*
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