

**Translation of Islam in Malabar:
Theory, History and Models**

*A Thesis Submitted to the University of Hyderabad
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Award of the Degree of*

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in

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by

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Note on Translation and Transliteration

All translations from Arabi-Malayalam, Malayalam and Arabic to English are mine unless otherwise specified. I have followed Brill's simple Arabic Transliteration system for transliterating Arabic words. For Malayalam and Arabi-Malayalam, I have followed Brill's Transliteration system and in certain contexts popular spellings to ease reading and comprehension. For Arabic words in Arabi-Malayalam text, I have followed Brill's transliteration system. I have followed the Common Era (CE) and avoided the Hijri era wherever I refer to a year. I have used Muhammad Asad's translation wherever I have directly cited Qur'an verses.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Translation, Religion and Community Formation

1.1 The Beginning

On Rabī' al-Awwal¹ 12, the most awaited dawn of the year, my village's Muslim community woke up earlier than usual. Men and children rushed to the mosque to attend the rituals before the Morning Prayer. Women of the house also prepared for their prayers. On such an occasion fifteen centuries ago, the Prophet Muhammad, the most revered figure in Islamic history, was born in Arabia. The Imām² and his deputy in the mosque gave loud tributes to the Prophet from a microphone while the people gathered responded to the chants in vigour. It was followed by a ritual recitation of Manqūṣ Mawlūd³, a text compiled and summarised in the 1500s by the then most influential scholar Zayn al-Dīn al-Malaybārī senior, who is popularly known as Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm I. The knowledgeable persons, including the Imam, read anecdotes about different *hawāriqul ādāts*⁴ from this particular text, and laypeople sang the verses in chorus with mind-blowing rhythm and bodily performance. Perhaps this was the scene in almost every Muslim household and mosque in the region on this auspicious day. Moreover, this was the tradition for several decades, as I understood from the community's elders. Manqūṣ Mawlūd, the text mentioned above,

¹ *Rabī' al-Awwal* is the Arabic month in which Prophet Muhammad was born in Mecca of the present-day Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

² An Imām is the religious leader of Muslims who leads the prayer in the mosques and elsewhere.

³ Manqūṣ Mawlūd is a hagiographical text in Classical Arabic language. The text is a central part of this thesis.

⁴ Literally meaning unprecedented events, these are the superhuman, miraculous activities of the prophets.

was central to the rituals. The book, a combination of prose and verse, was memorised by most elders even though they knew the meaning of neither the prose nor the poetry. It was startling to find a pretty old text in a foreign language getting such a massive reception among a community in which most were illiterate in this language beyond the traditional madrasa education. It was the immediate impetus I got to explore further the influence of this text and the formation of the literary canons among the Mappilas of Malabar.

This study attempts to mark the Mappila Muslim community's polyglossic engagements and the emergence of the vernacular Islam in the Malabar region, emphasising translation and its intrigues. The Arabic language and its vernacular counterpart, known as Arabi-Malayalam, nourished by the community, are given centrality in the study as they have been a thriving vehicle for translating Islam in the region over the centuries. The study analyses how an indigenous Muslim community's culture and language were influenced by interaction with the foreign stakeholders and their language and cultures. It also looks into how the community resisted the dominant vernaculars in Kerala by creating their distinct community register with a cosmopolitan outlook.

Several volumes are available on various aspects of South Asian Islam and Muslims with special reference to Ocean Littoral over the decades. The scholarly interests have massively attracted the history and evolution of Mappila Muslims, a sizable indigenous community in the Malabar region as well. The anti-colonial resistance of almost five centuries, the struggle for equality and justice for the lower order communities and the Islamic revival involving the Mappila community are some major themes in the study of Mappila Muslims of Malabar. A growing body of works deals with the vernacular aspects of Islam and the Muslims in the region. The vernacular language variation that prevailed

among the community known as Arabi-Malayalam occupies a significant space in these studies. There is a growing body of published works about the legacy of Arabi-Malayalam and its deep-rooted literary culture. Even though the language is near extinct as an inevitable consequence of modernity and reformism, the community has commendable attempts to preserve this register's treasures using modern tools. The present study is centred on the Arabic Cosmopolis of Malabar and its reflections on Mappila Muslims' everyday lives. This study on Mappila Muslims as a robust pietistic society takes hagiography, which constitutes the lion's share of oral and written literature in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam, circulated among them as the primary sources to establish the arguments of the study. This study illustrates how the Islamic faith spread in the region by analysing the select texts' form and content. To elaborate on the thesis, I have translated two seminal works that have had a crucial influence on most Muslims' everyday lives in the region into the English language domain. These works come under hagiography, a term denoting the biography of saints or holy men called the *Awliyā*⁵, the friends of God. These texts also encompass two distinct categories: *Mawlūd* and *Māla*,⁶ which occupy a prominent place in Mappila's literary tradition.

The devotional genre in the more broadly called religious literature makes a significant chunk of the written word's realm in local Muslim communities. Muslims across the continents take piety and devotion as the central part of their everyday life. Therefore, there was never a shortage of theological impetus and resources from oral to written materials to persuade the believers to submit to the will of God and lead a pious

⁵ *Awliyā* is the plural form of *wali* which means friend or comrade. This is mostly used to refer to holy figures and saints.

⁶ *Mawlūd* and *Māla* are two distinctive categories in Arabi-Malayalam literature. They are explained in detail in the following chapters.

life. According to Barbera Metcalf, who extensively studied South Asian Islam and Muslim communities, “the major objective of devotional literature was to instil ethical standards, cultivate inner life, and promote devotion to elders and holy men, living and dead, who could function as instructors, mentors, exemplars, intercessors, and conduits of charisma.”⁷ Apart from the spiritual enlightenment, devotional literature had the political agenda of making a community powerful and awakened about the social and political undercurrents taking place around them. The study explores how the Shāfi‘ī⁸ Muslim community in the region conceived religion through various textual and performative traditions. Ronit Ricci, who made an extensive study on Arabic Cosmopolis in South Asia, argues:

Across South and Southeast Asia, orally transmitted materials, as well as performative traditions, complemented and enriched written literature through a complex ongoing matrix of interaction and exchange. Large numbers of people could be considered as highly literate in their traditions, despite being illiterate by modern-day standards, since they lived in environments where texts were recited out loud for various occasions, and familiar stories were performed through puppetry, dance, and theatre.⁹

Malabar’s Mappila community is a classic example of the trend mentioned above.

1.2 Significance of the Study

Among the plethora of works that deal with the Mappilas directly or indirectly, few studies examine how Mappilas formed their community. Moreover, most of the Malabar or Mappila studies are stuck in the traditional narratives of the Malabar Rebellion,¹⁰ the

⁷ Barbera Metcalf, *Islam in South Asia in Practice* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 18.

⁸ Shāfi‘ī Muslims are those set of Muslims who follow the Shāfi‘ī School of Islamic jurisprudence, one among the four Schools in Sunni Islam which is prevalent among the Muslims of Malabar. The School follows the jurisprudence rules and regulations compiled by Imam Shāfi‘ī.

⁹ Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2011), 3.

¹⁰ Malabar Rebellion, also known as Mappila Struggle, is a historical resistance of Mappila Muslims against the British Colonialists. It is explained in detail in the next chapter.

anti-colonial struggles of Mappilas, and Malabar's trade relations with foreign countries from ancient times. Many efforts that provided the groundwork for the cultural transmission of Mappila Muslims, a sizable group in Kerala, have left a gaping hole in their identity. The socio-political and cultural contexts in Malabar had a more significant impact on the kind of translations that occurred here beginning in the 17th Century. The present study examines the roots of Mappila Muslims' cultural history, emphasising their literature and oral and performative traditions. It discusses how translation and oral traditions helped Islam to spread in the region with geographical, linguistic, and social diversity. It chronicles the circulation of Islamic texts, ideas, and literature, paving the way for the emergence of a new community converted from the dominant Hindu social order. The study also analyses literary transmission, translation, and religious conversion in Malabar with particular reference to Islam. The study emphasises the formation of the Mappila canon, which is quite distinct from Kerala's contemporary dominant Malayalam literary canon and its historiography. It examines how translation became instrumental in establishing local Muslim identity in the Malabar region. The study examines how language, religion, and literature contributed to the formation and definition of a trans-local Islamic sphere in Malabar. It is a modest attempt to locate the cultural identity of Mappila Muslims and locate their literature and heritage. The faith of Islam is given central importance in the study.

1.3 Research Question and Objectives

This thesis's overarching research question is to locate the cultural history of Malabar Muslims with particular reference to their textual and oral traditions from a translation studies perspective. The study aims to understand the role of translation and oral traditions

in establishing the Muslim community of Malabar. Its main intention is to critically understand the Mappila literary canon and engage with the history and culture of translation in Malabar. The thesis also analyses the arrival and spread of Islam in the region, focusing on literary and religious translation while contextualising translation with the religious conversion in Malabar. The thesis also aims to investigate the Islamic scholarly networks in the region and pinpoint the ulema's involvement in establishing the Malabar Muslim community.

1.4 Methodology

This thesis explores ethnography, literary historiography, and textual analysis methods to discuss how Islam was translated in Malabar. Three texts representing two unique literary landscapes have been translated into English from their Arabic and Arabicized Malayalam sources as part of the study. The translations were annotated with critical analysis. The approaches employed for the study are textual and contextual analysis, several translation theories and methodologies, and discourse analysis. I have used ideas about the community, which deal with its ancestry and ramifications, culture, cultural translation, and other related issues for the study. I have also applied hermeneutics, orality, and textual rhetorical concepts to this topic. I have employed 'Malabar' in this research with its pre-colonial implications. I have heavily relied on primary and secondary resources in Arabi-Malayalam and Arabic to write this thesis. A review of the available literature has helped me place my argument through the prism of the Translation Studies discipline. As part of ethnography, I attended several Mawlid gatherings and religious congregations to see how profound the influence of the texts discussed in the study is. The period of the study is not definite. However, the study focuses on the 1500s to the late 19th

Century. I have examined several manuscripts written in Arabi-Malayalam, located in various libraries, to assess the literary universe of the register, which occupies a central part in the following pages.

1.5 Chapterization

This thesis has six chapters, including the introduction and conclusion. The initial two chapters give an overview of the field and the people chosen for the study. Following the first chapter, which also serves as an introduction, the second chapter establishes the context for the study by discussing the brief history of Mappila Muslims in Kerala and their involvement in the state's sociopolitical life. The chapter precisely attempts to locate the political and cultural evolution of the Malabar region and its Mappila population. The third chapter presents an overview of Arabi-Malayalam's origins and development across time, emphasising the language's social and cultural aspects. The chapter examines how, since its inception, Arabi-Malayalam has evolved through a variety of means derived from religious institutions and traditions and how, at one point in time, especially in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it functioned as the primary mode of communication and literary activities among the Mappilas. The chapter also discusses the translation history and the Tarjama tradition that prevailed in Arabi-Malayalam. The fourth chapter is an annotated translation of *Manqūṣ Mawlūd*, the text mentioned above. Along with the translation, the chapter gives an overview of the text and practice of Mawlid in Malabar. Additionally, the chapter provides the translation of *Badr Mawlūd*, the second most circulated Mawlid in Malabar. The fifth chapter is a translation of the *Muḥyiddīn Māla*. In addition to the text's translation, the chapter discusses intra-religious polemics among Kerala Muslims and the canonisation and censorship of the *Muḥyiddīn Māla*. The final

chapter makes the concluding remarks of the study.

1.6 The ‘Religious Turn’ in Translation Studies

Recent developments in the scholarly realm have made it imperative to examine the function of literary tradition and translation in developing a community’s culture. Because of postcolonial studies, translators and scholars of the discipline have started to look at translation from a more holistic perspective, taking cultural, social, political, and historical contexts into account. However, despite their shared interest in the theoretical and material transmission of ideas, texts, and practices and the transformations they produce in new historical and cultural contexts, neither has conducted extensive scholarly investigations into the intersection of translation and religion. Bible translation concerns have dominated Translation Studies since the late 1970s, including theology, historical linguistics, and, more recently, cultural politics surrounding Bible translation. There have also been a few translation studies of the Hebrew Bible and the Qur’an, where the bulk has focused on linguistic concerns of translation and translatability, offering a limited view of these works’ translation histories.¹¹ The pioneering translation scholars like Eugene A Nida have dealt with these religious translation issues in the 1970s, but they have focused mainly on the Bible translation. In their seminal work, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, Nida and Charles R. Taber provide theoretical elements for the Bible translators who deal with various linguistic cultures. They analyse various cases of Bible translations and propose solutions to overcome the difficulties of translating the Christian holy book by having a new attitude to languages.

¹¹ Hephzibah Israel, “Translation and religion: crafting regimes of identity,” *Religion*, 49, no. 3 (2019): 323-342, DOI: 10.1080/0048721X.2019.1635332.

Some of the basic difficulties in Bible translation can be traced to the fact that people often have quite wrong views of the receptor as well as of the source languages. Hence, to produce texts which will approximate the goal of equivalent response, translators often need to change their view of the languages in which they are working. This includes not merely a shift in some of the attitudes which tend to place the source languages on a theological pedestal and to bow down before them in blind submission, but it often requires quite a radical rethinking of one's attitude toward the receptor language, even when it is one's own mother tongue.¹²

Translation has played a significant role in spreading scientific, technical, linguistic, and literary knowledge throughout human history. This is far more evident in the case of the propagation of organised religions and movements. Translated scriptures and associated works have been particularly effective in spreading religions and altering cultural ethics, ways of life, and conceptions of human and divine natures. Religion has been a significant motivator for translation in Muslim societies as well. Islam's claim to universality made books an effective medium for conveying knowledge and frequently sparked interest in texts written in diverse locations and languages. Translations of important Arabic works into various vernacular languages were popular throughout Muslim communities. In addition to participating in a flux of translation activities, they have conceptualised the process in their own terms and idioms.¹³ The trend was similar in Malabar as well. However, the translation activities of Malabar Muslims owe to the prevailing trend of religious translation in the region. The majority of Malayalam's literary output was translated from other languages, as it provides a unique viewpoint on South India's identity, indigenous social exchanges, and Hindu religious institutions. It is because the Kerala tradition arose from an older Tamil cultural matrix, developing its own

¹² Eugene A Nida and Charles R. Taber, *The Theory and Practice of Translation*, (Leiden: Brill, 1982) , 3.

¹³ Ronit Ricci and Jan van der Putten, *Translation in Asia: Theories, Practices, Histories* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 3.

adaptations of Sanskrit and indigenous genres over time and through a perplexing process of literary, theological, and cultural identity renegotiation.¹⁴ The literature produced in various registers of Malayalam were all literal translations in the early phase. Kerala's first literary work written in a distinct type of early Malayalam is a commentary on Kautilya's Arthasastra, a Sanskrit treatise on the Indic science of administration, and the commentary, titled Bhashakautilyam, is a virtual paraphrasing of the original. The Ramacaritam, a roughly contemporaneous and substantially more extended version of the Sanskrit epic, the Ramāyana, had also dominated Kerala's literary history.¹⁵

Tuñcattū Rāmānujan Eḷuttacchan (1494-1574), widely known as the father of the modern Malayalam language, was a religious scholar famous for his translation and scribal activities. He reproduced some of the fundamental texts in the Hindu religion through his translations in verses. Through his acclaimed work *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam*, a retelling of the epic Rāmāyaṇa in his Kilippaattu style, Eḷuttacchan introduced a Brahmin-Sudra amalgamation. He wrote this highly decorated work by adapting and altering certain elements for domestic consumption. According to Rich Freeman, "The manuscript distributions and the functional implications of the text's structure and content suggest that the context of use was domestic recitation, either privately on ceremonial occasions. At numerous places, the text breaks into metrical lists of epithets and phrases of praise like it were a kind of breviary for Rama devotionism."¹⁶ Eḷuttacchan also has the translation of

¹⁴ Rich Freeman, "The Literature of Hinduism in Malayalam," in *The Blackwell Companion to Hinduism* Edited by Gavin Flood, (London: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2003),30.

¹⁵ K M George, *A Survey of Malayalam Literature* (Bombay: Asia Publishing House,1968), 128.

¹⁶ Freeman, "The Literature of Hinduism," 30.

Mahabharata, the other Hindu epic, to his credit. The successive writers have been heavily influenced by the writing style of these pioneers in early Malayalam.

The Bible translation initiated by the Christian missionary also makes a major part of the translation history in Malabar. Translation has historically been critical to the church's mission, expansion, and renewal. The early adoption of printing technology and the favourable atmosphere created by the colonial governments helped Christian missions flourish and systemically propagate Christianity. The translation was vital in their pursuit of attracting Hindu orders to the new faith.¹⁷ During the eighteenth century, the evangelical enterprise of Bible translation was centred on particular ideals concerning the politics of translation. The primary goal of the Bible translation was to let people comprehend the Bible through their home culture and language. As a result, a Christian identity could be developed in the indigenous society. Thus, vernacular translations of the Bible played a critical part in popularising the Bible's and Christianity's message.¹⁸

Translation movements have been instrumental in spreading Islam globally from a very early period. The Arab-Islamic civilisation would not have emerged and flourished as it did without the early translators who worked to impart Greek, Indian, and Persian knowledge. The translation movement within Islamic civilisation emphasises the importance of acculturation and its beneficial effect on people. Arabs had a strong love for Indian civilisation, and there were numerous attempts at translation between the two. During the Abbasid dynasty, Arabs translated several Indian medical treatises into Arabic. The Abbasid caliphs engaged many Indian physicians to work in their palaces, ministerial

¹⁷ Ken Berry, "Bible Translation as Missions: The Work of World Bible Translation Center," *Leaven*: Vol. 7 : Iss. 1 , Article 23 (1999). Available at: <https://digitalcommons.pepperdine.edu/leaven/vol7/iss1/23>

¹⁸ See Lamin Sanneh, *Translating the Message: The Missionary Impact on Culture* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis, 1989).

offices, and hospitals.¹⁹ An organised and state-sponsored translation movement began in Islamic history during the Umayyad era (661–750). Although translation in this period was basic and inadequate compared to translations in the next three eras, it remains the movement's cornerstone. It was also the starting point for the Muslim world's expansion to the East and West. During this period, the translation movement was limited to practical translations of natural sciences such as chemistry and medicine and did not cover logic, psychology, or other natural sciences. The Arabic-translated writings were later back-translated into European languages, and they served as agents of the European Renaissance.²⁰

It is worth attention that the translational engagements of Mappila Muslims are hugely underexplored by scholars working in the field. Even though there are several studies on various literary aspects of Arabi-Malayalam, the tarjama tradition or the widespread translation phenomena is not given due respect or recognition. Maybe this is mainly because of the marginalisation of the literature in Arabi-Malayalam itself. Jahfar Sadique makes an introductory kind of study about this in his PhD dissertation on Arabi-Malayalam.²¹ He gives a comprehensive overview of the Arabi-Malayalam literature in translation with a general analysis of the Tarjama culture prevalent in Arabi-Malayalam.

1.7 Tarjama and Commentaries: Towards a Non-Western Notion of Translation

The conventional theories in the West regarding the practice and notion of rendering a source text to a target text have dominated translation studies discourse.

¹⁹ Labeeb Ahmed Bsoul, *Translation Movement and Acculturation in the Medieval Islamic World* (Cham: Palgrave McMillan, 2019), 9.

²⁰ Labeeb Ahmed Bsoul, *Translation Movement and Acculturation*, 10.

²¹ Jahfar Sadiq, "Translating Cultures: A Critical Investigation of the Literary Traditions of 'Arabi-Malayalam' Within Kerala," PhD diss., (EFL University, Hyderabad, 2017).

However, scholars and practitioners in the area have recognised the wealth, complexity, and variation inherent in translating text from one culture to another over the years. They have called for introducing translation theories from new perspectives considering its intrigues and social and cultural locations. Beyond the purely linguistic and literary study, the Translation Studies discipline has turned to cultural concerns, pragmatics, psychology, sociology, etc. Scholars like Susan Bassnett have called for looking at Translation Studies from a historical perspective.²² *Tarjama* tradition in Arabi-Malayalam should be considered in this context.

Torsten Tschacher, who studied Arabi-Tamil and Tamil Muslims extensively, has drawn various opinions about translation practices in the South Indian context. According to him, religion and its discourses have been necessary for translating texts in several Asian contexts. The universality of many religious traditions made texts an essential vehicle for spreading knowledge and often engendered an interest in texts written in different places and languages. Islamic traditions were no exception to this trend. Translation of important Arabic texts into various vernacular languages was common wherever Muslim communities existed. Yet, these translations' actual practice and how Muslims understood and evaluated them changed with place and time. Given the importance of translation for making ideas, notions, and precepts available to diverse populations, understanding the processes involved in translating texts in Muslim cultures has significant implications for our understanding of historical, religious, and literary developments.²³

²² Susan Bassnett. *Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 2002),17.

²³ Torsten Tschacher, "Commenting Translation: Concepts and Practices of Translation in Islamic Tamil Literature", in *Translation in Asia: Theories, Practices, Histories*, eds. Ronit Ricci and Jan van der Putten (London: Routledge, 2011).

In a seminal study on Islamic Bengali literature, Tony Stewart has argued that many pre-modern texts should be viewed as instances of ‘translation’ in a broader sense, that is, as translations of foreign ideas and conceptions into the Bengali language. Thus, ‘translation’ should be interpreted as a rather loose notion referring to the process of communicating thoughts in one language through another without expecting ‘literal’ correspondences between particular ‘texts’. The early Bengali Islamic texts demonstrate how authors strove to “fit” their understanding with those they encountered and how that process of understanding evolved into an extended prolonged translation. In this context, translation refers to how religious practitioners seek “equivalence” with their counterparts. As will become clear, this act of translating provides an alternate interpretative technique for conceptualising the way these diverse Sufi communities conceptualised the contours of power in Bengal.²⁴

1.8 A Note on Canonisation of Malayalam Literature

The canonising of any particular literature is rooted in the cultural and political repercussions in which it is located; quite often, it is their reflections. As a literary output of the cultural and political aesthetic of a particular time and space, literature of any regional and temporal specificity is influenced mainly by the hegemony of specific cultures and the dominant perspectives they enhance. Thus, literature from all epochs has undergone a critical canonisation process by naturalising and universalising a culture’s values and ambitions through the legitimate medium of writing. By establishing a conventional, authentic framework for literary recognition and legitimacy by elevating

²⁴ Tony K. Stewart. “In Search of Equivalence: Conceiving Muslim-Hindu Encounter through Translation Theory,” *History of Religions*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (February 2001): 260-287.

certain uses of language and modes of expression to the ‘normal’ and excluding others as outside the defined canon, all literature has played an outsized role as both a tool and an outcome of cultural hegemony. As Foucault posits, literary canonisation operates with the power-truth nexus, reflecting the location’s ongoing power mechanisms and socio-cultural dynamics. One of the major concepts in Michel Foucault’s work is the notion of power and knowledge. It is common to think of power and knowledge as distinct ideas, one political and the other epistemological or perhaps educational (having to do with teaching and education). Although power and knowledge are said to be inexorably linked by Foucault, he insists this is not the case. As a result, he creates the term “power/knowledge,” which refers to the combination of both power and knowledge.²⁵ Malayalam literature, which makes significant vernacular literary contributions to Indian literature, also has an established canon attributed to the dominant Hindu upper, elite roots, culture, and modes of expression.

The canonisation process attempted to produce a unified literary and cultural capital that would stand alone as Kerala’s dominant literary culture and aesthetic while simultaneously marginalising anything that deviated from the “normal” or “standard” means of expression. The concept of a literary canon implies a similar level of formal recognition. Entering the canon, or more precisely, getting incorporated into the canon, entails the acquisition of some clear advantages. Membership in the canon grants social, political, economic, and aesthetic status, none of which can be easily disentangled from the

²⁵ Michel Foucault; Colin Gordon. *Power/knowledge : Selected Interviews and other Writings 1972-1977* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1980), 109.

others. Belonging to the canon ensures quality, and that assurance of high aesthetic quality acts as a promise, a contract, to the audience.²⁶

As the colonial power, the canonical work functions as a perceptual field centre, a centre of values, a centre of attention, and a web of meaningful interrelationships. Non-canonical works serve as colonies or unknown lands out of sight and out of mind. The canonisation is a strategy of cultural hegemony recognised by Antonio Gramsci and Michael Foucault in different contexts. According to Gramsci, hegemony occurs when the great masses agree with the dominant fundamental group's general direction of social life. Historically, this agreement has been fostered by the prestige and consequent trust accorded to the dominant group due to their position and function in production.²⁷ Through their canonised language, literature, and popular culture, the upper caste notions have determined the public sphere and the cultural scenario of Indian society. Eḷuttacchan is often glorified as the spiritual figure who brought the Vedas to the ordinary people through his translations, challenging the Brahmins. He lived in a crucial time of Kerala history when Portuguese colonial powers started their invasion of India. Vasco de Gama landed in Kappad, Calicut, with his armed men to attack the various regional kingdoms in Kerala. Portuguese forces shot and killed several traders, natives and Arabs and cut off many of the ears, noses, and hands.

In his critique of Eḷuttacchan, VC Sreejan argues that he lacked a sense of belonging to his region. He contrasts Eḷuttacchan with Shaikh Zain al- Dīn Makhdūm, a Muslim

²⁶ George P. Landow, "The Literary Canon," Victoria Web, Accessed April 24, 1989, <https://victorianweb.org/gender/canon/litcan.html>.

²⁷ Antonio Gramsci; *Selections from The Prison Notebooks*, ed. and trans. by Quintine Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, New York, 1971), 12

scholar and author who lived during Eḷuttacchan's lifetime. Shaikh urged indigenous people, particularly Muslims, to wage war against the Portuguese, who launched an unprecedented assault on their kings and people. *Tuḥfatul Mujāhidīn*, Shaikh's magnum opus written in Arabic and later translated into Malayalam and other international languages, can be considered the first manifesto of resistance movements against the European colonial endeavours in India. He has written many short and long works in Arabic. On the other hand, Eḷuttacchan was not concerned about the colonial invasion of his native land. He didn't write or say any word about the wars and the destruction led by Portuguese forces. There is no mention of his recent incidents in his writings.²⁸ Some critics argue that he was not interested in worldly things, so he didn't bring the day to day happenings there. Thus Eḷuttacchan becomes again praised for his devoutness also. But there is another interpretation for his devoutness: it was an indirect consequence of his western presence.

Eḷuttacchan's works have distinctions such as they were published in an unprecedented number of copies; they were received very much by the people etc. However, *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* and *Mahaharatha* were religious texts which acted as the catalyst for the reception among the majority of Hindu society. The devotional tone of *Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇam* was not literary or linguistic. It was the factor of religious faith that hallowed it. Because of this religious element, the work got wider acceptance. Those who expose the canonisation of Eḷuttacchan question his subjectivity. Whose representative was he? For whom does he write? And the critics allege that he was deliberately inviting Nairs,

²⁸ V C. Sreejan, *Ormayil Malabar: Samskarikacharithrathinte Akam Vayanakal (Malabar in Memory: The Inner Readings of Cultural History)* (Kozhikode: Pratheeksha Books, 2012), 12.

who were firmly against the Portuguese, to accept the devotional path by leaving the weapons and thus ensuring the Portuguese victory in Malabar. Canonised literary figures like Cherussery and Kunjan Nambiar also come under this political criticism. The school textbooks reinforced these literary canons after independence. Despite having a clear religious tag, these works were in the national and state curriculum syllabus.

In contrast, other high literary works written in registers like Arabi-Malayalam are still confined to the margins. They are marginalised as the literature of a particular community. This is evident in the subsequent literary historiography as well. The language style used by Eluttacchan and Cherussery was followed by modern poets like Ulloor S Parameswara Iyer, Kumaran Ashan, Vallathol Narayana Menon etc. Ashan's celebrated work *Duravastha* represents Muslims as Mohammadians with cruel faces. The poet writes that they are the people who made the Malayali land red with the blood of Hindus. Ashan is still known as the icon of Malayalam poetry. To a large extent, the salient feature of canonised literature was that all of them were, in one way or another, highly casteist and bigot in nature. Ashan describes Mappilas in an outrageously racist manner. He says that Mappilas were dark and fat, and they abused people in impure language, assaulted women, even dishonoured dead bodies etc. Vayalar Ramavarma's *Adruman*, published in 1953, was not different from Ashan's narrative. In this story, Aduman is a butcher who forcefully marries his nine-year-old daughter Ayisha to an older man who had previously married and divorced six times. As S Sanjeev argued, since the late nineteenth century, particularly with the rise of print culture, every attempt to create a standard Malayalam has glorified specific registers as Malayalam: initiatives that cannot help but clash with the caste structure. Historically, Walluvanad had a significant concentration of powerful Nambudiri Brahmins,

the highest caste in India. It was said that they were well versed in Sanskrit. Social pressure prevented lower castes from mimicking higher castes' customs. Hence their spoken language remained uninfluenced by Sanskrit. As a result, Walluvanad's status as a purely Malayalam language may be based on this.²⁹

Indulekha by O. Chandu Menon, initially published in 1889 and translated into English by W. Dumergue in 1890, is widely regarded as the first fiction in Malayalam that can legitimately claim to possess the majority of novelistic features. The novel's narrative location is Malabar. It used a very aristocratic language contrary to the widely used Mappila slang of Malabar. The same style was later followed by Thakali Shiva Shankara Pilla, V.K.N, Uroob etc. Sanskritization is a tool to impose the hegemony of particular literature over others. The historiographers looked over several novels while Indulekha walked into the canon without any criticism. In this context, M. N. Sreenivasan's idea of Sanskritisation is noteworthy. K. Satchidanandan compares the process of 'folk' becoming 'classical' to Sanskritisation. Sanskritisation is a social mobility process in which the lower caste emulates the upper caste's rites and practises. English education during the colonial period had a significant role in popularising these beliefs, reinforcing rather than destroying the *varna-jati* (India's caste system) structure. He continues, "Once incorporated into upper caste/class discourse, folk's disruptive energy and subversive worldview became smoothed down, their shapes stylised and established for all time, and subject to canon."³⁰ During this period and before, there was a widespread belief that Indian civilisation was founded on Sanskrit literature, with written Sanskrit scriptures serving as the foundation for Indian

²⁹ S Sanjeev, "On Castes, Malayalams and Translations," in *Translation in Asia: Theories, Practices, Histories*, eds. Ronit Ricci and Jan van der Putten (London: Routledge, 2011).

³⁰ K Satchidanandan, "Breaking the Boundaries: The Folk, Classical and the Modern." In *Folklore and Alternative Modernities*, ed. Nandini Sahu (New Delhi: Authorpress, 2012), 277-286.

religion, philosophy, ethics, and aesthetics.³¹ Thus, Aithihamala's Sanskritized rendition of legends demonstrates its strong reliance on hegemonic power systems.

The Malabar Muslims' primary medium of instruction was the Arabi Malayalam script. Religious doctrines and codes of conduct were primarily taught and internalised through the Arabi Malayalam media. This script was not only used for religious education. It eventually became ingrained in people's daily lives. When Mappilas began using this medium to convey their thoughts and feelings, it took on a literary dimension. "Arabi-Malayalam has enhanced the Malayalam language by establishing its literary vehicle, Mappila literature. It encompasses both prose and poetry. Prose compositions include religion, history, and fiction; many books for private Madrasas are still written in Arabi-Malayalam. However, Arabi-Malayalam lyrical writing, commonly referred to as Mappilapattu, has percolated to the common people due to its melody and ease of expression."³²It would be felt that Arabi Malayalam's language in the early works was not pure. All the ancient texts have the same defect. There is an opinion that *Ramacharitham* was not even a Malayalam text. The language then was a mixed language. Naturally, Arabi-Malayalam also has that influence. The script's constraint was a significant factor. Change occurs in the language as a result of script changes. Even though many individuals wrote with enthusiasm, Arabi-Malayalam ultimately declined in popularity. The expansion of public education altered the status of Arabi-Malayalam as the primary language. Malayalam began to be utilised daily.

³¹ K Satchidanandan, "Breaking the Boundaries:," 290.

³² Ibrahim Kunhu A.P. *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: Their History and Culture* (Kozhikode: Sandhya Publications, 1989), 21.

The canonisation of Malayalam literature is predominantly upper-class male-centred. All other literature is subverted and sidelined. The literature produced by women writers, Dalit and minority writers is still marginalised. They are considered as literature for separate target readers. Understanding delegitimation and defamiliarisation allow us to see the pitfalls of placing any work, regardless of history, within a graded, evaluative hierarchy. The never-ending process by which competing interest groups vie for cultural hegemony, in part by defining what shall be invested with merit, should be resisted, and the canons should be brought for deconstructionist reading. The new social movements have called for a more democratic, inclusive, and pluralistic curriculum, syllabi, and reading lists. In recent years, literary critics and scholars have begun to question the standards used to define literary value, historically including hazy notions of aesthetic brilliance and universality. Questions, like what is excellence? Who makes the final decision? is there a universal truth or reality? etc., have put the canon debate on the centre stage. Scholars have debated which works should be investigated, taught, researched, and critiqued, fighting for a new definition of criteria and the evaluative process. The same understanding enables one to reformulate one's concept of literary merit in terms of how and why individual works have power at any given time. As far as Malayalam literature and cinema are concerned, there are attempts for rereading and rethinking literary value. There are conscious efforts from emerging Dalit and Muslim critics to resist the upper-class Nair and Brahmin hegemony by resituating canonical literary texts among the multiple forms of writing.

Chapter 2

Polyglossic Malabar and the Cosmopolitan Mappilas

This chapter introduces the field or the region of the following thesis discussion. It will give a concise and diverse preface to Malabar and the Mappila Muslims and their socio-political history and negotiations with the land and its various elements. As a region, Malabar occupies an important place in the cartography and history of South Asia and the Indian Ocean Littoral. Several works have been produced about this aspect from different perspectives. In the eventful and prolonged history of Malabar, the ocean had played a crucial role as the constant connections with the outside world shaped its economy and many other realms such as society, culture, religion, politics, and worldview and developed it as an ideal cosmopolitan space.

2.1 Malabar's Location and History

The northern part of India's present-day Kerala state, Malabar, lies between the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. In this study, I use the term Malabar in its pre-modern sense to denote the whole Coast and lands of erstwhile Kerala before the British colonial administration made Malabar one of the administrative districts under the Madras Presidency. Malabar consists of Kerala's northern districts from Kasaragod to Palakkad in the socio-political discourse. The erstwhile Malabar comprised areas like the port towns of Muziris or Kodungallur, known as Cranganore, apart from the current geographical boundaries. According to prominent historians, ancient Malabar covered areas from Mount Deli to Cape Comorin.³³ The Coast had long been a station for the Arab and Persian traders

³³ For a detailed discussion about Malabar See Mahmood Kooria and Michel N. Pearson (eds), *Malabar in the Indian Ocean: Cosmopolitanism in the Maritime Historical Region* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2018).

because of its peculiar position in the Indian Ocean. The monsoon cycle dictated that any commerce across the ocean include a layover on the Malabar Coast or the Coromandel Coast. “Contemporaneous Arab navigational texts indicate that ocean-going vessels generally touched Malabar, where ports were most numerous. It seems as if Malabar was the site of the earliest Muslim community to have been established on the South Asian subcontinent.”³⁴

The name Malabar is, by and large, a foreign contribution. According to the etymology, the first two syllables of *mala* are a Dravidian or the vernacular Malayalam word, which means mountain or hill. The last syllable *bar* is probably the Arabic word *Barr*, which means the land, or the Persian word *bar*, which means a country.³⁵ These opinions could be valid as there was a tangible presence of Persian and Arabic networks in the region. These Persian and Arab geographers should have called the Western Ghats as Malabār, Malībār or Mīlībār ³⁶during their initial settlements in the region, and the term might have been adopted and refined by the subsequent European travellers, explorers and colonialists. According to Richard Burton:

The word (Malabar) is of Sanskrit origin, derived from *malya* (a mountain generally, but particularly the ranges called by us the Western Ghats) and *var* (a multitude). The Persian word *bar*, used in compounds, as Zang-bar, the region of blacks, or Zanguebar, is probably a corruption of the said var. Thus the original Sanskrit term *Malaya-Desha*, the mountain land, becomes in Persian and Arabic Malbar or Malibar, hence our Malabar.³⁷

³⁴ Jamal Malik, *Islam in South Asia: A Short History* (Boston: Brill, 2008), 38.

³⁵ William Logan, *Malabar Manual* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1989), 1.

³⁶ Mahmood Kooria, “Introduction: Situating Malabar in the Indian Ocean,” in *Malabar in the Indian Ocean*, xv.

³⁷ Richard Burton, *Goa and Other Blue Mountains or Six Months of Sick Leave*, (London: Richard Bently, 1851), 188-89.

Thus, the term was assumed in various parts in different styles like Malibör, Manibar, Ma-li-mo, and Ma-lo-p. Arab geographer Yaqūti (1179-1229) used the term Malibar for the first time.³⁸ The Arab traders informally called Malabar *Bilād al-fulful*, which means the Land of Pepper, as there is a wide range of references about the export of spices, mainly pepper from Kerala, to foreign lands. During the British colonial times, the name was restricted to denoting the West Coast area, including the Malabar administrative district under the Madras Presidency. The old Malabar district was divided into three smaller districts: Palakkad, Kozhikode, and Cannanore. Later after India got independence, Malabar formally became a part of Kerala state in 1956.

Most of present-day Kerala's Muslim population, known as Mappilas, inhabit this region. Having a unique history of contact with Arabia and Arab mercantile relations, Malabar has a very peculiar Muslim history, which is far different from the dominant Kerala society and its socio-political engagements. According to multiple historical records, Malabar has had trans-oceanic trade relations with the outside world through seas, especially the mercantile and colonial powers that followed, spanning centuries. Malabar was well-known as an established trade route, with the earliest trade contact with the Malabar Coast dating back to the Phoenician period. Malabar was known to the Hebrews during the reign of King Solomon. It could be supported by the fact that cinnamon and cassia, primarily produced in Malabar and Ceylon, were widely used by the Hebrews in Palestine.³⁹

³⁸ M.H Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (Madras: University of Madras, 1940), 19.

³⁹ Hussain Randathani, *History of Kerala Muslims*, 34.

There are narratives on Malabar's contact with East Africa before 3000 years. From Marco Polo (1292) to Ibn Battuta (1345), the famous travellers also mention about the presence of Arab traders in the ports of Malabar. While describing the Malabar Coast, Marco Polo says that "the merchants from Manzi, Arabia, and Levante come there with their ships and make great profits both by import and export."⁴⁰ In the fourteenth century, "Ibn Battuta reported encountering Muslims at every port he visited along the Malabar Coast, including Arabs from the Arabian Peninsula and Baghdad and Iranians from Qazvin. He claims that Calicut had the biggest concentration of foreign traders, particularly Arab Muslims."⁴¹ The decorated Moroccan voyager who visited Calicut from 1342 to 1347 describes the port town of Calicut:

We next came to Kālikūt, one of the great ports of the district of Malabar, and in which merchants from all parts are found. The King of this place is an infidel, who shaves his chin just as the Haidarī Fakeers of Room do. When we approached this place, the people came out to meet us and brought us into the port with a large concourse. The greatest part of the Mohammedan merchants of this place are so wealthy that one of them can purchase the whole freightage of such vessels as put in here; and fit-out others like them.⁴²

According to Roland Miller, "the Arab affinity has affected and continues to affect the language, religion, and culture of the Mappilas more profoundly than those of any other Indian Muslim."⁴³

2.2 Islam in Malabar: A Critical Review

There are conflicting narratives and theories about the advent of Islam in Malabar.

⁴⁰ Suranad Knjan Pilla, *Malabar in the Eyes of Travellers* (Madras: The Excelsior Publishing Co, 1940), 9.

⁴¹ Vernon Egger, *A History of the Muslim World since 1260, The Making of a Global Community* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 256.

⁴² Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battutta in the Near East, Asia & Africa 1325-1354*, trans. Lee, Samuel (London: Dover Books, 2005), 222.

⁴³ Roland Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Malabar: A Study in Islamic Trends* (Madras: Orient Longman, 1976), 51.

From mythological traditions to orientalist historiography, Islam's inception in Kerala has been a source of contention. The region's historiography is not devoid of subjective bias of its peculiar cultural and political setting. A well-known story of Islam's arrival in Malabar is the religious conversion of Cheraman Perumal, a mighty South Indian king and a Hindu sovereign of the Chera Dynasty in the Seventh Century, to Islam. As per the legend, while watching the stars from his palace's balcony, the King held an extraordinary scene as the moon split into two before returning to its customary shape. Awestruck by the event, the emperor summoned his court astrologers to know more about it.⁴⁴ They failed to interpret the incident to the King, who would later find the answer in a dream, suggesting that the miracle was performed by a man called Muhammad from a land across the sea.⁴⁵ A few months later, some Arab pilgrims on their way to Ceylon took a layover in Cranganore. They set up a meeting with King Perumal. The King learned more about the Prophet and his new religion during the conversation. The King decided to embrace Islam as he renounced the throne, divided his Kingdom into three, and set off to meet this Prophet of truth. The King ordered his aides not to reveal this matter to anyone in the court. Perumal met the Prophet, converted to Islam, and lived in Arabia. Then he returned to Kerala on a mission to propagate his new faith, Islam. But he died somewhere along the way before reaching his homeland.

The historians and chroniclers have been retelling this story with additions or omissions to establish Islam's early presence in Kerala. The colonial records of the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the British reinterpret it while the Calicut and Cochin

⁴⁴Sebastian R Prange, *Monsoon Islam: Trade and faith on the Medieval Malabar Coast* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018) 1.

⁴⁵ Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 1.

Grandhavaris begin with this episode. Specific epigraphic evidence also sheds light on this story. A Chola inscription indicates that the Cheras took to the sea after being attacked, which historians interpret to suggest the Cheraman Perumal voyage. The tomb in Zufar, Oman, attributed to an Indian King, is also evidence of this supposed historical event. However, there is an apparent ambiguity regarding the time frame of the incident. Let us look at some of the versions of this story told by different authors and historians.

The story appeared for the first time in an Arabic hagiographical text *Qiṣṣat Shakarwatī Farmāḍ* (The Story of the Emperor Perumal) by an anonymous author. The undated text believed to be written in the 12th Century is considered the oldest and the complete version of the Cheraman Perumal tradition. All the following texts later reproduced parts or full of this text. The story reads:

On that very night, God most highly praised showed the sultan of India the splitting of the moon just as it happened. Astonished, he wrote down the date on which the splitting had occurred. Since his mind was greatly troubled at how such marvels had come to pass, he summoned to him priests and astrologers and asked them to explain this miracle. He gave them forty days to accomplish this and elucidate the miracle. When they failed to do so within the allotted time, they said, “We know nothing of this; it was not in our book.” For a long time thereafter, the King would ask those learned Muslims and [Sūfī] renunciants and foreigners who passed through from different regions, but none of them had any knowledge of the matter. Then one night in his sleep, he saw the Prophet—God bless and keep him—as though with his own two eyes. The Prophet said to him, “You have seen, have you not, my miracle: the splitting of the moon.” “Yes,” the King replied, and he told him the story of the splitting from beginning to end. Suddenly the sultan awoke with a feeling of great affection in his heart for Muhammad, God bless and keep him. So badly did he desire to enter into his religion, and so much did he love the Prophet, God bless and keep him, that he neither ate nor drank nor found pleasure upon any bed. At that time his sultanate was in the town of Kodungallur. For a long time thereafter, Sultan Shakarwatī remained in consternation out of his love for the Prophet, God bless and keep him. One day there arrived on a great ship a multitude of Jews and Christians with their wives and children. They had all come to serve the sultan. They requested that he

provide them with lands, orchards, houses, and fields, and the sultan granted their request. Then he asked them, “From what land have you arrived, and what afflicted you there?” They all replied, “By God, we come from the noble, pleasant, and thriving city of Makkah. Recently a man has appeared there by the name of Muhammad bin Abdallāh. He claims to be a messenger and Prophet, sent by the Lord of the Worlds to the Arabs and all people. He contradicts our religion and subjugates our people. Many have believed in his religion because of his magic and his deception and his craft.” The King asked, “What magic and deception and craft does he have?” In reply, they told him the whole story of the splitting. At this, the sultan knew that these were his enemies and enviers, and so he kept hidden from them his love for the Prophet, God bless and keep him. Years went by until one day many dervishes arrived. With them, there was a righteous, sincere, observant, learned, and a benevolent old man named Shaykh Zahīr al-Dīn, son of Shaykh Zakī al-Dīn al-Madanī. These men wished to pay a visit to the footprint of Adam, peace be upon him. The sultan heard about the arrival of the renunciant ascetics and summoned them. He showed them great hospitality and powerful support and lavished them with wealth. Then he took Shaykh Zahīr al-Dīn aside and asked him about the splitting of the moon. The old man told him the whole story. Then he asked him about the date on which the splitting had occurred, and it emerged that the dates coincided perfectly. At this, the Indian sultan rejoiced, and Shaykh Zahīr al-Dīn marveled at his inner sincerity and at the low regard in which he held his own Kingdom.⁴⁶

In his highly acclaimed work, *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn* Shaikh Zain al- Dīn Makhdūm, a towering scholar of the time and an early source of Kerala Muslim history, mentions the story of Perumal’s embracing of Islam and the ensuing arrival of Mālik bin Dīnār and his group of Prophet’s companions in the port town of Muziris aka Kodungallur. As per his understanding, he retells the above-mentioned story of the King with slight variations. Talking about the settlement of Jews and Christians in Kodungallur, Makhdūm writes about the arrival of the Muslims:

⁴⁶ Anon., *Qiṣṣat Shakarwatī Farmād*, trans. Yarbrough, Luke in *Conversion to Islam in the Premodern Age: A Sourcebook*, eds. Nimrod Hurvitz, Christian C. Sahner, Uriel Simonsohn, and Luke Yarbrough (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), 258-60.

Some years later, there arrived at Kodungallur a party of Muslims, who were poor, with a *shaykh*. They were on their way to visit the footprint of our father Adam in Ceylon. When the King heard about their arrival, he sent for them, entertained them, and treated them hospitably. The leader of the group, *Shaykh*, informed the King about Prophet Muhammad (s) and the religion of Islam. They also talked about the miraculous incident of the splitting of the moon. Allah, glory be to Him, and exalted be He caused to enter in his mind the truth of the Prophet's mission. He heartily acknowledged him and his love for the Prophet took possession of his heart. He asked the *Shaykh* and his companions to call on him on their return journey from their visit to the footprint of Adam for the reason he might go with them. He commanded the *Shaykh* to keep this very confidential and not let anyone in Malabar know about his secret intention. Thus on their return journey from Ceylon, they called on the King. The King asked the *Shaykh* to arrange, without anyone's knowledge, the ship and other things necessary for his journey with them. As the day fixed for the voyage neared, the King gave orders to the effect that none of his family or ministers shall come to visit him for seven days. Then he set himself dividing his Kingdom into several provinces and set clear boundaries for each of them; then appointing governors for each province and wrote out detailed instructions defining the limits of territories of each so that none might encroach upon the limits specified for the other. They set sail till they reached Shuhr (Shahar al-Mukalla), where the King stayed for several days with *Shaykh* and his people. There another party joined them. They were people headed to Malabar with the mission of preaching Islam led by Malik ben Dinar. The King fell ill while staying in Shahr al-Mukalla. Hence, the King asked the team bound to Malabar not to give up the idea of traveling to India even if he dies of this illness. Subsequently, he gave them a letter in Malayalam containing the necessary information about his Kingdom. Before long, the King passed away. After a few years, the party reached the Coast of Kodungallur after several days of the voyage.⁴⁷

Zayn al-Dīn is uncertain about the historicity of the incident as he says it was a widespread belief circulated among the people at that time. He says: "As for the exact date, there is no certain information with us; most probably it must have been two hundred years after Hijra (632 AD)."⁴⁸ He goes on to say that the prevailing belief among Muslims in

⁴⁷ Zayn al-Dīn Makhdum, *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn*. Trans. S Muhammad Hussain Nainar (Calicut: Other Books, 2005), 29-30.

⁴⁸ Makhdum, *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn*, 33.

Malabar was that the King mentioned above converted to Islam during the Prophet's lifetime.⁴⁹ Mālik bin Dīnār and his companions were the first Arabs to arrive in Malabar with the message of Prophet Muhammad in the early centuries of Islam's establishment in Arabia. Several of his relatives, including Sharaf bin Mālik and Mālik bin Habib, accompanied him and settled here. Habib bin Mālik, his brother, travelled to Kollam, erected a mosque, and resided there. He then went on to preach Islam and built mosques in Ezhimala, Barkoor, Mangalore, Kasaragod, Sreekandapuram, and Pantalayani. Logan claims that the evidence supports this story of Islam's spread in Malabar.⁵⁰

In his manuscript, which is believed to be written in the early 1500s, Duarte Barbosa, the Portuguese explorer who visited Malabar, mentions the conversion of a Hindu King to a Moor.⁵¹ He writes about the dominating presence of Arab traders on the Coast and their influence:

And so for some years these Moors continued their voyages to this country of Malabar, and began to spread themselves through it, and became so intimate and friendly with the said King, that they made him turn Moor, and he went away with them to die at the house of Mekkah, and he died on the road. And before he set out from his country, he divided the whole of his Kingdom of Malabar amongst his relations; and it remained divided amongst them and their descendants as it now is. And when he distributed the lands, he abandoned those that he gave, never to return to them again; and at last, when he had given away all, and there did not remain anything more for him to give, except ten or twelve leagues of land all-round the spot from which he embarked, which was an uninhabited beach, where now stands the city of Calicut. And at that moment he was accompanied by more Moors than Gentiles, on account of having given to the latter almost all that he possessed, and he had with him only one young nephew, who waited on him as a page, to whom he gave that piece of land; and he told him to get it peopled, especially that very spot whence he embarked. And he gave him

⁴⁹ Makhdam, *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn*, 33.

⁵⁰ Logan, *Malabar Manual*, 195.

⁵¹ The term Moor is an exonym used by European Christians to designate the Muslim inhabitants of the Maghreb, the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, and Malta during the Middle Ages. The name was later also applied to Arabs and Arabized Iberians as well as other Muslim tribes they encountered.

his sword and a chandelier, which he carried with him for the state. And he left an injunction to the other lords, his relations to whom he had made grants of lands, that they should obey him, only leaving exempt the King of Coulam and the King of Cavanor so that he instituted three Kings in the country of Malabar, and commanded that no one should coin money except the King of Calicut. And so he embarked at the same place where the city of Calicut was founded, and the Moors held this time and place in much veneration, and would not after that go and load pepper any more in any other part since the said King embarked thereafter becoming a Moor and going to die at Mekkah.⁵²

The account of Cheraman Perumal's conversion is also documented in books such as *Keralolpati* (The Origin of Kerala). According to the story, Cheraman Perumal, the last Chera ruler of Makotai (Mahodayapuram), partitioned his kingdom, went on a pilgrimage to Makkah, and converted to Islam. The split Kingdom was divided among his relatives who were present at the time of partition.⁵³ However, several contemporary historians refute the story of Perumal. S.M Mohammed Koya is prominent among them. Commenting on this debate, he says that according to some historians, Islam arrived in Kerala due to a Chera emperor's conversion to Islam, mythology profoundly ingrained in the local tradition prevailing in Muslim and Hindu society. While the legend is widespread due to its appeal to Muslims' religious sentiments, contemporary records or evidence do not back it up.⁵⁴ According to A Sreedhara Menon, "the Cheraman legend is not corroborated by any contemporary record or evidence. The legend rested solely on the oral tradition handed down from generation to generation, and later writers reproduced it without any critical examination of its details".⁵⁵

⁵² Duarte Barbosa, *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century*, Trans. E.J Stanely and Henry (London: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 102.

⁵³ Hermann Gundert, *Keralolpati: The Origin of Malabar* (Reprint), (Trivandrum: 1961), 55-86.

⁵⁴ S.M Mohammed Koya, *Mappila Muslims of Malabar* (Sandya Publications, 1983), 26.

⁵⁵ A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History* (Kottayam: National Book Stall, 1970) 135.

The conventional view that got wider acceptance is that Cheraman Perumal's conversion must have happened at the ninth Century's beginning. However, for the historians like William Logan, Padmanabha Menon, and Krishna Iyer, who reproduced this view, the primary sources were the accounts enclosed in *Keralolpati Grandhavaris* of Calicut and Cochin and *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn* composed in the 16th Century. Hence, we can consider recent academic arguments and speculations such as Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai and MGS Narayanan that the conversion occurred in the 12th Century. Elamkulam suggests that a King of Malabar may have visited Makkah and Medina out of respect for Islam. Nellikkuth Ahmed Musliār opines that the ambiguity regarding the period comes from the confusion between the names of Banappalli Perumal and Cheraman Perumal, both Kings who had gone to Mekkah but during different periods. Banappelli Perumal visited Makkah in the Prophet's time and passed away in Shahar Muqalla, and the latter was buried in Zophar, Oman.

However, given the unanimity of the Muslim and Hindu histories, it is reasonable to believe that the favourable environment for Islamic spread was formed following the conversion of a great Hindu Perumal, most likely Cheraman Perumal, to Islam. The title 'Perumal' refers to the King who ruled over this territory between 216 A.D. and 825 A.D. This could be substantiated as many historians have agreed that Islam spread in Malabar in a very peaceful and gentle manner, contrary to Islam's arrival in North India by military expeditions and invasions of Muslim Kings and empires.

The Terisappalli Copper Plate of Ayyan Atikal of Venad, who was a vassal of the then governing Chera Emperor Sthanu Ravi of Cranganore (844–855 AD), is thought to be the earliest historical evidence proving the existence of Arab Muslims in Kerala. According

to the Tarisappalli Copper Plate Grant (849 AD), there were wealthy Arab commercial communities in Kerala's port towns in the ninth century. Arabs were witnesses to giving trade privileges to a Christian group according to the set in the Arabic script available here. All ten witnesses appear to be Arab Muslims, based on their names. This is unequivocal proof of the presence of Muslims at the time.⁵⁶ Miller concludes that the Cheraman Perumal story proves that the Mappilas, as a Muslim society, arose through an ongoing process of peaceful communication and trade contacts between Arabia and Kerala. As a result of the existing Arab colonies and the indigenous' religious tolerance, Islam found fertile ground. Converging lands may have aided Islam's development.⁵⁷ Historian M.G.S Narayanan also backs the Cheraman tradition. He states that there is no reason to dismiss the legend that the last Chera King converted to Islam and travelled to Makkah. It appears not only in Muslim chronicles but also in Hindu Brahmanical chronicles like Keralolpati. They are not obligated to fabricate a story that serves neither the Brahmin nor the Hindu population's prestige or interests.⁵⁸

Nonetheless, there is a wide gap in the Malabar region's full-fledged historiography from this period until the 13th Century. Malabar's maritime relationship with the wider world in general and the Arab world in particular, their mercantile dominance, and the Europeans' eventful colonial endeavours have dominated the subsequent historiography and the discourses around the region.

⁵⁶ M.H Ilias, "Mappila Muslims and the Cultural Content of Trading Arab Diaspora on the Malabar Coast," *Asian Journal of Social Science*, no. 35 (2007): 434-456.

⁵⁷ Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Malabar*, 51

⁵⁸ M G S Narayanan, "Political and Social Conditions of Kerala under the Kulashehara Empire," PhD Diss., (Kerala University 1972), 185-90.

2:4 Malabar's Maritime Engagements with the Arabs

In his work about Islam in West Africa, Nehemia Levtzion highlights social interaction, intermarriage, and the involvement of traders as critical factors in Islamization.

According to him:

Merchants were the carriers of Islam rather than agents of Islamization. Merchants opened routes and exposed isolated societies to external influences, but they were not themselves engaged in the propagation of Islam, which was the work of religious divines. The latter joined the commercial caravans, and it was through them that Islam left traces along the trade routes.⁵⁹

One can see this pattern of Islamization in Malabar as well. The early Arab settlements were crucial in the growth of indigenous Islam and the expansion of vernacular Muslims in Malabar. According to Stephen Frederik Dale, because of the regular monsoon winds, it is likely that Muslim merchants first travelled to the Malabar coast soon after Muhammad conquered Makkah. Muslims also became increasingly dominant in the Arabian Sea trade as Islam spread throughout the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf region,”⁶⁰

From the eighth century, Muslims who came and settled from Arabia and Persia established their colonies in Malabar. The local rulers' policy encouraged these traders at all the ports under their control. With the local rulers' backing for their gentle transactions, trade and commerce naturally went into their hands. The entire Malabar trade began to prosper with them as they became the new merchant class in the region. From the 11th Century onwards, Calicut, an important port town in Malabar, rose as a major trading centre and attracted massive trade traffic to the West Coast. Many of Kerala's major ports were

⁵⁹ Nehemia Levtzion, "Islam in the Bilad Al-Sudan till 1800" in *History of Islam in Africa*, eds. Levtzion Nehemia and Randall L. Pouwels (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 67.

⁶⁰ Stephen F Dale, "Trade, Conversion and the Growth of the Islamic Community of Kerala, South India," *Studia Islamica*, no. 71 (1990): 155-175.

dominated by Muslim commercial communities in the following centuries after the region was partitioned into various Hindu kingdoms. The Arab merchants and the native Muslim community had a strong relationship after the 13th century, and together they were the dominant force in port trading and affairs. Trade monopoly and dominance were at their height under the Zamorins of Calicut. So long as they maintained their riches, Malabar's Muslim society thrived up to the 16th century.⁶¹

In the early years of Islam, Muslims' trans-regional marine connection established a strong link between Malabar and Arab nations, facilitating the movement of commercial and cultural products and scholarly ideas between diverse realms. This does not necessarily imply that the people who carried the Islamic torch in Malabar were all Arabs. Instead, because of the cosmopolitan culture of the Indian Ocean's coastal regions, various communities travelled and stayed on the Malabar Coast.⁶²

Duarte Barbosa describes the Arab traders on the Malabar Coast as follows:

They are great merchants and possess in this place wives and children and ships for sailing to all parts with all kinds of goods. They have among them a Moorish governor who rules over and chastises them, without the King meddling with them. [...] These Moors were very well dressed and fitted out and were luxurious in eating and sleeping. The King gave to each one a Nair to guard and serve him, a Chety scribe for his accounts, and to take care of his property, and a broker for his trade. To these three persons, such a merchant would pay something for their maintenance, and all of them served very well.⁶³

The presence of Arabs in Malabar aided the development of Islam since their contact with indigenous helped Islam's translation into a cultural and regional area

⁶¹ Hamid Ali, "The Moplahs." in *Malabar and its Folks*. ed. Panikkar, Gopal (Madras: G.A Nateshan & Co. 1900) 265-276.

⁶² Mahmood Kooria, "Introduction; Situating Malabar in the Indian Ocean," 10.

⁶³ Duarte Barbosa, *Description of the Coasts*, 146-48.

extremely distinct from Arabia. Some academics believe that Perumal's conversion to Islam provided tremendous encouragement for both the elite and lower castes to embrace Islam. However, many people from lower castes converted and maintained cordial contacts with Arab merchants and scholars. This could be due to the attractiveness of important and rich Arab Muslims and their protection from the repressive measures of the prevailing caste system.⁶⁴

While considering the Muslim community's progress from the 7th to 12th centuries in Kerala, Miller, like several others, opines that "Islam grew as it began, peacefully and steadily. A calm forward movement marked the first eight centuries of Mappila growth following Islam's establishment in Kerala. The peaceful contact and development stand in sharp contrast to the progress of Islam in north India."⁶⁵ Trade and commerce had played a crucial role in this organic growth of the community. Several studies on the trade networks and maritime rivalries in the Indian Ocean confirm the presence of Arabs in the Malabar Coast and their soothing influence on the land's entire ecosystem. Arabs were the dominant merchants who had an overarching monopoly over the production and distribution of black pepper, one of the Indian Ocean trade's lucrative commodities.⁶⁶ These Muslims controlled almost all of the transit trade on India's West Coast. Arab and Persian Muslim colonies were progressively formed in Malabar and several other regions between Sind and Canton from the seventh century. Gradually, the Malabar trade began to thrive in the hands of hardworking Muslim merchants.

⁶⁴ Ilias and Shamsad, *Arabi-Malayalam*, 25.

⁶⁵ Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Malabar: A Study in Islamic Trends*, 51.

⁶⁶ Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 32.

2.5 The Origin and the Evolution of the Mappila Muslims

The community that grew out of Arab-Native bonds in the Malabar region were gradually known as the Mappilas. Currently, the Muslims of Malabar are commonly referred to and identified as Mappilas. There are varying takes on the term ‘Mappila’, what it denotes and how the term came into everyday practice. There is no historical or epigraphic evidence that the phrase was used to refer to Muslims prior to the 16th century. In the colonial records before the British, Muslims are mentioned as Mohammedans. Mappila was a common honorific to refer to Christians in medieval Kerala, and it is still present in some areas.⁶⁷ Earlier, Muslim and Christian Mappilas were differentiated as *Jonaka* and *Nasrani* Mappilas. However, it is exclusively used to refer to Muslims in the region in recent times.

However, tradition holds that the people are descended from distant lands. Mappila was offered as an honorific title to Christians, Jews, and Muslims. However, the word was later restricted to Muslims, and all colonial documents refer to them as Mappilas. According to some, Map-pila is a diminutive of Maha Pilla, which means ‘grandchild.’ Others believe it is derived from Mathavu (mother) and Pillai (child) to refer to children born to Malayali women by Arab husbands.⁶⁸ Mappila literally means bridegroom, son-in-law, or husband in Dravidian languages. According to J.B.P. More, who conducted various enquiries and investigations among Malabar Mappilas, the most likely meaning for ‘Mappila’ is bridegroom or son-in-law. This could have been used for the offspring of Arabs married to Malayali women in the early time. However, Sebastian claims that “the name Mappila

⁶⁷ Logan, *Malabar Manuel*, 1.

⁶⁸ JBP More, *Origin and Early History*, 32.

implies not a single group but a wide range of Malayali Muslims of various origins, customs, and socioeconomic profiles.”⁶⁹

While describing the Muslims in Malabar, Duarte Barbosa uses the term Mapuler. He writes in length about them:

In all this said country of Malabar, many Moors are of the same language and color as the gentiles of the country. They go bare like the Nairs, only they wear, to distinguish themselves from the gentiles, small round caps on their heads and their beards fully grown. So that it appears to me that these people are the fifth part of all the inhabitants that there are in this country. They call these Moors Mapulers, they carry on nearly all the trade of the seaports: and in the interior of the country, they are very well provided with estates and farms. So that if the King of Portugal had not discovered India, this country would have had a Moorish King: because many of the gentiles turned Moors for any offence which they received amongst one another: and the Moors did them great honour, and if they were women, they immediately married them. These people have many mosques in the country in which they also unite in council.⁷⁰

In the 15th century, despite their historical associations with Sufi and local forms of Islam, the Mappilas’ peasant upbringing linked them to Hindu symbolism. The Mappila community had gone through socioeconomic and theological upheavals at this time. These modifications sparked intense debates over the Mappilas’ metamorphosis from a passive to a peasant group and their evolution into a formidable Muslim community. The Hindu lower castes, who were oppressed by the existing social order, converted to Islam in order to gain dignity and social independence. Conversions to Islam took place under the auspices of the Sufis during the Mysorean time and after the abolition of slavery during the colonial period. This aided in the numerical expansion of Islam in Malabar.⁷¹ Shaikh Zain

⁶⁹ Prange, *Monsoon Islam*, 51.

⁷⁰ Barbosa, *Description of the Coasts*, 146.

⁷¹ Hussain Randathani, *Mappila Muslims: A Study on Society and Anti Colonial Struggles* (Calicut: Other Books, 2007), 44-49.

al- Dīn Makhdūm's *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn* also examines the social and economic conditions of Muslims from Cheraman Perumal's conversion until the Portuguese invasion of Malabar. Makhdūm noted that both the top and lower classes had converted to Islam. According to him, Muslim traders had gathered separate funds to assist the new converts. Though he refers to the Hindu caste system and conversions to Islam as a counterpoint, he does not refer to the nature or motif of the conversions. Additionally, Makhdūm does not utilise the commonly used name 'Mappila' to refer to Malabar Muslims. However, it is clear that not only were conversions permitted, but individuals who converted to Islam were accepted into society. The encouragement and assistance provided by monarchs were also helpful in fostering conversions to Islam. According to Pius Melekandathil:

The Zamorin of Calicut who carried out his commercial and political expansionist career with the help of the money and personnel offered by the Muslim merchants, patronised the interests of the Muslim merchants in Malabar even by encouraging a male member from each family to be brought up according to the tenets of Islam. As a result, the pan-Islamic commercial venture had strong bases in the ports of Malabar, where the Zamorin succeeded in establishing his hegemony. The merchant guilds of the Jews and the St. Thomas Christians, which were earlier operating in the commercial zones of south India, lost their prominence and began to give way for the expanding commerce of the Muslims.⁷²

Parallel to the Zamorins of Calicut, Ali Rajas established their Kingdom based in Cannanore. The royal house of the Ali Rajas, the only Muslim chieftains ever to rule a Kingdom in Kerala, was called the Arakkal House. The Arakkals ruled over wide swaths of Chirakkal taluk in north Malabar, Kasaragod taluk in the south, and the Lakshadweep Islands. The matrilineal palace provided political power and authority to the womenfolk. The Ali Rajas engaged in extensive maritime trade with the rest of the globe. The

⁷² Pius Melekandathil, *Maritime India: Trade, Religion and Polity in the Indian Ocean* (Delhi: Primus Books, 2013), 133.

Lakshadweep islands' coir industry and overseas trade established the foundation of their property.

2.6 Malabar's Colonial Past

Malabar's colonial past is much discussed by Indian and foreign historians and scholars for its turbulent history of encounters with the European colonial powers. Malabar had to endure centuries of violent colonialism from the Portuguese to the British. In most of these works, orientalist historians and the colonial officers drew the fanatic Muslim community's narrative. The nationalist historians followed suit while describing historical episodes like the Malabar rebellion of the 19th Century.

Following Bartolomeo Dias' expedition and discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, Vasco da Gama, with his fleet of Portuguese traders and Catholic Christian missionaries, disembarked at Pantalayani in Kappad beach near Calicut in 1498 CE. This was the beginning of a long saga of colonial atrocities against the people of Malabar and the Coromandel Coasts, lasting until 1961 when the Portuguese were driven out of Goa by the Republic of India. Da Gama's arrival with the blessings of the Pope was a result of the Portuguese's decades-old efforts to find a plausible trade route to the Indian subcontinent. When Vasco da Gama sailed to India for the first time, his objectives were already defined. His essential mission was to explore a new land rather than indulge in trade and commerce. The Portuguese King assigned him to find an exact route to India, tap the East's spice markets, expand his contact and forge possible alliances with Christian rulers who supposedly lived there. Despite their naval advancements and geographical understanding, Da Gama's convoy was mostly ignorant about Malabar and its socio-cultural milieu. They assumed that Hindu temples in the land were Christian churches. They misunderstood the

Brahmins' invocation of a local deity as the veneration of the Virgin Mary. They thought the Hindu gods on the temple walls were strange Christian saints. Above all, they took King Zamorin for granted and presented him with cheap goods expecting that he was a friendly Christian King who would receive them zealously. After an unsuccessful short stint in Calicut, Da Gama and his fleet returned to Lisbon. But on his second attempt, he came well prepared, with more resources, and determined to expel the rivalling Muslim merchants from their strongholds.

The second expedition, which the King ordered to be fitted out, was on a much larger scale. It consisted of thirty-three ships and 1,500 men, with ample military equipment. It was a great naval expedition meant to assert the authority of the King of Portugal over the Indian seas. This powerful armada was commanded by Pedro Alvarez Cabral, a nobleman of distinction, and the officers of other ships were recruited from the flower of Portuguese nobility. The orders to Cabral were to sail directly to Calicut and to demand from the Zamorin, on the threat of war, the right to establish a trading post and permission for five Franciscan fathers to preach the gospel.⁷³

Da Gama did some of the cruellest experiments in Malabar by massacring Muslims who were on their way to Makkah for the hajj, the Muslim pilgrimage. They kidnapped and mutilated the locals for entertainment. They enslaved people to offer the Portuguese King as trophies.

Da Gama and his associates, even before they reached the Coast of India, began to enforce the claim of his sovereign to be the Lord of Navigation. Without any kind of warning, he intercepted and destroyed any vessel he came across on his voyage. The following incident quoted in Lendas da India is typical of the policy of terrorism and piracy that he introduced into Indian waters. The Portuguese armada ran across an unarmed vessel returning from Makkah. Vasco da Gama captured it and, in the words of Lendas, 'after making the ship empty of goods,

⁷³ K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance A Survey of the Vasco Da Gama Epoch of Asian History, 1498-1945* (London: George Allen & Union, 1959), 34.

prohibited anyone from taking out of it any Moor and then ordered them to set fire to it.⁷⁴

Subsequent Portuguese missions into the Indian Ocean had two primary motives, economic as well as religious. One was to secure dominance and control over the important chokepoints of trade where Arabs had the monopoly. The other was to crush the Muslims' unity as the dominant merchant group and annihilate them as a well-organised religious community. Taking advantage of their powerful fleet and firepower, they attacked and seized the ports controlled by the Muslims. Under the ruthless Afonso de Albuquerque, they captured Cochin and Goa. Albuquerque's men massacred 6000 Muslim men, women, and children over four days.⁷⁵ The Portuguese erected fortresses in the pepper ports of Quilon (1519), and Cranganore (1536), to prevent spices from falling into Muslim traders' hands. The Portuguese had perceived Muslims as their eternal enemies and showed utmost hatred towards them. They intended to root out the Muslims from the trade and commerce as the rivalry and feud they had with Muslims of Iberia played out against Muslims in Malabar. When a Muslim was apprehended, he was subjected to the most heinous tortures before being slaughtered or enslaved. The Portuguese past in India is replete with barbaric atrocities against Muslims, whom they dubbed "Enemies of God."

The Portuguese crusade against Islam in Kerala invited a religious reaction as the Muslims responded to the *ulema*'s call for waging obligatory *jihād*, the holy war against Islam's enemies. Several written works by the influential *ulema* of Malabar, mostly in Arabic, urged the fellow faith holders for *jihād*. The Makhdūm family based in Ponnani

⁷⁴ Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, 35.

⁷⁵ Egger, *A History of the Muslim World since 1260, The Making of a Global Community* (London: Routledge, 2016), 257.

and Kozhikode *Qādis* were prominent among them. Zain al- Dīn Ma'bari, Popularly known as Makhdūm I, wrote Malabar's first known anti-Portuguese treatise in Arabic, titled *Tahrīd Ahl al-īmān 'Alā Jihād 'Abadat Ṣulbān* (Inciting believers to Fight against Cross-Worshippers) in 1522. *Tahrīd* depicts the Muslim community's miserable state of affairs after the Portuguese invasion of Malabar. It calls on the Muslims to take up the collective responsibility to carry out armed resistance against the Portuguese and liberate their land from foreign enemies. Later, Zayn al-Dīn al-Malaybārī, popular as Makhdūm II, came up with his renowned treatise *Tuḥfatul Mujāhidīn* (Gift to the Holy Warriors) in 1560. This is a lengthy chronicle of Portuguese colonialism and its atrocities against the Muslims of Malabar. The author dedicates this book to Sultan Adil Shahi of Bijapur, who maintained the Muslim Kingdom among many Hindu Kingdoms. The work also theorises the necessity for *jihād* against them despite Malabar not being a *Dārul Harb*.⁷⁶ The Mappilas joined hands with Marakkars and Pardesi⁷⁷ Muslims to resist the hostile aggression of the *Firangees* (The Portuguese). They opened guerilla warfare and militant ambushes against the Europeans. Martyrdom became the impetus for many to join the movement. The rewards and benefits of martyrdom (*shahādah*) became the subject of poems and devotional literature, which had tremendous appeal to the ordinary Mappilas.

While urging the Muslims to pledge loyalty to King Zamorin and fight for him against the Portuguese, Makhdūm praises the King for giving them favours as members of a different faith while recounting the Portuguese's violent deeds against Islam and the Muslims. In the preface of the text, he brings the pathetic situation of the Mappila Muslims:

⁷⁶ According to Islamic discourse, *Dār al-Harb* represents those lands ruled by non-believers.

⁷⁷ Pardesi can be roughly translated as a foreigner. Mostly Arab were denoted by this.

The Portuguese invaded the Muslim abodes and subjected them to all kinds of oppressions. The abominable atrocities and cruelties the Portuguese openly unleashed on the Muslims were countless. This Portuguese reign lasted for more than eighty years. By that time, the condition of Muslims had become extremely pathetic. They had become impoverished, weak, and powerless. They could not find a way to get out of this wretched hole.⁷⁸

Later, the author dedicates a full-length chapter titled '*Recounting some of the wicked acts of which the Franks were guilty*' where he lists out the Portuguese atrocities:

“I would have it understood, that the Mohammedans of Malabar formerly lived in great comfort and tranquility, in consequence of their abstaining from exercising any oppression towards the people of the country; as well as from the consideration which they invariably evinced for the ancient usages of the population of Malabar, and from the unrestricted intercourse of kindness which they preserved with them the people of Europe, the Franks, Christians by religion, who began to oppress the Mohammedans, and to bring the ruin amongst them; being guilty of actions the most diabolical and infamous, such indeed as are beyond the power of description: they having made the Mohammedans to be a jest and laughing-stock; displaying towards them the greatest contempt; employing them to draw water from the wells, and in other menial employments; spitting in their faces and upon their persons; hindering them on their journeys, particularly when proceeding on pilgrimages to Makkah; destroying their property; burning their dwellings and Mosques; seizing their ships; defacing and treading under foot their archives and writings; burning their records”⁷⁹

The Mappila resistance was commanded by Kuññāli Marakkārs, who were sailors turned admirals commissioned by the Zamorins. Their war against the Portuguese in and around Calicut lasted nearly a century. They could not withstand the Portuguese troops and their internal collaborators. Thus, once the Zamorin signed a peace pact with the Portuguese, the last Marakkar surrendered and was eventually executed in Goa. Because

⁷⁸ Makhdam, *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn*, 5.

⁷⁹ Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, *Tuhfatul Mujāhidīn*, Trans. Rowlandson, Michael John (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1833), 103-04.

of the Marakkārs' continual resistance, the Portuguese could never dominate Calicut completely. And they had to make room for the new European colonial invaders Dutch, who had suffered numerous losses in their battle with the Mappila warriors. The Portuguese colonialism had a devastating impact on the socio-cultural lives of Mappila Muslims as they were at the receiving end of the colonial experiments of the Iberian invaders. Even though the Portuguese could not establish a stable empire on the Malabar Coast, they destroyed the Muslims, who were the uncrowned Kings of trade and diplomacy in Calicut and Quilon. The prosperity and development of Mappilas who resisted Pardesi Muslims and Marakkar merchants faded into oblivion, and they became petty shopkeepers and brokers over time. The relentless struggles and resistance affected their social and economic status. The local chieftains who were dependent on the Muslims' financial help were forced to change their policy and position towards them as they were economically tested and weakened. The Muslims were impoverished due to the long struggle with a foreign enemy with advanced weapons and war strategies and support for local elements. Their social life became dismal, and they couldn't find a way to quickly overcome their decay as the respected traders of the Malabar Coast.

2.7 British Imperialism and the Mappila Rebellion

British colonialism and its Muslim response are among the eventful episodes in world history. The historical resistance and fight of the Mappilas against the white colonialists and the countless cruelties unleashed by India's British Empire are historically significant. Britain was the last colonial power to gain control over the people and the land of Malabar. Like the other Western powers, economic ambitions and trade interests led the British to Malabar. They were determined to take control of the spice trade, mainly pepper,

away from the Portuguese. In 1615, Captain Keeling of East India Company signed a treaty with the Zamorin to help his Kingdom expel the Portuguese from Cranganore and Cochin ports. In return, the Zamorin promised uninterrupted trade opportunities for the English in his dominions. Subsequently, the King permitted them to set up a factory in Calicut for trade purposes. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the East India Company had seized control of Malabar's lucrative spice trade and complete power over the native chieftains.⁸⁰

Malabar formally came under the British Empire in 1792 after they defeated the Mysore dynast Tippu Sultan in the third Anglo-Mysore war. Tippu signed the Srirangapatnam Treaty on March 18, 1792, ceding the land his father had formerly invaded to the English East India Company. The British's administrative policies were intended to create a rift between the majority Hindu community and the minority Muslim community. Their divide and rule policy shook the region's social setup. It destabilised Malabar's Muslim community by transforming established socioeconomic and political systems. The British conquest piled more pressure on the rural Mappila population, who were already underwhelmed by the impacts of the Mysore invasion and the subsequent communal polarisation. The British revoked the Mappilas' autonomy in the Southern Taluks and facilitated the propertied higher caste Hindu landlords to reinstate their social and political dominance over the lower castes, including the peasant Mappilas. As per the land tenure systems changes, these castes evicted the weaker sections from their lands. The British faced stiff resistance from the Mappilas, who refused to pay for the land. The revenue question deteriorated the relationship further, and there were arrests and exiles. Several colonial commanders noted that the Mappilas were the main impediment to

⁸⁰ K.M. Panikkar, *Against the Lord and the State*, (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1989), 2.

revenue collection. The Mappilas of the interior part of south Malabar caused problems for the British officers and their local aides, which often led to conflicts. From 1836 to 1919, there were violent uprisings in which armed Mappilas attacked Hindu landlords and martyred at the British government forces' hands. The major rebellion of 1921 broke out at a time when the Khilafat and non-cooperation movement under the leadership of Gandhi was gaining a lot of participation in Malabar. The movement's transnational and pan-Islamic nature became a tipping point for the pious Mappilas as they took arms and fought against the enemies of Islam with tooth and nail. Similar to the response against the Portuguese colonialists, the *ulema* played a central role in inciting Mappilas against the British Empire. They released *fatwās* encouraging Mappilas to fight against the tyranny of the British. Sayyid Alavi, popularly known as Mampuram Taññal, wrote a classical poem *Assaif al- Batār Alā Man Yuwallil Kuffār* (The Sharp Sword against Who Entrusted Their Affairs to the Infidels) in the wake of the British reign of terror in Malabar region after the fall of Tipu Sultan in third Anglo-Mysore war. The work's content was circulated among the Muslim community through the Friday sermons in mosques of the south Malabar region. The text awakened the community against the repressive regime and their Hindu upper-caste collaborators. Sayyid Faḍl Pookoya Taññal, the successor of Mampuram Taññal, wrote *Uddat Al- Umarāe Wal Hukkām Li Ihānatil Kafārati Wa Abdatil Asnām* (Preparation of Emirs and Rulers to Subdue the Infidels and Idol-Worshippers) which was published in Arabia and was secretly distributed in the mosques of Malabar. It was a compilation of authoritative opinions of various Islamic scholars in favour of *jihad*. The work had an immense impact on the community as the government banned its circulation. His fatwa was banned, and copies were confiscated from mosques and libraries.

Colonialists recognised the influence of ulema on Mappila Muslims and monitored their activities at all levels; this monitoring resulted in the deportation of Faḍl and the suppression of the ulema movement against the British in Malabar.⁸¹ Apart from these, there were many pamphlets, booklets, and war songs written in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam calling Mappila Muslims exclusively to arm themselves against the British colonialists and the Hindu upper-caste landlords. Friday sermons in classical Arabic were widely used to instigate the Mappilas to wage *jihād* in Islam's name.

The Mappilas were at the forefront of India's freedom struggle, and they were the most hit by the British's hostile treatment. Several gruesome episodes like the Wagon massacre took place in Malappuram, and many Muslims were executed or deported to the Andaman Islands. Logan, the then-Collector of Malabar, believed that the Moplah outbreak was the result of the administration enforcing through the courts their British agrarian notions of a condition of society radically distinct from that of their homeland. The British had given the jenmi (landlord) privileges that were not typical in Malabar by recognising him as the sole proprietor of his property and free to collect as much a share of the soil's output as he could squeeze from the classes under him.⁸² According to Miller, the uprising was "to attentive onlookers, it was evident that this was not simply a matter of law and order, but a problem of an estranged community."⁸³ The debates around the Mappila rebellion are still going on between the various social groups among the Mappila Muslims. Some of them glorify the struggle, while others consider it as a suicidal reaction that caused far-reaching consequences to the community. British colonialism has the biggest role in

⁸¹Hussain Randathani, *Mappila Muslims: A Study on Society and Anti-Colonial Struggles* (Kozhikode: Other Books, 2007), 148.

⁸² Conrad Wood, *The Moplah Rebellion and Its Genesis* (Delhi: People's Publishing House, 1987), 26.

⁸³ Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Malabar: A Study in Islamic Trends*, 109.

the current backwardness of the Mappila Muslims in Kerala. The Ulema of the time staunchly opposed English education and were reluctant to adapt to the changes imposed by colonial modernity.

2.8 The Hadhrami Connection and the Shāfi'ī Cosmopolis in Malabar

The majority of the Mappila Muslims adhere to the Shāfi'ī Madhhab (The Islamic Jurisprudence) contrary to the Hanafi School, followed by Muslims in other northern and central India states. The Mappilas also had cultural contact with Indonesia and the Malay Archipelago, commercial communities of Gujarat, and the Philippines than most Muslims in south Asia, where Shāfi'ī School prevails. Yemen-Malabar trade dates back to ancient times, with Zufar in Hadhramaut serving as the main hub. Betel, betelnuts, and coconuts are thought to have been brought from Malabar and grown in Hadhramaut. Simon Digby, who studied south India's Muslims, notes that they are more integrated into the Dravidian culture. The Kerala Muslims are wholly differentiated from the south Asian Muslims and lack Indo-Persian cultural influence. He states that the south Indian Muslims are entirely different from the north Indian Muslims. This was mainly influenced by the Yemeni scholars and Sayyids who came and settled on the Coast in different centuries. The Hadhrami tradition of Kerala Muslims is intact even today as the supreme religious and political leaders in Kerala have their lineage in Yemen, especially Hadhramaut. Malabar's relationship with Hadhramaut in South Yemen is thought to have been formed as early as the first century A.D. when many Arabs moved along the Malabar Coast. The people of Yemen and Hadhramaut appear to have been exceptionally prevalent here in ancient times. Moreover, it shows that the Shāfi'ī School's predominance is also related to the Hadhrami

influence.⁸⁴ The local Islam that prevailed in Malabar has a lot to do with Shāfi‘ī Madhhab. The performative traditions, the reverence for the Arabic language, and the vernacular elements of cultural Islam developed through the dynamics of Shāfi‘ī Madhhab.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter provided a comprehensive outline of the habitats of Mappila Muslims and their transnational and trans-local mobility in the Indian Ocean region. It gave an overview of the advent of Islam in the region and the emergence of the vernacular Muslim community. It has discussed the Mappila Muslims' encounters with the Arab world and the European colonial powers in detail. The prominence of the Arabic language and the possible scenarios for translation have been illustrated. The following chapters will be built around various aspects discussed in this introductory chapter.

⁸⁴ André Wink, *Al-Hind: The Making of the Indo-Islamic World*. Vol.1 (Leiden: Brill, 1991), 67–68.

Chapter 3

Translating Religion: Arabic and the Vernacular Islam in Malabar

In the previous chapter, we discussed the historical setting where the vernacular Islam was born and evolved in Malabar. The earlier chapter outlined the socio-cultural transactions and the evolution of the Mappila Muslim community emerging out of a multilingual, polyglossic region marked by inward and upward mobility across the seas involving foreign interactions. It has been established that Malabar's relations with the Indian Ocean trade networks had a significant influence on its development as a cosmopolitan region with various linguistic elements. It was mainly the regional and local historical contexts of Malabar that contributed to the origin of Arabi-Malayalam and shaped the peculiar social and religious spaces around it. In the present chapter, we shall map the Arabic Cosmopolis of Malabar and the origin, evolution, and decay of Arabi-Malayalam, in which the lion's share of Mappila literature was produced. It will also give a comprehensive overview of the translation theory, practice, and history of the Mappila Muslims and their literary formation.

3.1 The Arabic Cosmopolis of Malabar

Malabar's frequent reliance and connection with the Arab world paved the way for the Arabic language to conquer the new land and language. Due to its great affinity with the Islamic faith and Muslims' day-to-day religious life, Arabic quickly adapted to the new people. It became so pertinent to all spheres of Mappila's life. While discussing the overarching influence of the Arabic language on the Mappila Muslims, Roland Miller opines:

Its impact on them has been both continuing and vital. It is the language of their land of origin and their sacred scripture, both sufficient reasons for their esteem. Without dismissing the Mappila love for Malayalam, their mother tongue, their regard for Arabic is a kind of wonder. Arguably, very few Muslim societies outside of the Arab world can match the Mappila experience with Arabic. The stature it holds has great emotional, linguistic, religious, and educational implications.⁸⁵

In her influential work, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia*, which is a remarkable contribution to the growing body of literature about the Muslim community of South and Southeast Asia, Ronit Ricci talks about a vast Arabic Cosmopolis in the region. She finds the spread of Islam into South and Southeast Asia as one of the most important cultural shifts in world history. According to her, When Islam spread into these places, it faced very different cultures from those of in the Middle East. It absorbed them into a premodern worldwide society with tremendous geographical, linguistic, and social diversity. Written books had an essential role in transmitting ideas and beliefs within this Islamic cosmos long before print and mass media became widely available.⁸⁶ Ricci locates an Arabic Cosmopolis in the Tamil-speaking region of Southeast India and the Indonesian-Malay Archipelago. She concludes that various texts, primarily the Qur'an, and works of hagiography, poetry, jurisprudence, and scientific writing, both in Arabic or in vernacular translation, were the carriers of the new religion and its new way of life.⁸⁷ Ricci develops this idea of Arabic Cosmopolis following the groundbreaking work of Sheldon Pollock on Sanskrit Cosmopolis in South and Southeast Asia.⁸⁸ Emulating Ricci's argument, I have taken the region of Malabar as

⁸⁵ Roland E Miller, *Mappila Muslim Culture* (Albany: New York University Press, 2015), 75.

⁸⁶ Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2011), 1.

⁸⁷ Ricci, *Islam Translated*, 2.

⁸⁸ Sheldon Pollock, *The Language of the Gods in the World of Men: Sanskrit, Culture, and Power in Premodern India* (California: University of California Press, 2009), 75-114.

having an Arabic Cosmopolis. Malabar is also a trans-local Islamic sphere constituted and defined by language, literature, and religion. Ricci argues:

For Muslims worldwide, Arabic possesses a unique status among languages. It is considered the perfect tongue, in which God's divine decrees were communicated to His Prophet. Consequently, at least ideally, it is considered untranslatable. The Muslims of South and Southeast Asia proved no exception in their reverence toward the Arabic language, as they set up institutions where it could be studied, adopted its script to their own languages, borrowed its religious terminology and everyday vocabulary, prayed in it, and embraced its literary and historical narratives and forms. As a result, when I consider an Islamic cosmopolitanism in these regions, Arabic features as one of its major elements. Translation, too, emerges as one of its foundational practices.⁸⁹

From obligatory daily prayers to Friday *khutba*⁹⁰, the Arabic language plays a fundamental role in everyday Mappila Muslim life. Despite the ongoing debates and the reformist waves for adopting vernacular language for Islamic rituals in general and the Friday sermon in particular, the large majority keeps Arabic as the medium for such customary everyday activities. Due to the traditional madrasa education, the Mappila Muslim community had acquired near-complete literacy in this language. Since it is a requirement to read sacred texts like the Qur'ān, one must learn to read and write in Arabic. The development of the Arabic language in Malabar owes to the peaceful missionary efforts of Arab merchants who helped the smooth and steady expansion of Islam in the region. The Arabian diaspora, especially from Yemen's Hadramawt, settled on the Malabar coast and established learning centres at the mosques they set up. A unique model globally, the traditional Islamic education in Malabar was largely mosques-centred.⁹¹

⁸⁹ Ricci, *Islam Translated*, 14.

⁹⁰ Khutba literally means speech in Arabic. It is more exclusively used to denote Friday sermons of the Muslims.

⁹¹ K.M. Muhammed, *Arabi Sahithyathin Keralathinte Sambhavana (Kerala's Contributions to the Arabic Literature)* (Tirurangadi: Ashrafi Book Centre, 2012), 30.

In a residential setup, the students would gather in learning circles known as *dars*⁹² or *ōttupalli*⁹³ to read a text or a set of texts from a particular teacher. This theological education system in Mosques was almost entirely based on oral learning, where the disciples will memorize the *sabqs*⁹⁴ delivered by their *Mudarris*⁹⁵ verbatim. The curriculum of *dars* had a wide range of subjects, including the transmitted sciences, geometry, mathematics, logic, history, and medicine, along with the primary Islamic theological and jurisprudence texts. The erudite *ulema* of Ponnani and Calicut were the major proponents of this intellectual culture and scholarly tradition in Malabar. They were well versed in Arabic, and some were visiting faculties in foreign colleges. Students from different parts of the region came to these prestigious learning centres where they got training in Islamic theology and Arabic linguistics. These traditional centres of Islamic studies paved the way for enriching Arabic studies in Kerala. They made significant contributions to the state's Arabic language, literature, and culture.

There were literary activities in Arabic from the early period, mainly about Islam and Muslim matters. Malabar has been a breeding ground of Arabic scholars and laureates who produced some of the finest literature spanning genres and forms. The anticolonial treatises and poems by the Malabar *ulema* were composed in Classical Arabic. The coastal towns of Tanur and Ponnani had great learning centres, and libraries with several manuscripts of high magnitude kept there. These centres had contact with some of Islam's

⁹² *Dars* literally means learning. It is a mosque based residential theological seminary in Malabar.

⁹³ *ōttupalli* is the old model of present day Madarasa where the basics of Islam is taught.

⁹⁴ *Sabq* literally means lessons in Arabic.

⁹⁵ *Mudarris* literally means a teacher. A *Mudarris* is more revered than a usual *Ustad*.

greatest cities, including Makkah, Medina, Damascus, and Baghdad. They had exchanged scholarships and Islamic thoughts between them.⁹⁶

Chaliyam was another important centre of Islamic knowledge before Calicut emerged as the leading Mappila cultural capital. Many scholars lived in Chaliyam, and they wrote a few monographs and treatises in the classical Arabic language. Zayn al-Dīn Ramadan, who lived in the 14th century, was the first scholar in Chaliyam who authored a book in Arabic.⁹⁷ He wrote the book *Umdat al- Ashāb wa Nuzhat al-Ahbāb*. His son Qāḍi Abubaker wrote an introduction to the famous poems *Burda* and *Bānat Su'ād* with the title *al-Wardat al-Zakhiyya fi Takhmisi Qasidat al-Burda* and *Rāhat al-Fu'ād fi Takhmisi Bānat Su'ād*, written in 1480.⁹⁸ They were followed by the illustrious scholars of the Kozhikode Qāḍi clan and the Ponnani Makhdūm family. The emergence of Makhdūms in Ponnani marked a shift in Mappila history as they had a phenomenal influence on the intellectual, literary, and educational spheres of Malabar. Zayn al-Dīn Makhdūm senior and junior are the most acclaimed among them. Their contributions to the Arabic language and Islamic theology are immense. As discussed in the previous chapter, they were also the leaders of Mappila resistance against the colonial powers. In all sense, they lived the life of public intellectuals. The golden era of Arabic in Malabar was before the advent of print culture. Many works were written at the beginning of the modern age using Arabic ink and bamboo sticks. The writers were known as *kuttāb*, the plural form of *kātib*, which means a writer. Many Mawlid and Manāqib under the hagiographies genre were written in classical Arabic, following the tradition worldwide. Meanwhile, parallel to these developments, as

⁹⁶ Muhammed, *Arabi Sahithyathin Keralathinte Sambhavana*, 30.

⁹⁷ Muhammed, *Arabi Sahithyathin Keralathinte Sambhavana*, 30.

⁹⁸ Muhammed, *Arabi Sahithyathin Keralathinte Sambhavana*, 31.

a prerogative to disseminate religious knowledge to the common masses, the *ulema* devised a new language, an Arabized version of vernacular Malayalam. It was gradually known as Arabic-Malayalam or Arabi Malayalam.

3.2 The Origin and Evolution of Arabi-Malayalam

Arabi-Malayalam is a language variety predominantly used by the Mappila Muslim community of North Malabar until the late 20th century. It is the practice of writing the vernacular Malayalam language using the Arabic script with relevant additions to accommodate the spoken language. This trend was prevalent in various other Muslim communities as they used Arabic script to write in their respective vernacular languages. In terms of grammar and syntax, Arabi-Malayalam follows the Malayalam style, while the writing is based on Arabic script. The language variety had a massive influence of other Dravidian languages such as Tamil, Kannada, and Tulu. Arabi-Malayalam borrowed several words from these languages. We can see that in the works of great poets like Moyin Kutty Vaidyar. The closest to the Arabi-Malayalam is Arabi-Tamil, or more popularly known Arwi used by the Muslims in Tamilnadu and Sri Lanka. According to Ilias and Hussain:

Arabi Malayalam may be defined as a religio-lect fused with Arabic lexemes and possibly other Arabic language peculiarities (phonemes, morphemes, syntactic constructions, etc.). Besides many interesting linguistic issues concerning the daily usage of Arabi-Malayalam, the usage of this conveys a vast array of oral and written traditions, ranging from folk songs and classical poems to travelogues and philosophical writings. Though Arabic alphabets are the basis for Arabi-Malayalam letters, this language is a rich storehouse of vocabularies, phrases, and usages loaned selectively from various languages. This diversity was essential for a language which accommodated a vast range of linguistic influences thanks to

Mappila community's trade linkages with far-flung places in the Indian Ocean region.⁹⁹

There is no clear historical evidence to assess the history of Arabi-Malayalam. Some say it is as old as the history of Islam in Malabar. Ulloor S. Parameshwara Iyer, in his historiography of Kerala literature, attributes it to a history of 600 years.¹⁰⁰ Abu, who wrote the comprehensive history of Arabi-Malayalam literature, finds that it was in practice from the 9th century onwards.¹⁰¹ It can be assumed that “a lengthy history of polyglossic involvement in the coastal Malabar area, which shared substantial maritime ties with many ports in the Indian Ocean littoral and beyond, culminated in the scriptorial, literary, and textual developments of Arabi-Malayalam. People in Malabar employed a considerable number of loan words and numerous scripts due to the region's connections with other linguistic areas in the Indian Ocean trade networks.”¹⁰²

Two theories dominate the debates on the history of Arabi-Malayalam. Firstly, there is a hypothesis that the Arabs who came for trade and propagation of Islam created this language for their smooth and easy communication with the local population. The Arabs who had to spend a prolonged period on the shores came in touch with the local people, mingled with them, and gradually became acquainted with the indigenous people's language and culture. The written script of Malayalam was not well developed at that time. The Arabs who learned the colloquial language must have started writing it in their native

⁹⁹ Ilias, Shamshad, *Arabi-Malayalam*, 50.

¹⁰⁰ Ulloor S. Parameshwara Iyer, *Kerala Sahitya Charithram (Kerala Literary History) Vol 1*, (Trivandrum: Kerala University, 1953), 238.

¹⁰¹ O Abu, *Arabi Malayala Sahitya Charithram (The History of Arabi-Malayalam Literature)* (Kottayam: NBS, 1970), 22.

¹⁰² P.K. Yasser Arafath, “Polyglossic Malabar: Arabi-Malayalam and the Muhiyuddinmala in the age of transition (1600s–1750s).” *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Series 3, (2020): 1-23.

language, and later it might have been adopted by the indigenous converted Muslims.¹⁰³ In several contexts of Arab migration, one can see them develop this kind of religio-lects. The distinctive religio-cultural features of Arabi Malayalam writings is primarily determined by the local context of liminality, which distinguishes it from global modes of practising Islam and gives rise to vernacular Islam. Instilling the universal doctrines of Islam with the hues of the shared broader culture in local contexts, vernacular Islam among Mappilas was primarily negotiated through complex Sufi means.¹⁰⁴

Another view of Arabi-Malayalam's genesis is that it was developed by the native Muslims, the Mappilas, who gained expert knowledge in the Arabic language. They crafted this language to teach fellow Mappilas, most of them converted from Hindu lower caste orders, about Islam and its basic tenets. There should have been a prevailed notion that it is forbidden to teach Islam's holy book and other sacred texts in Malayalam, which the idol-worshipping Hindus used. It reinforced the belief that Arabic is a divine language and must be used to teach Islam. Arabic must have been adopted to communicate and teach religion to address this complex issue.¹⁰⁵

A similar experience is shared by Torsten Tschacher, who did extensive research on Arwi, the Arabi-Tamil:

Two reasons (apart from the general prestige of Arabic) may also be of paramount importance for the formation of Arwi. First, Muslims are reluctant to translate words of religious importance, as by translating these words their meaning may be distorted. Many authors have stressed the impossibility of translating the Qur'ān. Thus, writing their mother-tongue in the Arabic script enabled Muslims to impart religious education without having to translate religious terms or

¹⁰³ T Mansoorali, "Arabi-Malayalam: Caritravum Sahityavum" in *Arabi Malayala Sahitya Padhanangal*, ed. T Mansoorali (Calicut: Vachanam Books, 2017), 16.

¹⁰⁴ Abduraof Ottathingal, "Language, Religion and History: Arabi-Malayalam and Vernacular Islam among Mappila Muslims of Kerala." M.Phil diss., (Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2013).

¹⁰⁵ T. Mansoorali, "Arabi-Malayalam: Caritravum Sahityavum," 16.

distorting their pronunciation by having to write them in a script other than the Arabic one. Second, many Muslims learn to read the Qur'ān in Arabic. Thus, there are a number of Muslims able to read and often write Arabic while being unable to read the scripts normally used for their mother-tongues. For them, writing their mother-tongue in Arabic is often easier than learning another script. Both Shu'ayb and Ajmal Khan stress that Arwi promoted literacy, especially among women.¹⁰⁶

3.3 Standardisation of Arabi-Malayalam

As discussed earlier, Arabi-Malayalam is the practice of writing spoken Malayalam using the Arabic script. The Arabic language has mainly two script systems known as *Kufic*¹⁰⁷ and *Naskhi*.¹⁰⁸ Arabi-Malayalam widely used the latter as the lithographic presses were set up following such typesetting. Arabi-Malayalam devised and developed unique features, some of them in sharp contrast to both Arabic and Malayalam.¹⁰⁹ Gradually, it grew independently and became the colloquial language of a large section of the people, enriching it with all the terms, styles, and grammar required for a language. There were attempts to refine the script according to the developments and requirements in any language. Prominent among the early reformers of the Arabic Malayalam script were Mamburam Sayyid Alavi Taññal and his son Sayyid Faḍl Pookoya Taññal. Many reformist leaders have contributed to the refinement and standardization of the Arabi-Malayalam script. It is evident from the earlier works that there were no unique alphabets to represent several letters in writing. Maulana Abdurahman Makhdūm Taññal, Shujayi Moithu

¹⁰⁶ Torsten Tschacher, *Islam in Tamilnadu: Varia* (Halle :Institut für Indologie und Südasiawissenschaften der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, 2001) 12.

¹⁰⁷ Kufic script is a kind of Arabic script that rose to popularity early on as a favoured script for Quran transcription and architectural ornamentation, and it has subsequently been a reference and model for a number of other Arabic scripts. It evolved from the Nabataean alphabet in the city of Kufa, from which it gets its name. Kufic script is distinguished by angular, rectilinear letterforms and a horizontal orientation. Kufic script is available in a variety of styles, including square Kufic, floriated Kufic, knotted Kufic, and others.

¹⁰⁸ Naskh is a sans-serif script, meaning the characters lack “hooks on the ends of ascending and descending strokes. For example, the letter alif is written as a straight stroke, bending to the lower left.

¹⁰⁹ Ilias and Shamsad, *Arabi-Malayalam*, 60.

Musliār, Sayyid Sanaullah Makti Tanñal are some of the early reformists who made efforts to develop Arabi-Malayalam during the close of the 19th century. These efforts were later taken up by Vakkom Maulavi and Maulana Chalilakath Kunhahammad Haji, who modified the Arabic-Malayalam script to suit the modern Malayalam script. He wrote and printed the official Arabi-Malayalam alphabet and wrote *Kīmiya Sa'ada* in 1919.¹¹⁰ The successive publications and the authors used this refined script for their compositions.

3.4 Arabi-Malayalam and the Mappila Textual Culture

Arabi-Malayalam has a wealthy literary tradition with a corpus of thousands of independent works. Many prose and verse works have been written in Arabi-Malayalam before and after printing technology arrived in Malabar. Numerous manuscripts are still kept in various private and public libraries. Thanks to the newly found scholarly enthusiasm and heritage consciousness, there are commendable attempts to trace, restore and digitalize Arabi-Malayalam literature from various entities. The works of Arabi-Malayalam span across genres and styles. However, a large chunk is related to Islam and its theological themes. Most of them are related to Islamic thought and history, as they were designed to imbibe religious knowledge to ordinary people.

Muḥyiddīn Māla, written by Qāḍi Muhammad in 1607, is considered to be the first Arabi-Malayalam work to be found. According to the majority opinion, the second work found after Muḥyiddīn Māla is *Nūlmadh* which came 130 years later in 1737 by renowned Kuññāyin Muslyār. However, a recent study argues that the second work is *Valiya Naswīhath Māla*, supposedly written in 1642.¹¹¹ It remains a mystery that there is a long

¹¹⁰ K.O Shamsudheen, *Mappila Malayalam* (Kozhikode: Lipi Publications, 2014), 12.

¹¹¹ Bava K, “Valiya Nasweehath Mālayum Chila Vasthuthakalum,” *Madhyamam*, September 20, 2020.

gap between the first two works in Arabi-Malayalam. It is strange to believe that there has been no literary activity or works produced in Arabi Malayalam for such a long period. There is a scope for investigating what happened to that literature, given that the Mappilas, especially the influential *ulema*, were subjects of colonial persecution from the sixteenth century onwards. Most of the early works were written to teach about religious practices and beliefs. But in later times, any subject is adopted thematically. Works in religion, history, medicine, astrology, novels, and travel literature were available in Arabi-Malayalam.

The arrival of the printing press had immensely helped Arabi-Malayalam to flourish as it paved the way for unprecedented production of Mappila literature. Printing, publications of newspapers, grammar, vocabularies, dictionaries, knowledge texts, and creative literary works that resulted in the linguistic development coupled with modern education have spearheaded Kerala's modernization process. Going with the current, the new printing medium was instrumental in establishing Arabi-Malayalam in Kerala's public discourse. Soon after the Printing Press's advent in Kerala under the Basel Mission in 1845, a lithographic press was established to print Arabi-Malayalam works as well.¹¹² Thīpputhil Kunhahammed, who learned typography from the aforementioned press, set up the first lithographic press for Arabi-Malayalam printing in Thalassery. Some of those who learned typography from that printing press later set up various printing presses in Thalassery. Others moved to places like Ponnani, Tirurangadi, and Valapattanam and set up different printing presses there.¹¹³ Most of the works, especially the poems, were printed in

¹¹² T Muhammed, *Mappila Samudāyam: Caritram, Samskāram* (Calicut: Islamic Publishing House, 2013), 183.

¹¹³ O Abu, *Arabi Malayala Sahitya Charithram (The History of Arabi-Malayalam Literature)* (Kottayam: NBS, 1970), 126.

Thalassery. The presses were also set up in Ponnani, Tirur, Tirurangadi and Kondotty. However, there were printing presses in Bombay and Thane that could publish Arabi-Malayalam texts much earlier. The works were printed irrespective of relevance, and the presses copyrighted almost all the works they published.¹¹⁴ The 19th and 20th centuries witnessed an influx of Arabi-Malayalam production as many writers emerged to dominate the literary world through their poems and prose. The Mappila corpus can broadly be classified into verse and prose categories. *Māppiḷa pāṭṭū* makes the most of the verse tradition.

3.5 Māppiḷapāṭṭū Tradition

Poems and songs make a significant part of the Arabi-Malayalam corpus. *Sabeena Pāṭṭūs*,¹¹⁵ which were later popularly known as Māppiḷapāṭṭū or Māppiḷa songs, are unique in style, metrics, and subject matter. For a long time, they have been an integral part of the Mappila community. According to V M Kutty, Māppiḷapāṭṭū is “the rhythm, melody, and serenity of Mappila life that touches all spheres of human life. They include love, devotion, grief, revenge, compassion, rivalry, and humour. If obscenity has a place in life affairs, that too has appeared as part of Māppiḷapāṭṭū.”¹¹⁶ Māppiḷapāṭṭū can be classified into various categories according to the theme and the style they use. *Kissappāṭṭū* (Story Song), *Padappāṭṭū* (War Song), *Mālappāṭṭū* (Chain Songs), *Kathupāṭṭū* (Letter Song) and *Kalyanappāṭṭū* (wedding song) are the most widely used among them. *Māppiḷapāṭṭūs* are ideal examples to understand how multilingualism and heteroglossia come into play in

¹¹⁴ Shamsudheen, *Mappila Malayalam*, 15.

¹¹⁵ These songs were usually sung during the night. Hence they were called *Sabeena Pāṭṭūs* which means night songs.

¹¹⁶ V.M. Kutty, *Māppiḷapāṭṭinte Charithra sancharangal* (Calicut: Lipi Publications, 2007), 29.

Arabi-Malayalam. F.Fawcett, the British colonial officer who studied and translated various genres of *Māppiḷapāṭṭū*, observes that: “the songs are written in Arabic character, and their language is a curious patois of Malayalam, the local vernacular, Tamil, Telugu, Hindustani, Arabic and many other tongues, a word of which is here and there brought in for some special use.”¹¹⁷ The *Māppiḷapāṭṭū* had a strong influence of the dominant Hindu bhakti poems produced at the time. It can be substantiated from a large spectrum of *Māla* songs produced in various decades of Arabi-Malayalam. (A detailed discussion on this topic is presented in Chapter IV) *Māppiḷapāṭṭū* played a crucial role in preparing Mappilas for relentless resistance against the colonial powers. While the Arabic texts gave *jihad* religious foundations, the Mappila songs made them rejuvenate and participate in the freedom struggle.

3.6 *Mālappāṭṭū*

The most widely used verse tradition in Arabi-Malayalam is *māla*, a poem/song based on various themes, most notably the hagiographical life sketches of saints and historical figures. Most of them are built on the narration of anecdotes of Muslim saints’ miraculous powers and heroic activities in the community’s history. They have been occupying a significant place in Mappila’s domestic devotion. As a general characteristic, most of the authors can be seen to have adopted a general structure and pattern for their *mālas*. They begin with the name of God and commemorate Prophet Muhammad and his companions. And it will be followed by the hagiographical account of the subject of the particular *māla*, the saint or the prophet whose life is discussed in the text. In the end, there

¹¹⁷ F, Fawcett, “A Popular Mopla Song”, *Indian Antiquary*, (March 1899): 64.

will be a special prayer titled *iravũ*, which means prayer. It is the prayer to God, making the said saint the interceder or the mediator. *Mālas* are sung in groups on special occasions like women's delivery, weddings, house warming, male circumcision ceremony, harvesting, etc. On holy months and days, family members, mainly the women, would gather in a circle to recite *mālas*, commemorating Muslim saints' divine miracles or heroic events in the local community's history. It is a centuries-old tradition of the community as per the oral narratives.

Muhyiddīn Māla is the first work in this genre. This famous devotional poem depicts the hagiography of the world-famous Sufi saint Shaikh Abdul Qādir Jīlani of Baghdad. Hundreds of successive *mālas* took this epic poem as a template and followed its style and metrics. Another famous work in this tradition is *Nafīsāt Māla*, the hagiography of a woman Sufi saint from Egypt popularly known in Malabar as Nafisa Bīvi. This work was written by Nālakatthu Kuññi Moydīn, who died in 1917. There was a widespread belief that recitation of this text would make smooth delivery for pregnant women. Other major works in this genre include *Rifayī Māla*, *Badr Māla* and *Manjakulam Māla*.

3.7 Padappāṭṭū

Another important category of historical poems in Arabi- Malayalam is *Padappāṭṭū*. They deal with the legendary battles and conflicts that took place in Arabia and elsewhere during the Islamic reign. They also depict the historical resistance of Mappilas against the colonial powers, and the oppression of the feudal lords meted out against them. The earliest work in this genre is believed to be the *Zaqoom Padappāṭṭū* which was written in 1836 by Alim Umar Labba, a Mappila religious scholar from Kayalpattinam. This song was an Arabi-Malayalam rendering of the Tamil work *Zaqoom*

Padayppor composed by Varishay Mukiyudheen Pulavar of Madurai in 1686. Moyin Kutty Vaidyar has relied on this work's *isals* while writing his critically acclaimed war songs in Arabi-Malayalam. Almost all of Islam's first battles against Makkah's idol worshippers and the Islamic conquests in the successive periods have become the subjects of the *padappāṭṭūs*. *Badr Padappāṭṭū*, *Uhd Padappāṭṭū*, *Makkam Padappāṭṭū*, *Hunain Padappāṭṭū*, *Khantak Padappāṭṭū*, *Khyber Padappāṭṭū*, *Fathussam*, etc. are some of the very famous Mappila battle songs that chronicle the wars led by prophet Muhammad against the infidels. Local conflicts involving the Mappilas and the colonial powers also have become the theme of *padappāṭṭu*. *Malappuram Padappāṭṭū*, *Cheroor Padappāṭṭū*, etc., are the most famous among them. Moyinkutty Vaidyar got the status of a great poet because of the marvellous composition of *padappāṭṭūs*. *Malappuram Padappāṭṭū*, one of his classics, is a tribute to the 44 martyrs of Malappuram who fought against the British colonial powers. The poem deals with various aspects of Mappila life, starting from Islam's arrival through Mālik bin Dīnar.¹¹⁸

3.8 *Kissappāṭṭū*

Kissappāṭṭūs are songs that deal with historical themes, mostly extracted from the Qur'ān and *sīra* books. Several songs were written in Arabi-Malayalam about landmark incidents from Islam's history. Ranging from global icons to regional legends, many have become the subjects of *kissappāṭṭūs*. Pulikottil Haider's long poem *Kerala Caritram (History of Kerala)* is outstanding in this series. In this poem, the poet narrates various events in Kerala's history in simple yet powerful language. Pararakkal Ahmadukutty's

¹¹⁸ Balakrishnan Vallikkunnu, *Malappuram Padappāṭṭū: Paṭhavum Paṭhanavum* (Kondotty: Mahakavi Moyinkutty Vaidyar Mappila Kala Academy, 2016), 29.

Kerala Muslim History is an epic poem on the history of Kerala and Muslims. VA Muhammed Musliār, a polyglot, wrote a poem that gives a comprehensive account of Travancore with the title *Nūtana Vishēṣa Sankīrttanam*. Many works in this category depict the life and vision of the prophets, Sufi saints, and national icons in poetic form. Moinkutty Vaidyar's *Hijra* (1892), Ahmadkutty Musliār's *Hijra Pāṭṭū* (1887), Erappurath Kuñṇavaru Mulla's *Qiṣṣatunnabi*, Abdurahman Makhdūm's *Qasīdatul Vitriyah*, Sardarakath Bava's *Yūsuf Kissa*, E Moitutti Mawlavi's *Ṣalih Nabi Kissappāṭṭū*, Kodanchery Musa Musliya's *Mūsá Fir'aun Kissappāṭṭū*, Mayan Kutty Elaya's *Sulaiman Nabi Caritram*, Vallikkadan Muhammad's *Qiṣṣat Yūsuf Māhakāvyam* (1847) and few works by anonymous authors like *Īsá Nabi Kissappāṭṭū*, *Ibrahim Nabi Kissappāṭṭū* etc. are notable songs about the prophets of Islam.¹¹⁹ Chettuvayi Parīkkutty's *Minnatulbāri*, Kdambiyath Kunhisīthi Koya Taññal's *Sayyidathunnisā* (1894) and Moochikkoottil Kuñṇāva Vaidyar's *Muhyiddīn Kissa*, are some of the *kissappāṭṭūs* that depict the life and contributions of Sufi saints.

3.9 *Kathupāṭṭū*

Kathupāṭṭū is a popular song in Arabi-Malayalam which is written in the form of a letter. A wide variety of themes ranging from expression of love and casual chats to serious reporting of issues and events in a more lucid manner are the subjects of *kathupāṭṭūs*. They are unique in the *pāṭṭū* tradition with their simple and straightforward lyrics to capture ordinary people's imagination. *Kathupāṭṭū* was popularised after Mappila men's mass migration to the gulf region in search of better means of living. Most of the *kathupāṭṭūs* are set in a background where a woman sends poignant letters to her husband abroad, sharing

¹¹⁹ Sakkeer Hussain, *Ibrahim Bin Adham Kissappāṭṭū* (Kozhikode: IPB Books, 2017), 20.

her grief, sense of missing and longing for a reunion. However, some of the classic letter songs in Arabi-Malayalam were written during the Malabar struggle involving the jailed or widowed women and their heroic husbands. The genre was perfected by eminent poets like Moyin Kutty Vaidyar, Puilkottil Haider, Chakiry Moideen Kutty, etc. Apart from the above-mentioned genres, there are a few other types of Mappila songs like *Kōlkkālī Pāṭṭū*, *Kalyana Pāṭṭū* and *Ammāyi Pāṭṭū*.

3.10 Prose/Tarjama: Translation Tradition of Mappila Muslims

A glance into the catalogues and the literary historiography of Mappilas will reveal the widespread translation practice in Arabi-Malayalam. Various types of translation and transcreation have dominated the literary production of Arabi-Malayalam since its inception. From the large corpus of available works in this variety, it can be assumed that *Tarjama* was the primary mode of social communication among the Mappilas. The translation was not in a typical sense of transferring the word to word meaning in one language from another. Instead, it was a sense for sense translation of ideas. Before Chandu Menon wrote *Indhulekha*, regarded as the first complete novel in Malayalam, the Arabi-Malayalam translation of the classic Persian novel *Chardarvesh* was published in 1885. Kariyāṭan Kuñṇimūsa and TC Kuñṇāyan translated *Alfu Laila wa Laila*, the world-famous One Thousand and One Nights, a collection of Arabian folk tales written in Arabic during the Islamic Golden Age in 1889. There are many books by anonymous authors as well. Literary classics from Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, among other languages, were translated into Arabicized Malayalam. These included stories, poetry, hagiography, scientific texts, astrology, translation of sacred texts, etc. There were manuscripts of translation in Arabi-Malayalam even before the advent of Kerala's printing press. *Tarjamas* of various texts,

including the Qur'ān, were distributed to the public in written manuscripts. One of the earliest Qur'ān translations done by Mayan Kutty Elaya was circulated in manuscripts.

Prose literature is a relatively new addition in Arabi-Malayalam. However, hagiographies with a mixture of verse and prose were produced from the very early period of its development as the *lingua sacra* of Mappila Muslims. Prose literature in Arabi-Malayalam gained momentum after the lithographic printing press became widespread in the region. The language of the prose was more superficial and closer to the oral form. Most works were commentaries or free translations of Arabic works, including the Holy Qur'ān and prophetic hadiths. These works were introduced by the authors as *tarjamas*, literally meaning translations. Even though they were not translations in a strict sense, the authors called them *tarjama* to denote that they were not wholly independent works. The rationale for this might be the author's attempt to avoid social censorship of free thought or the desire to get his work more acceptance. A translation of an Arabic work was considered more authoritative and less likely to be questioned on its subject matter.

Tibb al-nabī Tarjama, the first published work in Arabi-Malayalam, translated by Ahmed Koya Musliār of Kozhikode, was printed in Bombay as early as 1840. For over a century, the 1850s have been the heyday of Arabic Malayalam prose. Arabi-Malayalam prose addresses all areas of knowledge necessary for a people's resurrection, including history, mathematics, medicine, and linguistics.¹²⁰ The major sections of religious literature are the translations of the Qur'ān, the books of jurisprudence, Islamic law, Islamic philosophy, medical literature, linguistics, and literary translations.

¹²⁰ M.A. Rahman. "Maappilamaarude Prathivyavaharangaḷ," *Pachakkuthira*, 2009, 35.

3.11 Translation of the Qur'ān and Hadith (Prophet's Traditions)

While discussing the importance of Arabic among Mappila Muslims, Miller makes an interesting note:

It is not the cultural affinity between Kerala and Arabia but rather respect for the Holy Qur'ān that is at the heart of Mappila regard for Arabic. The Word in its given and sacred form is all important for the Mappilas. There may be a few areas outside of Arabia where the i'jāz of the Qur'ān is taken more seriously, and both the legitimacy and possibility of Qur'ānic translation are hotly debated to the present. The first Malayalam translation of the Qur'ān was published with much difficulty in 1961, and has since been followed by other translations, but reverence for the original words of the Qur'ān continues strong. They are memorized, recited, and revered, and for many their sanctity is as much in the form as the content. This reverence has led to the practice of obtaining a priestly blessing on a Qur'ānic word or verse, which is then carried about as an amulet, especially in times of sickness.¹²¹

The above passage gives insights into how the Mappilas have regarded the Qur'ān in general and its Arabic script in particular. Different schools of thought within Islam in Kerala were quite sceptical about the translation of the texts, which they believe are beyond a writer's skill and translator's expertise. Some even went to see blasphemous elements in various interpretations and translations of the Qur'ān. Sunnis, who comprise the more extensive section of Muslims, were staunch critics of translating the Qur'ān. They ideologically resisted the so-called progressive Muslim organizations that translated the Qur'ān and helped scores of illiterates in classical Arabic to understand Islam's sacred book's meaning. They declared that translating the Qur'ān is a *bid'a*, a taboo not encouraged by the prophet.

¹²¹ Miller, *Mappila Muslims*, 237.

The Qur'ān translation history in Malayalam is traced to have approximately 150 years. Muḥyiddīn bin Abdul Qāḍir alias Mayin Kutty Elaya, a scholar from the Arakkal palace of the Kannur Muslim dynasty, started translating Qur'ān into Arabi-Malayalam in the name of *Tarjamatu Tafsīri al- Qur'ān al-ḥakīm* in 1855. His laborious attempt was completed with six volumes in 15 years. It was a commentary, an abridged version of *Tafsīru al-Jalālayni*, a text taught in *dars* curriculum. This commentary had invited sharp reactions from the traditional *ulema*, who held and propagated the conservative idea of not permitting the rendering of Islam's holiest text into vernacular languages, which were considered less revered and exalted than Arabic.¹²² Maybe that was why others did not venture to translate the Qur'ān into Malayalam for a very long time. However, there were many partial translations of selected chapters of the Qur'ān during this period. Konkaṇamvīṭṭil Ibrahim Musliār of the Ponnani family translated *Al-Kahf*, a significant chapter in the Qur'ān with the title *Tafsīru Ḥairāti al-Muslimīna fī Tafsīri Sūrat al- Kahf*. The splendour and importance of the *Sūrat al-Kahf*, the reward of reciting, and other related religious questions are elaborated clearly in the question and answer style. It is the only work in Arabi-Malayalam that depended on the question and answers style while writing a Qur'ān commentary. This eminent scholar has also translated *Sūrat Yāsīn*; the chapter regarded as the heart of the Qur'ān.

Following the trend, scholars translated several chapters of the Qur'ān for the understanding of ordinary people. *Sūrat al-Raḥmān* and *Yāsīn* were translated with related exegetical commentary by Thenvīṭil Hasan Musliār, who made extensive contributions to Arabi-Malayalam's growth by translating several Arabic texts. *Fathul Mubīn fī Tafsīri al-*

¹²² T.K. Abdullah Kunhi, "The First Complete Qur'ān Translation in Malayalam". in *Kerala Muslim History Conference: Proceedings* (Kozhikode: Kerala Muslim Heritage Foundation, 2018), 399.

Qur'ān is another considerable work by Tenparambil Abdul Qādir Musliār. Published in 1962, this book explains Qur'ān's meaning from chapter *al-Nūr* into chapter *al-Nās* and the reasons for their revelation and their historical backgrounds. The same author translated parts of the Qur'ān from chapters *Mulk* and '*Amma*. C. A Muhammed Maulavi also has translated '*Amma Juz'a* into Arabi-Malayalam. Translations of *al-Baqarah* by Konkaṇamvīṭṭil Muhammed Musliār, *Sūrat al-Ihlāṣ* and *Sūrat al-Fātiḥah*'s translation by P.K Mūsa Maulavi are among the significant works of this field. *Tuḥfat al-Qāri'* by Ali Hasan Maulavi, *Tuḥfat al-Iḥwān fī Tajwīd*, *Aḥkāmu al-Tajwīd* of Vakkom Maulavi, *Madārij al-Qirā'a* of Calilakath Kuñṇahammad Haji, Translation of *Zīnat al-Qāri'* by P Hassan Maulavi are some other vital texts in this field.¹²³ In 1955, K Omer Moulavi from Veliankode did his translation titled *Tarjamānul Qur'an* in six volumes containing 2500 pages. The same was later transcribed into standard Malayalam as a single volume. Meanwhile, the first Qur'ān translation in standard Malayalam appeared in 1963 by C.N Ahmed Maulavi, a towering scholar. National Book Trust published this translation with the help of the Central Government of India's publication department.

3.12 Islamic Jurisprudence

Islamic jurisprudence, known as *fiqh* in Arabic, plays a crucial role in deciding how Muslims perform their customary rituals, including the daily prayers and other essential pillars of Islam. Unsurprisingly, many of the works in Arabi-Malayalam directly deal with those aspects of Islam in various contexts. The first prose writings in Arabi-Malayalam, were the collection of *fatwas* by renowned scholars on controversial theological subjects.

¹²³ Safir V, "Translations of the Holy Qur'an, History and Development: A Study with Special Reference to Malayalam Translations" *Coference Proceedings*, Kerala Muslim History Conference, 2013 December.

Vellāṭṭi Mas'ala, supposedly written by Qāḍi Muḥyiddīn, is considered the first prose of Arabi-Malayalam. This work is poetic prose in which a slave girl answers complicated questions on various Islamic subjects at the court of Khalifa Harun Rashid to win a coveted prize.¹²⁴ *Tuḥfat al-Muḥtāj*, composed by the eminent scholar Ibnu Hajarul Haithami is considered one of the most authentic texts of Shāfi'ī jurisprudence. Chalilakath Hasan Musliār translated and published this text with the aid of Chakkeeri Muhuyudeenkutty. This translation is titled *Tala'tul Bahiyyah*. Mulambathu Kunjamu translated Alghazali's *Iḥyā'u Ulūm al-Dhīn*'s parts that deal with the rules and restrictions while fasting. Arayalpurath Cheriyaḍi Muhammed composed a text on a similar subject as *Tuḥfat al-Ṣā'imīn*. *Pathu Kitabu*, an essential introductory text traditionally learned by Mappilas, was translated by Konkaṇamvīṭṭil Ibrahim Musliār, a prolific author in Arabi-Malayalam. Other remarkable contributions in this series are *Tuḥfat al-Nisā'*, *al-Mazhabu al-Śśr'iyyah*, *Kitab al-Ṣaum*, *Umdat al-Sālik*, translation of *Nūr al-Absār*, *Mayyatu Paripālanam*, *Umdat al-Muslimīn* by Puradathil Kunji Moosa, *Wājibāt al-Mu'minīn* by Marakkar Musliār, and *Bustān al-Fatāwiyya* of Manalil Mustafa Musliār.

3.13 Islamic Philosophy

A good volume of works in Arabi-Malayalam deal with Islamic philosophy and mysticism. Most of them discuss various aspects of Islamic *aqīda* (belief), including the monotheistic characteristics of Islam, the Oneness of God, the attributes of prophethood, etc. *Tarjumat al-Fath al-Wadūd* by Palangad Abdul Rahman, *Cāvadiyantara Tarjama* by Karimbanakkal Kunji Poker Maulavi, *Baitulyam* of Padur Taññal, *Buśrat al Kae'eb*

¹²⁴ Sakkeer Hussain, *Vellatti Mas'ala: Bhashayum Vyakhyavanum* (Malappuram: Book Plus, 2018), 15.

Tarjamat Muhyī al-Anām Lil Ma'shūqi by M.C.P Zayn al-Dīn Kutty Maulavi are some of the important titles in this section.

3.14 Linguistics and Lexicons

Another important category of Arabi-Malayalam prose literature deals with the grammar and linguistics of the Arabic language. Most of these are phonological works that emphasize pronunciation for children and the illiterate. There were works in Arabi-Malayalam to teach the Mappilas the *Vaṭṭelutt* and *Kēālelutt* scripts of old Malayalam. Remarkably, Zayn al-Dīn of Tiruvalla composed two books to teach Hebrew and Suriyani languages. Chakīri's *Paryāya Nighaṇḍu* (Synonyms Dictionary) is the thesaurus of Arabi-Malayalam words. Besides this, Abdul Qāḍir Maulavi from West Paravoor had prepared a dictionary in Tamil, and he named it *Khawāssul Muslimīn*, including meanings with synonyms. It was later translated into Arabi-Malayalam. The dictionary prepared by P.V Muhammad Haji Calicut is also a remarkable contribution. Dictionaries of this language were not focused only on the meanings of words but extended to names of medicines, animals, etc. *Mahāsin al-Mufradāt* of K.T Ibrahim Maulavi deals with the names and meanings of panaceas in different languages. Sayyid Muhammad Koya Taññal's trilingual dictionary gives comprehensive meanings of Arabic, Malayalam, and Sanskrit words.

3.15 Magazines and Periodicals

Arabi-Malayalam had a glorious journalism past as the Mappilas published several newspapers and periodicals in this language. Sayyid Abdullakoya's *Hidayatul Ikhwan* is the first Arabi-Malayalam magazine. Published by *Ammarul Islam fi Ma'dinil Islam* Press in Tirurangadi, it promoted religious education among the Mappilas and urged them to

avoid anti-British violence.¹²⁵ *Swalahul Ikhwan* and *Rafiqul Islam* were published under Saidalikkutty C, an important figure in the Kerala renaissance. *Swalahul Ikhwan* was started in 1889, and it lasted for eight years. He tried to imbibe scientific temper and rational thinking through this magazine. Translated articles from various international magazines like *Al-Mu'ayyad*, *Review of Religion*, and *Health Magazine* were published in this periodical. In 1909, he launched *Rafiqul Islam*. Through his publications, he tried to make reformation among the Muslim community of Malabar.¹²⁶ Sayyid Abdulla Koya Tanñal, another pioneer of journalism in Arabi Malayalam, published *Hidayathul Muslimeen* magazine. *Manivilakku* Magazine, published by Sulaiman Moulavi of Alappuzha in 1899, continued uninterrupted for three years. Sanau'lla Makti Tanñal, the renowned reformist of Kerala Muslims, started *Tuhfatul Akhyar wa Hidayathul Ashrar* in 1892, which lasted only a year.¹²⁷ Vakkom Abdul Qādir Maulavi brought out a Malayalam magazine called 'Muslim' in 1906. He realized that it was not very acceptable among the community as he switched to Arabi-Malayalam and launched *Al-Islam* in April 1916. In the editor's note, Maulavi explains why he was shifting to Arabi-Malayalam:

However, while running this paper for quite some time, we realized that the Malayalam alphabets' voice emanating from this publication reaches only a tiny group of elites, and they do not penetrate the community. Even though the Malayali Muslims speak Malayalam, they have been considering it as a foreign language. They were content that there was no need for them to expertise in this language. Yet, it was unavoidable for them as it was part of their daily use. Consequently, the written form of Malayalam was mostly affected as they developed Arabi-Malayalam to write down Malayalam sounds. Except for a few who have been involved in modern education and were influenced by current reforms, most of the community people were not interested in reading anything

¹²⁵ K.M. Naseer, "Arabimalayala Pathramasikakal" in *Arabi Malayala Sahitya Padhanangal*, ed. T Mansoorali (Calicut: Vachanam Books, 2017), 128.

¹²⁶ Naseer, "Arabimalayala Pathramasikakal," 128.

¹²⁷ Abdurahman Mangad, "Arabimalayala Anukalikangal" in *Kerala Muslim History Conference: Proceedings*, 412.

written in Malayalam script other than the writings on the court or business and other necessities of life. No matter how severe the subject matter is, very few people were eager to read them if written in Malayalam script. There are still many who think that writing religious subjects in Malayalam script is blasphemy. Most influential people who are supposed to be having a particular position in religion do not habitually read this script. In this situation, it is clear from experience that magazines or newspapers in Malayalam script alone cannot attract all community sections' attention. Not only does no one mind reading anything written in the Arabi-Malayalam alphabet, but also it gets the same reverence as the Arabic language due to the similarity of the alphabet. Most people, especially from the lower strata, are accustomed to reading it.¹²⁸

Vakkom Maulavi founded the journal to apply the so-called Renaissance ideals from *Al-Manar* magazine, written by Rashid Rida, an Egyptian Renaissance pioneer, to the context of Kerala Muslims. Maulavi made it a point to promote Rida's revolutionary ideas to Kerala in an unusual way. The account in the *New Qur'an* acquired notoriety in the Muslim world. With its comprehension of the Qur'an, *Al-Islam* also tried to influence the minds of Mappilas. Regular contributors to *Al-Islam*, in addition to the editors, included a. Muhammad Yusuf Thangal and E. Moidu Moulavi. Despite the fact that it contained a plethora of knowledge on communal regeneration, only five volumes of *al-Islam* were released. *Al-Islāh* was started by Moidu Moulavi, while Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangham launched *Al-Ittiḥād* in 1923. Kerala Nadwatul Mujāhideen, a Salafī reformist movement, started their magazine *Al-Murshid* in 1935. *Al-Murshid* included a slew of notable intellectuals. The first issue of *Sahih Al-Bukhari* began with the translation and commentary of M.C.C. Ahmad Moulavi. Additionally, he produced a series of writings on *Awwal al-Muslimīn* (The Forefathers of Islam) and *Al-Tarawīh* (Tarawīh Prayer). Muhammad Maulavi translated Amir Shakib Arsalan's renowned book on the modern Muslim world, titled *Limādā Ta'hara al-Muslimūn* (Why Did Muslims Lag Behind?) and

¹²⁸ Abdul Qader Maulavi, "Prasthavana," in *Al-Islam*, vol.1, no.1, (Rajab 1336h/ 1918):1-2.

one of the leading commentators on the modern Qur'an, Shaykh Ṭanṭāwī Jawharī's *Al-Qur'ān wa'l 'Ulūm al-Aṣriyyah*, titled The Qur'an and Modern Sciences. Al-Murshid also translated and published Syed Sulaiman Nadwi's Ma'ārif, Dr Mustafa Fassibai's *Al-Fath*, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's Qur'an translation, and several other articles.

Interestingly, these reformist publications were all in Arabi-Malayalam, a language they labelled as anti-progress of the Muslim community. *Nisā'ul Islam* was published as the first women's magazine in Arabi-Malayalam in 1929. The magazine was distributed directly to households, creating many female readers. The entire content of the periodical was designed from a woman's perspective.¹²⁹ *Al-Bayān* was published in 1929 as the mouthpiece of influential Sunni organization Samastha Kerala Jam'iyyathul Ulama, under Pāngil Ahmadkutty Musliār's supervision. *Al-Burhān* was published in 1960 with KV Muhammad Musliār as its chief editor. However, it lasted only one year. *Al-Mu'allim* Magazine, published by the Samastha Board of Education, is another notable Arabic Malayalam magazine. It was later shifted to the standard Malayalam.

3.16 Medical Literature

The section of medical texts in Arabi-Malayalam is rich with in-depth works. They contain original works as well as translations from Arabic, Sanskrit, and Tamil. The first work in this category is *Ṭibbunnabi* (Prophetic medicine), which is also the first printed Arabi-Malayalam prose work. The text deals with various aspects of medication and the treatments extracted from the prophet's traditions. *Cikitsā Nūl* is a book that describes the yoga rules of medicine in the form of Māppilapāṭṭū. This work by an anonymous author is a free translation from Tamil. Kunhahammad Musliār, a native of Vadakara, is a prolific

¹²⁹ Mangad, "Arabimalayala Anukalikangal," 413.

scholar in Ayurveda and Unani medicine, composed *Ṭibb al Amrād*, which describes 1111 medical rulings in Unani medicine. The famous *Sarva Rōga Cikitsāsāraṃ*, known as *Valiya Vaidyasāraṃ Tarjama*, is a medical treatise written by Ahmad bin Zaynudhīn alias Konkaṇamvītil Bava Musliār, a member of the renowned Ponnani Makhdūm family. The 288-page book deals with Ayurvedic medicine rules and the Islamic laws of medicine, and specific therapies.¹³⁰ *Valiya Bāla Cikitsa* by Ponnani Kunjan Bawa Musliār, Hakim Kunhammed Moulavi's *Vaidyayogaratna*, P Kunjimaikuttu Vaidyar's *Vaidya Vijñānaṃ*, Ibrahimkuttu Musliār's *Parōjana Upadēśaṃ*, Ponnani Putiyakathu Abdurahman Musliār's *Mahāsāraṃ fī Janōpakāraṃ*, Parappurath Veerankuttu Vaidyar's *Naṭappudīna Cikitsa*, *Cerīya Vaidya Cikitsa*, and *Nālkkālī Cikitsa* are other significant works in the medical field. Mannuthodika Kunhippokkar's *Vasūri Cikitsā Kīrttanam*, published in 1935, explains the medication and treatment for 18 types of *Vasūri*.

3.17 Literary Works

There was an active literary production in Arabi-Malayalam, including poems and stories. There are more than 50 novels written originally and in translation. The first novel published in Arabi-Malayalam was a translation of *Char Darwesh* in Persian written by Amir Khusrau. Muhyiddin ibn Mahin Ali, a native of Thalassery, translated it into four parts. The first volume was published in 1866 and the second in 1872. *Tota ki Kahani* Totā Kī Kahāni (The Story of Parrot) is a novel translated from the Hindustani language and printed in Thalassery in 1889. Ponnani Nalakathu Kunjimoitheenkuttu is an important figure in the literary arena of Arabi-Malayalam. A prolific writer, he translated several novels, including *Ameer Hamza*, *Qamar Zamān Kissa*, *Qis'sattu Nūr Jahān*, *Qissat*

¹³⁰ Yusuf Muhammed Nadwi, "Keralathile Arabi, Arabi-Malayala Vaidyasastra Krthikal," *Bodhanam*, March-June, 2014.

Bursakhian, Umar Iyer, Char Darwesh (a second translation), *Badar al Munir Husnul Jamal* and *Mantrikumāra Caritraṃ*. Most of his translations were from Persian. Other novels in Arabi-Malayalam include *Saiful Mulūk*, translated by Thenatikal Abdul Qādir Musliār from Arabic and published in 1908, and *Qissat Hasan Shaikh al Basari*, a translated work published by Veliankode Hassan Musliār in the same year. In 1877, Kariyāṭan Kuññimūsa, a native of Thalassery and T.C. Kuññāyan, translated *One Thousand and One Nights*. It was published in eight volumes. Ceriya Kuññi Pokkar, a native of Malappuram, translated the stories of *Vikramaditya*.

3.18 Translation and Paratext: An Analysis of the Tarjamas in Arabi-Malayalam

Paratexts have crucial importance in the Tarjama tradition of Mappila Muslims. The paratextual elements' effective employment in the translated texts in Arabi-Malayalam shed light on the community's socio-cultural understanding and their reflections on the literary works produced. It also gives valuable insights into how the art and craft of translation had developed among the Mappilas. As explained in the previous sections, many works, especially the prose literature, were Tarjamas, texts translated partially or entirely from other languages, mainly Arabic. The authors used various techniques to attract more readers. Drawing from the essential work of Gérard Genette, Valerie Pellatt lists out major paratextual elements as:

The most visible categories of paratext include the footnote or endnote, the preface and foreword, the introduction and the epilogue or afterword. Less visible, but equally powerful types of paratext are the contents pages, the index, titles and subtitles, chapter synopsis, and blurb on dust jacket and flap. In addition to these verbal paratexts, most publications contain a degree of non-verbal paratext, which may be in the form of illustrations, including photos, tables, charts and diagrams,

dust jacket design and also the scarcely visible, but highly influential visual presentation, including fonts, paragraphing and layout.¹³¹

These features could be found more or less in every translated text in Arabi-Malayalam. Some of the texts use all these paratextual elements, while most of them operate at least the significant paratextual markers to give their works added authority and acceptance among the readers. Most of the authors used them to effectively increase their works' readability and sale value, while some employed paratexts to subvert the possibility of social censorship and community criticism against the subject they take up. Most of the *tarjama* texts utilize paratextual features such as title, table of contents, headings, and subheadings in the chapters. The publication's details, like the year of publishing, the place of publication, the author's name, the name of the press, and the writer's name, will also be given as most of the works were printed using lithographic presses. The visual elements are also used as almost all the printed texts employ pictorial designs on the cover page, most often accompanied by a relevant verse from the Holy Qur'ān using Arabic calligraphy. Another important paratext is the foreword by the publishers. It will be 'Advertisement,' 'Statement', etc. The preface or the Introduction is another significant paratext where the author will explain his translation's intentions, and most often, it will give a religious tone to attract the readers. The use of Arabic against the text flow is another example of how the translators use paratext in Arabi-Malayalam. The author will start and end the text in Arabic in many works, while the rest of the content will be translated into Arabi-Malayalam. In the Arabic part, the author will praise God, pray for Prophet

¹³¹ Valerie Pellatt, *Text, Extratext, Metatext and Paratext in Translation* (London: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 1.

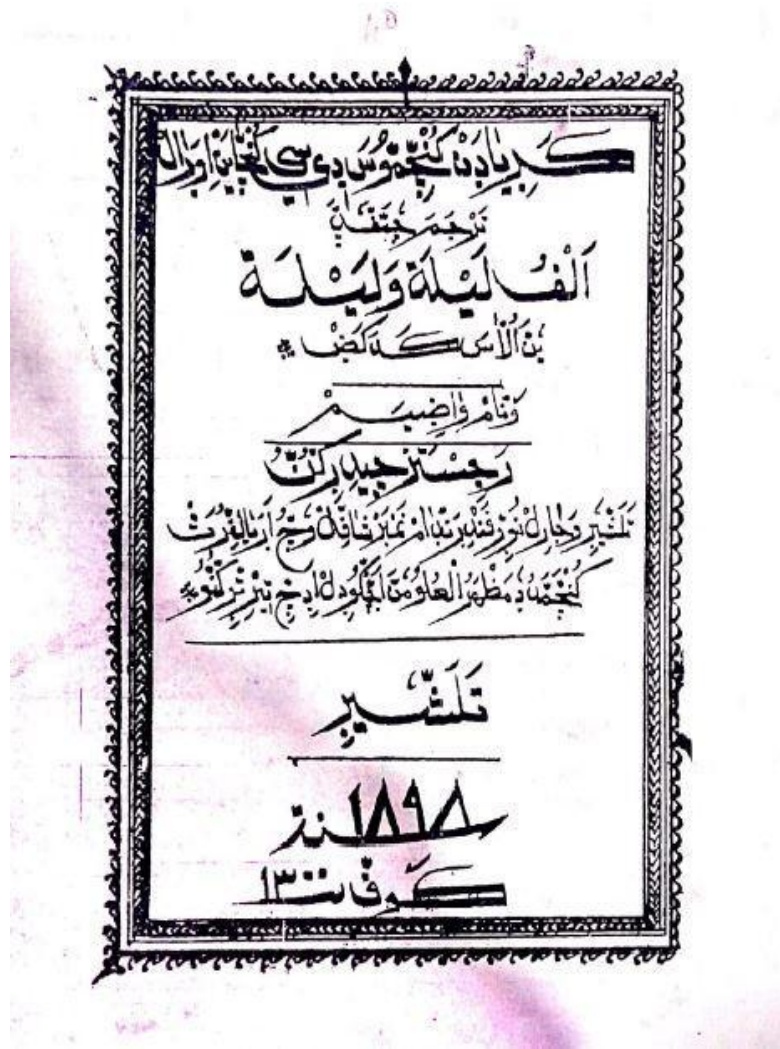
Muhammad and his companions and thank the people who supported him in composing the text.

Another such paratextual element can be observed in the form of poetry added after the cover page. This poetry, mainly in Arabic, introduces the text, its features, and the general idea underlying it. Endnotes and side notes, known as *hashiya*, are other paratexts employed by Arabi-Malayalam authors. Reference note is a paratextual element used by the majority of authors. It will give a detailed list of books they relied on while composing the Tarjama. The section below provides examples of the paratextual use found in select works in Arabi-Malayalam. To display the Arabi-Malayalam script's uniqueness, I have given the scanned image as the source text and its English transliteration. The translation of the paratext is provided in English.

3.19 *Alfu Lailah wa Lailah* (The Thousand and One Nights)

Alfu Lailah wa Lailah is a world-famous collection of Arabian folktales translated into many languages. It is also known as Arabian Nights after its first English translation appeared in 1701. The details of the authorship and the year of composition of the original text are uncertain. It was translated into Arabi-Malayalam in 1898 by Kariyāṭan Kuññimūsa and TC Kuññāyan. Following is the examination of some of the paratexts used in this translation.

3.20 Title Page



Transliteration:

Kariyāṭan Kuññimūsa ṭisi Kuññāyan ivarāl

tarjama ceyyappetta

Alphu Lailah wa Lailah

*enna ullāsakathaka!**

onnām vālyam

rejisrrar ceytirikkunnu

talaśśēri bajāril nūrripantranṭām nampar šāppil vecc arayālippuratt

kuññam'madute mal'harul ulūm enna accukūtil aticcu tīrttirikkunnu.

Talaśśēri

1898 varṣam

kēāppi 1300

Translation in English:

Alfu Lailah wa Lailah: The Fairy Tales

Translated by Kariyāṭan Kuññimūsa and TC Kuññāyan

First Volume

Registered

*Printed from Malharul Uloom Press of Arayalippurath Kunhammed at Shop number 112
in Thalassery Bazar*

Thalassery

1898

1300 Copy

The above given is an example of a typical title page of the translated texts in Arabi-Malayalam. It provides the details, including the title of the text, the translators' name, registration details, the printing press where the work is printed, the place and year of publication, and the number of copies printed. This paratext gives the impression that the publishing scenario and translation were highly developed in Malabar.

3.21 Preface as Paratext

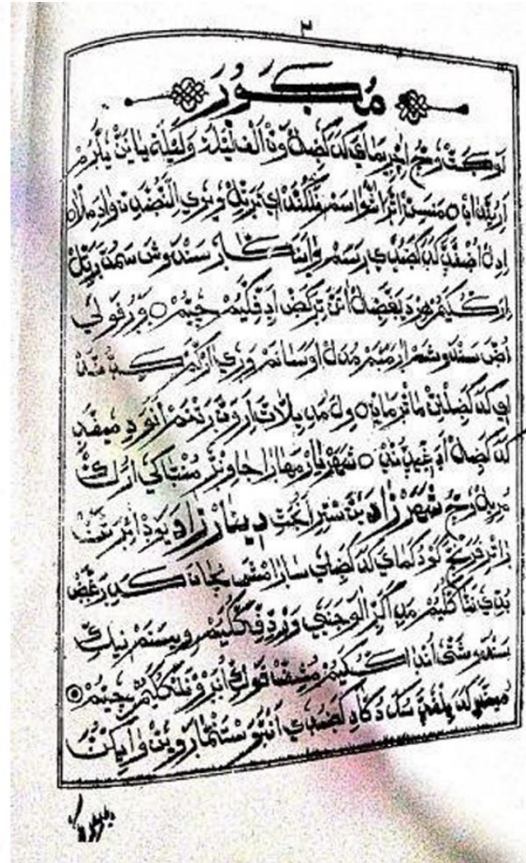
The following is the preface of *Alfu Lailah wa Lailah*'s translation, written by Kariyāṭan Kuññimūsa, one of the translators.

mukhavura

*ī lōkatt vecc aciraṃ āya kathakaḷil onn Alphu laila va laila āṇenn ellāvaruṃ ariyunnatāṇ.
manas'sin itra āśvāsaṃ nalkunna ī tarattil illennuḷḷat vādamilla. itil ulppetṭa kathakaḷuṭe
rasaṃ vāyanakkāre santōṣa samudrattil irakkukayuṃ hṛdayaṇṇaḷil ānandattirakaḷ
aṭippikkukayuṃ ceyyuṃ. orupōleyuḷḷa sandēsaṃ ārambhaṃ mutal avasānaṃ vare ārkkum
kiṭṭunnat ī kathakaḷil ninn mātramāṇ. vilamati illātta arivenna ratnaṃ anavadhi mēppaṭi
kathakaḷil aṭaṇṇiyiṭṭuṇṭ. ṣahariyār mahārājāvinre mumpāke kiṭappmuriyil vecc Śaharsāda
enna strī anujatti Dīnārsādayōṭ āyirattonnu rātri paraṇṇa katukakaramāya kathakaḷile*

sārāṇsa jñāna katiraṇṇaḷ bud'dhiye nannākkukayum maṭi akarri ālōcanaye vardihippikkukayum vyasanam nīkki santōṣatte uṇṭākkukayum muṣipp pōkki uṇarv nalkukayum ceyyūṃ. mēlparaṇṇa kathayil peṭṭa sukha duḥkhādikaḷuṭe anubhavasthanmārāyenn vāyikkunna ēvarkkuṃ tōnnippēākūṃ. alph va lailayūṭe asal arabi bhāṣayilāṇenkiḷuṃ sakala jātikkārkkūṃ ī katha oru pōle rasakaramākēṇṭa mēppaṭi kathayūṭe tarjama śrutippeṭṭa pala bhāṣakaḷilūṃ uṇṭ. ennāl malayāḷa bhāṣayil kūṭi oru tarjama āvaśyamāṇenn vicāriccat koṇṭāṇ ī ērppaṭinuḷḷa kāraṇam. śud'dhamalayāḷattil tarjama ceyyunnatinekkāl arabi malayāḷattil āyirunnāl upayōgaṃ nam'maḷk adhikaṃ uṇṭākumenn vicāricciṭṭāṇ iprakāraṃ ceyyānuḷḷa saṅgati. vāyikkunnavark bud'dhimuṭṭ nēriṭātirikkānāyi ī tarjamayil adhikaricca sanskr̥ta padaṇṇaḷō kaṭuppa vācakaṇṇaḷō upayēāgicciṭṭilla. kūṭāte maṭupp varātirikkān vēṇṭi pala tavaṇakaḷāyūṃ tuṭarccayāyūṃ prasid'dhīkarikkunnatāṇ.

Kariyāṭan Kuñṇimūsa



Preface

Everyone knows that Alfu Lailah wa Lailah (One Thousand and One Nights) is one of the greatest stories ever written in the world. No one will argue that there is another story that gives soothing comfort to the minds like this. The flavour of the stories included in this collection will plunge the readers into an ocean of pleasure and beat the waves of joy in their hearts. It is only from these stories that one would get the same message from beginning to end. The priceless gem of knowledge is contained in many of these stories. The meaningful essence of the exciting stories told by a woman named Shaharzada to her younger sister Dinarzada in front of the Maharaja Shahriyar in his bedroom, over thousand and one nights will sharpen your intellect, electrify your thoughts, remove laziness, give happiness, remove gloominess, and imbibe enthusiasm eliminating dullness. Everyone who reads it will feel that they have experienced the joys and sorrows of the above story. Even though Alfu Laila's original is in Arabic, the story has been translated into many famous languages, making the story interesting for all sections. But the reason for this attempt is that I thought that a translation in Malayalam was also needed. This is done keeping in mind that if it is in Arabi- Malayalam, we will have more use than translating it into pure Malayalam. This translation does not use excessive Sanskrit words or harsh sentences to avoid embarrassment to the readers. And it will be published several times and continuously so as not to tire.

Kariyāṭan Kuññimūsa

3.22 Path Kitab Tarjama

The Ten Books, popularly known as *10 Kitab*, is a compilation of ten short texts (books) in Arabic written by different scholars on various Islamic subjects. It was a primary text taught in mosque-based primary learning centres of Malabar for a very long time. Although they are known as the Ten Books, two related books are generally added to them, bringing it to twelve books. They are: *Bābu Ma'rifat ul Suḡrā*, *Mutafarid*, *Bābu Ma'rifat ul Kubrā*, *Mūrikhatul Qulūb*, *Arkānuṣṣalāt*, *Arkān Iman*, *Nubda*, *Arba'īna Ḥadīṭ*, *Noorul Abswar*, *Ṣoum*, *Matnul Bajūri* and *Fathul Qayyūm*. The book has greatly influenced the religious

پیشانیوں

آتش پر ساد هکتمان

Transliteration:

prastāvana

Purātanakālaṃ mutalkke kēraḷattil muslimīnṇaḷ makkaḷ paṭhikkān ārambhikkumpēāḷ ādyamāyi upayēāgiccuvarunnat patt kitāb āṇallēā pinne atile hadīsukaḷil cilat ulamā valla hadīsinre pakkal ākṣēpahāsyam āṇēṅkilum kuṭṭikaḷuṭe bud'dhikk anusaricc laḷitamāya rītiyil uḷḷa marṛoru kitāb naṭappilla ennuḷḷatāṇ 10 kitābine prasid'dhiyūṃ pracāraṇattinūṃ pradhānakāraṇam.

Pratyēkaṃ kittāb ōti paṭhikkātta puruṣaṇmārkkum strīkaḷkkum akatt aṭaṇṇiyirikkunna strīkaḷkkum tarjama etramātram upakārapradamāyirikkum ennu parayēṇṭatilla. nam'muṭe iṭayil ī kitābine pala tarjjamakaḷ uṇṭēṅkilum atil bhāṣārītiyūṃ marṛum kālocitaṃ allāte āṇ irikkunnat. atināl bhāṣa laḷitamāyūṃ vēgattil ēvarkkum manas'silākkāttakka nilayilum ākēṇṭatin paribhāṣakan kaḷiyunnatra śramicciṭṭuṇṭ.

Atināl cēādiccariṇṇu paṭhikkuvān sakaryappēṭunna at puruṣaṇmārum strīkaḷum ustādumāre anvēṣikkēṇṭi varunna a n'yūnatayum parihaṛikkuvān śramicciṭṭuṇṭ ennāṇ vāyanakkārkk tikaccum bēādhyam varunnatāṇ inṇaneyuḷḷa tāy uddēśam tikaccum saphalam āyiṭṭuṇṭenn ṇaṇṇaḷ santēāśam prastāviccu koḷḷunnu.

enn prasādhakar

Translation in English:

Statement

*Since ancient times Kerala Muslims have been using the **Ten Texts** (10 kitab) while beginning to educate their children. Although some of the hadiths in it are reprehensible to some scholars, the main reason for the publication and propagation of the **Ten Texts** is its easy comprehension of children's intellect. There is no other book that is as simple as the ten texts for them. Needless to say, the translation can be very useful for men and women who have not read religious texts in a formal theological setup. Although many translations are available of this book, their language style is not up to date. So the translator has tried his best to make the language comprehensible for everyone to understand. An effort to overcome the difficulty of finding taught persons for doubt*

clarification is made through this. This is quite convincing to the readers. We would like to state happily that such an intention has become fruitful.

Publishers

3.23 *Sarva Rōga Cikitsāsāraṃ*

Sarva Rōga Cikitsāsāraṃ is one of the fine examples of a complete Tarjama in Arabi-Malayalam. This 288 pages medical treatise written by Konkaṇamvītil Bava Musliār in 1891 deals with various diseases and their medical solutions extracted from prophetic medicine and Indian Ayurvedic medicine. Composed in a refined language, the book is a textbook example for paratexts in translation. The book has a title page containing texts in classical Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam. It contains a Qur'ānic verse and a Hadith on the calligraphed cover, followed by a note, precisely an advertisement by the publisher.

Then comes the table of contents, followed by an index of the names of the diseases mentioned in the book. After that, the author gives a section under the title 'Books relied on while writing this Tarjama'. The latest edition of the book is updated with a poem written by the author in 1896, followed by a poem in praise of the translation composed by Muhammed bin Isma'il al-Bustāni. The concluding part is written in Arabic, followed by yet another poem appreciating the translation. And the book ends with a copyright notice by the publishers. The following are the translations of the paratexts in the translation of *Sarva Rōga Cikitsāsāraṃ*.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وَيَذِي سَارْمَنَ بِرُوكْنِيَا أَي تَرْجَمَهُ الْأَمْسِي كُضِبْتُمْ أَوْ شَيْمَائِسْتُمْ وَصَبْرُ أَتِيَا
بَرْدُ وَمَا كُنْتُ. إِنْ أَدْرُو وَيَدْلُمُ أَتِيَا بِرُكْنِيَا بَرْدُ، الْأَوْرَمُ وَاجْجُ مَسْئَلَا لَيْبِيَا مَمَّا كُنْتُ.
إِنْ أَرَاوَرْتِ شَرْدَهَا بِوَرْمُ وَاجْجُورْكَ أَتْ بُوْدْ هِيَا بِرُكْنِيَا. إِيْلَا مَسْئَلَا أَوْرَمُ،
زَكْمُ، جَمَاعُ، كُضِبُ، أَذْهُوَانَمُ مُتْلَايَا دِنَ جَرِيَا كُضِبُ أَغْنِيَا بِرُكْنِيَا، أَغْنِيَا مُرَابِ
كُودْنَمُ، أَتْ كُضِبُ صَدْ كُضِبُ وَشِجْجُضْمُ بِرُ مَا وَدْهَ سَنَدُ زَبُو جُضْمُ وَوَرْجِيَا بِيَا، بِرُ
وَيَا يَتْرُ الْبَهُوْمُ، أَتْرُ شَرِيْبُ هَتْ، وَيَدِيْنِ أَرِيَا كُضِبُ أَتْرُ كُضِبُ تَمَايَا سَامَا
خِيَا مَرِيَا كُضِبُ الْاَنُو وَوَرْكَ. أَتْرُ لَنْ جِلْ مَرِيَا بِرُوكْنِيَا مَرُضُ مَتْ وَوَدْ هَا كُضْمُ
(مَسْأَلَةُ) مَرْمُ سَوِشْتَرْمُ تَنْ بِرُ تِيَا دِ جِيَا ذَبْ. مَسْأَلَةُ شَرِيْرَتْلُ وَاسْمُ، بِشْمُ كُضْمُ
أَوْ سَمْتَلِيَا بِرُ كُضْمُ زَانَا أَوْنَا أَرْوَكِيَا نَا بِرُ كُنْتُ. أَوِيْلَا اَيْتَنُ كُضْمُ كُيَا مَقْبُوضُ وَوَدْ
رُوكْنِيَا بِرُكْنِيَا. أَتِيَا وَاتْ. بِشْمُ كُضْمُ كُيَا بِرُكْنِيَا رُوكْنِيَا، أَوِيْلَا كُشْبُ
بُضْمُ، أَوِيْلَا جِكْلَا وَدْ هَا كُضْمُ وَشَدْ مَا يَتْلُ بِرُ تِيَا دِ جِيَا كُنْتُ. رُوكْنِيَا بِرُكْنِيَا
كُيَا نَا، كُنْ، نَاوُ، مَلْمُ مَوْتَرْمُ، شَدْمُ، سَوْرُ وَبْمُ مُتْلَايَا تَبْمُ بِرُ كُشْمُ كُضْمُ
كَانْصُ مَا رُوكْنِيَا بِرُكْنِيَا. بِشْمُ وَكُضْمُ مَسْأَلَةُ كُضْمُ اَنُو، وَشَدْ هَا شَدْ هَا
يَكْرُومُ، يَالْ كُشْمُ، يَالْ كُشْمُ، يَالْ كُشْمُ. أَوِيْلَا كُومُ، أَتْ، قَلْمُ، لَيْمُ، رَسَايْمُ،
- أَوِيْلَا رُوكْنِيَا وَوَدْ هَا، وَوَدْ هَا كُشْمُ أَتِيَا كُنْ كُومُ أَوْ شَا سَرْمُ وَوَرْكَ.
نِيْرُوكْمُ أَرُجْجُ الْأَرْوَكْنِيَا كُشْمُ أَشْدَا نَكْ هَرْدِي بِرُكَارْ مَضْ مَلْ جِكْلَا كُضْمُ، عَرَبِ
كَشَا كُضْمُ جِلْ وَشَبْدُ جِكْلَا كُضْمُ اَيْلَا جِيْرْتَلْ تَبْ. بِرُ مَسْأَلَةُ مُتْلَايَا مَوْرُكَ
نَمُ جُضْمُ جِكْلَا وَوَدْ هَا كُضْمُ أَصْبِيَا بِرُكْنِيَا. وَوَدْ هَا كُشْمُ كُشْمُ، وَشَبْدُ، أَزْدْمُ،
وَسُورُ، وَشُوجْكَ تَبْ غِيَا الْأَنْزْمُ مَا وَوَدْ هَا كُضْمُ أَوِيْلَا جِكْلَا كُضْمُ كُشْمُ جِكْلَا
كُضْمُ مَرْمُ كُشْمُ أَتِيَا بِرُوكْنِيَا اَيْلَا كَانَا. رُوكْنِيَا كُشْمُ بِرُوكْنِيَا كُشْمُ بِرُوكْنِيَا.

Transliteration:

Parasyam

Vaidya Sāraṃ enna pēr vekkappetta ī tarjjama ellā muslinṇaḷkkuṃ āvaśyamāyatum vaḷare upakārapradavum ākunnu. it ōrō vīṭṭilum uṇṭāyirikkēṇṭatum ellāvarum vāyicc manas'silākkēṇṭatum ākunnu. it orāvartti śrad'dhāpūrvvaṃ vāyiccavarkk at bēādhyappeṭātirikkayilla. manuśyante urakkam, jimā'a kuḷi mutalāya dinacaryakaḷ enṇaneyāyirikkaṇamennum, enṇaneyellām āyikūtennum, atukoṇṭuḷḷa guṇadōṣaṇṇaḷum paramāvadhi sandarbheācitam vivaricciṭṭuṇṭ. puramē vaidyattinre utbhavam, atinre śrēṣṭhata, vaidyan ariṇṇirikkēṇṭatum ācarikkēṇṭatumāya sāmān'ya maryādakaḷ enniva vivarikkunnu. atupēāletanne cila marunnu prayēāgaṇṇaḷilum marṛumuḷḷa matavidhikaḷum (masalakaḷ) marṛum savistaram tanne pratipādicciṭṭuṇṭ. manuśyaśarīratil vādam, pittam, kapham, -iva samatulitamāyirikkumpēālāṇ avan ārēāgyavānāyirikkunnat. ivayil ēteṇkilum kēāpikkumpēāl vividha rēāgaṇṇaḷuṇṭāyittirunnu. itināl vāda-pitta-kaphaṇṇaḷ kēāpiccuṇṭāvunna rēāgaṇṇaḷeyum, avayute lakṣaṇaṇṇaḷeyum avayute cikitsāvidhikaḷeyum savistāramāyi tanne pratipādiccirikkunnu. rēāgaṇṇaḷe śerikkum manas'silākkuvānāyi nāṭi, kaṇṇ, nāv, malaṃ, mūtram, śabdaṃ, svarūpaṃ mutalāyava teāṭṭum parīkṣiccuṃ kaṇṭupitikkānuḷḷa mārgaṇṇaḷum nirdēśiccirikkunnu. pañca mūlaṇṇaḷ, 32 gaṇaṇṇaḷ ennivayum auśadha śud'dhīkaraṇavum, pālkaśāyavum, pāl kaṇṇi, pāl kuṛukkal ivayute kramavum, eṇṇa, tailaṃ, lēhyam, rasāyanam neyy, iva tavyārākkunna vidhavum, vividhayinaṃ kaśāyaṇṇaḷ uṇṭākkunna kramavum āvaśyanusaraṇam vivarikkunnu. nētrarēāgaṃ oḷiccuḷḷa ellā rēāgaṇṇaḷkkum aṣṭāṅgaḥḍaya prakāramuḷḷa mikka cikitsakaḷum arabi kitābukaḷilulḷa cila viśiṣṭa cikitsakaḷum itil cērttiṭṭuṇṭ. purame, cintārmaṇi mutalāya tamīḷ granthaṇṇaḷile cikitsāvidhikaḷum ulppeṭuttiyirikkunnu. vividhayinaṃ kuṣṭhaṃ, vellappāṇṭ, arbudaṃ, vasūri, viṣabūcika tuṭaṇṇiya ellātaram mahāvvyādhikaḷeyum avayute cikitsakaḷeyum, kāśāya cikitsakaḷeyum marṛanēkaṃ upadēśayēāgaṇṇaḷeyum itil kāṇām. rēāganāmaṇṇaḷum pēruḷḷa yēāgaṇṇaḷum paṭṭikayil.

Translation in English

Advertisement

Named as Vaidya Saram, this translation is a must-read and a necessity in every Muslim household. The text's importance is reflected in those who have given it at least a one-time read. The do's and don'ts and the merits and demerits of human beings' everyday practices like the sleep cycle, sexual intercourse, bathing, labour, and Jumu'ah (Friday prayer) are contextually explained in this (book). Besides, it describes the origin of medicine and its values, along with general manners and etiquette that the physician should know and follow. Similarly, religious rulings or judgment prohibitions (ma'salas) of certain medicinal practices are explained in detail. The healthy state of a human body is proportional to the balance of bile and mucus. A detailed analysis of symptoms and treatment of diseases caused by the imbalance of bile and mucus is done. The touch and testing make disease diagnosis of nerves, nose, eyes, tongue, stool, urine, voice, and the whole body details. A clear picture of the five elements, 32 varieties, is given, along with the order of medicinal purification, milk decoction, milk porridge, milk condensing, practices of making oil, balm, electuary, Rasayana, ghee, together with the methods of decoction making. This book deals with most of the treatments explained in Ashtangahridaya and unique treatments in Arabic texts leaving aside the eye diseases. The healing practices in Chinthamani, a Tamil text, are also elaborated. It covers major diseases like leprosy, vitiligo, cancer, smallpox, and illnesses caused by toxins and poison, decoction treatments, along with their prescriptions. The names of the diseases and treatments are given in the below table.

Through this paratext, the author or the publisher targets every Muslim household emphasizing the significance of the work he has composed. Titled as an advertisement, it argues why it is essential in every Muslim home. Apart from the general treatment and medicines, it suggests that the book deals with Muslim specific prayer and so on.

3.25 Cover Page/Title Page



Transliteration:

Wa idā mariḍtu fahuwa yašfīnī

Sarva Rōga Cikitsāsāraṃ

Hādā kitābuṭṭibbi wal-adaviyati al-mutarjami billuḡati al-malaibāriyya al-muhtawā ala jillil maqāsidi min hādā al-ilmi al-aẓīmiššāni. A ’ẓamallahu naf’ahu lijamī’il khāṣṣati walāmmati minal iḥwāni.

Enna Valiya Vaidya Sāraṃ Tarjama

Mā ḥalaqallahu min Dā’in illa waja’ala lahu shifā’an

In this paratext, the beginning is a Qur’ān verse related to the subject matter. The Qur’ānic verse *Wa idā mariḍtu fahuwa yašfīnī* is from chapter Ash-Shu’ara where prophet Abraham falls sick, and he says that Allah will cure him. So the author intends to tell his readers that it is not his expertise or knowledge that will fix the illness of those who rely on the solutions mentioned in his book. Rather it will be a divine work

Translation in English

Sarva Rōga Cikitsāsāraṃ

And When I'm ill, it is He (Allah) who heals me

This is the book of medicines and treatments translated into Malaibari language, which contains various aspects of this great knowledge. May Allah make this useful for the special and common brothers.

Also known as

Valiya Vaidya Sāraṃ Tarjama

Allah did not create any disease without making its cure

3.26 Concluding prayer in Arabic

Transliteration

Wa ilā hinā intahā hāzā al-ta'lifū al-jamīl, al-taṣnīf al-jamīl, al-lazī qalla an yujada mitlahu fī 'ilmi al-abdani. Wa jalla liahl al-Malaibar naf'uhu wa al-shan. Fa al-hamdu lillahi ala jam'ihī, wa al-shukru ala wad'ihī. Wa kana tamamū tahreeruhu, wa hitamū tabyiduhu wa tanwiruhu yauma al-jumu'ah al-rabi'a 'sara min ula al-jamadain fī 1308 tamana wa talata mi'at wa alf min hijrati sayyid al-kaunaini sallallahu alaihi wa sallama, wa sarrafa, wa karramah, wa allamahu. Wa kana ibtida'uhu yauma al-arbi'ai al-hadi ashara min zi al-hijjawa attala ayyam bi asgalin ahar, wa zalika biwasait al-habibaini al-labibaini al-aluda'iyyin al-mawlawi Muhammad bin Hasan wa al-mawlawi sa'du bin Bakkar al-yadfa'iyyin, atala allhu baqa'ahuma wa min kulli afati al-daraini waqahuma. Allahumma ya man an'amta Alaina bihazihi al-ni'mati al-azimat, wa mananta bihazihi al-minnati al-jasimat. Nas'aluka an taj'ala sa'yana fī haza al-kitab sa'yan maqbulan. Wa ma

atainahu fihi min qairi tavabi magsulan. Wa an tagfira lana jami'a al-zunubi wa al-auzari mimma kasabnahu fi ana'ai al-alaili wa atrafi al-anahari wa an tamdiya jami'a a'amarina fi ta'ati, wa an taqdiya lana fi al-daraini kulla hajat. Wa tusallimana min mihani haza al-zaman wa bala'ih wa fitnatihi wa gula'aihi. Wa an tuqimana ala dinik al-qawim al-majid. Wa an tahtima kalamana inda al-mauti bikalimati al-tawhidi. Wa an tu'idana min jam'I ahwali al-qabri wa zalazili yaumi al-ma'adi. Wa an tu'tiqana min al-nari wa an tuskinana fi al-jannati ma'a salihin wa al-ubbadi. Wa an tajuda Alaina bi al-nadri ila wajhika al-karim, ya akarama karim way a arhama hahim. Allahumma laka al-hamdu hamdan da'iman wa laka al-sukru sukrana qa'iman. Wa salli wa sallim ala sayyidina Muhammad, dawa'I al-qulubi wa al-abdani, min da' al-zunubi wa al-tugyani. Wa ala alihi wasahbihi al-hukama'ai al-kiram, ma intafa'a alilun bi al-adwiya'I a-ilam wa hasbuna allahu wa kafa. Wa salamun ala ibadihi al-lazina istafa.

Translation:

This extraordinary composition ends here, a beautiful work that is seldom found in life science. The people of Malabar will definitely benefit from its majesty. All praise and gratitude to God for helping to compile this and helping to put it together. Its editing and releasing were completed on Jamadul Awwal 14, Friday, 1308th year since the hijrah of the prophet, the leader of the two worlds. Its beginning was on 11 Dul-hajj, Thursday, and I had to take leave for days due to other engagements. On those days, I was helped by two of my dearest intellectuals, Muhammad bin Hasan Moulavi and Sa'du bin Bakkar Moulavi. May Allah protect them from all the threats of both houses. Oh God, you have bestowed upon us with this great bliss and blessed us with this heavy task. We ask God to make our pursuit in this book an acceptable endeavour and what we have received in it a clean reward. We ask him to forgive all our sins committed in the dark hours of the night and the edges of the day, to make all our lives in his obedience, to fulfill all our demands here and hereafter, to protect us from the menaces, tests and chaos of this era, to establish us on your right and glorious religion, to overshadow our words at death with the word of monotheism, to bring us back from all the horrors of the grave and the tremors of the Day of Resurrection, to set us free from Hell, to dwell us in paradise with the righteous and servants, and to help us by looking at your honorable face, O generous, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful. O God, eternal praise be to you, and unlimited gratitude to you.

And may God bless and pray for our beloved leader Muhammad, the medicine of the hearts and bodies, and his family and honourable companions as long as a sick person benefits from these great medicines. Allah is enough and sufficient for us. May Allah bless his chosen servants.

The above paratext marks the end of this Tarjama. It shifts to the Arabic language from Arabi-Malayalam. It explains how he undertook the composition as a religious duty and prayed to God to make his endeavour rewarding. This kind of endnotes could be found in many of the translated texts in Arabi-Malayalam. Through this, the author states that he was doing a religious duty by writing his book.

3.27 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the Arabic Cosmopolis and the role of Arabi Malayalam in translating Islam in Malabar. It has briefly elucidated the Mappila Muslim community's textual culture before and after the arrival of the printing press in Malabar. After reading and analyzing various types of literature in Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam, the chapter attempted to historicize the Mappila engagements with the theory and praxis of translation. As demonstrated by the examples in the chapter, the tarjama tradition had a deep-rooted influence as far as the Mappila Muslim literary production was concerned. Also, the chapter analyzed various aspects of translation like paratext to assess the art and craft and the politics of the practice. The survey of literature in translation in Arabi-Malayalam will give insights into the Mappila canon formation.

Chapter 4

The Text and the Performance of Mawlids in Malabar: A Rereading of Manqūṣ Mawlūd

When the Covid-19 first hit the world in 2020, people, irrespective of their identities and affiliations, were in a panic as thousands died fighting the novel coronavirus for which there was no vaccine or medicine. In this distressful situation, people used their faith as the only reliable medicine in several instances. The scenario was not different in my *Mahallu*¹³² as well. While following the government guidelines and protocols, the clergy urged people to recite the Manqūṣ Mawlūd at home and pray to Allah, citing similar incidents of pandemics in the past centuries. It was another occasion for me, who led the rituals, to think further about the influence of this text on the community. This chapter includes the annotated translation of the Manqūṣ Mawlūd, one of the most revered religious texts circulated among the Mappila Muslims over the years.

Apart from the translation, the chapter will give an overview of Islamic hagiographic literature produced by the Mappila Muslims, including the highly popular Mawlids and Mālas, which occupy a prominent place in the literary history of Kerala Muslims. The chapter also investigates the history and practice of Mawlid composition and its presentation (known as Mawlid Majlis) according to the changing times. As per the archival records, from the fifteenth century to contemporary times, Kerala, especially the Muslim dominated Malabar region, has produced hundreds of Mawlids on various

¹³² A Mahallu is commonly referred to as a social unit of Muslims in a locality with a mosque as its centre.

personalities of importance. The Mawlid tradition is still prevalent among the Sunni sections of Malabar, who follow the Shāfi'ī School of Islamic jurisprudence.

4.1 An Overview of Islamic Hagiography

As far as the Semitic religions are concerned, a considerable amount of literature was produced to keep the memories of the so-called holy figures ingrained in the minds of illiterate followers. Hagiography, which can be defined as saints' biography, was an important vehicle for this transmission. Hagiography was instrumental in establishing the practice of saint veneration, which was central to late antique and mediaeval Christianity. The veneration of relics (from the Latin *reliquiae*, which means “remains”: fragments of a holy person's body or possessions, or simply objects that came into contact with the saint) and icons (holy portraits of saints and prophets), as well as the commemoration of the saint's death as a holy day, were integral parts of this practice. Through prayers, offerings, and pious acts on such holy days or at shrines containing such relics and icons, the living Christian could seek the assistance of the saintly dead now residing in Heaven.¹³³

Islamic hagiographic literature can be broadly divided into two distinct genres: those devoted to persons with special religious status who are known as *awliyā'* (saints) and those devoted to the Prophet Muhammad's biography. The fundamental objective of the Sufi tradition's 11th-century works appears to have been to defend mysticism and its devotees by emphasising that the conduct and ideas of famous Sufis were consistent with the Muslim revelation's texts.

¹³³ Iscander Micael Tinto “Hagiography: The Art of Setting Inspirational Examples for a Religious Community” in *Lights of 'Irfān Book 17: Papers Presented at the 'Irfān Colloquia and Seminars*, ed. Iraj Ayman (Illionois: 'Irfān Colloquia, 2016), 325-46.

Despite having an extensive repository of works, Islamic hagiography is a hugely under-explored area in literature studies. In his seminal work on Muslim saints, John Renard studies Islamic hagiography and its trajectory in detail. He defines hagiography as acting as the agents of cultivating cults out of prominent personalities in the religious realm.¹³⁴ He discusses the trends of Islamic hagiography since the prophetic age and its development in the subsequent centuries. The hagiography's principal purpose was to instil religiosity in believers by reminding them of the sanctity and exemplary lives of prophets, saints, and other significant figures. In the Malabar context, the hagiographies and the attached practices have been instrumental in developing Sufi Islam and its various institutions. Life stories of prophets, holy companions of Prophet Muhammad, and saints known as the Friends of God have been the vehicles of transmitting faith from one generation to the next. A great deal of translation has facilitated this transmission. From religious congregations to informal Mawlid gatherings, the local Islam flourished through different forms of translations.

Among the different subgenres of Islamic hagiography, those that describe God's Friends' births, infancy, and childhood years are the most compelling for religious and literary reasons. From a religious standpoint, these narratives highlight the mystery and wondrous nature of divine involvement in human affairs, regardless of religious denomination. These works' stories and anecdotes share striking parallels in content and narrative art as literary forms. Not all hagiographical sketches begin with a story about the beginning. All of them share some themes, symbols, and character types. Islam's holy Prophet Muhammad dominates the subject matter of these hagiographies.

¹³⁴ John Renard, *Friends of God: Islamic Images of Piety, Commitment and Servanthood* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 2.

4.2 Celebrating the Prophet: Muslims' Veneration of Muhammad

Prophet Muhammad is the undisputed leader of Muslims all over the world. For them, he is the possessor of the utmost qualities and praise among human beings. Muslims believe God sent Muhammad as a “bearer of glad news” about paradise and a “warner” of hellfire. He is seen as a “shining lamp” for those who stumble in the darkness of infidelity and “mercy for the worlds,” teaching the rule that God has given humanity to spare it from the horrors of endless life damnation. Muhammad called for obedience and worship of the one Lord, thinking that they are the duty of every believer. He also preached that everything in the universe was made in its own silent eloquence to love the Creator.¹³⁵ The essence of the Islamic faith is based on the love of the Prophet. That is why he continues to be the most influential figure in Islamic societies. Muslims try to do justice to the famous Ḥadīth¹³⁶ of Muhammad, where he says: “None of you is a believer until I have become dearer to him than himself and his property and his son and his father and all men.”¹³⁷ Few studies have looked into the intensity and depth of Muslims' veneration of their beloved Prophet. As Constance Padwick has observed, “no one can estimate the power of Islam as a religion without first considering that at the heart of the tradition is love for the Prophet Muhammad.”¹³⁸ She describes this love as a warm human emotion that the peasant can share with the mystic. Unsurprisingly, the Prophet's veneration and curiosity in even the smallest elements of his behaviour and personal life has opened the way for creating a distinct corpus of writing in this regard. Muslims view their Prophet in many ways, and the

¹³⁵ Asani AS, Abdel-Malek K, in collaboration with Schimmel A. *Celebrating Muhammad: Images of the Prophet in Popular Muslim Poetry* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995) 8.

¹³⁶ Ḥadīth which literally means tradition in Arabic refers to the record of the words, actions, and the silent approval of Prophet Muhammad.

¹³⁷ Sahih Bukhai, Volume 1, Chapter 1 (Translation is mine)

¹³⁸ Constance Padwick, *Muslim Devotions: A Study of Prayer Manuals in Use* (London: SPCK, 1961), 40.

importance they place on him varies depending on which one they choose. The cultural and literary contexts in which Muhammad is depicted substantially impact his representation in popular literature. Most of the *manāqib* accounts revolve around the life and times of Muhammad.

Mawlids and *sīra*¹³⁹ texts make the lion's share of this corpus. Since Islam prohibits painting or portrayal of Muhammad, the followers used literature to express their reverence and admiration for him. Hence, the Mawlids and other forms of literature like *Qasida*,¹⁴⁰ etc., used highly ornamented language to illustrate Muhammad. There are different branches of literature available regarding various aspects of the Prophet Muhammad. The *Shamā'il* literature expounds on the Prophet's high qualities and outward beauty.¹⁴¹ *Dalā'il* literature deals with the evidence of Muhammad's prophethood. *Fadā'il* literature concerns the Prophet's special attributes that make him unique among other prophets. These works could be considered as the earliest forms of *manāqibs* and Mawlids.

4.3 Manāqibs and Mawlids

In studying Islamic culture and piety, *manāqib*¹⁴² Literature is a significant resource. Hagiographies, which form the *Manāqibs*, are abundant in the Islamic world, irrespective of the geographical and historical boundaries. It is a literary genre that crosses cultural boundaries and can be found in a variety of languages. It is spread among the illiterate and the elite through both oral and written literature. Mawlids are the most popular

¹³⁹ *Sīra* texts are the history books and accounts

¹⁴⁰ A *qasida* is a long poem in one of the Arabo-Persian quantitative meters and has only one rhyme syllable or rhyming word throughout the entire poem.

¹⁴¹ Anne Marie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His messenger; the Veneration of the Prophet in Islamic Piety* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

¹⁴² *Manāqib* is a genre in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian literature, broadly encompassing "biographical works of a laudatory nature", "in which the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of the individual concerned are given prominence" and particularly hagiographies.

literature in the category of *manāqib*. This genre is written in Arabic and is present across regions globally. Mawlid, also spelt as Mevlud, Moulid, etc., literally means birthday or birthplace in Arabic. The phrase has had a variety of connotations throughout history. Mawlid is an Arabic term derived from the root verb *wulida* (“to be born”). It refers to the “birth event” or “birthplace” of any birth. However, it has been used to refer to the birth, birthday, or birthplace of Muhammad, the Prophet of Islam. It is also known as Mawlid al-nabi, which translates as “Prophet's Birthday.” The term is also widely used in the context of written texts in praise of the Prophet Muhammad. Also, the gatherings remembering Prophet Muhammad traditionally held on Rabī‘ al-Awwal 12 are known as Mawlid. Meelad day is a public holiday in several countries. Later the term was extended to hagiographic literature, including *manāqib* and biographical works of prominent saints in Islamic history. A Moulid can be defined as a religious and local feast in honour of a reputed or famous saint in the Egyptian context.¹⁴³ In Malabar, the term is used as Mawlūd. Hence, I have retained the same term while describing the text, which is the focal point of this chapter.

Several centuries after the death of the Prophet Muhammad, the Mawlid emerged as a celebratory event. It mostly occurs on the 12th day of the third month of the Islamic lunar calendar in most Sunni Muslim contexts as a commemorative occasion for the Prophet's birthday. Additionally, it has been held on the two major Muslim religious holidays globally and other family-related occasions like the birth of a child, circumcision ceremonies, weddings, and as part of a ritual during illness and death. The history of

¹⁴³ Samuli Schielke *The Perils of Joy: Contesting Mulid Festivals in Contemporary Egypt* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2012), 19.

Mawlid texts, like Mawlid observance, spans beyond the Fatimid dynasty's recognised beginning of the Mawlid celebration. While the Mawlid genre as a literary form fit for reciting during the Prophet's birth is a relatively recent invention, works thematically centred on the Prophet's birth and life are far older. Mawlids are popular panegyric literature written in classical Arabic language. The big majority of this genre depicts the life and legacy of Prophet Muhammad. Mawlids became widespread by the twelfth century as the kings and the ruling class patronized the practice. There are a few studies about Mawlids in various places. Niko Kaptein's monograph titled 'Muhammad's Birthday Festival' gives a detailed description of the origin and history of the Mawlid celebration. According to the author, the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt¹⁴⁴ commemorated the Prophet Muhammad's birthday with a formal celebration to set the tradition. But as Marion Holmes Katz notes, "the celebrations seem to have been limited to members of the Fatimid court and largely limited to an appearance by the caliph and the distribution of holiday-specific sweets to court elites."¹⁴⁵ According to her, "although narratives about the Prophet's birth had been recounted for centuries, a distinct genre of texts devoted explicitly to the Prophet's birth emerged only in the sixth-century AH/twelfth-century CE– that is, in the era of the emergence of the Sunni *Mawlid* celebrations."¹⁴⁶ The poetic and prosaic characteristics of these genres determine their Mawlid manifestations. While there may be regional variations in vocal, instrumental, and movement elements, the prose and poetry forms known as "Mawlid" are universal. A Mawlid is any form that contains the following lyrical

¹⁴⁴ N. J. G. Kaptein, *Muhammad's Birthday Festival: Early History in the Central Muslim Lands and Development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th Century* (Leiden: Brill, 1993), 48–67.

¹⁴⁵ Marion Holmes Katz, *The Birth of The Prophet Muhammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 48.

¹⁴⁶ Katz, *The Birth of The Prophet Muhammad*, 50.

and prose traits, independent of the occasion or extra-literary factors. Among the hundreds of Mawlid circulated among the Muslims in various places, certain Mawlids have gained unprecedented acceptance and popularity. Sharaf Al-Anam Mawlid of al- Hariri, Barzanji Mawlid of Shāfi‘ī mufti of Madina Ja'far al-Barzanji and Burda of Imam al-Buswiri are very prominent among them, along with Manqūṣ Mawlūd.

4.4 Mawlid Literature in Malabar

Mawlid literature and its recitation culture profoundly influence Kerala Muslim society. There are hundreds of Mawlids written by erstwhile Kerala scholars. Most of them are on the life of Muhammad, while there are also Mawlids on other luminaries and saints who graced the land over the centuries. Mawlids exerted deep-rooted influence among the Mappilas as a popular devotional genre. Veneration of the prophets and saints is the most integral part of popular Islam in Malabar. The history of Mawlids in Kerala or Malabar is not recorded. Manqūṣ and *Sharrafa Al-Anam* are the two mostly recited Mawlids on Prophet Muhammad. Several Mawlid texts were written on various saintly figures in the global and local contexts following the trend. A list of the Mawlids written by Keralite scholars is attached in this thesis's appendix.

4.5 Mawlid Performance in Malabar

Rather than the text, the performance and recital of Mawlids have gained wider currency among the Muslims of Malabar. On every occasion of commemoration, there will be a Mawlid Majlis in which, most often, the Manqūṣ Mawlūd will be recited in groups where the erudite scholars will lead the gatherings on the dais while common people will sit in the audience and respond to the recital of the scholars. Often there will be informal translation sessions where the Imam will explain the meaning and interpretation of the text

while awakening them to the controversies regarding certain portions where the reformist groups allege heresy and deviation from the true essence of Islamic monotheism. The Ulema used such gatherings as an opportunity to quiet these dissenting voices against the canonical Mawlid and other such literature.

4.6 Manqūṣ Mawlūd: A Model for Translation

Manqūṣ Mawlūd, also known as Manqūṣ Mawlid, is the most famous and widely circulated Mawlid in Kerala, especially in Malabar. It is a hagiographical text widely attributed to Shaikh Abu Yahya Zain al- Dīn bin Ali bin Ahmad (1525), known as Makhdūm I. The date of the first publication is unknown because these works were published from different locations on different dates. This work is a mix of prose and verse about Prophet Muhammad's birth and the related incidents. It glorifies the Prophet in the form of the utmost praise. The text is popular both among erudite and ordinary people. Manqūṣ in Arabic means abridged or shortened. As per the oral history, at the beginning of the 1500s, the people of Ponnani approached the Qāḍi of the time -Shaikh Makhdūm, about the deadly Cholera that struck the region. Death was an everyday phenomenon, and people were in grief and shock. They sought to find a solution for their sufferings. As spiritual healing to the devastating situation, the scholar composed a Mawlūd, abridging available Mawlid texts and advising the masses to recite them during their happy and sorrowful situations.¹⁴⁷ He summarized certain parts from other popular Mawlid texts circulated among the global Muslim community. '*Subhāna Mawlid*,' believed to be composed by renowned Islamic scholar Al-Ghazali, is significant among them. One can see verbatim

¹⁴⁷ Abbas bin Muhaimid, *Al Bunyan Al Marsoos fi Sharhil Manqūṣ al Maulood* (Istanbul: Hakikat Kitabevi, 2012), 29.

reproduction of the parts from this Mawlid in Manqūṣ. The Mawlid became popular in due course. Following Manqūṣ, many Mawlids appeared using its style and metrics. Commenting on the importance of the Mawlid, O. Abu, a renowned Mappila literature scholar, opines that “the quintessence Mawlid is the heartfelt devotional expression of the believer as the servant and intimate follower of Prophet Muhammad.”¹⁴⁸

It is important to note that the authorship of the Manqūṣ Mawlid is contested, though the majority claims it is Makhdūm Senior. There are different opinions about the name of the text as well. Konkaṇamvītil Ibrahim Kutty Musliār, who is the grandson of Makhdūm, discusses this issue in the preface of his translation of Manqūṣ Mawlūd. He writes under the title Reason for the Name:

We see the name of this Manqūṣ Mawlūd (Abridged Mawlūd). But it is not clear from which this text is abridged. A *Manqūṣ* requires a *Manqūṣ Minhu* (abridged from). The name is seen as Mankūs with Kaf and Seen in some editions. It is like the word *mankūs*, which is mentioned once, represents the whole text like the names of certain chapters (Sūrat) in the holy Qur’ān.¹⁴⁹

The tradition of reciting Manqūṣ Mawlūd is not limited to commemorating the birth of the Prophet but is often also held on every special occasion in an ordinary believer's life like a birth ceremony, *aqīqa*¹⁵⁰ and haircut, wedding, celebration, and other ceremonies. Through the organized madrasa system, the majority Sunni community passed this text's importance from generation to generation. The Manqūṣ Mawlūd has been translated and interpreted multiple times in Arabi-Malayalam and Malayalam languages. The translations include

¹⁴⁸ O. Abu, *Arabi-Malayala Sahitya Charithram*, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Konkaṇamvītil Ibrahim Musliār, *Manqūṣ Mawlūd Valiya Tarjama* (Ponnani: Abdullah, 1953), 5.

¹⁵⁰ Traditionally held on the seventh day after the child's birth, "Aqīqa" consists of giving a name to the baby, shaving its hair, and offering a sacrifice.

Tuhfah al Mushtaqin ala Mawlid al Mawsum bil Manqūṣ by Kidangayam Ibrahim, *Al Bunyan al Marsous fi Sharah al Mawlid al Manqūṣ* by Shaikh Abbas, *Ihtida al Nasus ala Qiraah al Manqūṣ* is another Arabic version by Abu Muhammad al Vailaturi alias Bava, *Al Madh al Manqūṣ ala Tarjama al Mawlid al Manqūṣ*, a treatise in Arabic- Malayalam. *Al Madh al Manqūṣ ala Tarjama al Mawlid al Manqūṣ* written by Ponmundam V.Muhammad and published in 1954 in Misbahul Huda, Tirurangadi. *Tarjamah al Manqūṣ* by T.A Muhammad published in C.H & Sons Press in Tirurangadi. ‘Mawlid Kitab Malayalam’ by Abu Muhammad Mansur published by Fatima Press Talassery in 1987, *Manqūṣ Mawlid Vyaqyanam* by Mukkam Muhammad Baqavi, N.F.S, Badagara. *Mawlid Kitab Tarjamah Bayan* by K.P Muhammad in 1987. *Manqūṣ Mawlid Paribasha* by Basheeruddin in 1995, and another version was under the same title penned by Abul Fazl Muhammad Abdu Rauf and printed by Mubarak Press from Tirur in 1986. *Manqūṣ Mawlid Paribhashayum Vyaqyanavum*, compiled by Konkaṇamvītil Ibrahim Musliār in 1927, are among the major translated works.

4.7 The Text in Translation

The following is the full text of the Manqūṣ Mawlūd in English:

Exalted be the One who presented the Prophet the moon of guidance during the month of Rabīʿ al-Awwal, after creating his light and naming him Muhammad before creating the cosmos. He unveiled him in the last era as a seal of prophecy as per his predetermination and dressed him in garments of beauty, which no one before wore. He was born with a visage that both the moon and

Farqad¹⁵¹ would be embarrassed of. He is the one by whom Adam adjured to Allah and became proud of being his father. And he is the one through whose grace Noah sought Allah's help when the great flood came and thus spared disaster. This light was there in the back of Abraham when he was thrown into the fire set up by Namrūd.¹⁵² Then the fire extinguished itself, and he came out unharmed. And when his mother Amina conceived the Prophet, the angels of heaven came in her aid, and the prophets came to greet her and said: “when you give birth to the (baby), the sun of glory and guidance, name him as Muhammad.”

Allah says: “There has come to you a messenger, (one) amongst you, grievous to him is your falling into distress, full of concern for you, for the believers full of pity, merciful.”¹⁵³

As per the records of Ibn Asakir and similar narrations by Imam Tabrani and others, it is narrated by the Prophet that he said: “I was a light in the disposal of Allah two thousand years before Adam, the first human being was created. This light had been glorifying Allah along with the angels for a very long time. He put that light in his clay when Allah created Adam and descended me to the earth through his (Adam) backbone. God then placed me in Noah's ship on his back and put me in Khalil Ibrahim's spine when he was thrown to the fire. Thus, my Lord had been shifting me to privileged spines - one by one -to sacred wombs. God presented me through my parents, who were pure and clean with a holy lineage.”

¹⁵¹ Farqad is a star in the North Pole

¹⁵² Namrūd, also spelt as Nimrod was a Babylonian king during the time of Prophet Abraham. As per the Islamic legends, the king threw Abraham to a large fire.

¹⁵³ The Holy Qur'ān, 322.

Blessings and peace of Allah be upon the Prophet, his Messenger
The intercessor (of the believers), the beloved of the Arabs.

Like a full moon among the stars, you illuminate our midst.
Nay, you are the supreme, oh, my lord, the best Prophet.

Are you a mother or a father? We have never found in both,
your virtue, indeed, oh my lord, the best Prophet.

You are our saviour who intersects for us tomorrow
Who is there for us as you, oh my lord, the best Prophet.

I have committed countless sins
I plead you for them, oh my lord, the best Prophet.

Indeed, we long for a cup from your pool to quell our thirst
On the day we receive our book, oh my lord, the best Prophet.

Show your affection to us with your decree on the Day of Judgment
Woe to us if we don't get it, oh my lord, the best Prophet.

May Allah's blessings be upon the Prophet always forever,
as long as the stars shine in the sky, oh my lord, the best Prophet.

Ka'bul Ahbar narrates: On a Friday night in Rajab, Allah directed Ridhwan,
the Angel protecting Paradise, to open its doors when he intended to expose the
accumulated light and bring the concealed pearl from Abdullah to the womb of

Amina, the most pious Arab lady. *Hūrs*¹⁵⁴ and boys adorned themselves with beautiful attires, and good news rang the bells while morning stars started to shine. A caller sent by Allah declared in the heavens and earth: “The light in which the leader of mankind is safeguarded is placed in the belly of Amina.” When this light of Prophet Muhammad moved from Abdullah to the womb of Amina, the Throne (*Al-Arsh*) throbbed in joy and ecstasy while the Chair (*Al-Kursiyy*) augmented in awe and reverence. The heavens were decorated with lights, and angels chorused *tahlīl*¹⁵⁵ and *’istigfār*.¹⁵⁶ Amina braced the morning as her forehead was brightening throughout the night. She was free from fear of hidden dangers to her child. The signs of his arrival appeared, and the creatures of the universe passed that good news to each other.

In the happy month of Rajab, she got pregnant with the Prophet; in Sha'ban, she got the good news that she would fulfil her wishes. In Ramadan, she was told that she had conceived a baby purified from dirt and filth. In Shawwal, she heard the angels extending her the good news of winning her ultimate wish. She saw Abraham in Dhul Qa'dah, telling her, "Be pleased to be blessed with the man of lights, dignity, and high status". Moses came to her in Dhul Hijjah and talked about the Prophet's status and high rank. Angel Gabriel called her in Muharram to inform

¹⁵⁴ *Hūr*, also spelled as *hourī*, *huri*, is a lovely maiden who awaits the devoted Muslim in paradise. The Arabic word *hawrā’* refers to the contrast between the clear white of the eye and the darkness of the iris.

¹⁵⁵ *Tahlīl* is a form of prayer that involves the praising of God in Islam by saying *lā ’ilāha ’illā -llāh* (There is no god but Allah)

¹⁵⁶ *’istigfār* is the act of seeking forgiveness from the God, usually by saying *’astagfiru -llāha* (I seek forgiveness from Allah)

her the time for her delivery was approaching. Angels queued up in her house in the month of Safar. She knew that the time of joy had come.

When the month of Rabī' al-Awwal commenced, the earth and sky shone in brightness while the holy Kaaba and Swafa Mountain illuminated in joy. As the time of delivery came, the proclamation of success was out, the signs of delivery became apparent in Amina, and the "sun of victory" was on the verge of rising, the (light of) truth illuminated, spreading light wide, and the flags of gratitude spread all over the universe. Suddenly a white bird flew down and passed over the belly of Amina, swiftly stretching its wings. Then on the eve of the 12th Rabī' al-Awwal, she began to feel the labour pain, and in the dawn of Rabī' al-Awwal 12, she delivered the Prophet of humankind and the Jinns¹⁵⁷. May Allah shower his blessings upon the Prophet, his family, and his companions.

My Lord, shower your blessings upon Prophet Muhammad
The Savior of all creatures from the hellfire tomorrow.

The beloved leader and the greatest servant of Allah is born
As the brightening light dazzled from his cheeks.

Angel Gabriel announced from the stands of his virtue,
He is Ahmed, the pleasure of the universe.

He is the one born with kohl anointed eyes; this is the chosen one
He is the one who has copious characteristics; this is the leader.

¹⁵⁷ Jinn is an invisible spirit mentioned in the Qur'an that Muslims believe inhabits the earth and influences mankind by appearing in the shape of humans or animals.

He is the bearer of charming character, and this is the beloved one
He is the possessor of a sweet face; He is unique.

He is the one dressed up with beautiful attires
And precious ornaments so there is no one similar to him.

The angels of heaven said from their adobes
The beloved is born, and no one like him will ever be born.

Glad news for his community for seeing his face
That is the most incredible honour one can achieve.

She (Amina) delivered him as circumcised and anointed with kohl
As it is narrated in the authentic and recommended traditions.

Oh, the flag of guidance, May Allah bestow His blessings upon you
As long as the birds sing on the branches of the trees.

It is narrated that Amina said: When I delivered the Messenger of Allah, I looked around for my baby eagerly, but I could not see him. Then to my surprise, I found him in the cradle, lying circumcised, eyes anointed with collyrium, nourished, and wrapped in a white cotton cloth softer than silk. The tempting fragrance was spreading from his side. I couldn't help but look at him. Suddenly I heard a voice calling out to hide him from the eyes of the people. Immediately the baby disappeared from my eyes before he was brought in front of me again. All these happened in the blink of an eye. While I was amazed by these, a group of

three came to me. Their faces were as bright as the moon. There was a silver carafe in one's hand, a basin of green aquamarine with another one, and a folded white silk in the hands of the third man. He unfolded it. Then there was a seal in that referral indicating the end of the chain of prophets and messengers with Prophet Muhammad, which astonished the spectators. He took my son and passed him to the washbowl holder while I was looking at him. He washed my son seven times using the water in the jar. Then he told his colleague to stamp the seal of prophethood between his two shoulders, as he is the final Prophet and the leader of the entire creatures in the heavens and earth. As per the reports, the fire of Zoroastrians extinguished on the night of the Prophet's birth. It had been burning for two thousand years preceding that day without going off.

The Tāq Kasrā ¹⁵⁸ trembled as its fourteen terraces collapsed, the Lake of Sawah ¹⁵⁹ dried up, all idols in the world stooped down, Satans were driven away from the heavens' vicinity by sharpened flame sticks as the dawn of truth braced all. And all the fraudulent practices were proved to be irrelevant. Yahya bin Urwa, the grandson of Zubair bin Awwam, narrates that a group of Quraysh ¹⁶⁰ were sitting by their idol-worshipping place to celebrate one of their festivals, slaughtering camels and eating them as they drank and enjoyed the day with heart and soul. When they approached the idol, they found it stooped on its face. It was shocking and unbelievable to them. They reinstated it to its previous position. But to their

¹⁵⁸ Tāq Kasrā is an ancient monument in Iraq Sasanian-era Persian monument, dated to c. the 3rd to 6th-century, which is sometimes called the Arch of Ctesiphon.

¹⁵⁹ The Lake of Sawah is an ancient lake located in present day Iraq. According to the traditions, the vast lake which hosted even ships dried up mysteriously on the birthday of Prophet Muhammad.

¹⁶⁰ Quraysh, also spelled Kuraish, or Koreish, the ruling tribe of Mecca at the time of the birth of the Prophet Muḥammad.

surprise, it was again turned down as someone fell humiliated. They repeated this three times, but the idol did not stand straight. They were doomed in shock and awe with a tragic turnaround of the events, and the celebration became mourning. Uthman Ibn al-Huwarith yelled: what happened to this idol? It keeps falling many times! It seems something unusual has taken place. Telling this, he began to sing while his heart was burning with anger.

Blessings, peace, and the purest greetings are
Upon the chosen one, the best of humankind.

The idol of celebration is surrounded by
the chiefs of delegations from far and the near.

You have stooped down; what happened? tell us,
Our sorrow makes tears flow like rain.

If our sins have let you down,
We deeply regret and turn away from those sins.

If you were defeated by someone and stooped down in humiliation,
Then you are not among the idols of the master lord.

Due to the brightening light from the newborn baby
The broad passes of the world fell trembling with that moment.

All the fire of the Persians was extinguished for him
And the Persian king survived the night in extreme difficulties.

Oh, the Tribe of Alu-Qusay! Return from your aberrance
And rush to the shore of Islam, the ample home of everyone.

Muhammad Ibnu Ishaq says: On the seventh day of the Prophet's birth, his grandfather Abdul Muttalib sacrificed a camel and appropriately did every customary thing. He invited the Quraysh and hosted them with a delicious feast. After the feast, they asked Abdul Muttalib: what name have you given for your (grand) son? He said, "I have named him 'Muhammad'. Finding it hard, they responded: "you have disregarded the names of your forefathers?" He said, "I wished everyone on the earth to praise him."

They named the Prophet of Guidance Muhammad
He is the most deserving person of praise.
May Allah shower His blessings upon him as long as
The morning sun shines in the dawn.

When it was the time of the appearance of his secrets and the brightening of the universe with his lights, Amina was alone at home nurturing the blessings he brought. She just felt a bright light shining in her house; she was in the zenith of joy and comfort. Angels and *Hūr al-‘iyns*¹⁶¹ had come there. Various types of birds

¹⁶¹ *Hūr al-‘iyns* shortly called as *Hūrs* are females with wide and lovely eyes, most often they come with the promise of heaven.

surrounded her room. She could hear them hastening and celebrating the arrival of the beloved (Prophet). Why shouldn't they be in ecstasy as the leader of the entire world has come to the house of Amina!

Oh, Lord of all the worlds, grant peace upon
the leader of the two worlds and all lights.

Indeed, the house you stay
does not require the lamps.

Your brightening face will be our evidence
On the day people produce their evidence.

If you visit a sick person
Surely Allah would cure him.

The one whose ambition is you has succeeded indeed
And he will thrive in the highest position.

Who spent his life in his love?
Dedicating his soul and body.

Oh, the benevolent and generous, yeah
You have exceeded the seas and oceans.

You are our protector from the burning fires

From the flames and the extreme heat of hell.

Oh, the saviour, our sins do prevent us
from shedding tears for you.

The sincere love for you is scarce in our hearts
because of the stain of our sins and wickedness.

Swear by Allah; your fervent lover would not fail
because of your absolute beauty and pleasure.

With hope, we look toward our interceder
for the betterment of our faith and way of life.

He is who saved us from the dangers
His fragrance is spread all over the world.

O, Allah, bless us and help us to pay him a visit
before you take our souls and we die.

Oh Allah, bestow your benedictions upon the Guide
to the way of truth and relief.

Ali bin Zaid says: "There was a *ḍimmī*¹⁶² who stayed in my vicinity. In the month of Rabeeu'l Awwal, I used to invite poor people to my home to celebrate the birthday of the Prophet. He asked me, "why do you do this in this month and not in other months?" I said, "Because this is the month my prophet was born, and I want to express my happiness for that." Then he began to laugh at me, and I was very hurt. While I was asleep that night, I saw the holy Prophet appearing in my dream. He asked me, "What is the matter that hurts you?". I narrated to him my experience with the *ḍimmī*. Then he told me, "Do not worry; tomorrow, he will come to you as a believer."

He (Ali bin Zaid) continues, "Then I woke up, and my eagerness doubled since I was waiting for the prophet's promise to be fulfilled as tears flowed through my cheeks." Meanwhile, someone knocked at my door. It was the *ḍimmī* calling outside: "Please open the door; stains on my heart have been erased; if the Prophet was once with you, he was with me last night!"

He (Ali bin Zaid) said: I opened the door for him. He entered, uttering, "There is no God, but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger." I asked, "What happened to you?" He replied: "Yesternight, I saw a man with a handsome face, with the finest smell, with a reverential visage, with long slim eyebrows, and with well-shaped cheeks. When he spoke, his face shone, and in silence, he looked magnificent. He spoke in a lovely tongue. "This shines like a full moon," you'd say when he

¹⁶² *ḍimmī* is a historical term to refer Non-Muslims with legal protection in an Islamic state.

appeared. The scent of musk and ambergris exudes from him as he moves. Oh, what a beautiful face it was! What a lovely smell it was!

Then I wanted to kiss his hands. He asked me, “you want to kiss my hands while you are not in my religion?” I asked, “Who are you, the one God blessed me to meet? Then he said, “I am the one who has been sent as a mercy to all the worlds, I am the leader of those who came first and those who will come later, I am Muhammad, last of all prophets, and the messenger of the lord of the worlds.” Then I could not help uttering, “There is no god but Allah, and Muhammad is his messenger.” Then he wrapped his arms around me and held me, saying, “This paradise and fort belong to you.” I asked him what the sign for this was? He replied: “You will die tomorrow.”

Ali continues: “while the *ḍimmī* was talking to him, someone knocked on the door saying, ‘If you were granted a day to meet the prophet, the depression would go away, and we have got that opportunity now.’”

Then I asked him who those people were? He said, “My wife and my daughter.” Ali bin Zaid says: “They entered saying that there is no God, but Allah and Muhammad is His Messenger.”

He asked both: “What is the reason for your embrace of Islam?” “We, too, saw the Prophet in our dreams, as you did previously. He has assured us of two if he promised you one fort.” Ali bin Zaid adds: “The man died immediately, the next day his daughter died, and his wife died on the third day. May Allah show mercy upon them and us.” All praises to Allah, who made us the community of Prophet

Muhammad for as long as reciters of remembrance recite his memory and neglecters forget his remembrance.

Allah is the Guardian, the best Guardian
You salute this Prophet, Muhammad.

The month of the Prophet's birth has enlivened the spring of the heart
As the entire people remember Ahmed's birth.

Plenty of good news arrived on his glorious birthday
And extraordinary things occurred on his birthnight.

The signs and miracles witnessed are many
The envious people's wisdom attested to its veracity.

The moon was split by his order and the sun
returned to him in the night without any hesitation.

Animals and trees prostrated to him
before they witnessed and greeted him.

He fed his entire army and let them drink from the least
until it was sufficient for all of them and yet remaining.

The highest ranks of *Al-Wasīlah*¹⁶³ and *Al-Faḍīlah*¹⁶⁴ are reserved for him
and he will occupy the highest position of Maqam Mahmood.

¹⁶³ *Al-Wasīlah* is a highly regarded station in the paradise.

¹⁶⁴ *Al-Faḍīlah* is a range above the creations. These two positions are exclusively given to the Prophet Muhammad.

His qualities are uncountable
our praise will fall short of reaching the goal.

Oh, the leader of the leaders, I have come to you with great longing
I expect your protection, so do not discredit my attempt.

Do you know that I'm facing difficulties?
Violence and weakness; hence, help me.

I have no way but your love for the salvation
So, bestow your bounties so that I will succeed.

Indeed, I'm your guest and your guest
will get all the goodness, oh the best of humankind.

Hence, we are always forever paying you
the purest and everlasting tributes and greetings.

And to all your privileged companions
and their followers in virtue, so try your best.

4.8 The Prayer

Oh Allah, shower your blessings on our leader and saviour Muhammad and his relatives. His blessings protect us from all the horrors and disasters, save us from ailments and calamities, and clean us from every sinful activity. A prayer by which you will pardon all our errors, fulfil our desires, elevate us to the highest positions, and take us to the zenith of bliss to achieve all our goals here and

hereafter. Oh, Allah, we plead you by your great name, your Holy Prophet's rank, and your Great Saint's status to forgive our sins, conceal our frailties, improve our characters to increase our livelihood, and heal our ailments. Also (we pray) to remove our pains and protect us, the people of this country and house from this dreadful virus, deadly disease, and other contagious diseases. Indeed, you are All-Hearing and the best respondent. Please eradicate the epidemic, smallpox and keep us away from your anger and all disasters; cover us with your light from the evil of our enemy and Satan to save us from the plague and smallpox. Oh Allah, please do not punish us for our evil deeds and not destroy us due to our mistakes. Oh, Allah, we seek refuge in you from the agony of the graveyard; shield us from the fiercest pressures of the Day of Judgment. Oh, Most Merciful, rescue us from hellfire and allow us to remain in Paradise because of Muhammad's status, his outstanding kin, his magnificent associates, and your mercy. May Allah confer his blessings upon the best of his creatures, our leader Muhammad and on all his kin and companions. All the praises belong to Allah, the Lord of the entire world.

4.9 Textual Analysis

The *Manqūṣ Mawlūd* deals with the extraordinary happenings at the time of Prophet Muhammad's birth. The content of the text has striking similarities with other popular Mawlid's circulated among the Shāfi'ī communities globally. It is evident that the author of the *Manqūṣ* composed the text taking elements from already available mawlid's. The text reproduces the archetype themes in almost all Mawlid texts on Prophet Muhammad.

4.10 The pre-existence of the Prophet and the Light of Muhammad

According to the majority Sunni belief, God created the light of Prophet Muhammed even before he created the universe. This is a deeply rooted idea in the Sunni Islamic discourse. To validate this point, scholars bring the tradition of the Prophet, which indicates the same. In a widely circulated tradition, the Prophet says he is the first Prophet to be formed and the last to be sent. As Katz noted, the pre-existence of the Light of Muhammad, both its inception at the beginning of creation and its migration via the loins of the Prophet's ancestors, is a necessary component of the archetypal Mawlid narrative. This concept of Muhammadan light (nur Muhammad) was central to subsequent Sufi philosophy. According to this belief, Allah created Muhammad from His own light, and Muhammad's spiritual essence, like a column of light, stood in front of the Lord, praying ritually long before God created everything else. A vast majority of the mawlid texts available worldwide begin with the account of Nur Muhammad, the light of the Prophet.¹⁶⁵ The Manqūṣ Mawlid also starts with this very idea where the author praises the God who created the light of Muhammad before he set up the universe and sent him as the seal of prophecy, which means the final Prophet to be sent to humankind.

4.11 The Narrative of Ka'b al-Ahbar

The Manqūṣ then reproduces the famous creation narrative of Ka'b al-Ahbar. The story opens with God announcing to the angels that he intends to create a being who he will honour and exalt above all other beings; if it weren't for him, the Gardens and the Fires would not have been created. This passage vividly illustrates Amina's pregnancy

¹⁶⁵ Katz, *The Birth of The Prophet Muhammad: Devotional Piety in Sunni Islam*, 15.

and the extraordinary blessings she receives from the great prophets like Abraham and Moses. It illustrates the perfect atmosphere and the joyous occasion of the Prophet's conception as there occur several miraculous incidents involving various stakeholders like the angels and the wonders like God's Thorn and the Chair.

4.12 The Veneration of Badr Martyrs among the Mappilas

Each civilization celebrates key historical battles that shaped its history. For Muslims, irrespective of their sects, the Battle of Badr was a watershed moment when they beat a formidable Quraysh army against all odds following their expulsion from Makkah due to economic restrictions and persecution. The warriors who fought this legendary war are highly revered in various Muslim societies. The Battle of Badr took place on the 17th of the Muslim holy month Ramadan, two years after Prophet Muhammad moved to Madinah after the Quraysh boycotted him socially and economically. Badr is approximately 70 kilometres from Madinah. The Battle of Badr, one of the most crucial battles in human history, is mentioned in multiple Qur'anic verses, particularly Surah Al-'Imran. Muslims were vastly outnumbered by a well-equipped Meccan army led by Quraysh stalwarts. The Quraysh army had approximately 950 well-equipped warriors, whilst the Muslim army had just 313 inexperienced soldiers. This occasion was attended by prominent companions such as Abu Bakr, Umar, Ali, Hamza, Musab ibn Umair, and Abu Dharr al-Ghifari.

Before the battle, the Muslims, who preached a new religion, and the Meccans, who worshipped idols, had engaged in many minor battles in late 623 and early 624, as the

Muslim *Ghazwah*¹⁶⁶ became more frequent. However, Badr marked the first significant escalation between the two groups. Prophet Muhammad received news from his intelligence sources in the spring of 624 that a commerce caravan led by Abu Sufyan and guarded by thirty to forty men was returning from Syria to Mecca. The caravan was sponsored by the funds left behind by the Muslims in Mecca prior to their departure for Medina. The Quraysh sold all their possessions and used the proceeds to finance this caravan, which was intended to humiliate Muslims. Muhammad amassed a 313-man army, the most the Muslims had ever fielded. Prophet Muhammad led the army, and his lieutenants included significant figures such as his uncle Hamzah and future Caliphs Abu Bakr, Umar, and Ali. The Muslims brought seventy camels and three horses. They had to either walk or fit three to four guys on a camel to the battlefield.

In the fiercely fought war, Muslims defeated the Quraysh. The fight began with the appearance of champions from both armies. Three Ansar emerged from Muslim ranks, only to be shouted down by the Meccans, who feared igniting unneeded feuds and were only interested in fighting the Quraishi Muslims. Thus, Ali, Ubaydah, and Hamzah were sent by the Muslims. Although Ubaydah was gravely wounded, the Muslims defeated the Meccan champions in a three-on-three melee. Both forces have now begun exchanging arrow fire. Two Muslims and an unspecified number of Quraish were slain in the attack. To save unnecessary casualties, Muhammad had instructed the Muslims to assault the Quraish with their long-ranged weaponry first and only combat them with their swords when they approached.

¹⁶⁶ Ghazwah, which literally means "campaigns", is often used by biographers to refer to all the Prophet's excursions from Medina, whether to establish peace accords and preach Islam to the tribes, to go on 'umrah, to chase adversaries who attacked Medina, or to engage in the nine battles.

As reported by Al-Bukhari, 14 Muslims were killed in the battle, while the Meccans had lost 70 and another 70 captured. It is not clear from the sources how many Meccans and Muslims were injured, and substantial disparities between the two indicate that the combat was brief and that most of the Meccans were slain during the retreat. The Battle of Badr had a significant impact on the ascension of Prophet Muhammad, who would shape the path of history on the Arabian Peninsula for the next century. According to Karen Armstrong, the biographer of the Prophet, “for years Muhammad had been the butt of scorn and insults, but after this spectacular and unsought success, everybody in Arabia would have to take him seriously.”¹⁶⁷

Badr warriors are immensely venerated in Malabar. Badr day is observed every year with great vigour. The occasion used to have huge gatherings in mosques and feasts prepared and distributed in honour of the warriors who fought for Islam. Many poems and songs praised them, including the hugely popular Badr Kissappatt of Moyinkutty Vaidyar. People used to mediate their prayers by Badr warriors. During my fieldwork, several people I spoke to shared that the first name they called if something bad happened to them was the Badr fighters. For example, an elderly lady close to me used to shout ‘*Badringale*’ whenever some bad news reached her. It is very common among the Mappilas to tell Badr warriors to protect them from all the tragedies. This has triggered intense debates between Sunnis and the Salafists about whether one can ask anyone for help except God.

4.13 Badr Mawlūd

Badr Mawlūd is the second most popular mawlid text circulated among the Muslims of Kerala. The text is the hagiographical account of the heroics of the Badr

¹⁶⁷ Karen Armstrong, *Muhammad: A Biography of the Prophet* (London:HarperCollins, 1992), 176.

warriors. Written in classical Arabic, the Mawlid is recited by Mappils in groups on various occasions. Similar to Manqūṣ Mawlūd, this Mawlid is also written as a mixture of prose and poetry. The text's authorship is widely attributed to Valappil Abd-al Aziz bin Abdullah, one of the prominent scholars in the Ponnani School and the teacher of several scholars and Qadis. The author also has several other works in Arabic to his credit. However, in some accounts and Malayalam translations, the text is credited to Muhammad Labbai Sahib, born in Tamil Nadu.

4.14 The Text in Translation

The following is the English translation of the

In the name of Allah, the Most Gracious, the Most Benevolent. All the praises belong to Allah, who guided us to the straight path and gave us the drink of a generous decree; "We have certainly honoured the children of Adam." Once again, he honoured us by saying, "You have been the best community brought forth for mankind." And He exalted us among humankind with his beloved prophet, the Chosen One, Muhammad, who was sent with true religion backed with great shreds of evidence. Hence I glorify the One who strengthened his religion's towers with the Prophet and his companions, whom he dignified with his verse:

"Muhammad is the messenger of Allah. And those with him are hard against the disbelievers and merciful among themselves. Thou (O Muhammad) seest them bowing and falling prostrate (in worship), seeking bounty from Allah and (His) acceptance. The mark of them is on their foreheads from the traces of prostration. Such is their likeness in the Torah and their likeness in the Gospel – like as sown corn that sendeth forth its shoot and strengtheneth it and riseth firm upon its stalk, delighting the sowers – that He may enrage the disbelievers with (the sight of) them. Allah hath

promised, unto such of them as believe and do good works, forgiveness and immense reward.”¹⁶⁸

And he honoured the martyrs of Badr who sacrificed their precious lives for Allah and his messenger. And he privileged them and made their remembrance and reciting their names and *tawassul*¹⁶⁹ by them worth rewarding. May Allah be pleased with them, and may we have their help in both the houses with their great blessings (barakah). And may Allah shower his infinite blessings upon our leader Muhammad, his family, and his companions.

May Allah’s blessings, purest greetings, and prayers
be upon the chosen one, the best of humankind.

Know that the praise belongs to Allah each moment
for guiding us to the best religion among the religions.

And honouring us with prominence by Ahmed,
The prophet of guidance, the eraser of darkness.

The messenger who firstly invited the infidels to the truth
Then they got guidance and found total success.

Those who obstructed it were avenged and destroyed
With a variety of punishments and a host of tragedies.

¹⁶⁸ Holy Quran. 48:29 Trans, Marmaduke Pickthall

¹⁶⁹ *Tawassul* literally means to make a request or supplicate through a means. This is a controversial subject in Islamic theology as Sunnis pray to Allah, making the Prophet and other saintly people as a mediator.

And He strengthened him with miracles which
helped him to bolster the religion of God.

They spent their wealth and sold selves
For the religion of guidance on each battlefield.

He privileged Badr warriors amongst them
with various degrees and top ranks.

There is praise for them in Qur'an and in tradition
The definite texts in Qur'an and tradition are its evidence.

May the lord of the world shower his blessings
on the leader, his family, and his companions.

Allah, The Most Glorified and Most High, said:

But do not think of those that have been slain in God's cause as dead. Nay, they are alive! With their Sustainer have they their sustenance, (3:170) exulting in that [martyrdom] which God has bestowed upon them out of His bounty. And they rejoice in the glad tiding given to those [of their brethren] who have been left behind and have not yet joined them, that no fear need they have, and neither shall they grieve: (3:171) they rejoice in the glad tiding of God's blessings and bounty, and [in the promise] that God will not fail to requite the believers.¹⁷⁰

The erudite scholars have noted that only a dozen were killed among the Badr warriors in the war. The remaining warriors who took part in the epic battle were promoted to their level of rewards without losing their lives. Scholars have discovered evidence that all of them are addressed by the above-mentioned Quranic

¹⁷⁰ Holy Qur'an. 3:169-71. Trans, Muhammad Asad.

verse. There are different opinions regarding their numbers. Some say they are 313 or 314, while others say 315. Their virtues and qualities are plenty; we are just bringing a few hoping that Allah will bestow us with their blessings and reward us for remembering them. Here is one such account: A person set off his journey to Makkah to perform the Hajj pilgrimage. Before going, he wrote the names of Badr warriors on a piece of paper and kept it on the door top. One day few thieves came to his house to loot the valuables there. While trying to enter the house through the roof, to their surprise, they heard the voice of people talking and weapons clashing inside the building. Frightened by the incident, they ran away from the spot. The same thing happened when the thieves came in the next two days. They were stunned by the unprecedented events and waited until the person returned from the hajj. The chief of the thieves approached him and asked. Swearing to God, May I ask you what you have done in your house to guard it against the thieves? He said, I have done nothing except writing the verse of God, “His eternal power overspreads the heavens and the earth, and their upholding wearies Him not. And he alone is truly exalted, tremendous.”¹⁷¹ And I wrote the names of Badr warriors; may Allah be pleased with them. This is what I have done.” Then the thief said: I’m satisfied. All the praises belong to the lord of the worlds.

My Lord, shower your blessings always, forever
Upon your beloved, the best of all creatures

May my lord be pleased with our tall leaders
Among the martyrs in Badr, as much as the sand clods there.

¹⁷¹ Holy Qur’an. 2:55. Trans, Muhammad Asad.

They are the honourable elite benevolent force
They established the religion of the Chosen One from Mular.

They are the suns of the religion of guidance
To the delight of those people, they have no counterparts.

They are brave hearts in wars and battles
For the enemies and infidels, they are vigorous panthers.

The necks of the infidels bowed down in front of them
their veterans and heroes trembled by their assault.

You ask Badr, You ask Uhud, and you ask Hunain
regarding the methods of their punishments and their force.

They are men. They are mountains, and they
are like aeons in fervour, tremendous leaders.

Honour those brave youth whose virtues are complete,
their benevolence for humanity is widespread.

Hence we ask Allah, the creator, through them
and the leader, the chosen one, to fulfil our needs.

And to save us from all the catastrophes and
calamities of the world and the hellfire.

May Allah also bless this prophet, his clan
and his companions as long as the moon in the sky moves.

One of them said: I had a son I loved more than anything. He was a devotee and well mannered. The son of a minister brutally and unjustly killed him. Nobody supported me in getting justice for him. I wanted to avenge the killing of my son. Nobody helped me with that, as well. Hence I started praying to Allah, mediating with Badr warriors to avenge these assailants. Deeply saddened by the loss of a son and disappointed with the lack of people's support, I sought the help of Badr warriors. On such nights I saw many saintly persons in my dream. It was a very pleasing and refreshing sight.

One among them started to yell, “ Come on, Badr warriors..hurry.” Then they moved to where they heard the voice. Then I said to myself. How glorious is Allah!. These people are, indeed, Badr warriors. I should follow them. I started walking behind them until they reached a higher place. Then each of them sat on a chair made of light. I saw many people approaching them and complaining about various things. Then I also shared my story with them. One of them said: There is no power or strength without Allah. Then he asked the people sitting around him. Who will bring this man's assailant to me?. Then one of them just went out from there. He returned soon. To my surprise, the killer of my son was with him. The saint asked him. Did you kill his son? He said Yes. Saint asked again: What made you kill him? He said. I did it without any provocation to satisfy my grudge. Saint told him to sit on the floor. Then he obeyed. Then the revered saint took a knife and gave it to me. He told me: Here is your turn. Kill him just like he killed your beloved son. I took the knife and killed him by slitting his throat. Suddenly I woke up from

my sleep. At dawn, I heard a loud screaming that the minister's son was murdered in his bedroom. The killer is unknown. May Allah help us with the blessings of Badr warriors and the entire holy companions.

Oh, morally bankrupted and grief-stricken
Call out and seek help, Oh Badr martyrs.

Oh, sorrowful, anguished, and gloomy
Beseech like a refugee, Oh Badr martyrs.

Oh, the taster of bitter tests, bearer of trembling heart
hurry up and call out, Oh Badr martyrs.

How many reliefs and breakthroughs come with your esteem!
For sufferings and crises, Oh Badr martyrs.

Our Lord, fulfil our wishes and eliminate ordeals
And drive away worries by Badr martyrs.

Our Lord, dismiss all our tests and troubles
And lift calamities of the time by Badr martyrs.

We have indeed come to you with expectations, and we have
come asking, don't send us back disappointed by Badr martyrs.

You're the grandest lord; you're honourable and benevolent
Hence have mercy upon us, the most merciful by Badr martyrs.

May my God send his blessings always

Upon the messenger Ahmad.¹⁷²

And on his clan, the stars of guidance
And the martyred Badr warriors.

It is narrated by the reverent Zaid bin Uqail: During some seasons, there used to be the menace of robbers and wild animals along a route in the western part of the country. No caravan dared to pass through this path as they got targeted and attacked; however big they were in numbers. On such days we were sitting there in a group. Meanwhile, a person came through the way with massive loads of merchandise. He was accompanied by a steward alone. He was moving his lips as he seemed to recite specific holy names. Soon after seeing this person, we felt that he has some peculiarities. We carefully checked whether there was anyone else with him. There was no one. My father approached him and asked: “Glory to Allah! How did you manage to pass this route and reach here with your goods all alone?” Travel along this route was dismissed for quite some time due to the menace of burglars and wild animals. The person said: “We came with the army of the beloved Prophet. With this army, he took on the enemies. Allah helped him with these warriors.” My father asked: “Which regiment of the Prophet you were accompanying?” He said: “I got the assistance of Badr warriors. I entered this corridor along with them. Hence I was not afraid of robbers or beasts on our way.” My father continued asking: Swearing to Allah, please tell more about your story. He said: may Allah bless you, here you go.

¹⁷² Ahmad is a second name of Prophet Muhammad.

I was a tall member of a notorious burglar gang. We used to target the traders and block the roads. If any caravan came our way, they could never escape our attack, and we would take their merchandise. One night, we were sitting there to take a rest. Then our spies came and told us that a trader had entered the road with heavy loads and 15 people had accompanied him. Hearing this, we forced upon them and killed ten of them. Then the terrified trader came to us and asked. Hey guys, what do you want? What is your intention? Then we said that we want to take your goods so that you can escape with your remaining companions. Then he asked: How can you defeat me while Badr warriors are with me? We said that we don't know who Badr warriors are. Suddenly he shouted "Allah is Great" and started reciting certain holy names. Those names were foreign to us. When we heard those names, some unknown fear sank us. Heavy storm folded us, we heard the sound of weapons, clashing swords, and a person was shouting, "Oh Badr warriors, march ahead with composure." Then I looked around. There was a sea of people!

Countless horse-riding warriors were storming, cutting across the wind. We showed signs of helplessness. I swiftly went to the merchant and begged for mercy, swearing to Allah that I was with him. Then he told me to ask forgiveness from Allah and remorse for my criminal activities. I repented in front of him. My people were killed proportionately to those of his companions who died. When I wanted to part ways, I asked him to teach me the names of Badr warriors. He taught me that, and since then, I didn't need any guard or steward in the land or the sea. I came through this way with that as you saw me. If the robbers and wild animals see me, they will keep themselves away from me. All the praises belong to Allah.

My Lord, send your blessings on prophet Muhammed,
the saviour of the creatures from the impending hell.

Rewards of the Lord of ‘Arsh will indeed increase
wherever the names of Badr warriors are recited.

Their blessings, gifts, and charity
will apparently shower in succession.

Their names are protection and refuge for humanity
from all the tragedies and difficulties.

How many miracles and amazements
appear while reciting their names!

They have the highest qualities and repute
And indeed, we can’t count their exploits.

Oh, the reciters of their names and praise
You’ve gained pouring blessings and good deeds.

Oh, the attendees adjure and intercede
with their nobility, you’ll succeed in everything.

Oh, our most gracious Lord, we do intercede by the chosen
one and with their (Badr warriors) fame, we seek help.

Distribute the boons among us so that we will be grateful
Do it as a bounty on us; you are the biggest lord.

Extend us your blessings and increase our knowledge and accord us
to practice good deeds and don't abandon us distracted with someone else.

Repel all the harms and calamities on us
and fulfil all our aspirations.

May God bless the prophet and his clan
As long as the moon surfaces and Mars circulates.

Shaikh Ibn Hajar Al-Athqalani narrates: One of my uncles was detained in the land of infidels. The Romans asked for a huge amount as ransom to release him. It was beyond our capacity. We gave him a piece of paper after writing the names of Badr warriors on it. We told him to keep that paper and pray to Allah mediating with these saints. Hence Allah freed him without giving him any ransom. We asked him about his experience when he returned from prison. He explained what happened there. "I acted as I was told while you gave me the paper with the names of Badr warriors. Hence they felt it is not good to keep me there. They decided to sell me. Whoever bought me began to suffer from various tragedies. Therefore I was less prized in the slave market. I was sold for a mere seven dinars. The person who bought me last suffered severe tragedy after three days. He started to punish me in multiple ways." He said: "You are a witch; I will not sell you; instead, I'll kill you by crucifying." He didn't live much after this incident. While travelling on his horse, it dropped him to the ground. He fell on his face and died in a bad manner. His son also tried to persecute me in different ways. These incidents with me

became known among the people. Hence they withdrew from the decision to kill me. After three days, a piece of terrible news was spread: “The king’s ship has been sunk, he lost his son, and several properties perished.” After knowing this, the Romans approached the king and explained to him everything about me. “Once this Muslim guy entered our country, we are suffering too many tragedies; we do not doubt that he is among the descendants of prophets. In the end, the king sent a representative to release me. He gifted a hundred dinars and offered me a pleasant farewell. This is the story of my acquittal.” With the blessings of Badr warriors, May Allah save us from the prisons of sins and wrong deeds.

Oh, my destination, my goal, my intention,
And my aim is Badr warriors.

May the breeze of greetings from the highest lord be
upon the companions of Ta Ha,¹⁷³ the Abtahi.¹⁷⁴

Especially the honourable Badr warriors,
the best of the elite group of people.

They’re steadfast and flags of guidance
They’ve sacrificed their bodies for the prophet.

How glorious is God, who created them
and elevated them to the highest ranks.

They attained pride and complete repute

¹⁷³ Ta Ha is a second name of Muhammad

¹⁷⁴ Abtahi means one who lives in Abtah, a place near Makkah.

with the company of the charming last prophet.

They waged wars for Allah and upheld
the word of Allah in Badr.

They're supreme beneficent martyrs
They're esteemed with apparent honour.

How many reliefs come if adjured
by them and victories in grand style.

With them, we plead to God to remove the worries
And fulfil the intentions of the distressed hearts.

Allah always showers his blessings
Upon the prophet, Tā Ha Hāshimi.¹⁷⁵

And his family and companions, as long as adjured
with truly pious Badr warriors.

It is narrated about one of the foreigners that he said I was travelling on a ship. There were many people on the board. Suddenly the sea darkened, and there was a heavy wind. The waves roared like mountains. We saw the danger coming, and many started to pray; some were crying while some sobbed with fear and shock. Then one of my friends came to me and said. Brother, there is a saintly person on this ship. Could you please approach him? Immediately I rushed towards him. He

¹⁷⁵ One who belongs to the Banū Hāshim, a powerful clan of the Qurayshi tribe in Makkah.

was profoundly sleeping. If this poor man is conscious, how will he sleep in this critical situation? Then I just patted him with my leg. Suddenly, he woke up and stood saying: “In Allah's name, with whose name nothing can harm on earth or in heaven.”¹⁷⁶

I asked him: Oh, the revered servant of Allah! Can't you see the dangerous situation we are trapped? He sat silent without giving any reply. I talked about it again. Then he extended a piece of paper to me and said: “Indicate this paper towards the wind and keep it on the front of the ship.” I took the paper and acted as he told me. At that time, Allah removed the cloud from my eyes to see the unbelievable. “Many people held the ship's sides and dragged it towards the shore. And finally, it landed on the beach. On that night, all other vessels had been wrecked and destroyed. On the next day, we received a favourable wind and the ship was again taken to the sea to continue our voyage. The paper mentioned above had the names of Badr warriors on it. We continued our journey reciting these saints' names, and reached our destination. The incident is a *karamat* and a miraculous history. The people of Badr attained this ability from the light of the beloved messenger of God, who is highly ranked among the prophets. Without him, Allah wouldn't have created any creature or any dawn.

The dawn appeared with his rising
And the night darkened with his profuseness.

He outclassed prophets with his reputation

¹⁷⁶ Holy Quran, 2:256. Trans, Muhammad Asad.

He guided the paths with his evidence.

He is the treasury of bounty, master of grace

He is the guide of generations to his statute.

He has the purest genealogy, the highest status

All the Arabs are in his service.

The tree ran, the rock spoke

And the moon split by his signal.

Gabriel came to him on the night of Isra'.¹⁷⁷

And the lord invited him to his presence.

He attained glory, and Allah forgave

past sins of his community.

Hence our Muhammed is our leader

it is our pride that we accepted his call.

May Allah's blessings be upon him

and his clan and his Badr warriors.

Shaikh Dharani narrates: I heard from the scholars of tradition that the prayers while reciting the names of Badr warriors would be answered. He said it could have been experimented with. Some others said that most saints got their

¹⁷⁷ The Isra and Miraj are the two halves of a Night Journey undertaken by Islam's prophet Muhammad over a single night around the year 621.

sainthood just because they recited the names of Badr warriors and meditated with them. “Hence we ask Allah, the glorious by our Prophet and leader Muhammed and our leaders Abu Bakr, Omar, Uthman, Ali, Twalha, Zubeir, Abd-Ar Rahman, Sa’d, Sa’eed, Abu Ubaidah Amir al-Jarah, al-Akhnas ibn Khubayb al-Muhajiri, Al-Arqam bin Abi al-Arqam, Anasah, mawla Rasulillah al-Muhajiri, Iyas bin al-Bukair, Anas bin Muaz bin Anas bin Qais, Unais bin Qatadah bin Rabi’ah, Iyas, Anas bin Malik bin Nadr Al-Ansari, Ubai bin Ka’ab bin Qais, As’ad bin Yazid bin al-Fakih, Aus bin Thabit bin al-Munzir bin Haram, Aus bin Khauli bin Abdullah, Bilal ibn Rabah al-Muhajiri, Bujayr ibn Abi Bujayr al-Khazraji, Bahhath ibn Tha’laba al-Khazraji, Basbas bin Amru, Basyir bin al-Barra’ bin Ma’mur, Basyir bin Sa’ad bin Tha’labah, Bahhath ibn Tha’laba al-Khazraji, Tamim (maula Sa’ad bin Khaithamah), Tamim bin Ya’ar bin Qais, Thaqfu bin Amir, Tha’labah bin Hatib, Thabit bin Akhram al-Ba’lawi, Thabit bin Huzal bin Amru bin Qarbus, Thabit bin al-Jiz’I, Thabit bin Khalid bin al-Nu’man, Tha’labah bin Amru bin Mihshan, Tha’labah, Abu Absi Jabr bin Amru, Jabir bin Abdullah bin Riab, Jabir bin Khalid bin Mas’ud, Jubair bin Iyas bin Khalid, Jabbar bin Umaiyah bin Sakhr, Thabit bin Amru bin Zaid bin Adi, Thabit bin Khansa’ bin Amru bin Malik, Hathib bin Abi Balta’ah al-Lakhmi, Al-Husain bin al-Harith bin Abdul Muttolib, Al-Harith bin Aus, Al-Harith bin Anas, Al-Harith bin Khazamah bin ‘Adi, Al-Harith bin al-Nu’man bin Umayyah, Al-Harith bin Arfajah, Al-Harith bin al-Shimmah bin Amru, Harithah bin Suraqah bin al-Harith, Huraith bin Zaid bin Tha’labah, Al-Hubab bin al-Munzir bin al-Jamuh, Hubaib bin Aswad, Habeeb ibn al-Aswad al-Khazraji,

Haram bin Milhan, Hamza ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib al-Muhajiri, May Allah be pleased with all of them.”

May the blessings, happiness and
presentations from God spread upon them

“And by Khalid bin al-Bukair, Khabbab (maula ‘Utbah bin Ghazwan), Khalid bin Qais bin al-Ajalan, Khabbab bin al-Arat al-Tamimi, Khunais bin Huzafah, Khuraym ibn Fatik al-Muhajiri, Khauli bin Abi Khauli al-Ijli, Khawwat bin Jubair bin al-Nu’man, Khidash ibn Qatadah al-Awsi, Khirasy bin al-Shimmah bin Amru, Kharijah bin Humayyir al-Asyja’I, Khallad bin Rafi’ bin al-Ajalan, Khallad bin Suwaid bin Tha’labah, Khallad bin Amru bin al-Jamuh, Khulaidah bin Qais bin al-Nu’man, Abu Khalid al-Harith bin Qais bin Khalid, Khalifah bin Adi bin Amru, Khubaib bin Isaf bin ‘Atabah, Zish Shamalain Umair bin Abd Umro Al Khaza’I, Zakwan bin Abdu Qais bin Khaladah, Rabi’ah bin Aksam, Rib’ie bin Rafi’ al-Ba’lawi, Rifa’ah bin Amru bin Amru bin Zaid, Rafi’ bin al-Mu’alla bin Luzan, Rafi’ bin al-Harith bin Sawad bin Zaid, Rafi’ bin Yazid bin Kurz, Rafi’ bin Anjadah, Rifa’ah bin Rafi’ bin al-Ajalan, Rifa’ah bin Abdul Munzir, Rashid ibn al-Mu’alla al-Khazraji, Al-Rabi’ bin Iyas bin Amru bin Ghanam, Rukhaylah ibn Tha’labah al-Khazraji, Zaid bin al-Khattab, Zaid bin Aslam bin Tha’labah al-Ba’lawi, Zaid bin al-Marini bin Qais, Zaid bin Wadi’ah bin Amru, Abu Zaid Qais bin Sakan, Ziyad bin Amru, Ziyad bin Lubaid bin Tha’labah, Ziyad ibn as-Sakan al-Awsi, Ziyad ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, Ziyad ibn Labad al-Khazraji, Zayd ibn Aslam

al-Awsi, Zayd ibn Harithah mawla Rasalillah al-Muhajiri. Zayd ibn al-Khattab al-Muhajiri, Zayd ibn al-Muzayyin al-Khazraji, Zayd ibn al-Mu'alla al-Khazraji, Zayd ibn Wada'ah al-Khazraji, As-Sa'ib ibn 'Uthman ibn Maz'an al-Muhajiri, Sa'd ibn Khawlah al-Muhajiri, Sa'd ibn Khaythama ash-Shahad al-Awsi, Sa'd ibn ar-Raba' al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn Zayd al-Awsi, Sa'd ibn Sa'd al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn Suhayl al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn 'Ubada al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd al-Awsi, Sa'd ibn 'Uthman al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn Mu'adh al-Awsi, Sa'd mawla Hatib Abi Balta'a al-Muhajiri, Sufyan ibn Bishr al-Khazraji, Salim ibn 'Umayr al-Awsi, Salim mawla Abi Hudhayfa al-Muhajiri, Sabrah ibn Fatik al-Muhajiri, Suhayl ibn Rafi' al-Khazraji, Suhayl ibn Wahb al-Muhajiri, Suwaybit ibn Sa'd ibn Harmalah al-Muhajiri, Sinan ibn Sayfa al-Khazraji, Sinan ibn Abi Sinan ibn, Mihsan al-Muhajiri, Sa'd ibn ar-Raba' al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn Zayd al-Awsi, Sa'd ibn Sa'd al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn Suhayl al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn 'Ubada al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn 'Ubayd al-Awsi, Sa'd ibn 'Uthman al-Khazraji, Sa'd ibn Mu'adh al-Awsi, Sa'd mawla Hatib Abi Balta'a al-Muhajiri, Salamah ibn Aslam al-Awsi, Salamah ibn Thabit al-Awsi, Salamah ibn Salamah al-Awsi, Sahl ibn Hunayf al-Awsi, Sahl ibn Rafi' al-Khazraji, Sahl ibn 'Atak al-Khazraji, Sahl ibn Qays al-Khazraji, Simak ibn Sa'd al-Khazraji, Sufyan ibn Bishr al-Khazraji, Suraqah bin Ka'ab bin Abdul Uzza, Suraqah bin Amru bin 'Atiyyah, Suraqa ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, Suraqa ibn Ka'b al-Khazraji, Sulaim bin Milhan, Sulaim bin al-Harith bin Tha'labah, Salit bin Qais bin Amru bin 'Atik, Sawad bin Ghaziyyah, Sawad ibn Razam al-Khazraji, Sawad ibn Ghaziyyah al-Khazraji, Shuja' ibn Wahb ibn Raba'ah al-Muhajiri, Shammash ibn 'Uthman al-Muhajiri, Sharak ibn Anas al-Awsi, Safwan ibn Wahb ash-Shahad al-Muhajiri, Al-Dhahhak

bin Abdi Amru, Dhamrah bin Amru, Tulayb ibn 'Umayr al-Muhajiri, Tufayl ibn al-Harith ibn al-Muttalib al-Muhajiri, Tufayl ibn Malik al-Khazraji, Tufayl ibn an-Nu'man al-Khazraji. May Allah be pleased with all of them.”

May God’s pride, blessings and goodwill

light up and shine upon them

“And by Aqil bin al-Bukair, ‘Ubaidah bin Abi ‘Ubaid, Umarah ibn Hazm al-Khazraji, 'Umarah ibn Ziyad al-Awsi, 'Umayr ibn Haram ibn al-Jamah al-Khazraji, 'Umayr ibn al-Humam ash-Shahad al-Khazraji, 'Umayr ibn 'amir al-Khazraji, 'Umayr ibn Abi Waqqas ash-Shahad al-Muhajiri, 'AbdAllah ibn Tha'labah al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Jubayr al-Awsi, 'AbdAllah ibn Jahsh al-Muhajiri, 'AbdAllah ibn Jadd ibn Qays al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn al-Humayr al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn ar-Raba' al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Rawaha al-Khazraji, 'Uthman ibn Maz'an al-Muhajiri, 'Iyad ibn Zuhayr al-Muhajiri, 'Uqbah ibn 'amir ibn Naba al-Khazraji, 'Uqbah ibn 'Uthman al-Khazraji, 'Uqbah ibn Wahb ibn Khaldah al-Khazraji, 'Uqbah ibn Wahb ibn Raba'ah al-Muhajiri, 'Ukkasha ibn Mihsan al-Muhajiri, 'amir ibn Umayyah al-Khazraji, 'amir ibn al-Bukayr al-Muhajiri, 'amir ibn Raba'ah al-Muhajiri, 'amir ibn Sa'd al-Khazraji, 'amir ibn Salamah al-Khazraji, 'amir ibn Fuhayrah al-Muhajiri, 'amir ibn Mukhallad al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Zayd ibn Tha'labah al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Suraqa al-Muhajiri, 'AbdAllah ibn Salamah al-Awsi, 'AbdAllah ibn Sahl al-Awsi, 'AbdAllah ibn Suhayl ibn 'Amr al-Muhajiri, 'AbdAllah ibn Sharak al-Awsi, 'AbdAllah ibn Tariq al-Awsi, 'AbdAllah ibn 'amir al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn 'Abdillah ibn Ubay ibn Salal al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn 'Abdi Manaf ibn an-Nu'man al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn 'Abs al-

Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn 'Urfutah al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn 'Umayr al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Qays ibn Khaldah ibn Khalid al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Qays ibn Sakhr al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Ka'b al-Khazraji, 'AbdAllah ibn Makhramah al-Muhajiri, 'AbdAllah ibn Mas'ad al-Muhajiri, 'AbdAllah ibn Maz'an al-Muhajiri, 'AbdAllah ibn an-Nu'man al-Khazraji, 'Ammar ibn Yasir al-Muhajiri, 'Umarah ibn Hazm al-Khazraji, 'Umarah ibn Ziyad al-Awsi, 'Amr ibn Iyas al-Khazraji, 'Amr ibn Tha'labah al-Khazraji, 'Amr ibn al-Jamah al-Khazraji, 'Amr ibn al-Harith ibn Zuhayr al-Muhajiri, 'Amr ibn al-Harith ibn Tha'laba al-Khazraji, 'Amr ibn Suraqa al-Muhajiri, 'Amr ibn Abi Sarh al-Muhajiri, 'Amr ibn Talq al-Khazraji, 'Amr ibn 'Awf al-Muhajiri, 'Amr ibn Qays ibn Zayd al-Khazraji, 'Amr ibn Mu'adh al-Awsi, 'Amr ibn Ma'bad al-Awsi, 'Utbah ibn Raba'ah al-Khazraji, 'Utbah ibn 'Abdillah al-Khazraji, 'Utbah ibn Ghazwan al-Muhajiri, al-'Ajlan ibn an-Nu'man al-Khazraji, 'Adiyy ibn Abi az-Zaghba' al-Khazraji, 'Itban ibn Malik al-Muhajiri, 'Abdu'rRahman ibn Jabr al-Awsi, 'Abdu Rabbihi ibn Haqq al-Khazraji, 'Abbad ibn Bishr al-Awsi, 'Uwaym ibn Sa'idah al-Awsi, 'asim ibn Thabit al-Awsi, 'asim ibn 'Ada al-Awsi, 'asim ibn al-'Ukayr al-Khazraji, 'asim ibn Qays al-Awsi, 'Usaymah halaf min Ashja' al-Khazraji, 'aidh ibn Ma'is al-Khazraji, 'Ismah ibn al-Husayn al-Khazraji, and 'Atiyya ibn Nuwayrah al-Khazraji. May Allah be pleased with all of them.”

May the happiness, gifts, the pride
and blessings from God increasingly raise upon them

“And by Ghannam ibn Aws al-Khazraji, Fakih ibn Bishr al-Khazraji, Farwah ibn 'Amr al Khazraji, Qatadah ibn an-Nu'man al-Awsi, Qudamah ibn Maz'an al-Muhajiri, Qutbah ibn 'amir al-Khazraji, Qays ibn as-Sakan al-Khazraji, Qays ibn 'Amr ibn Zayd al-Khazraji, Qays ibn Mihsan al-Khazraji, Qays ibn Mukhallad al-Khazraji, Ka'b ibn Jammaz al-Khazraji, Ka'b ibn Zayd al-Khazraji, Abu'l Yasar, Ka'b ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, Libdah ibn Qays al-Khazraji, Mihja' ibn Salih ash-Shahad al-Muhajiri, Malik ibn ad-Dukhshum al-Khazraji, Malik ibn Raba'ah al-Khazraji, Malik ibn Rifa'ah al-Khazraji, Malik ibn 'Amr al-Muhajiri, Malik ibn Qudama ibn 'Arfajah al-Awsi, Malik ibn Mas'ad al-Khazraji, Malik ibn Numaylah al-Awsi, Malik ibn Abi Khawla al-Muhajiri, Mubash-shir ibn 'Abdi'l Mundhir ash-Shahad al-Awsi, al-Mujadhdhar ibn Ziyad al-Khazraji, Muhriz ibn 'amir al-Khazraji, Muhriz ibn Nadlah al-Muhajiri, Muhammad ibn Maslamah al-Awsi, Midlaj ibn 'Amr al-Muhajiri, Murarah ibn ar-Raba' al-Awsi, Marthad ibn Abi Marthad al-Muhajiri, Mistah ibn Uthatha al-Muhajiri, Mas'ad ibn Aws al-Khazraji, Mas'ad ibn Khaldah al-Khazraji, Mas'ad ibn Raba'ah al-Muhajiri, Mas'ad ibn Zayd al-Khazraji, Mas'ad ibn Sa'd ibn Qays al-Khazraji, Mas'ad ibn 'Abdi Sa'd ibn 'amir al-Awsi, Mus'ab ibn 'Umayr al-Muhajiri, Muzahhir ibn Rafi' al-Awsi, Mu'adh ibn Jabal al-Khazraji, Mu'adh ibn al-Harith al-Khazraji, Mu'adh ibn as-Simmah al-Khazraji, Mu'adh ibn 'Amr bin al-Jamah al-Khazraji, Mu'adh ibn Ma'is al-Khazraji, Ma'bad ibn 'Abbad al-Khazraji, Ma'bad ibn Qays al-Khazraji, Mu'attib ibn 'Ubayd al-Awsi, Mu'attib ibn 'Awf al-Muhajiri, Mu'attib ibn Qushayr al-Awsi, Ma'qil ibn al-Mundhir al-Khazraji, Ma'mar ibn al-Harith al-Muhajiri, Ma'n ibn 'Adiyy al-Awsi, Ma'n ibn Yazeed al-Muhajiri, Mu'awwidh ibn al-Harith ash-Shahad al-

Khazraji, Mu'awwidh ibn 'Amr ibn al-Jamah al-Khazraji, al-Miqdad ibn 'Amr al-Muhajiri, Mulayl ibn Wabrah al-Khazraji, al-Mundhir ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, al-Mundhir ibn Qudama ibn 'Arfajah al-Awsi, al-Mundhir ibn Muhammad al-Awsi, an-Nasr ibn al-Harith al-Awsi, Nu'man ibn al-A'raj ibn Malik al-Khazraji, Nu'man ibn Sinan al-Khazraji, Nu'man ibn 'Asr al-Awsi, Nu'man ibn 'Amr ibn Rifa'ah al-Khazraji, Nu'man ibn 'Abdi 'Amr al-Khazraji, Nu'man ibn Malik al-Khazraji, Nu'man ibn Abi Khazamah al-Awsi, Nu'ayman ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, Nawfal ibn 'Abdillah al-Khazraji. May Allah be pleased with all of them.”

May the greetings, blessings, victory,
favour and grace of God fall and encircle upon them

“And by Waqid ibn 'Abdillah al-Muhajiri, Wada'ah ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, Waraqa ibn Iyas al-Khazraji, Wahb ibn Sa'd ibn Abi Sarh al-Muhajiri, Hana' ibn Niyar al-Awsi, Hubayl ibn Wabrah al-Khazraji, Hilal ibn 'Umayya al-Waqifa al-Khazraji, Hilal ibn al-Mu'alla al-Khazraji, Yazeed ibn al-Akhnas al-Muhajiri, Yazeed ibn al-Harith ibn Fushum ash-Shahad al-Khazraji, Yazeed ibn Hiram al-Khazraji, Yazeed ibn Ruqaysh al-Muhajiri, Yazeed ibn as-Sakan al-Awsi, Yazeed ibn al-Mundhir al-Khazraji, Abi Khallad, ibn Qays al-Khazraji, Abi Dawad, 'Umayr ibn 'amir al-Khazraji, Abi Dujanah, Simak ibn Kharashah al-Khazraji, Abi Sabrah mawla Abi Ruhm al-Muhajiri, Abi Salamah, 'AbdAllah ibn 'Abd al-Asad al-Muhajiri, Abi Salat, Usayra ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, Abi Sinan, ibn Mihsan al-Muhajiri, Abi Shaykh, Ubayy ibn Thabit al-Khazraji, Abi Sirmah, ibn Qays al-Khazraji, Abi Dayyah, ibn Thabit al-Awsi, Abi Talha, Zayd ibn Sahl al-Khazraji, Abi 'Abs, ibn

Jabr ibn 'Amr al-Awsi, Abi 'Aqal, 'Abdu'rRahman ibn 'Abdillah al-Awsi, Abi Qatadah, ibn Rib'iyy al-Khazraji, Abi Qays, ibn al-Mu'alla al-Khazraji, Abi Kabshah mawla Rasalillah al-Muhajiri, Abi Lubabah, Bashir ibn 'Abd al-Mundhir al-Awsi, Abi Makhshiyy, Suwayd ibn Makhshiyy al-Muhajiri, Abi Marthad, Kannaz ibn Hisn al-Muhajiri, Abi Mas'ad al-Badra, 'Uqbah ibn 'Amr al-Khazraji, Abi Mulayl, ibn al-Az'ar al-Awsi, Abu'l Mundhir, ibn 'amir al-Khazraji, Abu'l Haytham, Malik at-Tayyihan al-Awsi.”

May God’s peace, blessings and buoyancy

Shower upon them as long as the sun rises and moves

And by the entire holy companions of the prophet, May Allah be pleased with them, we pray you to protect us from all the tests and evils and help us, fulfil all our wishes with happiness and include us in your pious slaves on the Day of Judgement. May Allah shower His blessings on our leader Muhammad, his clan and the Holy companions as long as the good folks remember them and the sloppy keep neglecting them.

We adjure with the name of Allah
and the messenger of Allah, the guide.

And all the warriors of Allah
and the Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

My God, save our community
from the tragedies and dangers.

And from distress and worries
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

My God, protect us and reveal
all the banes and send them away.

The deceits of the enemies
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

My God, abreact the torments
and the agonies of the mutineers.

And all the ordeals and famines
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

How many reliefs got
how many disgraces detached.

And how many blessings attained
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

How many wretched you enriched
how many poor have you enabled?

And how many sinners you forgave
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

Indeed the heart is narrowed by
the entire world in its breadth.

Hence save from the hard evils
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

We have come seeking help,
splendid blessings and triumph.

Hence, enlarge the hands of charity
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

Hence do not return us disappointed
but leave us on a good note.

Oh, the possessor of pride and command
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

If you leave me in peril, whom I'll approach
to get my all inevitabilities.

Oh, the remover of distresses
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

My God, forgive and honour us
by accomplishing our pursuits.

And eliminating the evil deeds
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

My god, you are so kind,
so benevolent and compassionate.

And how many afflictions you banish
by Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

Shower the blessings on the righteous prophet
without any limit or count.

And his enlightened gentle family
and the Badr warriors, Oh Allah.

4.15 The Prayer

All the praises belong to Allah. Oh Allah, shower your blessings upon our leader Muhammad and the family of our leader Muhammad, Blessings by which you will save us from all the horrors and tragedies and protect us from all the diseases and agonies. Purify us from all evil deeds, forgive our sins, fulfil our needs, raise our positions in front of you, and take us to the zeniths of all good deeds in this life and the life after death. Oh, Allah, we are adjuring to you with your glorious name and the stature of your honourable prophet and with the martyrs of Badr and the entire holy companion. Expiate our sins and hide our faults, improve our characters, enlarge our means of living, cure our illnesses and heal our pains, and protect us and the people of our land and this house from the soaker venom, deadly disease, and acute epidemics. You are the one who hears and cares. Send away the plague from us. Oh Allah, illuminate our minds with knowledge, employ our bodies in your obedience, protect our hearts from distress, and occupy our thoughts in your consideration. Oh Allah, forgive our past sins and protect us in the remaining lifetime. Oh Allah, do not punish us for our evil deeds and do not destroy us for our immoralities. Oh, Allah, we are begging you to exempt us from the punishment in

the grave and reassure us from the greatest fear and rescue us from the house of destruction (hell) and accommodate us in paradise, the eternal home, by the right of Muhammad and his reverent clan, by your compassion, oh the kindest of the kinds. May Allah shower his blessings upon our leader Muhammad, the best of his creatures, and his entire family and companions. Glory to your lord, master of the honour, from their depictions. Peace be upon the messengers, and praise belongs to Allah, the lord of the worlds.

4.16 Mawlid in the Contemporary Times

Due to the emergence of new reformist movements and the puritan Salafi onslaught, the Mawlid texts and the practice came under heavy scrutiny. The new religious sects alleged blasphemy against some of the lines from these texts as shirk, i.e. associating someone with God. Sunni ulema resisted these waves by giving new interpretations and connotations to the highly ornamented language used by the Mawlid texts and popularizing the content through translations. The Mawlid gatherings and Wa'z sessions explained the meaning of the passages and verses for long hours in a series of events intended to enlighten the common mass.

4. 17 Conclusion

This chapter is the translation of Manqūṣ Mawlūd and Badr Mawlūd, two of the most popular and widely circulated Mawlid texts among the Sunni Muslims of Kerala. Through the original translation and brief interpretation of the Manqūṣ Mawlūd, I wanted to illustrate the microcosm of important *Mawlid* narratives with an example from Kerala, a Mawlūd text popular with Mappilas. With this, I wanted to demonstrate how Islam as a

popular religion was translated in the region by the texts and practices of Mawlid. The chapter also briefly discussed the hagiographic literature and its role in developing the folk and Sufi Islam in Malabar.

Chapter 5

The Muḥyiddīn Māla: Between Canonization and Censorship

The Muḥyiddīn Māla, composed by Qāḍi Muhammad Abdul Azīz in AD 1607, holds the highest place in the Mappila literary canon as a text of religious and cultural ritual importance. The text has been very influential within the community as a popular classic that defined piety and domestic devotion for generations. The subject matter is the hagiographical poetry describing the life and spiritual glory of Shaikh Muḥyiddīn Abdul Qādir Jīlani; a medieval Sufi saint who lived in Baghdad (1077-1165 A.D). The region's vernacularization of Islam, the text's oral and performative features, and the widespread use of Arabi-Malayalam contributed to the canonization of the Muḥyiddīn Māla. When a Malayalam of elite cultural orientation and Sanskrit veneration was prominent in the 17th century, Arabi Malayalam and its literary terrain became popular as an alternative literary practice with a counter poetic theology.

The Mappila Muslims, mostly Sunnis, attribute this text to an exalted position and make it part of their day-to-day religion. Criticism against it often invites blasphemy charges in Muslim public discourse. However, the emergence of the Salafi modern reformist movements contested the text's consecrated content from a puritan perspective. They alleged heresy and blasphemy in several verses of the māla and campaigned against the text's canonical status. There was a series of debates and congregational sermons regarding the theological validity of the text. The traditional Sunni Ulema and the reformist Salafi preachers conducted a spree of cassette sessions to throw sludge at each other. The controversial lines of the māla dominated these critical debates.

This chapter attempts to analyze the debates, arguments, and counter-arguments on the sacred/profane dichotomy surrounding this most important canonical text of Mappila Muslims. It will investigate how traditional Sunnis' new interpretations, commentaries, and internal censorship tried to subvert the Salafi/Wahhabi fractions' criticism of Kerala's quintessential Sufi Islam. The chapter is divided into two parts. The first part tries to locate the Muḥyiddīn Māla in Mappila literary canon. And the second part discusses the Sunni/Salafi polemics, the canon of the Muḥyiddīn Māla and its relevance.

5.1 Arabi-Malayalam and the Mappila Canon Formation

Unlike their counterparts in other regions of India, the Muslim community in Kerala has a unique social structure, religious rituals, linguistic habits, and broader cultural heritage. The social and historical conditions in which Mappila Muslims live in Malabar, Kerala, have contributed to the emergence of distinct cultural traditions. Arabi-Malayalam was integrated into Mappila Muslims' social space of literary enterprises, spiritual activities, cultural performances, and educational engagements as a distinctive type of linguistic practice. This particular language form and textual practice are products of Mappila Muslims' regional Islamic culture and history and can be viewed as 'forms of existence' arising from their social and religious inclinations.

As various scholars have pointed out, the Muḥyiddīn Māla's highly developed use of Arabi-Malayalam, as indicated by its spelling and lexis, suggests that it was written when it had already been established as a full-fledged medium of literary expression. Also, it was written during a period when Sanskritization was thoroughly ingrained in the region's Hindu community and the public sphere. Arabi-Malayalam emerged, at least initially, against this context, with Arabicization resembling Sanskritization in many ways.

Qāḍi Muhammad composed his text emulating the style of Hindu devotional literature praising divine beings and such as the Ramacaritam, which served as a representative of the literary and sociocultural fusion of two distinct traditions – pan-Hindu Sanskrit and the regional Dravidian tradition. According to Ophira Gamliel, “The poetic efforts of Qāḍi Mahammad were consciously aimed at bringing together two literary traditions- the Arabic Cosmopolis on the one hand and of the Sanskrit Cosmopolis on the other hand and to craft out of them a regional literary variety in the form of the Māla.”¹⁷⁸

5.2 Contextualizing Muḥyiddīn Māla in the Mappila Literary Canon

Eulogies and odes to the Prophet, his companions, and saints have occupied the highest positions in devotional literature throughout Islamic history. Due to its religious connotations and celestial air, this genre was accorded high rank and ultimate veneration among the erudite as well as the ordinary. Similar works continue to hold a special place in the local vernaculars of Muslim communities. A sizable corpus of devotional and panegyric writing might have been produced in each vernacular of Islamic origin in various genres. It is highly traceable from Africa's Swahili and Hausa to South Asia's Sindhi and Panjabi. The phenomenon of Mālas in Arabi-Malayalam is also a similar invention. Māla, a poem/song based on various themes, most notably the hagiographical life sketches of saints and historical figures, are the most widely used verse tradition in Arabi-Malayalam. Most of them are built on the narration of anecdotes of Muslim saints' miraculous powers and heroic activities in the community's history. They occupy a significant place in Mappila's domestic devotion, especially among the womenfolk.

¹⁷⁸ Ophira Gamliel, “On the Warp and Woof of Language: Arabic, Malayalam and the Muḥyiddīn Māla,” *Ishal Paithrkam*, no. 15 (Sept 2017): 24-30.

As a general characteristic, most of the authors adopted a general structure and pattern for their *mālas*. It is customary for them to begin with Allah's name and remember Prophet Muhammad and his companions. Additionally, the hagiographical narrative of the topic of the individual priest, saint, or Prophet whose life is recounted in the text will be followed by loud recitation and reciprocal chorus. There will be a specific prayer, interceding by mediating with the saint at the conclusion. It is a prayer to God in which the saint in question is designated as the intercessor or mediator. *Mālas* are sung in groups during significant events such as women's deliveries, marriages, housewarmings, male circumcision ceremonies, harvesting, and other agricultural activities. *Mālas* were recited in a circle by family members throughout the holy months and days. The majority of the ladies would participate in the recitation. According to oral histories, it is a centuries-old tradition of the town's people. During my fieldwork, it was interesting to see the girls in Madrasas who were barred from performing popular Mappila songs on stages were allowed to recite the *mālas*, especially the Muḥyiddīn Māla during the festivals like Mīlādunnabi. Abdul Kareem and C N Ahmad Maulavi, who compiled the survey of Mappila literature, write:

Muslims sing this devotional song in practically every Kerala family every day after sunset prayers. When questioned about a Muslim girl's educational background during a marriage proposal, the traditional response was that she had learned the Quran and Muhyiddin Mala! Because Muslims held the Mala in such high regard and devotion, it was passed down through centuries despite the lack of printing.¹⁷⁹

Because of the oral tradition associated with it, Mala literature gained phenomenal popularity among ordinary folks. It acquired an unparalleled appeal due to its non-

¹⁷⁹ K. K. Muhammad Abdul Kareem and C.N. Ahmed Moulavi, *Mahathaya Mappila Sahithya Parambaryam* (Calicut: Al-Huda Bookstall, 1978), 44.

aristocratic language, rhythm, and performative easiness. Its existence is unavoidable as a result of its unique beginnings. It was created to resound in all aspects of the lives of the local Muslims. It was a way of paying tributes to the greatest role models for the community.

5.3 Veneration of Shaikh Muḥyiddīn Abdul Qādir Jīlani among the Mappilas

Shaikh Muḥyiddīn Abdul Qādir Jīlani enjoys a great deal of Sufi following worldwide. He is regarded as the greatest saint and is canonized in later Sufi narratives. According to Annemarie Schimmel, Shaikh Muḥyiddīn was “probably the most popular saint in the Islamic world, whose name is surrounded by innumerable legends that scarcely fit the image of the stern, sober representative of contrition and mystical fear.”¹⁸⁰ A scholar par excellence Shaikh Muḥyiddīn gained a deeper knowledge of Hanbali¹⁸¹ jurisprudence and became a pupil of the Sufi shaikh Abu al-Khayr al-Dabbas to learn Islamic mysticism. He began his profession as a preacher in 1127. Numerous accounts of his mesmerising performances in Baghdad drew such large crowds that enough space was impossible to locate. The majority of his available content has survived in the shape of approximately 200 sermons transcribed by pupils. He communicated with a broad audience, including Christians, Jews, and Muslims, using straightforward, nontechnical language. Shaikh was a renowned scholar of the Qur’an, Hadith, and religious law as well. According to some, he was his generation’s spiritual pole known as the Qutb-al-Zaman. Among Sufi Friends

¹⁸⁰ Annemarie Schimmel. *Mystical Dimensions of Islam* (Chapel Hill: The University North Carolina Press, 1975), 247.

¹⁸¹ Hanbali school is one of the four accepted schools of jurisprudence in Sunni Islam

of God known as Awliya, none has enjoyed widespread popular appeal across cultural and ethnic boundaries as long as Jilani did.¹⁸²

In Malabar, Shaikh Muḥyiddīn has a huge following as the Qadiriyya order is still the largest Sufi circle in the region. Veneration of Awliya is the central component of traditional Sunni Islam in Malabar. This is largely subscribed by the Hadhrami Sufi stalwarts who graced the land. Sufi tombs known as *jārams* are revered in Malabar's Sunni culture. Several built graveyards may be seen around the region, each representing a different saint who is buried there. Mappilas would go to these locations and pray to God for their various needs. Mappila Muslims have a common practice of making promises to visit shrines or offering gifts to them in exchange for achieving their goals.

5.4 The Muḥyiddīn Māla as a Model for Translation

The Muḥyiddīn Māla is the first and most prominent work in this genre or category. This eulogy depicts the life and works of the renowned Sufi saint Shaikh Abdul Qādir Jīlani of Baghdad, born in Jīlan, Iran. The author composed this Māla, extracting life events and sketches of the Shaikh from his books such as *Qasīda Ainiyya*, *Qasīda Nuniyya*, *Qasīda Ba' iyya*, *Qasīda Ghousiyya*, *Qasīda Lamiyya*, all in verse, and *Fathur Rabbani* in prose, and *Futuh-ul Ghaib* in prose and poetry. The Muḥyiddīn Māla, like all other *mālas*, is a long-rhymed poem that is still sung in reverence in the Mappila households, especially by womenfolk, on several occasions, more importantly at times of distress. To cure diseases and get rid of poverty, people sang *mālas*. Hundreds of successive *mālas* took this epic poem as a template and followed its style and metrics.

¹⁸² John Renard, *The A-Z of Sufism* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2009), 18.

5.5 The Text in Translation

In the reverent name of Allah, his praise and blessings,
Has the beloved Prophet told to begin; thus I start.
With the prior order of the Lord of the world,
He (Shaikh Jīlani) is the heir of Muhammad.
The one who is supreme in all standards,
The one who is renowned in all directions.
The one who is called the Prince of Saints,
Whose lineage goes to the Prophet's clan.
The one who came as a magnate (*Qutb*¹⁸³) from father's spine,
The one who is renowned in seven skies.
The one who saw heaven in a sitting,
The one known as the Kingbird of the universe.
The one with the sea of *Shari'a*¹⁸⁴ on his right,
The one with the sea of *Ḥaqīqa*¹⁸⁵ on his left.
Above the skies and beneath the ground,
He is the one with long flags.
The one who's known as Shaikh Abdul Qādir Jīlani,
the one who came as the chief (*Qutb*) of all Shaikhs.
He is Muḥyiddīn,¹⁸⁶ the one Allah loved,

¹⁸³ *Qutb* literally means pole. According to Marriam Webster, a *Qutb* is defined an Islamic saint who has attained the highest degree of sanctity and has become, within some areas of Islamic mysticism, responsible for the invisible government of the world.

¹⁸⁴ *Shari'a* is servitude to Allah. *Shari'a* is to worship Him. *Shari'a* is to implement His order whereas.

¹⁸⁵ *Ḥaqīqa* is observation of the lordship of Allahu. *Ḥaqīqa* is to see Him and observe His decree.

¹⁸⁶ Muḥyiddīn literally means the Reviver of the Faith.

The one with infinite merits.
 I am citing only a few of his qualities now,
 As there are plenty if one says his merits.
 Like the cream of the milk, I sing this song,
 Blessed are those who would study this.
 As per the guidance of the savants (sings),
 The one with the name of Qāḍi Muhammad.
 The one who was born on the coast of Kozhikode,
 The one who carefully threaded this garland.
 From his (Jīlani's) poems and his books *Bahjath* and
Takmila (Qāḍi Muhammad) compiled this work.
 Let's hear his virtues and his regards,
 Listen, Oh people of the world; He's Muḥyiddīn.
 With the grace of the Creator Allah,
 He's the one who was called Muḥyiddīn by Dīn¹⁸⁷ itself.
 He's the only one Allah created with such stature,
 And he is the one who Allah called Ġawṭ al-A'ẓam.¹⁸⁸
 Over the shoulders of all Shaikhs (he said),
 Are my feet, by the will of God.
 Then the angels backed (his claim) as true,
 And the mortals folded over his head.
 The one who tamed by his endorsement, the heads of

¹⁸⁷ Dīn means religion or faith

¹⁸⁸ Ġawṭ al-A'ẓam literally means the Greatest Help

Mount Qāf,¹⁸⁹ Deep Ocean and the land of Ya‘jūj.¹⁹⁰

Then all the Shaikhs of the world,

Bowed down to him in support.

Except for a Shaikh who rejected him,

Then he removed his saint status.

He was cautioned about deception,

Then the teacher saw 70 proofs for his protection.

The one who said I’m the secret of all secrets,

The one who said I’m the decree of Allah.

The one who said I’m the sword by order,

The one who said I’m the hell of the Irate (Allah).

The one who said I’m the sea with no coast,

Who said I’m a thing that humans don’t know.

For the Jinns, the humans and the angels,

He said I’m the Shaikh above them all.

He’s the Qutb of all saints and,

He says they’re the children of his house.

I and the saints I mentioned

are omnipresent on earth and sky.

Could you not compare me with others?

¹⁸⁹ Mount Qāf, also known as Jabal Qāf, is a famous mountain in Middle Eastern folklore. Mount Qāf is claimed to be the home of the jinn and to have been created by God out of gleaming emerald.

¹⁹⁰ The Qur'an mentions Ya‘jūj and Ma‘jūj twice, and it is widely assumed that the terms refer to two groups of hostile and belligerent people who would appear at the end of time.

As people don't know me (he says).
 The one who told my order is God's order,
 If I said to an object 'be,' it will become.
 And I don't do anything without order,
 Allah said I swear, go ahead, he heard.
 I won't utter anything without saying me,
 'Say it with my trust', Allah told me.
 The one who tells his askers
 'I'll talk when I get the nod.'
 He said, 'I won't eat anything myself.'
 as Khidr ¹⁹¹ fed him by God's order.
 He said the Globe is like a ball in my hands;
 A foot is enough to cover the entire world.
 Every Qutb who circles the Ka'ba,
 Will circle me the Ka'ba too, he said.
 The one who went to the *al-'Arsh* ¹⁹² beyond all,
 The one who said, 'my eyes are always on *al-Lawh*.¹⁹³
 For those who hold me, I'll hold their hands,
 Whenever they are in trouble, he said.
 Each saint is through a prophet and,

¹⁹¹ al-Khidr, (Arabic: contraction of al-Khaḍir, "the Green One") a legendary Islamic figure endowed with immortal life who became a popular saint, especially among sailors and Sufis (Muslim mystics).

¹⁹² Al-'Arsh (The Throne) is the largest of creations in Islamic theology. The vast majority of Muslims, including Sunnis (Ash'aris, Maturidis, and Sufis), Mu'tazilis, and Shi'is (Twelvers and Isma'ilis), regard it as a symbol of God's power and authority rather than a dwelling place for God.

¹⁹³ According to Islamic belief, *al-Lawh 'l-Mahfuz* (The Preserved Tablet) is the heavenly preserved record of all that has happened and will happen.

I'm through my granddad Muhammad.
The one who wished his disciples,
Should not die without repenting.
It (the wish) is accepted by God,
Said his teacher Hammad.
The one who said I wouldn't move my feet,
Until all my disciples join me.
The one whom Allah promised that,
His disciples will enter heaven.
None of your disciples is in hell,
Said the angel who guards hell.
All the saints will be under my flag,
I'm the interceder for my disciples.
If I were there when they killed Hallaj,¹⁹⁴
I would have held their hands.
Those who hold me should not fear anything,
I'm the protector of those who embrace me.
Every disciple is like their master,
And my disciples are like me.
If my disciples are not good,

¹⁹⁴ Al-Hallaj or Mansour Hallaj was a Persian mystic, poet and teacher of Sufism. He is best known for his saying: "I am the Truth" (Ana'l-Haqq), which many saw as a claim to divinity, while others interpreted it as an instance of annihilation of the ego, allowing God to speak through him. Hallaj gained a wide following as a preacher before he became implicated in power struggles of the Abbasid court and was executed after a long period of confinement on religious and political charges. Although most of his Sufi contemporaries disapproved of his actions, Hallaj later became a major figure in the Sufi tradition.

I'm always good, he said.
If any of you ever asks Allah,
Ask adjuring with me, he said.
For those who call me from anywhere,
I'll answer them without any delay.
I'll take care of the faith on the earth,
I'm the hand of the beloved Prophet.
Anyone there who attained my status?
Tell me if there is anyone, he said.
Allah has opened seventy doors to me,
Since I knew many things, no one else did.
Each door's width is like,
The sky and earth, he said.
The blessings Allah showered upon me,
Won't be given to anyone till Doom's Day.
The fame and status all others got,
Is from my leftover, he said.
All the knowledge learned by all,
Is from my knowledge, he said.
Every sun will disappear once it rises,
Yet my sun will always remain shining.
Like an object inside a glass bottle,
I can see what is inside your hearts.

If someone rejects my message,
I'll become the venom that kills him.
Their morality, life in this world,
And life after will be spoiled.
If someone thinks well of me,
I'll avert God's punishment for them.
By order of the one who orders,
He has said many such things.
Four holy books and other scriptures,
I've read and awakened by God's will.
The one who wore the coat by Prophet's order,
as he saw it on his body when he woke up from sleep.
When he was reluctant to preach religion openly,
Beloved Prophet spat into his mouth.
To write the words of wisdom told by his tongue,
There were four hundred ink bottles beside him.
The one who gets light on his tongue,
When he passes knowledge by the will of God.
Few of them who pledged allegiance to him,
Saw heaven, among many other things, promptly.
If he looks someone a fabulous look,
He will get high status immediately.
He had forty ejaculations in one night,

And he took a bath all forty times.
With the ablution, which he took for *Isha*,¹⁹⁵
He prayed *Subh*¹⁹⁶ for four decades.
The one who finished the entire Qur'an on one leg
and waited for his master for three years to keep his word.
After this, prophet Khidr went to him,
By God's order, he stayed with him.
The one who wandered for twenty-five years,
The one who sat when he heard the order to rest.
The one who preached for forty years,
The one who lived well for ninety years.
On a historical day in 470 Hijra,
He was born in the land of Kaylan.¹⁹⁷
The one who walked in remorse
For one year without food or sleep.
Iblīs¹⁹⁸ approached to deceive him,
He laid Iblīs flat and sent him back.
The prophets and the saints

¹⁹⁵ The Isha prayer (*ṣalāt al-ʿiṣāʾ*, “night prayer”) is one of the five mandatory salah (Islamic prayer). As an Islamic day starts at sunset, the Isha prayer is technically the second prayer of the day. If counted from midnight, it is the fifth prayer of the day.

¹⁹⁶ The Fajr prayer (*ṣalāt al-fajr*, “dawn prayer”) is one of the five mandatory salah (Islamic prayer). As an Islamic day starts at sunset, the Fajr prayer is technically the third prayer of the day. If counted from midnight, it is the first prayer of the day.

¹⁹⁷ Kaylan is an alternative name for Jīlan, the province where Shaikh Abdul Qādir Jīlani was born.

¹⁹⁸ Iblīs, also known as Eblīs, is the leader of the devils in Islam. According to the Quran, Iblis was expelled from paradise after refusing to prostrate himself before Adam.

And their spirits visit him.
Similarly, the angels,
Also, attend his council.
So does our saviour prophet,
His soul also visits him.
Blessings rain in his council,
Several get enlightenment with his speech.
He's the one who often sees Prophet as,
He's the one who got his status and wisdom.
Jinns are more than those humans,
Who went to him to buy faith and repentance.
The place he went on the sky,
No other Shaikh went, he said.
The one who holds countless people,
Around him all the time.
The people beyond the Qāf mountain,
came to see his reputation.
They stood above his head, line by line,
as he went there in majesty and sent them blessed.
The one who went and sat on his tower,
Without touching the sky or ground.
Like the honeybees and ants go in line to their nests,
People always turned up in line to him for refuge.

The one who didn't touch the breasts for 30 days,
In Ramadan, while he was of breastfeeding age.
While he was a pupil of the mosque, the angels said,
Boys, give him space and all the facilities.
The one who heard while sleeping, 'is this for you were created?'
And the one who heard while going somewhere, 'Where you go?'
On an Arafah¹⁹⁹ day, when he drove a cow,
It asked him, 'is this for you were created?'
The one who heard 'I prospered you when there was nothing,
Now you should always remember me for that.
The one who heard the order 70 times per,
Day and night that you're in my protection.
"I searched for you among the crowd."
He heard this message with pride.
"I created you for my benefit,"
He heard such a message as well.
His mother told him not to lie,
As he gave the gold to the thief.
His body was in several places at a time,
Thus he resolved the worries of many.
When he walked in the dark night,

¹⁹⁹ The Day of Arafah is an Islamic holiday observed on the ninth day of the lunar Islamic calendar, Dhu al-Hijjah. It is the holiest day in the Islamic calendar, the second day of the Hajj pilgrimage, and the first day of the important Islamic holiday of Eid al-Adha the following day.

He made his finger as the torch.
The things beyond the eyes and inside hearts,
He professed as he saw with his eyes.
Inside the grave and during the sleep,
He uttered the words of God until awake.
The one who heard greetings from graves,
And the one who talked to those in graves.
He saw his master in his grave, humiliated,
Then he removed his disgrace.
When the burglars attacked the caravan,
He killed them by throwing his wooden sandals from a distant place.
The one who concealed and returned the knowledge,
Of the Shaikhs who came to try and test him.
When a kid was put in front of him folded in a hut,
He explained it is a child before the hut is unfolded.
The one who cured the child who could not walk,
The one who humbled a child who had no ailment
The one who enlivened a dead entity,
The one who cured deadly diseases.
When he said to the relics of a chicken to cry,
It cried and flew from the scene!
Ask me whatever you wish,
And he fulfilled all who asked.

The one who humbled the arrogant,
The one who prophesied future events.
The one whom God gave permission,
To give status and remove the status.
If he looks at an object with the intention,
He made it as he wanted to make it.
The one who elevated a revert Muslim,
To the rank of revered saints.
The one who tamed the flying Shaikh,
The one who made those flew repentant.
The one who gave knowledge and status in abundance,
For those with no knowledge and status.
The one who lifted the knowledge and status,
Of those who held knowledge and status.
When a Shaikh walked in arrogance above the land,
He made him walk beneath the ground.
The one who neutralized while asleep,
The sins he ought to do while awake.
When the Jinns tried to harm him disguised as snakes,
He repelled them without showing any fright.
When a Jinn kidnapped a child,
He summoned him to bring her back.
When many wished to eat delicious food,

He fed them proudly the way they wished.
Falling rain and the streaming river,
He made them under control when they crossed the limit.
The one who gave fruits in a time of no fruit,
The one who filled fruits on a burnt tree.
One person went to him to humiliate him,
Then he filled the entire land with fire.
For everyone who looked down at him,
He gave inevitable tragedy in no time.
An object that irritated him was suddenly,
Destroyed by him with a powerful look.
Those who got his prayers and blessings
have fulfilled their here and hereafter.
There are many innovations in his words,
Do not underestimate them with those said.
I have threaded its heads like pure gold,
Know that I arranged its body like gold.
There are more great anecdotes to say,
Don't mean they're lies due to ignorance.
Oh, those who long to learn more,
Please hear from those who know.
Oh, those who wish to listen to his virtues,
Please listen to his glorious virtues.

By knowing the quantity and quality of the Amīrs,²⁰⁰

One can recognize the merit of the King.

Similarly, if you look at the attributes of a Shaikh,

You'll get to know the quality of Muḥyiddīn.

In the year Seven Hundred Eighty-Two,

I threaded this garland in one hundred fifty lines.

Like the diamonds and pearls are strung together,

I've threaded Muḥyiddīn Māla, oh the people.

Those who sing this without erring or leaving the lines

God will reward them with a castle in paradise.

If you write this without care,

Beware, there will be mistakes.

May Allah's blessings be upon,

Those who recite this, sing this and listen to this.

Oh, the people, where are you going,

Leaving this Shaikh with such stature.

Everyone's chicken will cluck and stop,

But Muḥyiddīn's chicken will cluck till the Day of Judgment.

Oh, the people who wish for a better hereafter,

Then be the disciple of this Shaikh.

Our God, please provide us all the fortune,

To be his blessed disciples.

²⁰⁰ Amīr means commander, governor or prince according to the contexts.

Please gift us the prayers of all saints,
 Along with his prayers.
 If you always recite Al-Fāṭiḥah²⁰¹ for him,
 You'll get his blessings and prayers.
 Oh the lord of the world, take us to heaven, include us along,
 With the Shaikh, when you accept the interceding of the Prophet.
 Oh the Creator, extend us,
 Your greetings from paradise.
 For the one who's walking with sins,
 Oh Allah, forgive his sins and bless him.
 Oh Allah, shower your blessings and prayers,
 Upon your beloved Prophet Muhammad.

5.6 Canonization of the Muḥyiddīn Māla

There are several factors for the canonization of the Muḥyiddīn Māla. Firstly, the author Qāḍi Muhammad hails from a powerful and influential Qāḍi clan in Kozhikode, and he was an organic intellectual who also fervently wrote against the Portuguese colonial invasion. His work *Fathul Mubīn* is very important in this category of anticolonial literature. The authority of the Ulema and people's reverence for them are deep-rooted in Mappila society. The traditional Ulema and the Ahlu Bayt are the unquestioned authority of the religion. The second factor is the subject matter of the text. Shaikh Muḥyiddīn enjoys celebrity saint status among the Muslims who follow a moderate Sufistic Islam worldwide.

²⁰¹ Al-Fatiha lit. "The Opening" or "The Opener," is the first surah (chapter) of the Quran. It consists of 7 ayah (verses) which are a prayer for guidance and mercy. Al-Fatiha is recited in Muslim obligatory and voluntary prayers, known as salah.

It is evident from the fact that Qādirī Sufi Order (Tarīqa) is the most dominant in the Muslim world. The third factor is the literary value of the text. It was a time when the Sanskritised Malayalam produced bhakti poetry that Qāḍi composed Muḥyiddīn Māla as a literary masterpiece. The Muḥyiddīn Māla became popular among the common users of the Malayalam language and got a high place in their cultural life at a time when the Malayalam literary language was dominated by Sanskrit words and linguistic structures. Even the ‘Kilippaattu’ style of writing, mixing Sanskrit with Malayalam and taking a way of expression closer to the ordinary people, could not respond to the cultural moods of the then Muslims. The very language of Arabi Malayalam and the literary texts came into widespread use in the 17th century when a Malayalam of elite cultural orientation and Sanskrit reverence was in dominance. This had a great cultural efficacy of an ‘alternative literary mission’ with ‘counter poetic theology’.

There are plenty of studies about the literary superiority or the craft of the work. The next factor is the subject matter of the work. The local Islam in Malabar is built upon certain elements. Veneration of the Prophet and the Friends of God is the most important trait among them. Due to these factors, Muḥyiddīn Māla got the canonical status and significance in the everyday piety of lay Muslims. In Muḥyiddīn Māla, Qāḍi Muhammad portrays Abdul Qādir Jīlani as the guide and saviour of Mappila Muslims, whose plight was devastated by various setbacks, including the Portuguese colonial atrocities and the lack of economic or political influence. At such a juncture, Jīlani’s Sufi personification was a consoling presence. Entering Sufism in his path and living under his sustained supervision brings enormous solace and comfort at this time.

5.7 Intra-Religious Polemics among Kerala Muslims

One of the important characteristics of the Kerala Muslim community is its organizational inclination or affiliation. From the late 19th century, the Muslims started to identify themselves with different ideological streams within the community. This was later developed into a competitive organizational form. In contemporary times, it is near impossible to have an independent religious or Islamic self without pledging allegiance to either of the numerous Islamic organizations. Traditional Sunni organizations still dominate the public sphere. At the same time, the Salafi/Islahi organizations also have overarching influence. Jamat-e-Islami, another organization with a minimal mass base predominantly salafised, has better apparatus like a widely circulated daily newspaper and a well-maintained news channel.

By the 20th century, immediately after the Mappila rebellion against the British Empire, the Kerala Muslim intra-religious polemics dominated the religious discourse and its realm as the so-called reformist groups unleashed attacks against the Sunni Muslim community and their quintessential traditions. The formation of the *Muslim Aikya Samgham* in 1922 was the beginning of the Wahhabi movement in Kerala. Inspired by Shaikh Muhammad Abdou, Rashid Rida and Jamaludheen Afghani, *Aikya Sangham* was formed with the leadership of scholars like Vakkom Moulavi, K M Maulavi, E K Maulavi, Hamadani Tannaḷ and Manappad Haji etc. In 1923, the *Aikya Sangham* conducted its first annual conference. Vakkom Moulavi, who presided over the assembly, presented a passionate opening statement in which he strongly contrasted the beliefs and behaviours of early Muslims with those of current Muslims. He argued that the Muslim community's inevitable collapse was due to a faulty interpretation of Islamic precepts. As a result, it had

become important to undertake Islamic reforms for the social and educational growth of 'Mappilas' Muslims in Malabar. However, this initial remark elicited heated responses from the conservative 'Ulama,' who labelled him a 'Wahhabi' and attacked Aikya Sangam's work through lectures and writings.²⁰² The Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangham later developed into Kerala Nadwatul Mujahideen with multiple branches. Later the Salafi followers were generally known as Mujahids.

The pages and stages were used to target the concepts Sunnis perceived as sacred and the parameters of piety. As a response, Sunnis came together to defend the traditions followed by the community over the years. Samastha Kerala Jam'iyyatul Ulama, which was formed as a response to Aikya Sangham, represented the vast majority of Sunni Muslims. Both the groups organized events with terms and conditions set. Such polemic events in Malayalam, the regional tongue, took centre stage in theological discourse. They could be found, for example, in a disputation, in which Ulema with opposing views of the tradition gather on a stage to ask each other questions. Intra-Islamic disputes in Kerala have focused on themes that divide Sunnis and Mujahids, such as whether tawassul is Islamic. Is it better for women to worship in a mosque or at home? How many *raka'ah* (one unit of prayer consisting of various body gestures and Qur'anic recitations) are there in tarawih (additional congregational prayers performed during Ramadan)? Is it proper to offer the Friday khutba (sermon) in Arabic or Malayalam? They have been the main points of contention and discussion since 1925 when the first recorded intra-Islamic polemical incident occurred between Sunni and Mujahid ulema in the north Kerala town of

²⁰² Jose Abaraham, *Islamic Reform and Colonial Discourse on Modernity in India: Socio-Political and Religious Thought of Vakkom Moulavi* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2014) , 164.

Kozhikode.²⁰³ Seeking the intercession of the Prophet or the awliya (*tawassul*) and *istigasa* were the most controversial subjects which set the stage for intense debates. Series of cassetted speeches were followed by LCD presentations where one group exposed the other's follies in front of huge gatherings. These debates created a very hostile and frenzied atmosphere where brothers were up in arms against each other. Also, it led to calls for social boycotting of the *bida'ees* for their innovative arguments.

5.8 Muḥyiddīn Māla Under Attack

Canonized texts and practices like Mawlids and Mālas were under heavy scrutiny by the newly emerged Wahabi preachers. It was quite an easy task for them to find elements of *shirk* in these works from their puritan or literal sense of understanding. They said that these behaviours contradicted monotheism's strict demands by encroaching on God's sole right to worship. Two highly popular texts were the subject of these debates or disputations. Manqūṣ Mawlūd and Muḥyiddīn Māla. Both the texts used highly ornamented language to praise the Prophet Muhammad and Shaikh Muḥyiddīn. Salafist critics contested the text's consecrated content from a puritan perspective. They alleged heresy and blasphemy in several verses of the māla and campaigned against the text's canonical status. There was a series of debates and congregational sermons regarding the theological validity of the text. The traditional Sunni Ulema and the reformist Salafi preachers conducted a spree of cassetted sessions to throw sludge at each other. The controversial lines of the Māla dominated these critical debates. Some of these verses are following.

²⁰³ Nandagopal R. Menon. "What Do Polemics Do? Religion, Citizenship, And Secularism In South Indian Islam," *History of Religions* 58 no.2 (November 2018): 128-164.

The Jinns, the humans and the angels,
He said I'm the Shaikh above them all.
Allah has opened seventy doors to me
since I knew many things which no one else did.
He had forty ejaculations in one night,
and he took a bath all forty times.
The one who didn't touch the breasts for 30 days
in Ramadan, while he was of breastfeeding age.
His body was in several places at a time,
thus, he resolved the worries of many.
For those who call me from anywhere,
I'll answer them without any delay.
When he said to the relics of a chicken to cry,
it cried and flew from the scene!
Those who sing this without erring or leaving the lines,
God will reward them with a castle in paradise.

5.9 Sunni Defense

Amid relentless attacks against the age-old traditions, the Ulema had to intervene to halt the exodus of laypeople to the organized Wahhabi ideology. They were forced to

listen to the '*bida'i*' organizations and develop an adequate response. Sunni organizations conducted several ideology conferences and debates on various theological issues, most important concepts and practices like *tawassul* and *istigasa*. The debates also had several sessions on Mawlid and ritual-related matters like the language of Friday khutba, the number of Taraweeh rak'ats (8/20), and where one should keep their hands while doing so daily prayers. While the object of veneration is explicitly credited with beneficent and protective powers in passages like this, such powers are tempered by simultaneous invocations to God. This is a cautionary note against any urge to lump together all instances of saint veneration under "saint worship". Also, they argued that the saintly intercession (or intermediation between God and his subjects) and seeking assistance from revered Islamic figures, both sides of the debate within Islam ground their arguments on *shari'a* (Islamic law) based on four principles or "roots" (*usul*): the Qur'ān, the Hadith or *sunna* (the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad), *Ijma'* (scholarly consensus), and *Qiyas*

Along with this, the activists of Sunni organizations invoked the unquestionable authority of the Ulema and urged the laypeople not to follow the *bida'ees* while they lead the prayer, and they called for not wishing greetings while they meet each other. Regarding Mālas and Mawlid, the Ulema used internal censorship by emphasising the ritualistic elements of the texts rather than the meaning of the texts. They imposed censorship on the writings of scholars like Ibn Taymiyyah in the theological seminaries. New interpretations were commissioned to give the text doctrinal legitimacy. Mustafa Faizee's complete interpretation or the commentary of the Muḥyiddīn Māla is the most important among them. In this important volume, Faizee tries to defend the text and expose the ploys of Salafis to mislead the Sunni masses. In the preface of the book, he writes:

Muhyiddiīn Māla is the main weapon misused by the enemies of *Ahlus Sunnah Wal Jama'ah*. Enemies often try to bring the Sunnis to their knees by misinterpreting the verses of Muhyiddiīn Māla. Interestingly, to an extent, the Muhyiddiīn Māla is the most recited text of the enemies. They have discovered that by singing this, they can quickly mislead Sunnis. Unfortunately, there are some Sunnis who are sceptical about Muhyiddin Mala. “They say that it is not right to say so much about Shaikh Muhyiddiīn. Moreover, some say so among the people are those who see themselves as scholars. They have only one way of scholarship. Sunni enemies have seized on the issue because it has troubled some. They aim to mislead Sunnis and non-Sunnis alike in this way. Sometimes they have achieved this goal, too. Some who do not doubt other Sunni ideologies have started doubting Muhyiddiīn Māla. This is because the enemy’s propaganda has only succeeded in this matter. In short, Muhyiddiīn Māla is the most misunderstood Sunni ideological text. There is another advantage: we can solve many other problems if we can clear the doubts about this. As far as a Sunni is concerned, he won’t have any doubt regarding the concepts like Tawheed, Karamat, Tawassul and Istigasa afterwards. This is the significance Sunnis see in this interpretation.”²⁰⁴

Through this work, Faizee claimed to have given authority and legitimacy to the entire verses by interpreting them in the light of Qur’ānic verses and prophetic traditions. In his preface of the comprehensive interpretation of the text, Faizy writes:

By Muhyiddiīn Māla’s interpretation, what is meant here is not a historical interpretation. Rather it is a fundamental explanation. Several large and short books about Muhyiddiīn Shaikh describe the historical truths contained in and around this Māla. Shaikh Muhyiddiīn is one of the most famous saints in whose name has several volumes written in prose and poetry. There is no need for a historical interpretation of this. But this is not the case with the evidence. It takes profound thought, scholarship, and neutrality to discover the crux of lyrical poetry, such as of Muhyiddiīn Māla. Even those who endorse that Muhyiddiīn Māla is generally correct are sceptical of its few lines. Few among the Sunnis think “the author shouldn’t have gone too far sayings so.” “Shaikh Muhyiddiīn shouldn’t have said so.” etc. Therefore, this book intends to assert that every line of the Muhyiddiīn Māla is legitimate based on the Qur’an and Hadith. However, It does not necessarily mean that the historical background is not explained here.

Before the concept of a line is fundamentally analysed, its historical evidence will be briefly quoted. For example, take the verse which says, ‘The one who Allah called Ya Gausul Alam’(the Greatest Help). Here firstly, we will examine its context and cite relevant evidence for the validity of the instance from authoritative texts. This is the historical analysis. Secondly, is it possible for Allah

²⁰⁴ Mustafa Faizee, *Sampoorna Muhyidhin Mala Vyakhyanam (The Complete Interpretation of Muhyiddiīn Māla)* (Puthanathani: Oasis Book House, 2009), 10.

to call Muhyiddin Shaikh ‘Ya Gawṭ al-A’zam’? Will Muhyiddīn Shaikh become God if he is called so? I will quote from the Qur’an and the Sunnah to prove the context of the verse is legitimate. This is the fundamental explanation.²⁰⁵

Thus in the text, he brings a lot of quotes from the Quran, Hadith and similar authentic Islamic theological text while interpreting the text line by line. He explains the inner meanings of the verses written by Qadi Muhammad with ample examples from legitimate sources. In his preface to the text, he makes a veiled attack against Salafist literary historiographers K K Abdul Kareem and C N Ahmed Maulavi, who wrote the seminal work, *Mahattāya Māppiḷa Sāhitya Pāramparyam (The Glorious Mappila Literary Tradition)*, a survey of major works produced by the Mappila Muslims. In this work, while mentioning the literary value of the Muhyiddin Mala, the authors criticise its subject matter from a Salafist perspective. Faizee directly attacks CN Maulavi, citing his controversial translation of the Holy Qur’an:

CN Ahmad Maulavi and KK Mohammad Abdul Kareem ask in the *Great Mappila Literary Tradition* co-authored by them: But how did this mistake come from the great scholar Qadi Muhammad! They have also given an observational answer of their own to this question. The soul of Qadi Muhammad will never like that answer. But we have no complaint because the authors themselves claim that it is only a work of observation. Observations often go wrong.

They say again. “But the Qur’an will never allow us to accept the whole idea contained in that short poem (Muhyiddīn Māla).” We must say the ‘Qur’an’ they mention may be the Qur’an according to CN’s interpretation. Then there is no problem. It would be good to think about which sea we should throw the interpretation that says Moses crossed the Red Sea to check its depth with his staff. Before that, let us impartially assess whether the Qur’an and the Sunnah allow Muhyiddīn Māla.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ Faizee, *Sampoorna Muhyidhin Mala Vyakhyanam*, 27.

²⁰⁶ Faizee, *Sampoorna Muhyidhin Mala Vyakhyanam*, 29.

Mentioning various incidents from the past debates between Sunnis and Mujahids regarding the theological validity of the Muḥyiddīn Māla, Faizee criticises Kareem and Mawlavi for their bias and ideological rigidity.

None of these things is mentioned in the great Mappila Literary Tradition. This happened in the vicinity of the authors. They may have wisely evaded when they saw that the idea they contained would fail. However, we commend those who have written such a book about the glory of the Mappilas. It seems that they have tried to be unbiased about most of the other parts of the book. But using a few pages to criticize Sunni scholars and to establish immoral practices such as the translation of Khuthuba is unforgivable. The sectarian ‘distortion’ in such texts that affect the community, in general, is organizational rigidity and therefore, the argument that Sunnis are narrow-minded is completely untenable.²⁰⁷

5.10 Survival of the Muḥyiddīn Māla

I would conclude the chapter by examining the current status of the Muḥyiddīn Māla. The intra-religious polemics among the Muslim community of Kerala have reached a saturation point, and in the current scenarios, there are more converging points, possibly because of the internal introspection for having unity against the right-wing government at the centre and the inter-religious animosity or hostility in the state. And Muḥyiddīn Māla has survived these criticisms and continues to be the most important canon of Mappilas. The new sensibilities, newly found academic interest, deconstructionist readings, and acceptance in the secular curriculum of the state make the Māla even more relevant in contemporary discourses.

²⁰⁷ Faizee, *Sampoorna Muhyidhin Mala Vyakhyanam*, 30.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

Translation of Islam in Malabar: Major Themes and Future Research

6.1 Major Themes of the Study

By focusing on the complexities of translation, this research aimed to document the multilingualism of Mappila Muslims and the rise of vernacular Islam in the Malabar region. The overarching research objective of this thesis was to locate the cultural history of Malabar Muslims from a Translation Studies perspective, with specific attention to their textual and oral traditions. The study sought to comprehend the function of translation and oral traditions in establishing the Malabar Muslim community. Its fundamental goal was to critically analyse the Mappila literary canon and connect it with Malabar's translation history and culture. The thesis also examined the arrival and expansion of Islam in the region, focusing on literary and religious translation and contextualization of translation with religious conversion in Malabar. The other objective of the thesis was to investigate the Islamic scholarly networks in the region and identify the function of the ulema in the creation of the Muslim community in Malabar.

For decades, the Arabic language and its vernacular counterpart, Arabi-Malayalam, have been a vital means of interpreting Islam in the region, and this study focused on them. The research examined how the foreign stakeholders' languages and cultures influenced the Mappila Muslim community's culture and language. It also examined how the Mappilas in Kerala challenged the mainstream vernaculars by constructing their own separate community register with an international outlook examined in this study.

Since Islam's foundational texts and treatises were written in Arabic, Muslim communities worldwide have interacted with it in various ways. So it was with the Muslims on the Indian Ocean's coast. Their religious and cultural activities have traditionally relied on the Arabic language and script. The Arabic language influenced these tribes' religious rites, identities, and cultural practices. Cultural mediation involved the construction of Arabic script speeches for locals to use in public, among other things. Transliteration and translation were critical components of the process, and they contributed considerably to the development of a sophisticated textual culture.

Arabi-Malayalam evolved as a critical medium for Islamic religious and theological discourses and intellectual notions beginning in the seventeenth century, eventually becoming their *lingua sacra*. This language's scriptorial, literary, and textual evolution was shaped by a long history of polyglossic interactions in the coastal Malabar region, which maintained extensive maritime relations with several ports along the Indian Ocean littoral and beyond. Malabar's ties with many linguistic locations via Indian Ocean trade networks contributed to its growth as a polyglossic region with many loan words and numerous scripts.

Following Sheldon Pollok's pioneering study on the South Asian Sanskrit Cosmopolis, Ronit Ricci postulated the Arabic Cosmopolis, which evolved substantially parallel with the Sanskrit linguistic and literary world. The concept of Arabic Cosmopolis depicts the idea of a worldwide Muslim community connected by similar culture, values, and spirit. This topic, which traders and Sufis emphasised on their journeys around the Indian Ocean's beaches from Sub-Saharan Africa to South and Southeast Asia, also established a common thread in their literature. According to Ricci, these 'literary

networks' linked Muslims across physical and cultural barriers, assisting in constructing and maintaining a complex web of historical texts and new interpretations critical for forming local and global Islamic identities.

The thesis examined how Islam was translated in Malabar through ethnography, literary historiography, and textual analysis. Three texts from Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam were translated into English as part of the study. Critical annotations were included with the translations. The study included textual and contextual analysis, as well as many translation theories and methodologies, as well as discourse analysis. For the study, I employed concepts about the community that deal with its ancestry and consequences, culture, cultural translation, and other related concerns. Additionally, I have incorporated hermeneutics, orality, and textual rhetorical themes into this discussion. I used the term 'Malabar' in this research because of its pre-colonial connotations. I drew primarily on primary and secondary materials in Arabi-Malayalam and Arabic to produce this thesis. A review of the available literature aided me in framing my argument within the discipline of Translation Studies. I attended various Mawlid meetings and religious congregations as part of my ethnography to ascertain the extent to which the texts examined in the study have an impact. The study's duration is not specified. However, the study is limited to the period from the 1500s to the late nineteenth century. I reviewed multiple manuscripts written in Arabi-Malayalam that are kept in various libraries to ascertain the register's literary world.

The first two chapters of the thesis provided a critical overview of the field and the participants in the study. The first chapter elucidated the research question, objectives, and methodology and introduced key themes like the 'religious turn' in Translation Studies.

Discussing the 'Religious Turn' in translation studies, the chapter demonstrated how translation has played an important role in the diffusion of scientific, technological, linguistic, and literary knowledge throughout human history. This is significantly more visible in the spread of organised religions and movements. Translated scriptures and related works have been very powerful in spreading faiths and changing cultural ethics, modes of life, and ideas of human and divine natures. Religion has also been an important impetus for translation in Muslim nations. Because of Islam's claim to universality, books became a useful medium for communicating information and regularly spurred interest in works written in disparate locales and languages. Translations of major Arabic texts into many vernacular languages were popular in Muslim communities. They have conceptualised the process in their own terms and idioms, in addition to partaking in a flurry of translation operations. The chapter, argues that the translation activities of Malabar Muslims are due to the region's prevalent trend of religious translation. The majority of Malayalam literature was translated because it offers a unique viewpoint on the junction of regional identity, indigenous social exchanges, and Hindu religious organisations in South India. The chapter also problematised canonisation and literary historiography that prevailed in Malayalam. It argues that Malayalam literature, which makes major vernacular literary contributions to Indian literature, has a well-established canon that is related to the dominant Hindu upper, elite roots, culture, and modes of expression. The canonisation process sought to create a cohesive literary and cultural capital that would stand alone as Kerala's dominant literary culture and aesthetic while simultaneously marginalising everything that varied from the "normal" or "standard" ways of expression.

The second chapter established the study's background by covering the brief history of Mappila Muslims in Kerala and their participation in the region's sociopolitical life. The chapter made a concerted effort to trace the Malabar region and its Mappila population's political and cultural evolution over the centuries. It provided an outline of the trajectory of Islam in the region and the rise of the vernacular Muslim population. It has gone to great length about the Mappila Muslims' interactions with the Arab world and European colonial powers. The importance of the Arabic language and the various translation scenarios have been demonstrated. The chapter argues that the Muslims' trans-regional marine connections established a strong relationship between Malabar and Arab nations in the early years of Islam, facilitating the movement of commercial and cultural products as well as scholastic ideas between diverse realms. This does not necessarily imply that the people who carried the Islamic torch in Malabar were solely Arabs. Instead, various communities travelled and stayed on the Malabar Coast due to the cosmopolitan culture of the Indian Ocean's coastal regions. Another significant theme addressed in the chapter is Malabar's colonial history. Malabar was subjected to centuries of harsh colonialism from the Portuguese to the British. The story of the fanatical Muslim community was drawn by orientalist historians and colonial officers in the majority of these publications. Nationalist historians followed suit when presenting historical events such as the 19th-century Malabar uprising. The chapter also explains the Hadhrami roots of the Mappila Muslims. It argues that in contrast to the Hanafi School, which Muslims follow in other northern and central Indian states, the majority of Mappila Muslims follow the Shāfi'ī Madhhab (The Islamic Jurisprudence). This was primarily due to the region's Hadhrami connection. The connection between Malabar and Hadhramaut in South Yemen is thought

to have been formed as early as the first century A.D. when many Arabs moved along the Malabar Coast. Yemen and Hadhramaut appear to have been particularly prevalent here in ancient times. Furthermore, it demonstrates that the Shāfi'ī School's prominence is tied to Hadhrami influence. Shāfi'ī Madhhab has a lot to do with the indigenous Islam that flourished in Malabar. The dynamics of Shfi Madhhab shaped the performative traditions, reverence for the Arabic language, and vernacular features of cultural Islam.

The third chapter discussed the origin and development of Arabi-Malayalam over time, emphasising the language's social and cultural dimensions. The chapter discussed how, since its inception, Arabi-Malayalam evolved through a variety of means derived from religious institutions and traditions and how, at one point in time, most notably in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it served as the primary mode of communication and literary activity for the Mappilas. The chapter explored the history of translation and the Tarjama tradition in Arabi-Malayalam. The Arabic Cosmopolis and the function of Arabi Malayalam in interpreting Islam in Malabar were examined. It has provided a brief overview of the Mappila Muslim community's textual culture before and during the emergence of the printing press in Malabar. The chapter sought to historicise the Mappila engagements with translation theory and practice by reading and analysing various Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam literature forms. As evidenced by the examples in the chapter, the tarjama tradition had a profound impact on Mappila Muslim literary work. The chapter examined several translation components, such as paratext, to analyse the art and craft and the politics of the translation in Arabi-Malayalam.

The fourth chapter is a compilation of the English translation of Manqūṣ Mawlūd and Badr Mawlūd, two of the most popular and widely circulated Mawlid literature among

Kerala's Sunni Muslims. I intended to highlight the microcosm of key Mawlid narratives with an example from Kerala, a Mawlid story popular with Mappilas, through the original translation and brief analysis of the *Manqūṣ Mawlūd*. With this, I hoped to demonstrate how Mawlid's teachings and practices translated Islam into a popular religion in the region. The chapter also briefly explored hagiographic literature and its influence on Malabar folk and Sufi Islam development. Although having a large store of works, the chapter discovers that Islamic hagiography is a vastly under-explored field in literature studies. The primary goal of hagiography was to instil religion in believers by reminding them of the sanctity and exemplary lives of prophets, saints, and other noteworthy persons. In the Malabar context, hagiographies and associated activities have aided in the development of Sufi Islam and its numerous organisations. Life stories of prophets, holy associates of Prophet Muhammad, and saints known as God's friends have served as vehicles for passing faith from one generation to the next. A significant amount of translation has aided this transmission. Local Islam thrived through many types of translation, from religious assemblies to informal Mawlid gatherings.

The fifth chapter consists of a translation of *Muḥyiddīn Māla*. The chapter gave critical insights into the intra-religious strife among Kerala Muslims and the canonisation and censoring of the *Muḥyiddīn Māla*. Mappila Muslims, most of whom are Sunnis, attach this text to an exalted place and incorporate it into their daily religion. In Muslim public discourse, criticism of it frequently elicits blasphemy charges. The rise of Salafī modern reformist organisations, on the other hand, questioned the text's sacred substance from a puritanical standpoint. They charged some verses of the Bible with heresy and blasphemy and battled against the text's canonical authority. A series of arguments and congregational

sermons ensued over the text's theological legitimacy. Sunni Ulema and reformist Salafi preachers staged a tape session to hurl muck at one another. The Māla's contentious lines dominated these key deliberations. This chapter tried to examine the discussions, arguments, and counter-arguments around the sacred/profane dichotomy surrounding Mappila Muslims' most important canonical text. It looked at how traditional Sunnis' new interpretations, comments, and internal censorship attempted to undermine the Salafi/Wahhabi fractions' criticism of Kerala's distinctive Sufi Islam. There are two parts to this chapter. The first section attempts to situate the Muḥyiddīn Māla in the literary canon of Mappila. The second section delves into the Sunni/Salafi polemics and the canon of the Muḥyiddīn Māla and its relevance.

6.2 The Future Research

In this thesis, I have tried to elucidate the process of Islam's translation as a popular religion in Malabar. To substantiate the phenomena, I have explored various major themes and subthemes. Due to the page constraints, I had inevitable limitations to comprehensively accommodate these in this thesis. Each of these large areas themselves gives enough room for further research. There are plenty of scopes for detailed research on various aspects of translation, with a special focus on Muslim literature and textual culture. I am planning to work on a monograph on the Translation culture and history of Malabar as a continuation of this PhD research. There can be a monograph produced exclusively on the sociopolitical elements of Mappilappattu. As a part of future research, I want to explore the print culture and the trends of journalism that prevailed in Arabi-Malayalam.

Glossary

Abtahi: Arabic, one who lives in Abtah, a place near Makkah.

Al-‘arsh: Arabic, It is the specific name for the throne of Allah, the God. It is the largest of creations in Islamic theology. The vast majority of Muslims, including Sunnis (Ash’aris, Maturidis, and Sufis), Mu’tazilis, and Shi’is (Twelvers and Isma’ilis), regard it as a symbol of God’s power and authority rather than a dwelling place for God.

Al-Faḍīlah: Arabic, is a range above the creations. These two positions are exclusively given to the Prophet Muhammad.

Al-Fatiha: Arabic, literally, “The Opening” or “The Opener,” is the first surah (chapter) of the Quran. It consists of 7 ayah (verses) which are a prayer for guidance and mercy. Al-Fatiha is recited in Muslim obligatory and voluntary prayers, known as salah.

Al-Khidr: (Arabic: contraction of al-Khaḍir, “the Green One”) is a legendary Islamic figure endowed with immortal life who became a popular saint, especially among sailors and Sufis (Muslim mystics).

Al-Lawhu’ l-Mahfuz: Arabic, According to Islamic belief, *al-Lawhu’ l-Mahfuz* (The Preserved Tablet) is the heavenly preserved record of all that has happened and will happen.

Al-Wasīlah: Arabic, is a highly regarded station in the paradise.

Aqīqa: Arabic, Traditionally held on the seventh day after the child’s birth, *Aqīqa* consists of giving a name to the baby, shaving its hair, and offering a sacrifice.

Awliyā is the plural form of *wali* which means friend or comrade. This is mostly used to refer to holy figures and saints.

barakah: Arabic, blessing; especially the blessings Sufi saints bestowed upon seekers and petitioners.

Dār al-Harb According to Islamic discourse it represents those lands ruled by non-believers.

Dars: Arabic, literally means learning. It is a mosque based residential theological seminary for advanced studies.

Ḍimmī: Arabic, is a historical term referring to non-Muslims who have legal protection

in an Islamic state.

Fajr prayer: (ṣalāt al-fajr, “dawn prayer”) is one of the five mandatory salah (Islamic prayer). As an Islamic day starts at sunset, the Fajr prayer is technically the third prayer of the day. If counted from midnight, it is the first prayer of the day.

Ghazwah:, Arabic, which literally means “campaigns”, is often used by biographers to refer to all the Prophet’s excursions from Medina, whether to establish peace accords and preach Islam to the tribes, to go on ‘umrah, to chase adversaries who attacked Medina, or to engage in the nine battles.

Hadith: a collection of literature, originally orally recorded, that documents the deeds, teachings, and sayings of the Prophet Muhammad. There are a variety of collections, each used by different Muslim groups.

Ḥaqīqa: Arabic, the knowledge that comes from communion with God. It also means mystical knowledge, supreme truth, or absolute reality.

Hawāriq al ādāt: Arabic, Literally, “unprecedented events or deeds transcending the natural order,”

Iblīs: also known as Eblīs, is the leader of the devils in Islam. According to the Quran, Iblis was expelled from paradise after refusing to prostrate himself before Adam.

Imām: Arabic, the person in charge of the prayer who leads it in a mosque or elsewhere. It is a title used for religious exemplars, and imams are divinely chosen leaders among Shias.

Iravū: Malayalam, literally, “begging.” Also written as *irvākunnu* is a portion at the end of *māla pāṭṭū* in which the writer begs Allah for blessings and forgiveness, frequently in the name of the saint for whom the *māla* is composed.

Isha prayer (ṣalāt al-‘iṣā’, “night prayer”) is one of the five mandatory salah (Islamic prayer). As an Islamic day starts at sunset, the Isha prayer is technically the second prayer of the day. If counted from midnight, it is the fifth prayer of the day.

Istighātha: Arabic, the practice of praying or seeking aid from saintly figures.

Janmi: the hereditary landowner in Kerala who traditionally took a part of the crop, which was cultivated by a tenant who also had hereditary rights to the land

Jāram: Malayalam, a tomb or gravesite.

Kalyāṇa Pāṭṭū: literally, “wedding song;” a Māppiḷa song sung during a wedding celebration.

Karāmāt: Arabic, the ability of Sufi saints and holy figures to perform supernatural actions and give aid to those who petition them.

Kattū Pāṭṭū: Malayalam literally, “letter song;” a Māppiḷa pāṭṭū written in the form of a letter.

Khutba: Arabic, literally, “speech”. It is more exclusively used to denote Friday sermons of the Muslims.

Kissa Pāṭṭū: literally, “story song;” a Māppiḷa Pāṭṭū that tells a story. They are usually characterised by a high level of imagination and exaggeration and can be songs about fictitious events or renowned Islamic or Muslim individuals.

Kōlkkali Pāṭṭū: Māppiḷa songs that are sung during the Māppiḷa art form of *kōlkkali*, a pseudo-martial exhibit in which groups of men weave among themselves in intricate patterns while tapping sticks rhythmically and singing Māppiḷa pāṭṭū.

Madhhab: Arabic, Four traditional Islamic schools of law, the Hanafi, Maliki, Shafi’i and Hanbali

Madrasa: Arabic. In Kerala, an elementary religious school. Students usually attend in the early morning.

Maghrib: Arabic. The fourth of the five daily prayers required by Islam occurs just after sunset.

Māla Pāṭṭū: Arabi-Malayalam, literally, “garland song,” is a song sung about Sufi saints or figures that can aid people through their miraculous power or *karāmāt*.

Manāqib: Arabic, is a genre in Arabic, Turkish, and Persian literature, broadly encompassing “biographical works of a laudatory nature”, “in which the merits, virtues and remarkable deeds of the individual concerned are given prominence” and particularly hagiographies.

Maulavi: Arabi-Malayalam, a title conferred on an Islamic religious scholar after completion of higher religious education

Mawlid: Arabic, literally, “birth”, it is a commemoration of a prophet’s or saint’s birthday, during which prayers of recollection, traditions, and praise lyrics are recited. It also refers to the texts that praise or recite the life and story of the Prophet

or a saint. In Malabar, it is known as Mawlūd

Moors: The term Moor is an exonym used by European Christians to designate the Muslim inhabitants of the Maghreb, the Iberian Peninsula, Sicily, and Malta during the Middle Ages. The name was later also applied to Arabs and Arabized Iberians, and other Muslim tribes they encountered.

Mount Qāf: also known as Jabal Qāf, is a famous mountain in Middle Eastern folklore. Mount Qāf is claimed to be the home of the jinn and to have been created by God out of gleaming emerald.

Mudarris: Arabic, literally means a teacher. A *Mudarris* is more revered than a usual *Ustad*.

Muḥyiddīn literally means the Reviver of the Faith.

Musliyār: a religious teacher; earlier, it referred to a graduate of a *dars* who was then eligible to take a position as *imam* or *qāḍī*.

Nāyar: the warrior and ruler caste of Kerala that was essentially equal to *kṣatriyas* but was classified as *śūdras* by the Nambūtiri Brahmins.

Nēcca Pāṭṭū: Māppiḷa songs sung during the *nēccas*, often *Māla Pāṭṭūs*.

Nēcca: Malayalam, public festivals of saint veneration; generally, offerings made to a saint's or martyr's gravesite to obtain blessings.

Oppana Pāṭṭū: a Māppiḷa song sung during a wedding celebration.

Ōttupallī: Malayalam, is the old model of present-day Madrasa, where the basics of Islam are taught.

Pardesi: it can be roughly translated as a foreigner. Mostly Arabs were denoted by this.

Quṭb: literally “axis” or “pole” but refers to an Islamic saint who has attained the highest degree of sanctity and has become, within some areas of Islamic mysticism, responsible for the invisible government of the world. There is believed to be only one per generation.

Rabī' al-Awwal: is the Arabic month in which Prophet Muhammad was born in Mecca of the present-day Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.

Sabeena Pāṭṭū: These songs were usually sung during the night. Hence they were called

Sabeena Pāṭṭūs, which means night songs.

Sabq: Arabic, literally, “lessons.”

Tawassul: Arabic, literally, “to make a request or supplicate through a means.” This is a controversial subject in Islamic theology as Sunnis pray to Allah, making the Prophet and other saintly people as a mediator.

Ulema: Arabic, is the plural of *Ālim* who is an Islamic scholar with deep knowledge of Islamic theology.

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هَذَا مَقْرُوضٌ مَوْلَانَا كُنْ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 بَنِيَّانَا ابْنِي اطْلُعْ فِي شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْوَلَدِ قَدْ رَجَى الْهَدَى وَأَوْحَى
 نُبْرَةَ قَبْلِ عَاقِبِ الْعَالَمِ وَسَمَاءَ عَمَمَةٍ أَوْغَرَجَهُ فِي آخِرِ الزَّمَانِ
 كَمَا قَدَّرُوا لِنَايَ وَالْبَيْسَةُ خَلَعَتْهُ الْكَمَالُ الَّذِي لَمْ يَنْلِسْ مَا
 أَغْدَأَ أَقْوَابُ بَنِيهِ أَخْلَجَ قَدْرًا وَافْقَرْنَا الْكَاهِلُ الَّذِي تَوَسَّلَ بِهِ آدَمُ
 وَافْتَدَى بِكَزْبِهِ ذِي الْإِلَهِ اسْتَغْنَى بِهِ نَوْحٌ فَجَبَّ مِنَ التُّرْدَى وَكَانَ
 فِي صَلْبِ الْإِزْهِيمَةِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ حِينَ الْبَرِّي فِي النَّارِ قَعَادَ وَصَارَ
 تَبَّحًا مَحْتَمَلًا وَأَوَّلَ أَمَّةٍ حِينَ حَمَلَتْ بِهِ مَلَائِكَةُ السَّمَاءِ مَدَّاهُ
 وَخَلَعَ عَلَيْهِ الْإِنِّيَاءَ وَهُمْ رُفُوعًا لَوْ كُنَّا إِذَا أَوْضَعْتَ شَمْسُ الْفَلَاحِ وَالْقَلْبُ
 نَسْمِيهِ عَمَمَةً أَفَالِ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ لَعَنَ لَمَاءَ كُفْرٍ وَسُوءِ إِذَا أَنْفَسَكُمْ
 عَزَّ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَمِيَتْ حَرِيصٌ عَابَكُمْ بِإِلَهٍ وَمُتَمِينٌ رُفُفَ
 رُحِيمُهُ وَرَوَى عَنِ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ أَنَّهُ قَالَ كُنْتُ
 نَوَافِلَ لِنَبِيِّ اللَّهِ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ قَوْلِي أَنَا خَلْفُ آدَمَ مَا لَيْتِي عَامِلٌ بِسِيَرِهِ
 اللَّهُ ذِيكَ النَّوْزُ وَشَيْخُ الْمَلَايِكَةِ تَسْبِيحُهُ فَلَمَّا خَلَقَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى
 آدَمَ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ الْفَرْدَ ذِيكَ الْوَرْدَ فِي طِينَتِهِ فَأَقْبَطَ لِي اللَّهُ فِي
 صَلْبِ آدَمَ لِي الْكَارِضُ وَخَعَدَ لِي فِي السَّعْبَةِ فِي صَلْبِ نَوْحٍ وَخَعَدَ لِي
 فِي صَلْبِ الْخَلِيلِ الْإِزْهِيمَةِ عَلَيْهِ السَّلَامُ حِينَ قَدَّرَ فِي النَّارِ

[illegible]

صَلِّ نَارَ عَلَيَّ الْيَمَادِي

قَالَ عَلِيٌّ يَا زَيْنُ حِمَّةَ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى كَانَ الْإِسْلَامُ بِي رَجُلٍ
ذِي كِبَرٍ كُنْتُ فِي شَهْرِ رَجَبٍ أَوَّلَ أَدْعَاةِ الْفَتْحِ أَوْ أَوَّلَ أَدْعَاةِ
لِلنَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فَقَالَ لِي ذَلِكَ الْبَيْتُ لَمْ يَقْعَلْهُ وَهُوَ
الشَّهِيدُ وَمِنْ غَيْرِهِ فَقُلْتُ أَفَرَأَيْتَ خَلِيفَةَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ فِي هَذَا الشَّهْرِ فَيَعْمَلُ بِهِ رُوِي عَنْ عَلِيٍّ ذَلِكَ وَوَجِدْتُ
مِنْ ذَلِكَ أَمْرًا عَظِيمًا فَلَمَّا نَمْتُ فِي ذَلِكَ اللَّيْلَةِ رَأَيْتُ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ
صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ فِي الْمَنَامِ فَقَالَ لِي مَا يَكُ فَخَرْتُ بِهِ نَجْرِي مَعَ
الْبَيْتِ فَقَالَ لَا تَخْشَى فَإِنَّهُ يَأْتِي ذَلِكَ عَدَاؤُهُ وَهُوَ مُؤْتٍ قَالَ فَا
سَتَيْتُكَ وَقَدْ تَرَايَا وَحْدِي وَأَنَا أَنْتَظِرُ الْخَارِعَ وَحْدِي وَتَعَبْتُ لِلدَّيَاغِ
فَدَعَا جَدِّي عَلِيٌّ مَنِي وَإِذَا بَالِيَا يَطْرُقُ وَالْبَيْتُ يَبْقُو لِي يَقُولُ أَفْتَحْ فَتَنْ
ذَلِكَ صَدِي قَلْبِي إِنْ كَانَ الْحَبِيبُ وَنَكَانَ عِنْدَكَ
قَالَ بَارِحَةٌ تَنْ كَانَ عِنْدِي قَالَ فَفَتَحَتْ لَهُ الْبَابَ فَهَذَا وَهَذَا
يَقُولُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ تَعَالَى رَسُولُ اللَّهِ فَقُلْتُ لَهُ مَا شَأْنُكَ قَالَ
رَأَيْتُ اللَّيْلَةَ دُخْلًا عَسَى الْوَجْهَ طُيْبَ الْوَجْهَةِ عَظِيمَ الْوَجْهِةِ أَنْجَمَ
لِلْمُحَاجِّينَ سَهْلَ الْخَدَيْنِ إِذَا نَكَ لَمْ يَقْعَلْهُ إِلَيْهَا وَوَدَّاهُ
فَعَلِيهِ الْوَفَاءُ حَتَّى الْمَنْحَقِ إِذَا طَلَعَ يَقُولُ هَذَا الْبَيْتَ وَلَيْسَ بِوَدَّاهُ
مَشَا يَتَوَسَّعُ مِنْهُ أَمْسَكَ وَالْعَبْرُ مَا أَحْسَبَ وَجْهَهُ وَمَا أَحْسَبَ

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لَأَحْمَدُ فَأَدَّتْ أَنْ أَقْبَلَ يَدَيْهِ قَالَ أَتَقْبَلُ يَدَيَّ وَأَنْتَ عَلَيَّ غَيْرُ
 يَدَيَّ فَقُلْتُ مَنْ أَنْتَ الْبَهِيمُ مِنَ اللَّهِ عَلَيَّ بِكَ قَالَ أَنَا الْبَهِيمُ أَرْسَلْتُ
 رَحْمَةً لِنَا الْبَهِيمِ أَنْ أَسْكِنَهُمْ أَمْ لِيَبَا وَأَنَا خَيْرٌ مِنْ خَائِنِهِمْ
 النَّبِيُّ بَارِئٌ وَسُؤْلِي لَنَا الْبَهِيمِ فَقُلْتُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ
 اللَّهِ فَفُتِحَ يَدَيْهِ وَعَاظَنِي ثُمَّ قَالَ هَبْنِيهِ الْجَنَّةَ وَذَلِكَ الْفَتْحُ ذَلِكَ
 فَقُلْتُ مَا عِلَامَةُ ذَلِكَ قَالَ أَنْ تَعْرِفَ عَدُوَّكَ قَالَ صَاحِبُ الْبُكَاءِ
 فَسَمِعْتُ مَا هُوَ جَدُّ نَبِيِّ وَأَدَّ الْأَبَالِي بِفَرْقَائِهِ فَقَالَ نَبِيُّ

١٤ كُنْتَ أَنْتَ حَظِيئَةُ يَوْمٍ مَابِالْبَقَا | زَالِ الْبَقَا عَنَّا وَفَنَ زَالِ الشُّعَا
 فَقُلْتُ لَهُ مِنْهُ لَوْ قَالَ زَوْجِي وَأَيْتِي قَالَ ذَنْ تَحَلَّيَا وَهَمَّا
 تَقُولَانِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ فَقَالَ أَيْمَانُكَ
 أَيْمَانُكَ مَا قَالَ لَنَا أَيْمَانَهُ كَمَا رَأَيْتَ رَجُلِي عَيْنًا وَأَنَا كَانُوا عِنْدَكَ
 بِمَقَرٍّ قَدِيدٍ وَعَنْ تَابِعِ بْنِ أَبِي قَالَ نَمَلَتْ الرُّومُ لِي الْوَقْتِ فِي الْغَدِيدِ
 مَلَأَتْ أَيْمَانَهُ وَفِي الْيَوْمِ الثَّالِثِ مَلَأَتْ رُوحَهُ رُوحَهُمُ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى وَ
 رُوحَنَا مَعَهُمُ الْخَيْرُ لِي أَيْمَانُكَ وَأَمَّا مُحَمَّدٌ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ
 كَمَا ذَكَرَهُ ابْنُ الْأَرْدَنِ وَعَنْهُ عَنْ ذِكْرِ الْغَا فُلُوْنَ

صَلُّوا عَلَيَّ هَذَا الَّذِي مُحَمَّدٌ أَخِي رَسِيعُ الْمَلِكِ شَهْرُ الْمُؤَلَّدِ وَخَوَارِقُ الْعَادَاتِ لَيْلَةُ الْمُؤَلَّدِ	الْمَوْلَى وَالْمَوْلَى نَحْمُ الْمَوْلَى أَخِي رَسِيعُ الْمَلِكِ شَهْرُ الْمُؤَلَّدِ بَاءُ رَسِيعُ الْمَلِكِ شَهْرُ الْمُؤَلَّدِ
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وَمَا أَتَى عَلَى الْكَافِرِينَ إِلَّا الْفُتُورُ
كَذَّبُوا بِآيَاتِنَا وَفُتِنُوا بِغُلَامَيْنَا
فَتَوَلَّوْا وَكُنَّا لَهُمْ عَاثًا غَدِيرًا
وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا دَاوُدَ وَسُلَيْمَانَ
إِلَهَهُمَا وَجَعَلْنَا آلَهُمَا إِبْرَاهِيمَ
وَيُحْيَىٰ وَجَعَلْنَا آلَهُمَا إِسْمَاعِيلَ
وَيُزْجَرًا وَجَعَلْنَا آلَهُمُ الْغُلَامَ
وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا هَذَا الْقَوْمَ الْآيَاتِ
فَلَا يَرْجِعُ إِلَيْهَا قَوْمٌ يَمْنُنُ
وَلَقَدْ آتَيْنَا الْفِرْعَوْنَ ذِي الْقُوَّةِ
أَسْبَاطًا وَأَعَزَّجْنَاهُ شَرْجَا
وَجَعَلْنَا آلَهُ الْفِرْعَوْنَ السُّوءَ
فِي الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ لِيُمَّاكِلُوا
فِيهِمْ

الْباقية وَالْمُحْذَرَاتُ كَمَا نَرَى
 الْبَدَنَ وَشَقَّ بَاهُوهَ وَالشَّمْسُ إِذَا
 وَالْوَحْشَ وَالْأَجْنَازَ وَنَحْنُ
 وَمِنَ الْبَسْبِ رِسْقِي وَأَطْعَ بَيْتِي
 وَلَهُ السَّيْلَةُ وَالْفَضِيلَةُ الْعَالِي
 أَوْ صَافَةُ مَا بَيْتِي لَعْنَادُهَا
 بِأَسْبَابِ السَّادَاتِ بِمُتَوَكِّفَاتِهَا
 قَدْ عَلَيَّ مَا قَدْ عَلِمْتُ وَمَا لِي
 مَا لِي بِوَيْحِي لَيْلِي وَبَيْتِي
 إِنِّي نَزِيلُكَ وَالنَّزِيلُ لَكَ يَا
 فَعَلَيْكَ مَنَاسِكُ كُلِّ وَقْتٍ دَائِمًا
 وَكَأَيَّ عَذَابِكَ الْكَرَامِ جَمِيعِهِمْ
 وَالْغَايِبِينَ أَيْمَنُ جَبَرُ فَاجْتَمِعُوا

ثم من قول من قال
 اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
 صَلَواتُكَ تَجْنِبُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَوَالِ وَالْبَلِيَّاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا
 مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَسَامِ وَالْأَفَاتِ وَتُظهِرُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الظُّلُمَاتِ
 وَتُعَلِّمُنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْخُطُوبَاتِ وَتَقْضِي لَنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْحَاجَاتِ
 وَتَرْفَعُنَا بِهَا عَنْ كَأْفِ اللَّحْظَاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا أَهْلَ الْغَايَاتِ

منقول من قول من قال
 اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
 صَلَواتُكَ تَجْنِبُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَوَالِ وَالْبَلِيَّاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا
 مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَسَامِ وَالْأَفَاتِ وَتُظهِرُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الظُّلُمَاتِ
 وَتُعَلِّمُنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْخُطُوبَاتِ وَتَقْضِي لَنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْحَاجَاتِ
 وَتَرْفَعُنَا بِهَا عَنْ كَأْفِ اللَّحْظَاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا أَهْلَ الْغَايَاتِ

جَمِيعِ الْخَيْرَاتِ فِي الْحَيَاةِ وَبَعْدَ الْمَمَاتِ ۝ اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّا
 نَتَوَسَّلُ إِلَيْكَ بِاسْمِكَ الْعَظِيمِ وَجَاهِ يَمِينِكَ الْكَرِيمِ
 وَوَلِيِّكَ الْعَظِيمِ ۝ أَنْ تَكُنْ مِنْ عَذَابِ الدُّنْيَا وَنَسَاءِ
 الْعُيُوبِ ۝ وَتُخَيِّرَ لَنَا خَلَقَ ۝ وَتُوسِّعَ الْأَرْزَاقَ ۝
 وَتُسَخِّرَ لَنَا سَعَامَ وَتُعَافِي لَنَا لَمَامَ ۝ فَإِنْ دَنَّ فَخُذْنَا
 وَهَنْ أَهْلِي بَلَدِنَا وَبَيْتِنَا هَذِهِ السَّيِّئَةِ الْفَاقِ وَالْمَاءِ
 الْعَامِ وَالْوَلَاءِ الطَّاعِ ۝ إِنَّكَ فَحِيبٌ سَامِعٌ ۝
 وَإِنْ تَصَرَّفْنَا الطَّاعُونَ وَالْمَلَأَ ۝ وَتَغْصِمُنَا مِنْ
 أَنْ تَلِي قَهْرَكَ الْوَلَاءَ ۝ وَتُخَيِّرَ بَيْنَ بَيْتِي مِنْ شَرِّ
 عَدُوِّ دَاوُسَ الْمَلْعُونِ ۝ وَمِنْ شَرِّ الْوَلَاءِ وَالطَّاعُونَ
 اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّا نَسْتَعِينُكَ بِاسْمِكَ الْعَظِيمِ ۝ أَفْعَالِنَا وَلَا تَهْلِكُنَا
 بِخَطَايَانَا ۝ اللَّهُمَّ إِنَّا نَسْتَعِينُكَ أَنْ تَجْعَلَنَا مِنْ عَذَابِ
 الْقَبْرِ ۝ وَتُوَسِّمَنَا مِنَ الْفَرْجِ الْأَكْبَرِ ۝ وَتُخَيِّرَ بَيْنَ
 دَاوُسَ الْوَلَاءِ وَتُسَكِّنَنَا الْفَرْجَ وَتُسَلِّمَنَا إِلَى الْقَدَرِ ۝

ثم من قول من قال
 اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
 صَلَواتُكَ تَجْنِبُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَوَالِ وَالْبَلِيَّاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا
 مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَسَامِ وَالْأَفَاتِ وَتُظهِرُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الظُّلُمَاتِ
 وَتُعَلِّمُنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْخُطُوبَاتِ وَتَقْضِي لَنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْحَاجَاتِ
 وَتَرْفَعُنَا بِهَا عَنْ كَأْفِ اللَّحْظَاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا أَهْلَ الْغَايَاتِ

منقول من قول من قال
 اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَعَلَى آلِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ
 صَلَواتُكَ تَجْنِبُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَوَالِ وَالْبَلِيَّاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا
 مِنْ جَمِيعِ الْهَسَامِ وَالْأَفَاتِ وَتُظهِرُنَا بِهَا مِنْ جَمِيعِ الظُّلُمَاتِ
 وَتُعَلِّمُنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْخُطُوبَاتِ وَتَقْضِي لَنَا بِهَا جَمِيعَ الْحَاجَاتِ
 وَتَرْفَعُنَا بِهَا عَنْ كَأْفِ اللَّحْظَاتِ وَتُسَلِّمُنَا بِهَا أَهْلَ الْغَايَاتِ

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هَذَا ابْنُ زَمْلَانَ كُنْ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَىَٰنَا إِلَىٰ الْمِلَّةِ الْخَيْرِيَّةِ ۝ وَاعْتَمَدْنَا فِيهَا
حُكْمًا قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَىٰ وَلَقَدْ كَرَّمْنَا بَنِي آدَمَ وَكُتِبَتْ لَهُمْ سُنَّةٌ
وَعَمَلْنَا وَادْنَا أَحْسَنَ صُورٍ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَىٰ كُنْزُهُ خَيْرٌ أَمَّهُ
أَخْرَجْنَا النَّارَ سَائِغَةً هَبْئَهِ ۝ وَسَدَّ جَنَابَهُ الْمُصْطَفَىٰ
مِنَ الْعِلَّةِ الْبَشَرِيَّةِ ۝ فَحَمَدُهُ الْمَعْبُودُ بِالْبَيْنِ الْحَقِّ الْوَعْدِ
بِأَيَّامِ الْبَاهِرَاتِ الْوَلِيَّةِ ۝ فَسُبْحَانَهُ مَنْ شِئَهُ أَنْ كَانَ
دِينُهُ بِالْبَيْنِ وَأَصْحَابُهُ بِالْبَيْنِ وَصَدَقَهُ قَوْلُهُ تَعَالَىٰ فَحَمَدُهُ
رَسُولُ اللَّهِ وَالْبَيْنُ مَعَهُ أَمِينُهُ أَوْ عَابِ الْكَفَّارِ خَائِدًا
بَيْنَهُمْ قَوْلُهُمْ ذُكِّرْتُمْ لَكُمْ عَسَىٰ أَنْ يَبْعَثَ فَضْلًا مِّنَ السَّمَاءِ
وَرِضْوَانًا سِيمَاهُمْ فِي أَوْجُوهِهِمْ مِنْ أَزْرِ السُّعُورِ ۝ وَلَقَدْ كَرَّمْنَا
فِي الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَمَا نَرَاهُمْ فِي الْأَنْجِيلِ ۝ كَرَّمَاحُ أَنْفُسُهُمْ سَطَا
فَأَزْدًا قَا سَطَا فَسَوَّىٰ عَلَيَّ سَوْفَهُ يَجِبُ الْإِذَارُ لِيَجْطِ بِوَمِهِ
الْكُفَّارُ وَعَنِ اللَّهِ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ مِنْهُمْ
مَعَزٌ ثُمَّ أَرْجَأَ عَظِيمًا ۝ وَفَضَّلَ وَمَا أَصْحَابُهُ الْجَاهِلِينَ بِأَوْفَلِ
قَوْلِهِ تَعَالَىٰ وَفَضَّلَ اللَّهُ لِلَّهِ لِلْجَاهِلِينَ بِأَعْلَىٰ الثَّعَالِبِينَ أَرْجَأَ عَظِيمًا
ذُكِّرَ بِمَنْهُ وَمَعَزٌ ثُمَّ أَرْجَأَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ وَفَضَّلَ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي هَدَانَا لِهَذَا وَمَا كُنَّا لَكَ شَاكِرِينَ
وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالصَّلَاةُ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
قَالَ عَزَّ وَجَلَّ
يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا
لَا تَتَّبِعُوا الْآيَاتِ
الَّتِي تَرَوْنَ
فَإِنَّهَا
فَوَاحِشٌ
عَلَىٰ أَعْيُنِكُمْ
وَكَبِيرٌ
وَلَا تَتَّبِعُوا الْآيَاتِ
الَّتِي تَرَوْنَ
فَإِنَّهَا
فَوَاحِشٌ
عَلَىٰ أَعْيُنِكُمْ
وَكَبِيرٌ

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

مولا ياصر وسلم دأتما ابدا	علي حبيبك خير الخلق كلهم
يضاء عن ساد انا البكر	ورث هذا الدنيا من ابي
هم من نفعنا في انسان ومكرمة	هم من نفعنا في انسان ومكرمة
لهوسم بين الهديا يدور ملتنا	يا حبة النور جعلنا لهم نظرا
هم شمع القلب في حريق وعقر كره	نهد عن علي الكفار وكلمه انا
ذات له بهم رقاب الكفر وضربت	لهم نوره من نورنا بطل والبصا
وسر خبا وسرنا وادسا اعدا	انواع تعبد بهم والحزن كثرنا
هم النور البالي هذه الجبال بالي	كالدهر في هممة ساد كاري
اليرهم نية تمت لصلواتهم	وهم انا همم الخلق دونه
فستك الله خلافا ما لهم بهم	والسبب لمسطحي ان يقضي الوطلا
فان يقوي كل البلاد من ال	افان والدين والديا ومن ساد
نم الصاد علي هذه النبي وا	ليد الصحابة ما بين السما وساري
وذكرني عن زوي بن عبد الرحمة الله تعالى انه قال انك من	علي بن ابي طالب في بعض السنين ومن سابع من اورد له ومير
علي بن ابي طالب في بعض السنين ومن سابع من اورد له ومير	فما خطوا احد من هذه المهلك ولو كان في عدن وكنين
فما خطوا احد من هذه المهلك ولو كان في عدن وكنين	فبسم الله ما خطوا وس في بعض ما يامر اذ اقبل رجل منها ووجهه
فبسم الله ما خطوا وس في بعض ما يامر اذ اقبل رجل منها ووجهه	نجا رة عظيمة فليس معه احد من رعيه وهو جردك شفتي
نجا رة عظيمة فليس معه احد من رعيه وهو جردك شفتي	ك الذي بناه ابيض اسماء فتلقينا وقال ان لعن الله الخبي

بسم الله يا صر وسلم دأتما ابدا
 مولا ياصر وسلم دأتما ابدا
 علي حبيبك خير الخلق كلهم
 ورث هذا الدنيا من ابي
 هم من نفعنا في انسان ومكرمة
 لهوسم بين الهديا يدور ملتنا
 يا حبة النور جعلنا لهم نظرا
 هم شمع القلب في حريق وعقر كره
 نهد عن علي الكفار وكلمه انا
 ذات له بهم رقاب الكفر وضربت
 لهم نوره من نورنا بطل والبصا
 انواع تعبد بهم والحزن كثرنا
 كالدهر في هممة ساد كاري
 اليرهم نية تمت لصلواتهم
 فستك الله خلافا ما لهم بهم
 فان يقوي كل البلاد من ال
 نم الصاد علي هذه النبي وا
 وذكرني عن زوي بن عبد الرحمة الله تعالى انه قال انك من
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 نجا رة عظيمة فليس معه احد من رعيه وهو جردك شفتي
 ك الذي بناه ابيض اسماء فتلقينا وقال ان لعن الله الخبي

لشأنا عظماء ونظرنا خلة فله نري عبيد فقال له والي بني بجاة
 اللوك بن سامة بجارة وانت وذاك وهديا الظريف فمطعة
 مناسين ومن المومنين والبراع فقال له دخلت هديا الظريف
 بجيشي دخل به رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فليجبه اعداء
 ونصرة الله به فقال له والي اي بجيش اذ كنت من الصحابة قال
 اذ كنت اهل بيته رضي الله عنهم وادخلهم معي هديا الظريف
 الخرو ففعلت اخاف لهما واسبغوا له والي سالتك باله
 ان تكش بعن قميصك فقال له اعلم رحمك الله اني كنت كبر فخر
 لهم ومن قطع الطريق وانه رينا فافدها فنبهاها واخاروا فاعندنا
 هاتفتها فاعندنا في ليلة من الليالي اذ جاءوا بجواسيت اوامرنا
 ان لا نأخذنا من حرج بجارة عظيمة وما معه انا خمسة عشر رجلا
 فانما سمعنا ذلك حملنا عليهم فقتلنا من اعداءه عشرة رجلا
 اقبل علينا الشايد فقال يا هؤلاء ما جئكم وما تريدون فقلنا نريد
 ان تأخذنا هديا الخبار فاجب بمن يرميكم من اعدائكم فقلنا
 علي وسعي اهل بدر فقلنا نحن لانعرف اهل بدر فقال الله اكبر
 ثم لعنوا في اسماء لا يعرفها قعدنا الرقيب عنه بللا وانه زمانه
 نرمت علينا ربح شديدا لا وسعنا ذلك وقدمه السلاح واشيا
 الزناح وقال لا تمولوا اسماء اهل بدر يصبر جميل فنظرت رجلا

بسم الله يا صر وسلم دأتما ابدا
 مولا ياصر وسلم دأتما ابدا
 علي حبيبك خير الخلق كلهم
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أَفِي رَجَالِكُ الْعِزَّةِ عَلَى نَبِيِّ لَسْتِيكَ الْبَرِّ فَاعْلَمُوا إِنَّا قَدْ
 عَابَتْ ذَلِكَ بَادَنُ الْخَالِصِ الْجَارِ فَقُلْتُ أَنَا يَا لِلْعَوِيكَ فَقَالَ تَبْلِي
 اللَّهُ عَنْ هَذِهِ الْعِزَّةِ فَتَبَّ عَلَى يَدَيْهِ وَذَن قِيلَ مِنْ أَهْلِي بَعْدَ مَنْ
 تَبَّ مِنْ أَهْلِيهِ ثُمَّ أَيْ لَمْ أَرَوْا لَمْ يَصْرَفْ عَنْهُ سَأَلَتْهُ أَنْ يَعْلَمَ بِي
 أَسْمَاءَ أَهْلِي يَدْرِ فَعَلِمَ بِهَا مَعْنَى عَنْ قَهْلِهِ أَلَمْ أَخْبِرْ إِلَى عَفَا رَأَيْتُ مِنْ
 الْخَلْقِ لَا فِي الْبَرِّ كَوْنِي الْخَيْرِ وَيَهَابُ مِنْ هَذِهِ الظُّبُرِ كَمَا لَيْتِي
 تَكَلَّمْتُ مَدْرَافِي مِنْ لَهْجَا أَوْ سَجَّ خَادَ عَنْ طَرِيقِي فَلَيْتَ الْحَمْدُ ٥

يَا بَرِّ صَلِّ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ
 فِي الْخَلْقِ مِنْ جَهَنَّمَ فِي غَدٍ
 نَحْنُ تَارِكُ الْعَرْشِ مَعَكُمْ نَكْرُ
 فِي مَوْجِ أَسْمَاءَ بَدْرُكَ
 بِكُمُوهْمُ وَعَطَاؤُهُمْ وَمَلَمَّةُ
 تَارِكُ وَمَحْتَمُهُمْ تَصْجِدُ وَتُظْهِرُ
 مِنْ كُنْ دَاهِيَةً وَمَا يَكُونُ
 مِنْ عَيْنِي دَكْرِهِمْ جَيِّدُ وَتَصْنَعُ
 وَمَا قَبْلَ اللَّهِ لَا تَحْمَدُ
 فَرْتُمْ جَنَابَاتٍ وَنَجْمُ قَعْدُ
 بَعْدَ لُتْهِمْ فِي كَلِّ تَقِي تَقْدُ
 بِالْمُصْطَفَى وَجَاهِهِمْ مَشْنَعُ
 فَضْلًا عَلَيْنَا أَنْتَ رَأَى أَكْبَرُ
 عَمَلِي وَلَا تَسْجِدُ بَعْدَ بَرِّكَ تَجْدُ

قوله النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم
 يا بَرِّ صَلِّ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ
 فِي الْخَلْقِ مِنْ جَهَنَّمَ فِي غَدٍ
 نَحْنُ تَارِكُ الْعَرْشِ مَعَكُمْ نَكْرُ
 فِي مَوْجِ أَسْمَاءَ بَدْرُكَ
 بِكُمُوهْمُ وَعَطَاؤُهُمْ وَمَلَمَّةُ
 تَارِكُ وَمَحْتَمُهُمْ تَصْجِدُ وَتُظْهِرُ
 مِنْ كُنْ دَاهِيَةً وَمَا يَكُونُ
 مِنْ عَيْنِي دَكْرِهِمْ جَيِّدُ وَتَصْنَعُ
 وَمَا قَبْلَ اللَّهِ لَا تَحْمَدُ
 فَرْتُمْ جَنَابَاتٍ وَنَجْمُ قَعْدُ
 بَعْدَ لُتْهِمْ فِي كَلِّ تَقِي تَقْدُ
 بِالْمُصْطَفَى وَجَاهِهِمْ مَشْنَعُ
 فَضْلًا عَلَيْنَا أَنْتَ رَأَى أَكْبَرُ
 عَمَلِي وَلَا تَسْجِدُ بَعْدَ بَرِّكَ تَجْدُ

وَأَذِنَ بِجَمِيعِ مَصْرَةٍ وَمِلَمَةٍ
 مَا ذَرِيسَ وَمِنْ بَرِّكَ تَجْدُ

قَالَ الشَّيْخُ ابْنُ تَجْرٍ وَالْعَسْقَلَانِي رَحِمَهُمَا اللَّهُ أَنَّهُ أَسْرَبْنَا نَحْمُ فِي
 بِلَادِ الْمَشْرِقِيِّينَ فَطَلَبَ الرُّومِيُّ فِي وَدَائِهِ مَا لَكُمْ كَيْفَ أَرَأَيْتُمْ يَطْلُقُ
 إِعْطَانَهُ فَأَرْسَلْنَا إِلَيْهِ أَسْمَاءَ أَهْلِي يَدْرِ فَعَلِمَ بِهَا مَعْنَى عَنْ قَهْلِهِ أَلَمْ أَخْبِرْ إِلَى عَفَا رَأَيْتُ مِنْ
 الْخَلْقِ لَا فِي الْبَرِّ كَوْنِي الْخَيْرِ وَيَهَابُ مِنْ هَذِهِ الظُّبُرِ كَمَا لَيْتِي
 تَكَلَّمْتُ مَدْرَافِي مِنْ لَهْجَا أَوْ سَجَّ خَادَ عَنْ طَرِيقِي فَلَيْتَ الْحَمْدُ ٥

قوله النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم
 يا بَرِّ صَلِّ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ مُحَمَّدٍ
 فِي الْخَلْقِ مِنْ جَهَنَّمَ فِي غَدٍ
 نَحْنُ تَارِكُ الْعَرْشِ مَعَكُمْ نَكْرُ
 فِي مَوْجِ أَسْمَاءَ بَدْرُكَ
 بِكُمُوهْمُ وَعَطَاؤُهُمْ وَمَلَمَّةُ
 تَارِكُ وَمَحْتَمُهُمْ تَصْجِدُ وَتُظْهِرُ
 مِنْ كُنْ دَاهِيَةً وَمَا يَكُونُ
 مِنْ عَيْنِي دَكْرِهِمْ جَيِّدُ وَتَصْنَعُ
 وَمَا قَبْلَ اللَّهِ لَا تَحْمَدُ
 فَرْتُمْ جَنَابَاتٍ وَنَجْمُ قَعْدُ
 بَعْدَ لُتْهِمْ فِي كَلِّ تَقِي تَقْدُ
 بِالْمُصْطَفَى وَجَاهِهِمْ مَشْنَعُ
 فَضْلًا عَلَيْنَا أَنْتَ رَأَى أَكْبَرُ
 عَمَلِي وَلَا تَسْجِدُ بَعْدَ بَرِّكَ تَجْدُ

كوكذا انما انزل بنو نوح
 اودعوا في قلوبهم كبرياء
 كينان وقبضهم فمكروا فوفا
 مؤمنة اذ بنو نوح اذ اصاب
 اودعوا الله بنو نوح فاما نوح
 يلا مشا جبارا يوصفيل
 يذم ملكا كعب من بنو نوح
 اودعوا في قلوبهم كبرياء
 فاف لمستم فخر فجلستهم
 اودعوا في قلوبهم كبرياء
 اذ ناك جديك فاب وان كيد ارب
 جنان يلا سزفهم سزوا بنو نوح
 كينان وقبضهم فمكروا فوفا
 مؤمنة ان كينان جنان نوح
 جشمهم انستم من ملكهم
 يذم ملكا كعب من بنو نوح
 باشي جنان يذم فمكروا فوفا
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بنو نوح اذ بنو نوح فمكروا فوفا
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يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَقْرَبُوا مَا يَصْرِفُهُ إِلَهُكُمْ فَتَتَّخِذُوا سُبُلًا مِمَّا دَلَّ عَلَيْهَا آيَاتُ اللَّهِ بَلَاءً لِقَوْمٍ كَثِيرٍ مِمَّنْ هُمْ أَفْجَاءٌ لَهَا فَهُمْ لَا حِصْنًا لَهَا ۖ وَاللَّهُ يَخْتَارُ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى سَوَاحِلُ الْأَرْضِ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّاحِلِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى الْوُجُوهَ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّوْءِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى الْوُجُوهَ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّوْءِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى الْوُجُوهَ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّوْءِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
 وَاللَّهُ يَخْتَارُ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى سَوَاحِلُ الْأَرْضِ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّاحِلِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى الْوُجُوهَ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّوْءِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ

يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا لَا تَقْرَبُوا مَا يَصْرِفُهُ إِلَهُكُمْ فَتَتَّخِذُوا سُبُلًا مِمَّا دَلَّ عَلَيْهَا آيَاتُ اللَّهِ بَلَاءً لِقَوْمٍ كَثِيرٍ مِمَّنْ هُمْ أَفْجَاءٌ لَهَا فَهُمْ لَا حِصْنًا لَهَا ۖ وَاللَّهُ يَخْتَارُ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى سَوَاحِلُ الْأَرْضِ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّاحِلِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ وَإِذَا تَوَلَّى الْوُجُوهَ فَإِنَّ إِلَهُكُمْ إِلَهُ السَّوْءِ ۚ لَا يَخْلُفُ أُولَئِكَ ۚ

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ثقافة الترجمة وتاريخ مسلمي مليبار

أيوب أن.كي، باحث الدكتوراه، جامعة حيدرآباد

مقدمة

ثقافية ضخمة، خاصة للمسلمين العرب الذين سكنوا في المنطقة لفترة طويلة واستوعبوا ثقافيا في المجتمع المحلي بواسطة زواج النساء المليباريات. تبعا لذلك، أصبحت العديد من الكلمات العربية جزءا من الكلام العادي للسكان المحليين، علاوة على ذلك، كتأثير مباشر للاختلاط بين العرب وسكان مليبار أصبحت العديد من الأشياء التي ارتبطت بالثقافات الأجنبية جزءا للثقافة المحلية.

وصل الإسلام في ماليلبار في القرن السابع نفسه نتيجة للتبادل المستمر مع العرب، وكان قافلة العرب التي وصل في مليبار تتضمن التجار والدعاة قادها الصحابة الكرام. من بين عدد كبير من الكتب التي تتناقش تاريخ مسلمي مليبار بشكل مباشر أو غير مباشر، نادرا نرى كتبنا تبحث عن كيفية تشكيل و تكوين "مابلا" كأمة خاصة، علاوة على ذلك، فإن معظم الدراسات حول مالابار عالقة في المواضيع التقليدية إما عن تاريخ ثورة ماليلبار التي حدثت عام ١٩٢١ أو عن نضالاتهم ضد الاستعمار الأوربي أو علاقاتهم التجارية مع الدول الأجنبية منذ العصور القديمة. خلافا لذلك، هذه الدراسة تحاول أن تنظر إلى جذور التاريخ

مليبار منطقة تقع في شمال كيرالا بين غاتسالغربية وبحر العرب، إنها كانت تحت سيطرة البريطانية قبل الاستقلال الهندي، على الرغم من أنالهندوس هم أغلب سكانها، أن غالبية المسلمون من ولاية كيرالا المعروفون باسم "مابيللا" يعيشون في هذه المنطقة، إلى جانب عدد كبير من السكان المسيحيين. بالعلاقات الوطيدة مع شبه الجزيرة العربية والمعاملات التجارية معالعرب، تمتاز منطقة مليبار بتراثها الإسلامي نادر للغاية من نواح كثيرة عن المناطق الأخرى في ولاية كيرالا. في قديم الزمان أقامت ولاية كيرالا علاقات تجارية بحرية مع العالم الخارجي تمتد عبر آسيا وأوروبا وأفريقيا من خلال مدنها الساحلية بما في ذلك كاليكوت، وتتفاخر المنطقة بعلاقاتها التجارية مع اليونانيين والرومان والصينيين والعرب قبل وصول القوى الاستعمارية مثل البرتغالية والهولندية والبريطانية. على عكس القوى الاستعمارية، التجارة كانت الدافع الأساسي لأسلافهم للرحلة إلى سواحل مليبار، وهذه الاتصالات المتكررة و العميقة عبر التجارة مهدت الطريق لترجمة

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This is to certify that Mr. Ayoob Nellikkunnummal has participated and presented his paper on "The Muhyiddīn Māla: Debating the Sacredness and the Profanity of a Canon" at the international conference on Canon and Censorship in the Islamic Intellectual History, organised by the Humboldt University of Berlin, Goethe University of Frankfurt am Main and University of Freiburg, in Berlin, on 08.10.2021 -10.10.2021.

On Behalf of Professor Mohammad Gharaibeh

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This is to certify that **Mr. Ayooob NK** of **Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, University of Hyderabad** has participated in the online National Seminar on **New Trends in Translation Studies** jointly organised by **R.S.Mundle Dharampeth Arts & Commerce College, Nagpur** and **National Translation Mission, Mysore** on 28 & 29 April 2021. He has presented the paper titled **Translation and Paratext: A Study of Tajama Tradition among Mappilas of Kerala.**

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