MAWLĀNĀ KARĀMAT 'ALĪ AND HIS PROJECTS OF REFORMS

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No part of this dissertation has been submitted for a degree or diploma at this University or any other University.

No part of this work has been done in collaboration.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION

The following system of transliteration has been followed.

(I) For Arabic, Persian and Urdu letters :

ا	=	a	ع	=	ʿ
ب	=	b	غ	=	gh
پ	=	p	ف	=	f
ت	=	t	ق	=	q
ث	=	th	ک	=	k
ج	=	j	گ	=	g
چ	=	ch	ل	=	l
ح	=	ḥ	م	=	m
خ	=	kh	ن	=	n
د	=	d	و	=	w
ذ	=	dh	ہ	=	h
ر	=	r	ء	=	'
ز	=	z	ی	=	y
س	=	s	ے	=	e
ش	=	sh	بھ	=	bh
ص	=	ṣ	پھ	=	ph
ض	=	ḍ	تھ	=	th
ط	=	ṭ	جھ	=	jh
ظ	=	ẓ	چھ	=	chh
			دھ	=	dh
			کھ	=	kh
			گھ	=	gh

Vowels, dipthongs, etc. :

	short vowels	long vowels
ـَ =	a	ā
ـِ =	i	ī
ـُ =	u	ū
ى (alif maqsura) =		ā

In transliterating Arabic or Persian words used in Bengali the above system has been followed.

Names of the places have been spelt in the manner in which they are familiar to the students of history and geography. Unfamiliar names have been spelt according to the above rules.

The names of those who wrote their names in English have been spelt according to their own spelling.

(II) For Bengali letters :

অ	=	a	ঋ	=	ṛi
আ	=	ā	এ	=	e
ই	=	i	ঐ	=	ai
ঈ	=	ī	ও	=	o
উ	=	u	ঔ	=	au
ঊ	=	ū			

This copy is incomplete in respect of transliteration & diacritical marks

क	=	k
ख	=	kh
ग	=	g
घ	=	gh
ङ	=	ṅ
च	=	ch
छ	=	chh
ज	=	j
झ	=	jh
ञ	=	yn
ट	=	ṭ
ठ	=	ṭh
ड	=	ḍ
ढ	=	ḍh
ण	=	ṇ
त	=	t
थ	=	th
द	=	d
ध	=	dh
न	=	n

प	=	p
फ	=	f
ब	=	b
भ	=	bh
म	=	m
य	=	y
र	=	r
ल	=	l
व	=	v
श	=	sh
ष	=	ṣh
स	=	s
ह	=	h
क्ष	=	kṣh
त्र	=	ṛ
ज्ञ	=	ỵ
ँ	=	ṁ
ः	=	ḥ
ं	=	ṅ

अ	=	a
ि	=	i
ी	=	ī
ु	=	u
ू	=	ū
ृ	=	ri
े	=	e
ै	=	au
ो	=	o
ौ	=	au

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ABSTRACT

This thesis attempts to study the life and works of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī of Jaunpur who passed 51 years of his life in Bengal for preaching Islam in this region. He came to Bengal with his family and moved from place to place in a special boat to preach Islamic ideology and morality among the general mass. He whole-heartedly devoted himself to reform his co-religionists and revive the ideals of Islam thereby.

The first chapter briefly discusses the religious, social, economic and political conditions of the Muslims of Eastern India in the nineteenth century when Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī came to Bengal. It shows that with the loss of political power the condition of the Muslims was weakened and worsened in all respects. Subsequently they were divided into many sections and there grew many un-Islamic customs and ceremonies which led them astray.

The second chapter deals with a brief life sketch of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī and his valuable works in Arabic, Persian and Urdu which he left as a great treasure for the next generations. These works are the primary sources of information regarding his activities and views on different fields and controversial points.

The third chapter gives a brief account of four contemporary Islamic movements - Jihad movement, Ahl al-Hadith movement, Fara'idi movement and Titu Mir's reform movement. These movements had interrelation with one another and Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī had concern with all those movements directly or indirectly.

The fourth chapter is devoted to the projects of reforms of the Mawlānā in the changing situations in British India. In this chapter it is shown as to how Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī preached Islam in this reverine Bengal and what problems and difficulties he had to face in his preaching tour from place to place.

The fifth chapter focuses on the doctrines of Sufism of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī and his opinion about different theories of Sufism. In this chapter it is also shown, in brief, the practice of the Mawlānā in his mystic life.

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PREFACE

The subject-matter of the present study is the life and teachings of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī of Jaunpur. It is an attempt to analyse a significant phase of Islamic revivalism in Bengal in the nineteenth century. Although Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī was originally a man of the United Provinces of the then India, his field of work was mainly the eastern part of the subcontinent that is now known as Bangladesh.

Before his visit to Bengal, the condition of the Muslims of this region was deplorable. The Muslim masses succumbed to a number of vices and superstitious practices. They were much influenced by Hindu culture. The Muslims took delight in leading an unrestrained life. Moreover, Indian environment and tradition were bound to react on the rigidity of Muslim ritual.[1] The Muslims enthusiastically participated in Hindu festivals. "They not only observe dusserah puja", reported Beveridge, "but the nabanna".[2] J.C. Jack also made similar observation.[3] Some ignorant persons pretending to be pīrs and murshids, held on those festive occasions such gorgeous functions as to make those organized by the Hindus themselves look inferior. " In no other country" James Wise observed,"have the Muhammadans embodied so

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1. K.M.Ashraf,"Life and Conditions of the People of Hindūstān", Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Third Series,Vol.I,1935(Calcutta,1936),p.300.

2. H.Beveridge,The District of Bakarganj,its History and Statistics (London,1876), p.154.

3. J.C.Jack,Bengal District Gazetteers,Bakarganj(Calcutta,1918), p.34.

many infidel rites and customs with their own creed as in India".[4]

A section of the people adopted asceticism and expressed their indifference to worldly life. They influenced the general people and initiated them into mystic orders. Those disciples showed their utmost reverence to the pirs who were considered by them to be holy and selfless servants of Dīn whereas in reality they served only their selfish interests. By their pretence, they charmed the people who sometimes ascribed to them super-human powers. Besides these, the loss of political power made the Muslims involved in sectarian controversies.

To reform the degradated Muslims of Bengal some reformist movements were started by a number of Muslim thinkers and reformers. The Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement, the Farā'idī movement, the reformist movement of Titū Mīr and some other local movements sprang up during this period. Although the objective of those movements was the same i.e., Islamic revivalism, their organizational structure and programmes of action and process were different. Sometimes they differed in some of their doctrinal points.

Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī met Sayyid Aḥmad in 1234 A.H./1819 A.D and became his disciple and received spiritual training from him in the mosque of Rai Bareli.[5] He met his murshid for the

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4. James Wise, Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal, (London, 1883), p.7.
5. Ghulām Rasūl Mehr, Jamā'at-i-Mujāhidīn, II (Lahore, 1955), p. 293.

second time in 1236 A.H./1821 A.D. when the latter was on the way to Mecca and accompanied him upto Calcutta. After the departure of the Sayyid for Mecca, he returned to Jaunpur and again came to Bengal in 1237 A.H./1822 A.D. He was urged by his murshid to preach the Islamic ideology among the general masses.[6] In 1238 A.H./1823 A.D. he met Sayyid Aḥmad for the third time at Banaras and accompanied him upto Mirzapur when the latter was returning from Mecca to Rai Bareli via Calcutta. Sayyid Ahmad gave him a khilāfat nāma on Sha'ban 2,1239 A.H./April 3, 1824 A.D.

Sayyid Aḥmad sent his khalīfas to different parts of India to preach Islam and supply volunteers and money for his jihād expedition. He thus sent some prominent khalīfas including Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī to Bengal to reform the prejudiced and corrupt Muslims and inspire them to join the jihad expedition against the Sikhs of the Punjab. Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī did his best in preaching Islam among the general Muslims. He succeeded in collecting money and mujāhids for the jihād expedition in the face of strong opposition. He simultaneously carried on his reformist activities.

Though he faced very strong opposition from different quarters, he remained a staunch supporter of Sayyid Aḥmad. Everywhere he defended his murshid and his mission Ṭarīqa-i-Muḥammadiya. In his debates with the opponents of the Sayyid, he defended the sayings and doings of his murshid and strongly

argued in favour of his opinions and activities. He called him a mujaddid of the thirteenth century A.H. and advised the people to follow him until another mujaddid appeared for the fourteenth century.

But at the same time it is told that after the Balakot disaster in 1831, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali changed his opinion and deviated from the path of his murshid. We also find contradictory views about Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī and his activities in the later part of his life. It is also told that he cut off all connections with the Jihad movement and after the Balakot disaster he gave up the idea of militant antagonism and hostility towards the British ruling forces and found ways of progress in modernism and loyalism.

Some writers say that he went to Mecca with his murshid to perform haji and after returning from Mecca he dedicated his life for the cause of the movement started by Sayyid Ahmad.[6] Some writers are of opinion that he was a disciple of Shah 'Abd al-'Azīz and studied religious subjects under him.[7] We also see divergent opinions about Sayyid Ahmad and his Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. Some say it was a mystic order ; According to some others, it included social and political affairs also. Some say that he was a Wahhabi . Others maintain that he was a Shi'a 'ālim and 'was in close contract with the Company's administration and received gifts from its Directors'. It is reported that

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6. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p. 27.

7. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, ed. by M.Th.Houtsma, (Leyden, 1927), p.752.

when Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī came to Bengal, he came in conflict with the Farā'idīs and Ahl al-Hadīth people; whereas we find some similarities with the doctrines of the Farā'idī movement in the matter of taqlīd and with Ahl al-Hadīth in the matter of jumu'a and 'Īd prayers.

So we tried to find out the exact role of the Mawlānā, his contention and compromise with other reformers, particularly the Farā'idīs and Ahl al-Hadīth, in different problems that arose in those days and his stand in the troubled period of Indian Islam. We, therefore, tried to study the life and works of the scholar-missionary who had himself left behind numerous works in Arabic, Urdu and Persian on various aspects of the Muslim society and to relate them to the society and time in which he lived.

Beginning with an account of the contemporary Muslims of this part of India, the present thesis contains chapters on Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī's attitude to various religious, social and political questions of the day and how these in their turn influenced the later development of the country.

In writing the thesis we consulted mainly the following sources :

1) Published and unpublished works of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī himself ;

2) Contemporary writings of the other writers throwing light on the works and activities of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī and the then Muslim society;

3) Modern works of the above nature ;

4) Discussion with the old, aged persons who had relation with the descendants of the Mawlānā.

Our first source of information regarding Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī and his works is the writings of the Mawlānā himself which are rare and difficult to find in the present day. We have collected thirty one printed books and treatises from different parts of Bangladesh. In his books most of which he wrote during his preaching and propaganda tour in Bengal we find his views on different problems and his services to the Muslim society. We also find his views regarding the doctrines of the Farā'idīs, the Ahl al-Hadīth and the proceedings and propaganda about ~~of~~ his debates with the leaders of those sects. He described every problem he faced during his tour in Bengal. Of course sometime he exerted his own influence in writing the history and happenings. However, we have gone through the books available to us and have analysed them in the light of other sources.

Our second source of information is the contemporary writings throwing light on the life and works of the Mawlānā and the then Muslim society of the Indian subcontinent. This source of information can be classified under the following categories:

A. Arabic, Urdu and Persian sources,

B. Bengali sources,

C. English sources.

In category A we consulted mainly the following books:

(I) 'Abd al-Hayy, Nuzhat al-Khawātir, Vol. VII,

(II) Nūr al-Dīn Zaidī, Tajallī-i-Nūr, Vol. II ,

(III) Nizam Jaunpury, Tadhkira-i-Mashāhir-i-Jaunpur.

In category B we consulted mainly the following books :

'Abd al-'Azīz (I) Darwīsh nāma,

(II) Radd al-Mafsidīn,

(III) Ganj-i-ma'rifat.

In these books Munshī 'Abd al-'Azīz described vividly and sometime with exaggeration, deplorable condition of the then Muslim society of Bengal and the reformist activities of his murshid Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī of Jaunpur. Munshī 'Abd al-'Azīz was a favourite disciple and khalīfa of the Mawlana. He accompanied Mawlana Karamat'Ali and followed him like a shadow for most of the time of his tour in Bengal. He was to the Mawlana what a rhapsodist was to a poet in the mediaeval period. In addition to giving a minute description of his murshid, the Munshi has faithfully recorded the malfūzāt of all description. These have been written in Bengali punthi (a kind of Bengali poem) form, of course with much exaggerations and it was quite natural, particularly in those days.

In category C we consulted mainly the following books :

(I) James Wise, Notes on the Races Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal ;

(II) W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans ;

(III) H. Beveridge, The District of Bakarganj ;

(IV) James Taylor, A Sketch of Topography and Statistics of Dacca ;

V) Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, Observation of the Mussulmauns of India, ed. by William Crooke. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali an English lady stayed in India for a few years and tried to examine the customs and behaviours of the then Muslim society in India. She wrote her observation during her stay in this region.

Our third source of information is the modern writings throwing light on the life and works of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī. This source of information also can be classified under the following categories :

A Urdu sources,

B Bāngali sources,

C English sources.

In category A we consulted mainly the following books :

(I) 'Abd al-Bāṭin, Sīrat-i-Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī Jaunpūrī;

(II) Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Jamā'at-i- Mujāhidīn ;

(III) Maḥfūẓ al-Ḥaqq, Subḥ Ṣādiq ;

(IV) Muhammad Siddiq, Tadhkira-i-'Ulamā'-i-Hanafiya;

(V) Shaykh Muhammad Ikrām, Mawj-i-Kawthar;

(VI) Tufayl Ahmad, Muslmānūn kā Rawshan Mustaqbil.

In category B we consulted mainly the following books:

(I) Muhammad Akram Khān, Muslim Banger Samajik Itihas,

(II) Nripendra Bhattacharya, Banglar Arthanaitik Itihas;

(III) Upendranath Bhattacharya, Banglar Baul O Baul Gan;

(IV) Shamsul Haq, Purba Pakistane Islam .

In category C we consulted mainly the following books :

(I) D.C.Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature;

(II) Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II;

(III) R.C.Majumdar, Glimses of Bengal in the nineteenth Century ;

(IV) A.R.Mallick, British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal;

(V) M.A.Khan, History of the Farā'idī movement ;

(VI) M.A.Bari, A comparative study of the early Wahhabi doctrines and contemporary reform movements in Indian Islam (an unpublished D.Phil thesis submitted to the Oxford University in 1953).

CHAPTER I

THE MUSLIMS OF THE EASTERN INDIAN SUBCONTINENT IN THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

The decline of the Muslims of Bengal began in the battle field of Plassey. The result of the defeat sustained there by Sirajuddawla, the last independent ruler of Bengal, was that the Muslims lost the political power they had held for centuries. With the loss of political power their condition was weakened and worsened-socially, economically and spiritually. For the Hindus, however, the consequences were not very great. For them it was merely the substitution of one set of masters for another. After the British occupation they, therefore, moulded themselves on the policies adopted by the British rulers.[1] But the Muslims on the other became very much shocked. The Muslims, an ancient conquering race, could not 'easily divest itself of the traditions of its nobler days'. They could not tolerate the Company's rule and the English culture.[2] As the British progressed rapidly from the

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1. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans (Calcutta,1945),p.169. Hunter observed, "Under Muhammadan Rule the Hindus accepted their fate exactly as they have done under our own. At present preference depends upon a knowledge of English,and they learn English. Formerly, preference depended upon a knowledge of Persian, and they learnt Persian".

2. Ibid., p. 170.

position of de facto to de jure rulers, under the grant of Dewani by Shāh ʿĀlam and later by deposition of Nawāb of Bengal and the establishment of a Presidency in 1765 the Muslims became more and more frustrated. Their frustration was accentuated with the gradual supplanting of institutions, offices, privileges and traditions which had made up their whole way of life, by an alien race.

By the early nineteenth century it was found that a number of vices and corrupt practices had entered into the Indian Muslims, particularly in its Eastern Indian section. The un-Islamic practices were deep rooted in the Muslim society and they took delight in leading unrestrained life. Because most of the Muslims were converts who could not give up their old practices and their love for local cults and deities as they had not been put in the practical knowledge of Islam.[3] Thus the convert Muslims for a long period after conversion observed nabanna and dashara festivals.[4] In Asam a large number of Muslims were reported to have given up

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3. J.C.Jack, Bengal District Gazetteer, Bakarganj (Calcutta, 1918), p.32; cf. H.M.Elliot and J.Dawson, The History of India as told by its own Historians, Vol.VI (London, 1875), p. 376.

4. J.C.Jack, op. cit.,p. 33.

Islamic practices in favour of Hindu customs.[5] Circumcision was the sign of those Muslims.[6] The high ranking Muslims here in general do not make offerings to the pagan god 'but the multitude in all distress have recourse to the idols and even make offerings at many holidays'.[7] They worship the goddess of small pox under the name of Shitala devī and it seems to have been one of the outragious practices that persisted in the nineteenth century.[8]

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5. Montgomary Martin, The History,Topography and Statistics of Eastern India (London, 1838), p.517.

6. Banu Molla, Banu Mollar Shāyerī (1259 B.S./1852 A.D.), p.10 ; Brahanulla (Burhān Allah),"Aḥkām al-Islam"(a manuscript of 19th century), fol.14. Banu Molla says:

   না জানে সে আল্লার নাম , না জানে সে নবী।
   হাজামেরে পয়সা দিয়ে মুসলমানী দাবী ।।

   Neither he knows the name of Allah nor the Prophet. Paying money to the circumciser he claims to be a Muslim.

   Brahanulla says :

   এহেনাম কোফর বিচ্ছ না জানে বরক ।।
   খাতনা সেওকে কেবল জানে বরহক ।।

   He does not know the difference between Islam and infidility. He knows that only circumcision is necessary.

7. Montgomary Martin, op.cit., p. 141.

8. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal(hereafter referred to as J.A.S.B.),1832, Vol.I,p.494; Census of India report, 1911,Vol.I,Pt.I,p.118;D.C.Sen,History of Bengali Language and Literature (Calcutta, 1911), p.793.

Some of the Muslim women made offerings to the manasha with the same enthusiasm and attachment as they did before conversion. They made prostration and offered milk and banana before the deities.[9] The woman-folk also worshipped Shiva[10] wishing children from him as the Hindu women did. In 'Yamini Vahal' the Muslim heroine of Karim Allah (1780 A.D.) is represented as praying to the god Shiva.[11] He also composed hymn in his Imam Yatrar punthi and eulogised Sareswati, the goddess of learning.[12] Instead of reciting the name of Allah the Musalmans used to remember the name of Sareswati at the time of hate khari (first lesson to a child). "The poet might have adopted this device", opined M.A.Bari, for creating the

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9. Abdul Bari, "The Reform Movement in Bengal" History of Freedom Movement, edited by Mahmud Husain et.al., Vol.I,(Karachi,1957),p.542; 'Abd al-'Azīz,Darwish nāma (Calcutta,1278 B.S.),p.43; cf.D.C.Sen,op.cit.,p.796.

10. Abdul Bari,"The Reform Movement in Bengal",op.cit.,p.542; 'Abd al-'Azīz,Darwish nāma, p.57; also see infra.

11. D.C.Sen, op.cit., pp. 798-801.

12. Ibid. Karim Allah says :

" মাতা মা সরস্বতি ও তুমি আমার মা ।
মা অনাথ বালক ডাকি তুমে তুমে মা ।।"

" Hail, O Sareswati, thou art my mother,
Thy helpless child invoke thee; wilt thou not hear."

proper mythological background for their poems, or they had to keep in view the taste of Hindu patrons".[13]

The doctrine of caste gained considerable ground in the Muslim society. The discriminative prejudice which might have been brought from neighbouring mana-sudras in the district of Barisal and Faridpur, who were subject to the curse of Hindu caste system and were oppressed by the caste Hindus, divided and subdivided the Muslims into many classes. The Sayyids and others who claimed Arab origin, considered themselves to be the lords of the Muslim community and were very tenacious in retaining the purity of their race unsullied, particularly with respect to their daughters,[14] formed a distinguished class known as ashraf. The social classification brought about some distinction in the trade and occupation too and this professional classification again brought about social classification.

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13. Abdul Bari, op.cit., pp. 542-543.

14. According to the observation of Mrs.Meer Hasan Ali the grown up daughters 'remarkable for their industrial habits, morality and strict observance of their religious duties', handsome, well-formed, polite and sensible women i.e., fit to discharge all the duties and responsibilities vested in them, were kept unmarried and the proposal for those ladies coming from the heads of many wealthy families were promptly rejected on the ground of their high birth. See Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, Observations on the Mussulmauns of India , edited by W.Crooke (London,1917), p.5.

This ashraf class of people considered some kinds of trade beneath their dignity. Even the Muslim cultivators, considering the profession of the weavers, butchers and washermen as low and mean, did not interdine or intermarry with them and with others of the similar professions.[15] This system continues more or less with the same spirit till today. "A tribe of fishermen" Martin observed, "which has been converted to the faith still retains infull force the doctrine of caste, and as members, neither eat, drink, nor entermarry with other Muslims; they were called keyots. In some places I heard also of fishermen called Dengtigas, who were in exactly a similar state ; but I suppose this to be merely a different name for the same tribe."[16]

Most of the Muslim women did not observe the Islamic rules of maintaing satr and pardah when they meet and mix with the outsiders.[17] They would freely sell and purchase

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15. Montgomary Martin, op.cit.,Vol.II, pp.111-113.

16. Ibid. p. 517.

17. Karamat Ali, Tazkiyat al-Niswān (Calcutta,Rabi'II,1282/1865), p.2; Mukāshifāt-i-Rahmat in Dhakhīra-i-Karāmat, Vol.I(Cawnpore,1344 A.H.),p.7; 'Abdul-'Azīz,Darwish nāma, op.cit.,p.125 'Abd al-'Aziz says :

"আল্লার হুকুম পর্দা নাহি করে তারা।।
পরার দেখায় চলে যবে মত যারা "

Allah orders to observe satr and parda but they(Muslim women) do not observe it. They violate the tenets of the Shari'a and do according to their wishes.

goods and burgain with common men without any hesitation. They would mix and chat with ghayr muhrim very closely.[18] On many festive occasions like marriage ceremony the Muslim women sang chorus songs in lound voice and play with male invitees with clay and water in the open court-yard even in the open tank.[19] In some families the conjugal life bore bitter experience.[20] To make a happy and pleasant

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18. Brahanulla, op.cit.,fols. 12-13.
The poet says :

হাটের মানুষ কানা বুড়ি বিবি জাও হাটে ::
ঘরে বসি পাকে মরদ বসিয়া ছে পাটে ::
চাকে ছোকে হাটে জাও কবির ছে মানা :
মাথে চাকা দিয়া তার দুরমত বাচে না :
হাটেতে জাও যানি মেশিটোরে নাম :
বেহায়া মতরত হেরি তার এহি কাম :
এছেনাপি কাম নহে লোকেরে কাম :
হাটে বাটে পথে ঘেরে করিয়া বদনাম ::
কনবী বুঁবি, পৃঃ ১২-১৩।

19. The behaviour of those Muslim men and women can be compared with that of the present University and College students who on the last day of their class session observe Rag Day in which the male and female students play together in the open field just as the Hindus make merriment on their holi festival.

20. Montgomary Martin, op.cit.,p.517; 'Abd al-'Aziz,Darwīsh nāma, p.124. 'Abd al-'Aziz says :

"এই প্রকার সেই ঘর করিয়া উজার।
ভাঙ্গিয়া পুত্রির হাটে করে ছারখার"।
In this way desolating the house (she) disintegrates the friendly relations fully.

conjugal life, Islam recognised the right of both men and women. But in the middle and lower class families,particularly in the villages, the rights of the wives were neglected. The main cause for this was illiteracy of women who were kept away from the light of even the minimum standard of Islamic education [21] which was essential for them for the betterment of the family as well as the society.[22]

On festive occasions like marriage, the polytheistic customs and foolish practices were invariably followed particularly in the districts of Barisal and Faridpur. In the marriage ceremonies the Muslim women attached the greatest importance to some customs of purely Hindu origin.[23] Marriage was costly as it required three days for sarchuk,mahndi and barat and it was done on the influence of the neighbouring Hindu customs.[24] The date of the ceremony being considered important as well as solemn,used to be fixed up after due consultation with the brahmans.[25] A Muslim mother-in-law

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21. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Darwish nāma, p.125.

22. S.K.Bakhsh, Essays Indian and Islamic (London,1912),p.217.

23. D.C.Sen, op.cit., p.794.

24. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, op.cit.,letter No.XIV,p.197 ; cf. D.C. Sen, op.cit., p.794.

25. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Darwīsh nāma, p. 55.

used to receive her daughter-in-law with dhan durba when the latter came to her husband's house for the first time. On the following day, the bridegroom and the bride forming in two separate groups used to play with a silver coin. One group used to conceal it in a small tank especially constructed in the open courtyard for the purpose and the other used to search it out. In this strange play almost all the guests and hosts of both sexes would participate without least hesitation. After the play was over they threw water-mixed clay at each other. Some times they became almost naked during rejoicing. This system is still prevalent in the villages of Barisal and Faridpur. On the other hand widow remarriage was looked down upon and the practice was totally abandoned especially in the families of so-called ashrafs, and even some 'ladies whose affianced husbands died before the marriage was concluded, did not remarry and preferred to remain alone throughout the life.[26] Some ignorant persons out of their sheer ignorance and superstition compared the activities and dealings of the Hindu saints with those

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26. Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, op.cit., letter No.II, p. 26 ; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (Lahore,1952), p.143 ; M.A.Bari, A Comparative Study of the early Wahhabi doctrines and contemporary reform movements in Indian Islam (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1953), fol. 123.

of the Prophet and were very much adament in preferring the bachelor life to that of the married one.[27]

Being Muslims, they enthusiastically participated in the Hindu festivals like dashhara, holi, dewali, etc. "They not only observe the dusserah puja", reported bevaridge, but the nabanna".[28] Those who claimed to be the high ranking Muslims, held holi festival to rejoice with the brother-in-law. In dewali festivals they sent sweetmeats to the house of the fathers-in-law and it was considered to be an obligatory task to participate in gambling on the occasion of those festivals. Many innovations had been introduced in Islam and the ignorant Muslims considered them to be the very essence of their religion. "In no other country" James Wise observed,[29] "have the Muhammadan embodied so many infidel rites and customs with their own creed as in

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27. Karāmat Ali, Mukāshifāt-i-Rahmat, op.cit.,p.5; Montgomary Martin, op.cit.,pp.141,144; Journal Asiatique,1831,pp.88-90; J.A.S.B,Vol.LXIII,Pt.III No.I,pp.35-36; K.K.Datta, Studies in the History of Bengal Subah (Calcutta,1936),Vol. I (Social and Economic),p.94.

28. J.C.Jack, op.cit.,p.32; H.Beveridge, The District of Bakarganj, its History and Statistics (London, 1876), p.254.

29. James Wise, Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal(hereafter referred to as Eastern Bengal)(London,1883), p. 7.

India" and Garcin de Tassy in his interesting memoirs refers this to the great simplicity of Islam for a country where an idolatrous and allegorical religion, appealing to the senses and imagination more than to the mind and heart, was prevalent." Forgetting the sunna of the Prophet to observe the rite of 'aqīqa on the birth of a baby, the Muslims used to observe the rite of puttee, chuttee and chilla which were performed between the first and fortieth day after the birth of a child.[30] After a baby was born, the Muslim women used to sing the songs in which allusions to Sri Krishna were frequent.[31] The new born babies used to be named after the Hindu names[32] or anything, though meaningless and unworthy to be a name of a human being, directed by the Hindus being asked by the Muslims.[33] They intentionally avoided good names for their children because of their belief and apprehension that it might cause death or irreparable loss to the children.[34]

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30. James Taylor, A Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca (hereafter referred to as Topography) (Calcutta, 1840), p.262.

31. D.C.Sen, op.cit., p.794.

32. A Muslim woman was named Mussamat (Musammat) Durga Beiwa (See N.K.Sinha, The Economic History of Bengal, Vol.I (Calcutta, 1961), p.209.

33. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, op.cit., p.9; cf. D.C.Sen, op.cit., p.793.

34. D.C.Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature (Calcutta, 1954), p.12.

Lack of Islamic education was another cause for these un-Islamic practices. Islamic education, in the true sense of the term, was absent among the Muslims. There was a general dearth of religious books in Bengali and a strong prejudice prevailed mong them against the translation of holy Qur'an into Bengali.[35] On the other hand, the gādis though not satisfactorily educated as F.Buchanan observed,[36] were considered as religious guides who exercised an 'effective check on the extravagant and superstitious beliefs and practices of the masses.[37] After the passing of the diwani into the hands of the East India Company in 1765,[38] the gādis receded in the background and as such lost their powers as religious instructors to guide the mass aright. Thus whatever might be the causes, it is historically tenable that the Muslims were influenced by the culture of their neighbours. Consequently the rites and customs of the latter were considered by the Muslims as their own, particularly in Bengal. They declared the oneness of Allah by pronouncing Lā Ilāha Illa Allah but did not prove themselves true to the spirit of the

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35. Abdul Bari,"The Reform Movement in Bengal",op.cit.,p.534; Mrs. Meer Hasan Ali, op.cit., p.5.

36. Montgomary Martin, op.cit.,p.134.

37. Ibid.

38. Nripendra Bhattracharya, Banglar Arthanaitic itihasha (Calcutta, Baishakh, 1361 B.S.), p.85.

Kalima in their practical life. In practice they forgot it and adored and worshipped His creatures. The belief that divine wrath falls on those who ill-treat a saint was strong in the minds of the learned also. Barni writes that divine displeasure followed the killing of Darwish Sidi Mawla by Sultan Ala al-Din.[39]

The Muslims had their own saints to worship.[40] During the period under review, the belief in the efficacy of prayers to the saints had become almost universal among the Muslims. The lower class of Musalmans worshipped almost daily a tutelary deity of the river under the name of Baddar or Badr.[41] "His favour is propitiated" observed James Taylor,

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39. H.M.Elliot and J.Dowson, op.cit.,Vol.III(Dia-al-Din Barni), pp. 144-146.

40. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, op.cit.,p.10.

41. The boatmen of Bakarganj often chant the following Bengali verses :

আমরা আছি বোলাখান'
আল্লার হৈল মেহেরবান
গঙ্গার পারেরে পাঁচপীর,
বদর বদর।

We are like children,
Allah is our protector,
There are Panch Pir(whose help is propitiated) at the river side of Ganges under the name of Baddar Baddar.
— H.Beveridge, op.cit.,p.254.

"by the sacrifice of a fowl at the river side and by the offerings of the fruits and flowers which are put into earthen vessel or scooped out pumkins and launched forth upon the water."[42] The living pīr was applied to the aid of their prayers and amulets were sought from him as a safeguard against dangers.[43] Tigers and leopard were considered by both Hindus and Muslims to be special property of such saints, and in the Sundarbans, the Muslim devotees presented them with food and cowries to secure their good-will.[44] In his account of Chilmary, Martin says,"I mentioned a place where persons of both religions bathe in common".[45]

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42. James Taylor, op.cit., p.246.
43. Journal Asiatique, Vol.VI, 1831, p.355.
44. Hamilton,East India Gazetteer,II,p.608,quoted by A.R. Mallick in British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal(Dacca, 1961),p.11; Syed Murtaza 'Ali, Saints of Bangladesh(Dacca, 1971),pp.2-6. Among the numerous tombs of the saints,the following bore importance on account of their large number of Hindu Muslim devotees.They were 'Abd al-Qādir, Sultān Sarwār, Shams al-Dīn Danial of Lahore, Qutub al-Dīn,Shaykh Nizam al-Dīn Awliyā', Mu'in al-Dīn Chisti, etc. Only the Eastern Bengal had the following saints - Panch Pīr,Shāh Jalāl Mujarrad, Shāh Makhdūm of Rajshahi, Shāh Dawla of Bagha, Khān Jahān 'Alī of Bagerhat, Nūr Qutb 'Alam of Pandua, Shah 'Alī Baghdadī of Mirpur, Pīr Badar Awliyā' of Chittagong, Shāh Sultān Mahisawār of Mahasthan, Shāh Jalāl Dakhinnī of Dacca, Adam Shahid of Vikrampur,Muhammad Shah Darwish, Khwaja Muhammad Yūsuf, see James Wise, Eastern Bengal,p.10; J.A.S.B.,Vol.I,1832, p.489; Vol.LXIII,No.I, 1894, p.37 ; A.R.Mallick, op.cit., p.12.
45. Montgomary Martin, op.cit.,p.512.

Martin mentioned a particular place in Chilmary, but this practice was not confined to that particular place as he himself admitted that almost everywhere in Bengal the Muslims and the Hindus worshipped a common object, by the Muslims he was called Satya Pir (true saint) and the Hindus called him Satya Narayana (true lord). Both the Muslims and Hindus paid homage to him in the similar manner, but the hymns which were recited by the Muslims were different from those of the Hindus.[46]

Thus we see that the tombs of the holy personages, some of whom were not even Muslims, were visited by the numerous Muslim pilgrims. In honour of such personages they instituted semi pagan festivals and they adored them.[47] The saints were regarded with reverence and fear even by the Muslim rulers of India; and their assistance was often sought. Thus Firoj Shah before his expedition to Thatta sought the assistance of saints burried near Delhi, by making pilgrimage to their tombs.[48] Describing the worship of the corrupt Muslims Durri-Muhammadi punthi[49] relates -

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46. Montgomary Martin, op.cit., p.612.

47. A.R.Mallick, op.cit.,p.12.

48. H.M.Elliot and J.Dowson, op.cit.,Vol.III, p.321.

49. Durr-i-Muhammadi punthi (manuscript),fol.27.

* It was the custom of the mushriks (meant corrupt Muslims) to float the sheep[50] on water in the name of Khowaj(Khijir).

The corrupt Muslims used to build the shrines of Ghazi and Kalu and worshipped them.

They used to worship the shrines of Bibi Fatima with utmost veneration and hold twelve puja in twelve[51] months individually.

The corrupt Muslims used to dance, beat drum and observe rasmi fatiha ; and they adopted many other bid'at.

They used to witness dashhara, rath yatra and charak puja[52] and make offerings in the name of pirs separately.

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* " মোছলমানের কাজ ছিল কালে কালে ।।
মোয়াজের ভেড়া ভাসাইত জলে *
গাজী কালুর দর্গা করিত তৈয়ার ।।
পুজিত তাহাকে যত মোছলেক গাজার *
বিবি ফাতিমার দর্গা পুজিত যতনে ।।
বার মাসে বার পুজা দিত জনে জনে *
নাচ বাদ্য রহস কহতেমা দগরেকের ।।
আর যত বেদাত আছিল তাহাদের *
দগহরা রথযাত্রা চড়ক দেখিত ।।
পীরের নামেতে পুজা জনে জনে দিত *

50. Cf. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.12 ; cf. James Taylor, op.cit., p.246.
51. The Hindus are said to have thirteen puja (idol worship) in twelve months of the year.
52. All these are different forms of Hindu worships to the idols observed on different occasions.

In fine the Muslims of Eastern India have entered into the worship of saints 'with more enthusiasm than into the religious exercises which are obligatory'.[53]

Pirism[54] was commonly practised. A section of people adopted acseticism and expressed their indifference to the worldly life. They influenced the general people and initiated them into mystic orders. These disciples showed their utmost reverence to the pīrs who were considered to be sacred and selfless devotees to the service of Dīn. So they offered them hadiya (presentation) in cash and kind. The pīrs gave them religious lessons and taught them the Sharī'a and tarīqa.[55] There were two types of mystic pīrs in the Eastern India, as James Wise observed[56] - (I) ba-shara'(those who led their lives according to the tenets of Islamic Sharī'a) and (II) bi-shara'(those who did not care for the tenets of Islamic Sharī'a). The former type of Sufis were also known as salik and the latter as majdhub. The majdhubs, according to James Wise, would used to 'follow their own appetites and

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53. Titus Murray, Indian Islam (Oxford, 1930),p.31.

54. Pīr is a persian word. It literally means old. But in the Indo-Pak-Bangladesh subcontinent it denotes a mystic guide. (See Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,Vol.X

55. Abdul Karim,Social History of the Muslims in Bengal(Dacca, 1959),p.209.

56. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, op.cit.,p.53.

passions, eating and drinking whatever they fancy, and leading disreputable and scandalous lives'. On the other hand, the *saliks* were usually married men of settled habit.

Finding the success of the real *pīrs* and considering it a lucrative and profitable business a large number of *bi-shara'* and *bid'atī* people pretended to be *pīrs* and deceived the people under the garb of sufism.[57] By their pretention they attracted illiterate and backward people of rural Bengal who happened to be very sincere in thought and deceived them in various ways. By their pretence they charmed the people who sometimes ascribed to them super human powers. They told them that they had power to cure the diseases, to kill a man, to give life to a dead body, to make a poor rich and to attend several places at a time.[58] They practised asceticism on Hindu lines. Their way of life was peculiar. By the nineteenth century, there were 'some four major orders of *faqirs* of this category - Arjunshahi, Jalali, Madari and Biniwaz'. They were again divided and subdivided *ad infinitum*.[59] 'Abd al-'Azīz in his punthi literature vividly describes the evil motives of these false *pirs*. One of them called Karamiya who, according to his report, considered himself to be very pious and his disciples

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57. Cf. J.Wise, *Eastern Bengal*, p.53.
58. 'Abdul Karim, *op.cit.*, p.134 f.
59. Montgomary Martin, *op.cit.*, Vol.II, pp.108-110; see also A.R.Mallick, *op.cit.*, p.22.

prostrated before him.[60] Another group known as Bātiniya, did not say prayers. They argued that they had been saying prayers all times in bātin (inwardly).[61] Another group of pīrs known as Ghaybiya claimed that they could foretell the

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60. 'Abd āl-'Azīz, Radd al-Mafsidīn (al-Mufsidīn) (Calcutta, 1283 B.S.), p.18 ; Darwish nāma, p.172. Radd al-Mafsidīn reads -

" করামিয়া লোক লোকজন জানে পাপমতে ।
তাহার মুরিদগণ তাকে সেজদা করে ।। "

Karāmiya knows himself to be very pious.
His disciples prostrate before him.

61. 'Abd āl-'Azīz, Radd al-Mafsidīn, p.18.

" বাতেনিয়া লোকেরা কহে সদা নামাজ পড়ি ।
পড়িতে কখন নাহি নামাজে ফরজরি ।। "

Bātiniya group says that they always offer prayers. Hence they have no time to offer prayer outwardly.

future.[62] He referred to Zain Allah Shāhī, Khudā Jān and Telia Faqīr. They deceived their *murīds* (disciples) by exacting money from them on the pretence of *jin tana* (to present jinni) practice. They advised the *murīds* to give up prayers and fasting and all the outward institutions of Islam on the ground that they had entered into the realm of *'ilm al-ma'rifa*. So they need not perform the outer rituals.[63] Another group of *bid'atī pīrs* who did not care for the Shari'a , and, if asked, told that they were *ma'rifati faqirs*, their merits were beyond the comprehension of the *'ulāma* as the *ma'rifa* was a thing

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62. *Ibid*. p. 23.

" গায়েবিয়া এক দেখেরা দেখিনি হয় ।
এয়েবাদায় গায়েব কথা কয়ে সে জাহের ।।
.....
কোন চিজ পাবে কেবা কৈয়া দিবে তাকে ।
কেঠাবা বেহেস্তে যাবে কে যাবে দোজখে ।।
কোন কেবরে আজাব হয় কোন কেবরে নাই ।
এয়েবাদায় গায়েব দাবি করেন এহাই ।। "

There appeared another group known as ghaybiya.
They disclose the unseen and secret matters through *istikhara*.
They claim that they can foretell a man what he will get, and who will go to Paradise and who will go to Hell.
They also claim that through *istikhara* they can know that in which grave the dead body gets punishment and in which grave there is no punishment.

63. 'Abd al-'Azīz, *Ganj-i-ma'rifa* (Azizia Press: Calcutta, Kartik 16, 1330 B.S.), p. 18.

exclusively came down from heart to heart[64] and was not written in the Kitāb[65] (Qur'an) and certainly Allah would see the heart of the people not the outer activities.[66] So the path of ma'rifa, according to them, was quite different from that of the Sharī'a and there was no relation between the two;[67] and a thing which was prohibited by the Sharī'a had been permitted by ma'rifa.[68]

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64. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Radd al-Mafsidīn, p. 7.

" কহিল এসব কথা মারফতি কথায়
মোমেনেরা কভু নাহি জানে এর ঘায় ।।
বিনা বিনায় কথা এই কেতাবেতে নাই ।
বাদশাহে পির ছাড়া কেহ জানে নাই ।।"

65. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Ganj-i-ma'rifat, p.25.

" মারেফতের ছুরা যারা, কোরানেতে নাহি তারা,
সব হরফ ছুরা কহিয়েন ।।"

66. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Radd al-Mafsidīn, p.19.

" মসিনের দেখে যারা বৈরাগে বসিয়া ।
দেখে চিন কি কারেতে যাবার পড়িয়া ।।"

67. Ibid.,p.7.

" শরিয়েত এক চিজ মারফত আর ।।
কার সাথে কোরকার নাহিক কাহার ।"

68. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Ganj-i-Ma'rifat, p.25.

" কে জানে তাহার ভেদ, এজেম পিরে ওস্তাদ,
শরিয়েত উল্টো মারফতের ।।
শরিয়েতে মানা যাহা, মারফতে দুরস্ত তাহা,
এই মত সবারে বাতায় ।।"

These sorts of pirs by far out numbered the real pirs who were hardly found. The followers of these fake pirs increased day by day. Particularly the converts, who were accustomed to the Hindu mythological tales, 'found in the pirs a resemblance of the tantric gurus and in the tombs and dargahs that of chaita and stupa'[69]; because the religious teachers who converted them could not isolate them fully from their age-old customs and traditions. On the other hand, the dearth of Islamic books written in vernacular languages gave them opportunity to be acquinted with the ideals of Islam. Similarly their inability to understand Arabic language and literature made them read old books of mythology.[70]

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69. Abdul Karim, op.cit., p. 209; cf. Abu Talib, "Lalon Shah Mat O Path" Sahittyiki (Rajshahi University, Sarat O Basant number, 1373 B.S.), p.100.

70. Sayyid Sultan, Ofate Rasul, ed. by Ali Ahmad (Dacca, 1356 B.S.), p.7.

Another group of bid'atī Ṣufis of Bengal referred to by different writers were the Baul faqirs.[71] Among those

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71. It is very difficult to ascertain who are exactly the Baul poets or Baul group of faqirs. In the general mass of Bengal the word baul denotes mad or vagabond life. In Bengali literature also the word baul is used in the same sense. See in the following lines of Krishna Das Kabiraj Goswami's Chaitannya Charitamrita edited by Harekrishna Mukharjee and Subod Chandra Majumdar(Calcutta, Kartik,1361 B.S.),antya lila, chapter 19, p.579.

" তোমার সেবা ছাড়ি আমি করিনু সন্ন্যাস।
বাউল (বাতুল) হইয়া আমি কৈনু ধর্ম্মনাশ।।
এ অপরাধ তুমি না লইবে আমার।
তোমার অধীন আমি তনয় তোমার।।"

" O mother, leaving your service I took the vow of sannyasin, I turned mad and commited a great sin, pray forgive me, for I am your child and am always bound to obey you."

See another example in Ragatmika pada edited by Manindra Mohan Basu (Calcutta University), pada 5, p.61.

" শুন মাতা ধর্ম্মমতি বাতুল হইনু অতি
কেমনে সুবুদ্ধি হবে প্রাণী ?"

" Hear me O my pious mother, I became mad to a great extent. How can a beast-like mad man attain good motives ?"

So the word baul may be compared with the Ṣufi word diwāna which also means mad. As a mad man is free from all responsibilities, the Baul faqirs consider themselves to be mad and thus they are free from all responsibilities in the society they live in. See Kshitimohan Sen Shastri, Banglar Baul (Calcutta University,1954),p.3; D.C.Sen, History of Bengali Language and Literature,(University of Calcutta,

faqirs Dagu Shidda,[72] Gobinda Shidda and Sudharam were Hindus[73] and Haridas Ṣādiq 'Alī Shāh claimed to be both a

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1954),p.417 ; see also Shashibhusan Dasgupta, Obscure Religious Cults (Calcutta,1962),p.161. The Baul faqirs say - "You should think that we have died socially", Kshitimohan Sen Shastri, op.cit.,p.3. They 'represent more a spirit of unconventional approach to divinity through unassumed love and piety than any precious religious cults', Shashibhusan Dasgupta,op.cit., p.160. In their dress they do not keep any distinction between the Hindus and the Muslims, Kshitimohan Sen Shastrei, op.cit., p.3.

72. The main point of Shidda cult is to escape death by practising kaya sadhana (the culture of body) and to attain immortal spiritual life.

73. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Darwish nāmā,p.176 ; Radd al-Mafsidin, op.cit., p.21.

" বাবু শিষ্য পবিন্ন শিষ্য হিন্দু জাত বাজেব ।
তাহাবি বাবাম রুদ্র এহা বাবাকুব '
মুরিদের অন্তরে বিহা হেন বনাইত ।।
এহাকি জাহুলা বরব মুরিদ হইত ' "

Dagu Shidda and Gobinda Shidda are Hindu bauls but they are so notorious as they took make fire and extinguish it by dancing and singing songs which induce sexual excitement. They used to take the service of the wives of their disciples in anointing oil in their bodies ; such service men would become murīds.

Hindu and a Muslim. That is why his name was the mixure of both Hindu and Muslim names.[74] From the Baul songs hitherto available to us, we shall have to determine their nature and their position in the society. Most of them belonged to the lower class of the Muslim and the Hindu communities of Bengal.[75] Those belonging to the Hindu

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74. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Darwīsh nāmā, p.171 ; Radd al-Mafsidīn, p.21.

" বাউল লোউর হরিদাস ছদক আলিয়া ।
কি কব, তাহার কাম আজব তামাসা ।।
ফজর হৈতে জহর ওক হৈত হরিদাস ।
বিন্দুছাদ মনুর নহৈত তার নাম ।।
জহরের বক্তে হৈত সাদক আলিয়া ।
কে কোথা দেখেছে এহা গড়তানি তামাসা ।।
মসলমান মুরিদ হৈত তার ঠাঁই ।
মহলমানের পিঁর ছিল হিন্দুর গোঁসাই ।। "

" Another group of bid'atī pīrs is the group of Haridas Sādiq 'Alī Shāh. What could I say about his strange jest. From morning upto zuhar prayer he remains Haridas and the Hindu people would come to take lesson from him. From the time of zuhar he would become Sadiq 'Alī Shah. Did anybody see such ill-motived jest anywhere ? The Musalmans would become murīds (spiritual disciples) to him. Thus a Gosai (Hindu spiritual person) of the Hindus would be regarded as a pir of the Muslims.

75. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, op.cit., p.160.

community were generally Vaisnavites in their faith inclining to sexo-yogic practices.[76] And those belonging to the Muslim community were generally Sufistic[77] as Shirāj Shāh, Lalon Shāh, Duddu Shāh and Panju Shāh. So

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76. Hawre Gosai says -

প্রেম পারবি যেতে
প্রেমের পথে
ক'রে বখাম চুরি ।

রসবৃন্দাবন,
সেথায় হচ্ছে ভজন,
নবে নীর বেহে ধন
নিত্তি ধরি ।।

দেশেতে হয় সেয়ে রাজা,
রসিক যারা তারই প্রজা,
লোভী কামী চোরের হয় সাজা।

বিবাগ আর বিভব নীরা,
আনন্দ যদনো সেনা,
ঐ পর্যন্ত যাচ্ছে তার সেবা ,

— Collected by Upendranath Bhattacharya in his Banglar Baul O Baul gan (Calcutta, 1378 B.S.),p.955.

77. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, op.cit., p. 160.

the Vaisnavites and Bauls were not same and identical.[78] The Muslim Bauls claimed that they were the followers of wahdat al-wujūd order of Sufism.[79] But their asceticism and philosophy of life were different from those of the real Muslim Sufis. Even they did not care for being

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78. Duddu Shah says :

" বাউল বৈষ্ণব ধর্ম এক নহে তো ভাই
বাউল ধর্মের সাথে বৈষ্ণবের যোগ নাই ।।

বিশেষ মনুষ্যরূপ বৈষ্ণব,
পঞ্চতত্ত্বে করে জপতপ ,
দুরূপী যারা অনুষ্ঠান সদাই ।

বাউল মানুষে তত্ত্ব
যেখানে নিত্য বিরাজ,
কস্তুরী মৃগেতে যেমন,
নাভী মধ্যে তাই ।।

দরবেশী বাউলের ক্রিয়া
বীরচন্দ্র জানে সেই ধারা
দরবেশ মাধব গোঁসাইর কথায় দুদ্দু জানায় তাই ।।"

Collected by Upendranath Bhattacharya in Banglar Baul O Baul gan, op. cit., pp. 811-812.

79. See infra.

Muslims or non-Muslims.[80] They were fantastic Baul faqirs inclining to four moons.[81] They were divided into

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80. A.H.M.Imamuddin, Baol Matabad O Islam, (Kushtia, 1969), pp. 1,17. Lalon says -

"সব লোকে কয় লালন কি জাত সংসারে ।
লালন কয়, লেতের কি রূপ, দেখলাম না এ নজরে ।।
সুন্নত দিলে হয় মুসলমান,
নারী লোকের কি হয় বিধান?
লালন ভিন্নি ঠেকায় প্রমাণ,
বামনী ভিন্নি কি বলে ।।

জগত বেড়ে লেতের কথা -
লোকে গৌরব করে যথাতথা ।
লালন সে লেতের কথা
বিচিত্রেরে সাত বাজারে ।।

Collected by A.H.M.Imaduddin, op.cit., pp.49-50.
He also says :

"জাত না গেলে পাইনি হরি
কি ছার জাতের গৌরব করি,
ডুঙ্কনে বলিয়ে ।
লালন কয় - জাত হলে গেলে পুড়াতাম
আগুন দিয়ে ।।

Collected by A.H.M.Imamuddin in his Baol Matabad of Islam, op.cit., pp. 49-50.

81. To them the celebration of chari chandra (four moons i.e., stool, urine, semen and ovum) is a secret cult which they practised and instead of casting away they took them again in their bodies to make the physique strong and stout. (Muhammad Akram Khan, Muslim Banger Samajik Itihas, (Dacca, 1966)., p.117. In support of the above opinion a Baul song is quoted below.

many sections - aul, baul, karta bhaja and shahajiya and they were the Muslim edition of the Hindu Vaisnavite.[82] In his book, Qanun-i-Islam, Ja'far Sharif mentioned this group of shahajiya faqirs 'who distinguished themselves by being dressed like women, wore female ornaments and accepted money from dancing girls. They loved to play on tanbura,

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Contd.
81. Duddu says -

" বাউল জীবন করে কয় ।
কেমন জীবন, বস্তু কি সে জন্ম কোথায় হয় ।।
যে বস্তু জীবনের কারন,
তাই বাউল করে সাধন ,
জীবন তত্ত্ব নিরূপণ, বাউলেরা কয় ।।
জীবনই তীর্থ ধর্ম্ম পথ -
এই কথা বাউলের মত ,
বস্তুবাদী বাউল সাধা কেহ কেহ হয় ।।
না করে অনুষ্ঠান ভজন,
করে না মূর্তির অন্বেষণ,
জীবনই সত্য নিরূপণ, দীন দুদ্দু জানায় ।।

Collected by Upendranath Bhatracharya, op.cit., p.808.

82. Muhammad Akram Khan, op.cit., p.117. According to Muhammad Akram Khan, this sect of bauls thinks that metaphysical and spiritual awakening is not possible without drinking. A man who takes wine and ganja and such intoxicating drinks can achieve ma'rifat-i-Ilāhī (mysteries of Allah) shortly. To keep the man indifferent from the mysteries of Allah, satan prevents them from wine and intoxicating drink. Induced by satan the Muslim jurists and 'ulamā-al-Sharī'a made the drink prohibited and declared it an act of sin.

sitar, surang, etc.[83] They sang and danced before their murshid[84] He also observed that 'the use of ganja, bhang, wine and other intoxicating liquors, strictly prohibited by Islam, was common among a large number of those faqirs'.[85] The common feature among them was the extreme unconventionalism i.e., mystic conception of divine love. They commonly believed in an 'unknown bird'[86] or maner manus (man of the heart)

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83. Ja'far Sharif, Qanun-i-Islam, translated into English by G.A. Herklots and edited by W.Crooke (London,1832),pp.292-293.

84. Ibid.

85. Ibid. p.296.

86. The most celebrated Muslim baul faqir Lalon Shah says-

" খাঁচার ভিতর অচিন পাখী কমনে আসে যায় ।
  ধরতে পারলে মন-বেড়ী দিতাম তাহার পায় ।।
  আট-কুঠরী নয় দরজা আঁটা,
  মধ্যে মধ্যে জানলা- কাটা
  তার উপর আছে সদর কোঠা-
  আয়না মহল তায় ।।
  মন, তুই করবি খাঁচার আশে,
  খাঁচা যে তোর তৈরী কাঁচা বাঁশে,
  কোন দিন খাঁচা পড়বে খসে,
  লালন কয় খাঁচা ধুলে
  সে পাখী কোন বনে পালায় ।। "

Collected by Upendranath Bhattacharya in Banglar Baul O Baul gan, op.cit., pp. 599-600.

and they always search for it in the human bodies.[87] The Muslim bauls though claimed to be Sufis, they were not guided

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87. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, op.cit., p.162.

Lalon says -

" আমি একদিনও না দেখিলাম তারে।
(আমার) বাড়ীর কাছে আরশী নগর,
এক পড়শী বসত করে।

সেরাম বেড়ে অগাধ পানি,
ও তার নাই কিনারা, নাই তরণী
পারে।

মনবাঞ্ছা করি
দেখবো তারি -
আমি কেমনে সে গাঁয় যাইরে।।
কি কব সে পড়শীর কথা
ও তার হস্ত-পদ-কর্ণ- মাথা
নাইরে।
ও সে মনের পাকে বুলেতার উপর
আবার মনের ভাবে নীরে।।
(সেই) পড়শী যদি আমায় ছুঁতো
আমার যম-যাতনা যেতো
দূরে।
আমার সে আর নাইন একপানে রয়,
তবু মন মোজন কাঁদে রে।।

Collected by Upendranath Bhatracharya, op.cit., p. 570 .

by the Shari'a and did not care for the social or religious canon or convention.[88] The Muslim bi-shara' or narha faqirs were the founder of baul philosophy in this region.[89] Their philosophy of life influenced the life of the Bauls of the later age.[90] According to the version of 'Abd al-'Aziz, the

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In another song Lalon says -

" দেখনা এবার আপন ঘর ঠাওরিয়ে ।
বাঁশির কোলে পাখীর বাসা ,
ও সে যায় আসে হাতের কাছ দিয়ে ।
ঘরে সবে তো পাখী একটা
ঘরের মধ্যে কুঠরী-কোঠা ,
অচে আড়ায় বসে ও তার নিপুন ঘরে ,
খুলে একটি ঘর অচিন হয় দেখা যেয়ে ।।
ঘরের বাইনা বাঁটো চৌপাশে ,
মাঝখানে পাখী আছে বসে
আনন্দিত হয়ে ।
তোরা দেখনারে ভাই
ধরার তো নাই ,
আমানা হাত বাড়ায়ে ।।
কেউ দেখতে যদি চাও করো ।
মনমানীকে চিনে ধরো ,
সে দিবে দেখায়ে ।
মরবেন লিরাজ কাঁই কয় , লালন তোমায়
বুঝতে দিন যায় বয়ে ।। "

Collected by Upendranath Bhatracharya, op.cit., pp.648-649.

88. Shashibhusan Dasgupta, op.cit., p.162.

89. Cf. Upendranath Bhatracharya, op.cit., p.283.

90. Ibid.

Hindu bauls and these bid'ati and bi-shara' Muslim baul faqirs initiated the Hindu and Muslim both, and taught them aforementioned lessons.[91] Of course all the Muslim bauls were not equally bid'ati or bi-shara' and all the lessons given by them were not corrupt ; a few of them taught some good lessons highly appreciated by the true mystic pirs and Sufis.[92]

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91. 'Abd al-'Azīz, Radd al-Mufsidin, ~~op.cit.~~,p.21.

92. As we see in the songs of Lalon Shah and Dudda Shah.
Lalon says :-

" নবী না মানিব যারা
মোহাম্মদ কলেমা তারা
সেই কলেমা দায়মান হবে
বেহিসাব মোজবে যাবে
আবার তারে খালাস দিবে
লালন কয় মোর কি হয় জানি ।।

নবী না মানে যারা
মোহাম্মদ কলেমা তারা
এ দুনিয়ার জমিনে তার নেই মজুরী
দমিন খাঁই সেবা যায় ।

Duddu says :-
আপনাকে চিনলে পরে চেনা যায় পরওয়ারদিগারে ।
খাঁই নিরাকারে নিরাকারে বেনাহে বেনা এই আকারে ।।
বোদায় বোদা
নাই সে জুদা
আরশে বোদা সেনের ঘরে
আছে দম আওয়াজে সে ঘর সেরা
দেখতে পাবি নবীর চেহারা ।।
" মান আরফা নাফছাহু ফাকাদ আরফা" যে
আছে প্রচার ।
সে যে আপনাকে আপনি বলেছেন নবী পরওয়ারে ।।

Collected by Upendranath Bhatracharya,op.cit.,p.698.

The bid'ati pīrs and their followers showed extra ordinary enthusiasm and utmost zeal to hold fātiha and 'urs in commemoration of the dead. The rite of fātiha was observed in rememberance of the dead relatives while the 'urs was to be held in commemoration of the death anniversary of the pīrs. Those fake pīrs and their ardent followers collected a good amount of money in cash and kind on the plea of heavy expenditure on such occasions. They committed many acts of shirk and bid'a in the functions. They illuminated the graves and considered the time of illumination to be the best and sacred one like laylat al-barat and laylat al-qadr.[93] Sometimes they made prostration before the graves of their pirs which was wholly repugnant to the doctrine of tawhīd.[94] These sorts of pīrs are still found in different localities of the eastern part of the subcontinent.

Religious quarrels between the Hindus and the Muslims were rare. They lived together and smoked from same huqqa.[95] In his book Majma' al-Bahrayn Dara Shikoh, the eldest son of Shahjahan, advocated for the union of Hindu and Muslim

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93. Karāmat Alī, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.12.

94. Khatib Baghdadi al-Baghawi, Mishkwat al-Masabih, bab al-masajid wa mawadi al-salat (Asahh al-Matabi', Karachi, 1368 A.H.) p. 71.

95. James Taylor, op.cit., p.257.

religious system.[96] As a result, the conquering Muslims of India were generally influenced by the vanquished Hindus.[97] So, we find that some of the Muslim festivals were so shaped that they resembled those of the Hindus, such as the Muharram festival.[98] People commemorate the

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96. Azizur Rahman Mallick, op.cit., p.5.

97. Ibid. p.7.

98. Muharram marked a landmark in the history of the Shi'as in particular and the Muslims in general. It is the first month of Hijra year; and the first ten days of this month, particularly the tenth day is considered by the Muslims as consecrated, Hughes, T.P. Dictionary of Islam, (London, 1885), p.407 ; for during this month Imam Husayn, the Grand son of the Prophet led an expedition against Yazid who by force, disregarding rather violating the Islamic democratic right of the people after the death of his father Amir Mu'awia became the ruler over the Muslim state and played his immoral and cruel role percecuting the pious Muslims inhumanly, particularly those who did not take the oath of allegiance to him. (See J.Wellhousen, The Arab Kingdom and its fall, University of Calcutta, 1927, p.146 ; S.K.Bakhsh, The Arab Civilization, 1943, p.96). In order to safeguard the Islamic discipline and in response to the ardent call of numerous Shias of Kufa who were in fact tired of the tyrannical rule, Imām Husayn started for campaign with kith and kin on the first day of this month. But owing to the betrayal of the people of Kufa in fear of tyrant Yazid and his governor, the whole party had to struggle hard in the teeth of dangers and calamities which resulted in the martyrdom of Imām Husayn and many others of his companions in the dry and deserted field of Karbala on the tenth day of Muharram, 61 A.H./October 10,680 A.D. Husayin's party was prevented by Yazid's force from taking even a drop of water from the river Euprates which was flowing nearby Karbala. (See Syed Ameer Ali, A Short History of the Saracens, London, 1961, p.85 ; William Muir, The Caliphate, London, 1891, p.37 ; J.Welhousen, op.cit., p.146 ; S.K. Bakhsh, op.cit., p.99). This tragic scene had been transformed and conveyed into pathetic verses and melancoly songs.

tragic martyrdom of Husayn every year in the first ten days of the month of Muharram. Many people wrote marthia[99] describing the cruelty of Yazid and his officers and mourning the death of Imām Husayn and his people who sincerely fought against the Yazid's force and sacrificed their lives with their beloved leader. It generated a separate branch of Bengali songs called zari gan[100] bewailing the tragic

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99. Marthiya means to mourn or to lament by writing verses of admiration on the death of a man. Now it denotes only the verses written in admiration of Imam Husayn and his followers who sacrificed their lives in the field of Karbala, Muhammad Ghūlam Saklayn, Banglay Marthiya shahittya (Rajshahi, 1964), p.1.

100. Zari is a Persian word means to mourn. This sort of mourning verses and melancoly songs are composed by the poets of Bengal, particularly the rural lyric poets. In their composition they describe different events that took place with Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth caliph of Islam, his two sons - Hasan and Husayn and their family members, especially the events that took place in the field of Karbala (Such as Muqtal Husayn (maqtul-i-Husayn) by Muhammad Khan, Sangram Husayn by Hamid, Zari Janga nāmā by Mayat Mahmud, Janga nāmā by Gharib Allah). These verses used to be sung in the zari ganer asar (gathering for singing zari and marthiya). Different parts of the song are still called by different names as Imām churi, Shahid-i-Karbala, Sakinar bibaha, Sakinar bilap, Muslim bad, Zainal uddar, etc. See Muhammad Ghūlam Saklayn, op.cit., p.458.

death of Imam Husayn and his immature boys. In the towns and villages of Bengal the asar (gathering) of zari gan used to be held frequently which attracted a large gathering of old and young people of both Hindu and Muslim communities. Because the zari gan was sung almost in the same way as the panchalis were sung by the Hindus.[101] In zari gan people sometimes condemned the other three caliphs - Abu Bakar ibn Quhafa, 'Umar ibn al-Khattab and Uthman ibn Affan and they admired only the fourth caliph 'Ali ibn Abu Talib and his two sons Hasan and Husayn. In his book Muqtal Husayn Muhammad Khan wrote against the heinous idea and worned the people in his verses -

" জারি মরছিয়া বহু পাপ না করিবে। [102]
আসহাবগণের নাম কভু নাহি নিবে ।।"

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101. The main player of the function in the Hindu panchalis with a chamar (chowrie) in the left hand, mendiva (cymbals) in the right hand and a nupur (a jingling anklet) accompanied by at least two pali or duhar recited the descriptive parts of the story rapidly. Sometimes the plyers beat the drum, S.Sen, Bangla Shahittyer Itihas, Vol.I (2nd ed., Calcutta, 1948), p.85.

102. "Don't commit sin by zari and marthiya.
Never call the ashab (companions of the Prophet) names."
Quoted by Muhammad Ghulam Saklayn in Banglay Marthiya Sahittya, p.458 from Muhammad Khan's Muqtal Husayn.

This influence from the time of the mughal emperors of Delhi made the occasion more attractive, specially from the time of Murshid Quli Khan and almost all the Nawabs of Bengal after him were Shi'as who patronised Shi'a customs and made the Muharram festival as one of the obligatory religious functions.[103] Thus the Muharram was observed by Shi'a as well as Sunni Muslims. It was observed vividly and variedly everywhere particularly in the towns and cities where the Shi'a Muslims lived. This cataclysmic incident was commemorated by making tazia,[104] alem, panja, tabut, ziarat nāmā, member, pansalla,[105] etc. Each and every model bears a definite significance . Mourning assemblies were held in certain houses which were built for this purpose and were not used for any other purpose;[106] such as the 'Husayni

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103. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.6.

104. The model of bier on which an effigy of Husayn's dead body was placed.

105. T.P. Hughes, op.cit., p.407.

106. Ibid.

Dalan' at Dacca. James Taylor observed[107] that the interior of the building also was decorated with artificial flowers, transparences, ostrich eggs and the walls with black cloths ; and the whole was lit up at night with a profusion of coloured lamps and candles.[108] The majlis started in the first night of Muhárram with the recitation of sūra fātiha. Three-man recited a marthiya in chorus while a dhakir (speaker) sitting on a member gave a vivid description of the incidents of Karbala and recited nawha (elegy) on which the assembled listeners striking on their breat cried with the name of Husayn repeatedly.[109] Drum was beaten in the nahbat khana, a certain place at the north of imambara every night at the time of mourning. On the 7th and the 8th day a procession of Shi'a Muslims paraded throughout the streets with alam-panja adored with flowers and tinsels and mounted upon a pole covered by black robes. An image of a mountain 'believed to be the sheltering of hazrat Alī' is made of wood which was decorated with shields, swords and other

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107. James Taylor, ~~Topography,~~ op.cit., p. 248.

108. Ibid.

109. Mrs.Meer Hasan Ali, op.cit.,p.24 ; Charles E.Gover, The Indian Antiquiry, June 7,1822,p.167 ; Muhammad Ghūlam Saklayn,Banglay Marthiya Sahittya,p.10.

with shields, swords and other arms and also with the photos of Hazrat Alī, Hasan, Husayn, Burak, Duldul, etc. This image of mountain was placed behind the tazia and in front of this mountain a cot was placed in which jaynamaz, tasbih, cap and sirni for Imam Husayn were put.[110]

The most important accessory of Muharram was tazia which was made with care a few days before commencement of Muharram and set in imambara or in a particular house reserved only for this purpose. This tazia was made of precious metals and varied in size from person to person, from the rich to the poor from the landlords to the labourers. On the tenth day a big procession consisting of the Shi'as as well as a few Sunni Muslims paraded the streets with the tazia and finally drowned it in a river or any watery place. James Wise compared the festival with Dashhara and Durga pūja of the Hindus.[111] Considering all the aspects of Muharram festival observed by the Shi'a Muslims, we may say that James Wise was correct in his comparison.

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110. The tenth day of Muharram which is called yawmi 'ashura is an important day both for Shi'a and Sunni Muslims. Because from Adam to Muhammad (May Allah grant them peace), many prophets were blessed on this day.

111. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.9 ; 'Abd al-'Azīz, Darwish nāmā, p. 55.

With the decline of political power, the Muslims naturally lost their glory and became weak. But the European rulers though occupied the land of the subcontinent by subjugating the fighting forces through conspiracy, they could not subjugate the boldness of their minds. Their reaction to this was a refusal to accept the British and adopt British ways, which they considered steps toward infidelity and scepticism.[112] To the British, therefore, they were a source of danger and had to be kept in a state of suppression. Openly declaring 'their determination to destroy all those elements in the Muslim population which could serve as the nucleus of opposition',[113] the new rulers adopted special policies for the purpose. The effect of these policies has been described in one of the fatawas[114] of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz (1746-1823), the great scholar and reformer. He observed that the Muslims had lost all power and the British had become supreme everywhere. The administration of the country, imposition of tax on trade and commerce had become their monopolies. Only certain religious observances like jumu'a and 'id prayers and the slaughtering of cows were left in the hand of the Muslims. The British could even demolish

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112. See R.C.Majumder, Glimpses of Bengal in the nineteenth Century(Calcutta,1960),p.17 ; cf.A.R.Mallick, op.cit., pp. 61-64.
113. M.Mujeeb,The Indian Musalmans(London,1969),p.432.
114. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz,Fatawa-i-'Aziziya(Delhi,1322 A.H.), Vol. I, pp. 16-17.

a mosque when it pleased them. Before the establishment of the East India Company's rule in Bengal the Muslim rulers usually appointed the qadis(judges) and the qadi al-qudat (chief justice) who generally administered Islamic Laws, superintended education,and were the guardians of orthodoxy, being entrusted with the task of deciding all desputes of a religious nature. This last is important because it shows that the qadis were not merely dispensers of justice but, in the absence of a priesthood in Islam, also looked after the spiritual welfare of the people. The qadis thus acted as a central regulating authority.[115] With their gradual incapacitation under the British rule and ultimate removal, the Muslims lost their religious courts. The result was a growth in the incidence and intencity of sectarian controversies which, in turn, had its effect on politics and further eroded Muslim political cohesion.

Like the qadis, the powers of the Muslim officers and fawjdars also declined. The growing Hindu middle class attracted the attention of the British,and more and more Hindus gradually began to be associated with the administrative machinery of the state to the detriment of the interest of the Muslims who had formerly held such offices. Many of the Hindu zamindars began to oppress their Muslim tenants. Even the Hindu officials of Muslim zamindars such as naibs and

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115. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIII, pt. III, No.I, 1894,p.47.

diwans, promoted themselves over the heads of their former masters and, themselves occupying the position of zamindars, joined in the oppression.[116] A rural poet, Wazir Ali says -[117]

" From the year of B.S. 1227
the Hindus became hostile to the Muslims.
They oppressed the poor in very many ways,
By restraining the barbers (from serving them)
and by tying their beards together. "

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116. W.W.Hunter quotes in Indian Musalmans, p.155 from J.O' Kinealy who had studied the 'Permanent Settlement' most minutely and wrote about the system: 'It elevated the Hindu collectors, who upto that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietory right in the soil, and allowed them to accumulate wealth which have gone to the Musalmans under their own rule'.

117. Wazir Ali, Moslem Ratnahar (Muslim Ratnahar), N.D., p.6.

" বারন নাতারেপ নাম এই বার্ণিবার।
হিন্দুগন শত্রু হব মোসলেম উপর।।
গরীব লোকের কত যত সাজা দিত।
নাপীত বনন দাঁড়ি বাঁধি সাজা দেবাইত।।"

The Muslims, of course, could retaliate, and often did as the same poet relates -[118]

" In this way many a Muslim was oppressed,
They killed a zamindar Madan Ghose by name.
They disclosed that they had eaten him up.
Henceforth the Hindus became terror striken.
And did not dare place obstacles in the way of Islam.
Then Islam progressed rapidly. "

Smarting under the British rule, seeing themselves practically excluded from a share of power and of the privileges of government which they had hitherto almost monopolized ; finding all the advantages of life pass into the hands of the Hindus, their rivals, the Muslims yet tried to keep alive in their people a sense of resistance. Wide publicity was given to the prophecy of

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118. Wazir Ali, op.cit., p.7.

" এই মত মাজা কত মোছলমান খাইল ।
মদনঘোষ জমিদারে মারিয়া ফেলিল ।।
প্রকাশ করিয়া দিল খেয়েছি মদনঘোষ ।
সেই হইতে হিন্দুগণ পড়িল তড়াসে ।।
ইসলামিতে বাধা দিতে না উঠিল যম ।
মানসেন বাড়িয়া চলে এসলামী তখন ।। "

Shah Niamat Allah,[119] who visualised the possibility of restoration to power of the Muslims in the nineteenth century. The prophecy said that the "Christians of Europe" would held dominion in India for one hundred years and thereafter would be expelled. Therefore the year 1957 A.D., the centenary of Plassey, received special attention. To the Muslim it was a year of destiny

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119. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, pp. 143-144.

Amir Nur al-Din popularly known as Shah Ni'mat Allah, son of Mir 'Abd Allah was a famous Persian mystic. He was a descendant of al-Bakir, the fifth imam of the Shi'a and highly esteemed in Persia as a great saint and wonder-worker. Born in Halab in 731 A.H./1330 A.D., he was brought up in Iraq. At the age of 24 he went to Mecca and became a disciple and khalifa of the famous Sufi 'Abd Allah Yafi'i (d.768 A.H. /1367 A.D.). He stayed there for seven years and after the death of his murshid he left Mecca. At the age of 103 he died at Mahan on Rajab 22, 834 A.H./ April 5, 1431 A.D. He was a prolific theorist of Sufism and said to have written more than 500 books and treatises on different aspects of Sufi doctrine. Diwan-i-Ni'mat Allah is a famous anthology. It contains a good deal of mystic verses in which he foretold many events. That is why he became renowned as Shah Ni'mat Allah Wali, a Sufi of prophecy.

when the British would, once for all, be driven out of India and Muslim supremacy reestablished. To the English it was a jubilee year, marked out for celebration and thankgiving. Clive, as the victor of Plassey, was especially honoured by the erection of a statue at his native town in Shropshire.

The uprising that was to come had, to some extent, been anticipated, though not prepared for by the British. That the greatest threat was the Muslim section of the population was also conceivable. In 1813, in reply to a question before the Select Committee as to the feeling of the Muslims towards the British rule, Sir John Malcoln had said : " I think it is probable that a great proportion of the Mahomedan population may not be so much contented, because they have a more recent recollection than the Hindoos of that power which they have lost by the introduction of our government.[120] "This, however, did not lead to a wiser, conciliatory, British policy towards the Muslims. The accumulating resentment had risen to fever pitch by 1857 and, it burst into open conflict in the terrible summer of that year.

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120. Quoted by A.R.Mallick, op.cit.,p.64.

The freedom struggle of 1857 - which raged all over Northern India for nearly two years but was at last, inevitably, crushed -- did not result in any remarkable loss to the Bengali Hindus, but the Bengali Muslims were seriously affected. As Sir Alfred C. Lyall said - " .... the spirit of unrest was brooding over India when the great mutiny broke out among our Hindu sepoys. In Delhi, the Mahomedans at once caught the contagion of rebellion, and most immediately seized the load of it, using the mild aimless fury of the soldiery for their own compact and straight political designs. The consequence was, as all who were in Northern India in 1857-58 can recollect, that the English turned fiercely on the Mahomedans as upon their real enemies and most dangerous rivals ; so that the failure of the revolt was much more disastrous to them than to Hindus."[121] A British official said, "During and for long after the mutiny the Muhammedans were under a cloud. To them were attributed all the horrors and calamities of that terrible time".[122]

Thus the failure of the freedom struggle resulted in the Muslim community being singled out by the British for vengeance, and the government embarked upon a policy of

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121. Alfred C.Lyall, Asiatic Studies,Religious and Social (London, 1884), pp.239-40.

122. W.C.Smith, Modern Islam in India (Lahore,1963),p.179; G.F.I.Graham,The Life and Work of Syed Ahmed Khan(Delhi, 1974),p.40.

of deliberate suppression of the Muslim upper classes and the prospective middle classes.[123] Under the Nawabs and Emperors the Muslim social set up in Bengal consisted mainly of two classes - (I) the upper and aristocratic class and (II) the lower class. The upper class held the highest posts in the administrative machinery of the state, they were in fact, the ruling class who owed their position to the patronage of the ruler.[124] The lower class Muslims, such as day-labourers, cultivators weavers and petty office holders in the civil and military administration usually dependee upon the upper class for protection and patronage. The relation between the two classes could be characterised as 'some what patriarchal or filial'.

Muslim's economic prosperity, therefore, was tied directly to the political upheaval. If the upper class lost the patronage of the ruler, it had its repercussion on the lower class. This is what happened after the British conquest and as a result Muslim society all along the line was affected. The economic condition of the Muslim therefore began to worsen, slowly at first, and later towards the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, in an accelerated pace.[125]

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123. W.C.Smith, op.cit.,p.179.
124. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.150.
125. Cf.C.Forjett (Late Commissioner of Police of Bombay), Our Real Danger in India (London,1877),pp.5,6,22.

Under Muslim rule the aristocratic class had three main sources of income. The army and military command were more or less manopolized by the Muslims. The loss of political power completely closed this advantage.[126] The second source of wealth was the collection of land revenue. "The payment of taxes", says Hunter, "was a base of conquest ; and to the conquerors accrued not only the revenue, but also the profitable duty of collecting it".[127] Some time the conquered Hindus were allowed to collect revenue directly from the husbandmen; but the higher fiscal posts controlling administration remained in the hands of the Muslim upper class.For some years after the passing of Dewani to the East India Company in 1765 the Muslim superior officers continued their service in the revenue department. But the promulgation of the system of Permanent Settlement introduced by Lord Cornwallis and John Shore in 1793[128] did away with this privilege.

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126. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.151.
127. Ibid.,p.152.
128. On 22 March, 1793 Lord Cornwallis introduced the Permanent Settlement which brought miseries to the Muslim peasants of Bengal.But it was not a 'product of any pre-conception of Lord Cornwallis'.Because after long contention in the Court of Directors of the East India Company it took its full shape in 1784 at the instance of the landlord system of England and Lord Cornwallis came to power in 1786. However,Lord Cornwallis had an idea that the landlords would grant lease to the tenants who would be in a position to protect their respective rights to land lawfully; but practice proved otherwise.

To the Permanent Settlement can be traced the first clear beginnings of the rapid economic decline of the Muslims in Bengal. Seriously affecting both land-holders and those engaged in agriculture, it destroyed the Muslim upper class zamindars as well as the lower class peasants. It enriched instead, the revenue farmers at the expense of these Muslims.[129] It had its immediate and far reaching effects. It gave rise to the extensive frauds at the very beginning of the system when the zamindaris were sold by auction in Calcutta at the office of the Board of Revenue, a place far away from the location of the lands. Taking advantage of the system, the Hindu baniyas and brokers, who had ready money, ousted the Muslim hereditary landlords.[130] Thus the sale process or the sale laws 'gave the last blow' to the old Muslim aristocracy of Bengal.[131]

According to Lord Metcalfe, the Permanent Settlement gave rise to the most sweeping acts of oppression by the newly sprung up zamindars. It created a 'set of baboos' and made them landlords by destroying hundreds and thousands of former.[132]

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129. Cf. J.C. Sinha, Economic Annals of Bengal (London, 1927), p.269; cf. C. Forjett, op.cit., pp.5,6,22.
130. J.H. Harrington, An Elementary Analysis of the Laws and Regulations, Vol.II (Calcutta, 1814), p.21; see J.W. Kaye, Memorials of Indian Government (London, MDCCCLIII), pp.215-216.
131. J.C. Sinha, op.cit., p.272 ; J.W. Kaye, Memorials of Indian Government, op.cit., pp.215-16.
132. See J.W. Kaye, Selections from the papers of Lord Metcalfe (London, MDCCCLV), p.254. With due respect to the 'benevolent intentions' of Lord Cornwallis, Lord Metcalfe made his observation.

In the words of Sir John Kaye,"advice,protestation,remonstrance were in vain. Lord Cornwallis advised,protested, remonstrated; Sir John Shore advised, protested,remonstrated; but all proved unavailing",[133] Thus the Permanent Settlement and its consequence,the sale of Muslim zamindaries, placed the Hindu money - lenders and baniyas [134] over a vast number of Muslims.

To increase land revenue which went to support the lavish life-style of the Court of Directors - the hands of the new zamindars were strengthened by regulation VII of 1799 by which the zamindars were empowered to distrain the property of tenants in order to realize arrear rents 'without sending notice to any court of Justice'.[135] In practice the power was abused tremendously. Land revenue was rigorously colledted and instead of being spent in the country a large portion,nearly one-third of the net revenue, was annually remitted to England in form of bullion for which Bengal received no equivalent returns.[136]

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133. Quoted by C.Forjett in his book Our Real Danger in India, p.6, from John Kaye's The Sepoy War,Vol.I,p.114.

134. See the cruelty and oppression of the baniyas and money lenders in Theodore Morison's The Economic Transition In India (London,1911),p.76.

135. J.C.Sinha, op.cit., p.273.

136. Cf.R.C.Dutt,Economic History of India (London,1906),pp.46, 85,86. From the minutes of Francis, Hastings and John Shore it is evident that substantial quantity of bullion used to be sent to England annually. See J.C.Sinha,op.cit.,pp.42-43.

The new zamindars not only had proprietory rights of the land, but were also empowered to fix the rent, Moreover, the zamindar began to farm out their estates to patnidars who would give them the highest profit after paying the Government dues. The patnidars again farmed out the land to the sub-patnidars. The sub-patnidars then gave the land to the cultivators till 'farm within farm became the order of the day' in 1832 Huge Stock, chief of the Revenue Board, in his evidence before the Select Committe cited a case in which the rayot was removed four times from the actual zamindars.[137] All these middlemen got their due profits and the burden fell upon the cultivators the majority of whom were Muslims. According to Buckonoon, the exaction of money from the farmers by confinement or blows was common and the agents of the zamindars and patnidars took full advantage of the illiteracy of the ryots.[138] In the words of J.C. Sinha, "Within a few years of Permanent Settlement the old landed families of Bengal were either ruined or sank to the position of mere pensioners without any direct connection with the soil".[139]

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137. A.R.Mallick, op.cit., p.50.

138. See Montgomary Martin, op.cit., p. 909.

139. J.C.Sinha, op.cit.,p.272 ; Calcutta Review,Vol.I,1844, p. 189.

The third source of income of the Muslim aristocratic class was the judicial and political or civil employment. In Muslim period, and even in the first fifty years of British rule, the Muslims retained all the judicial and political functions of government in their own hands.[140] As the Muslim revenue officers controlled the collection of revenue, fawjdars and ghatwals officered the police. The heads of all other departments were also Muslims. The code of Islam remained the law of the land and Muslim law officers were the authoritative advisers on point of law. In fact almost all the ministerial and subordinate officers were administered by the educated Muslims. During the second half-century of the Company's rule 'the tide turned , at first slowly but with a constantly accelerating pace'.[141] With the change of official and court language from Persian to English and the vernacular tongues in 1837, the Muslim aristocratic class became unfit for the posts and 'the Hindus poured into, and have since completely filled every grade of official life'.[142]

The only profession left to them was the practice of law. Once the Muslims had monopolized the whole administration of justice, but in this field too they gradually lost ground. W.W. Hunter made up the statics of the Indian professions in 1869

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140. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, ~~op.cit.,~~ pp.157-158.

141. Ibid. p.158

142. Ibid.

and found that 'the law officers of the Crown were six in number - four Englishmen, two Hindus and no Musalman'.[143] There were only two Muslim pleaders of the High Court in 1869 while this branch of the profession had once been completely in the hands of the Muslims.[144] in the words of W.W.Hunter : "if ever a people stood in need of a career, it is the Musalman aristocracy of lower Bengal".[145]

The gradual erasion of the powers of the Muslim aristocratic class affected, as it was bound to, the Muslim lower classes. Among them the worst hit were the peasants and the weavers. Under the new system of the Permanent Settlement, the Hindu baniyas, brokers and even the Hindu naibs and gomastas became landlords. In return for financial support, the English rulers gave them extra privileges and permission to collect whatever revenue they liked. These newly grown zamindars and talukdars, with the support of the English rulers and European indigo planters levied many illegal cesses[146] on the peasantry such as paita kahrcha (fee imposed when the zamindar's son takes the sacred thread), sraddha

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143. Ibid. p.163.

144. Ibid.; S.M.Ikram, Mawj-i-Kawthar(Karachi,N.D.),p.59.

145. W.W.Hunter,The Indian Musalmans,~~op.cit.~~,p.149.

146. It is reported by W.A.Wells,collector of Faridpur distridt in 1872 that twenty three kinds of illegal cesses were levied by the zamindars on the peasantry of Faridpur. The full list of 23 items had been quoted by M.A.Khan in History of the Faraidi Movement(Karachi,1965),pp.127-129.

kharcha(tax levied on the death of father, mother or any other elderly member of the zamindar's family), bhura kharcha or gudani kharcha (fee imposed when the arms of the zamindar's son are tatooed), mukaddama kharcha (fee imposed to meet the expenses of the zamindar's litigation at court); jarimana or fine (tax imposed on the occasion of dispute between ryots), agamoni kharcha (fee levied on the coming of zamindar to his cutchery), bibaha kharcha (fee imposed when any marriage took place in the house of the zamindar), etc. As a high proportion of the population of this part of India depended on land cultivation and farming, the zamindars always had the advantage of the terms and conditions. If a ryot refused to accept the terms, there were others to bid for occupation of the land. Therefore the ryots had to put up with the oppression and tried to meet the demands of the zamindars. To do this they had to borrow money from Hindu mahajans (money lenders) at a very high rate of interest varying from 37 percent to 50 or 60 percent. In most cases the cultivator left his cattle in mortgage against the loan.[147]

On the other side was the oppression of the English indigo planters who had the support of the Company government. Indigo was cultivated in Bengal and other provinces of India from very early times. It used to be exported to Europe in the middle of the 17th century.[148] The indigo of Bengal attracted the attention of European capitalists in the last quarter of the 18th

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147. A.R.Mallick, op.cit., p.52.

148. Ibid. p.53.

century. Carel Blume asserted that it was he who introduced for the first time this new source of wealth to the Company in 1778.[149] In 1795 a Mr, Bond set up an indigo factory at Rupdia in the district of Jessore. After him many Europeans started indigo cultivation and established factories in different parts of Jessore.[150] In the beginning of the 19th century much importance was given to its extensive cultivation. In 1805 the product amounted to 64,803 maunds[151] and in 1811 the district of Jessore was described as being 'crowded with indigo factories'. Gradually the whole of Bengal and Bihar, especially the Muslim majority districts of Bengal - Jessore, Faridpur, Pabna, Dacca, Rajshahi, Nadia and Murshidabad had become 'dotted with indigo concerns'.[152] Thus the European planters and manufacturers produced a vast quantity of indigo and earned enormous profits. But the price offered to the native cultivators was very low, making them incur a loss of Rs.7 per bigha. So it became a losing concern for the native cultivators and they refused to cultivate indigo for European manufacturers, At this the indigo planters became more and more aggressive and began to apply force and torture

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149. N.K.Sinha, The Economic History of Bengal(Calcutta,1965), p.206.

150. See L.S.S. O'Malley, Bengal District Gazetteer, Jessore, (Calcutta,1912), p.40.

151. A.R.Mallick, op.cit.,p.53.

152. Cf.J.H.E.Garrett,Bengal District Gazetteers, Nadia, (Calcutta,1910),p.32.

The oppression of the indigo planters began from the close of the 18th century. The Europeans erected factories but they had no land to produce indigo plants. So they took advantage of the timidity and helplessness of the ryots to induce them to enter into the most disadvantagious contracts. If any cultivator disagreed, his cattle were pounded, even the cultivator himself was to be seized, confined or beaten merchilessly until he gave his agreement to the contracts. Sometimes the land of the ryots were seized and cultivated by the servants.[153] N.K.Sinha maintained that on February 19, 1876 Wakil Rahmat Allah submitted a petition of Musammat Durga Beiwa to the Sadar Dewani Adalat in which she complained that,"Mr. Hunter, indigo manufacturer, six months ago took forcibly possession of 20 bighas of land situated in village Ragoonatpore Bursun, pargana Seerisha, Zilla Tirhut. To this your petitioner, a poor widow, can never consent. The indigo gentleman, a short time ago, sent two peadahs to apprehend your petitioner and for the security of her reputation, fled and stayed some time at the house of a ryot, but afterwards seeing no mode of extricating herself from the oppression than by quitting her house and as the whole of the ryots who cultivated her land had declared that if any violance was exercised on account of the indigo they would not stay to cultivate it, your petitioner without remedy travelled 200 coss and is come to the huzur to complain, hopeful that an

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153. A.R.Mallick, op.cit.,pp.53-54.

order may be sent to Mr.Arbuthnot, the present judge, who is now in Calcutta directing him to guard your petitioner's land against the violance of the indigo gentleman in the same manner as his predecessors had been wont to protect your petitioner".[154] The same pleader Rahmat Allah had presented another case of the same nature on behalf of Sayed Rahim Ali and Sayed Ramzan Ali in which they complained that Coats,an indigo manufacturer forcibly ploughed up a half grown crop and sowed indigo there in. They paid the revenue of the land duly and started cultivation,spent money and labour. Coats had also 'carried off in carts, the bamboos, toddy trees, together with the straw made use of in roofing and as fodder for the bullocks'. Moreover, he fixed three different rate - three rupees, two rupees and one rupee instead of five rupees per bigha. Over and above he allowed no grain to be sowed for two years on that indigo ground. So the ryots had to pay the revenue from their own pockets. Again at the time of harvesting the crops on pretence of drought and innundation he exacted deductions. As a result many cultivators fled away and some remained absconding. He confined the malguzari ryots, beat them mercilessly and extorted written agreement for cultivating indigo in four bighas of land.The petitioners told that they never experienced such ill usage and inhuman oppression under the British Government.[155]

154. Quoted by N.K.Sinha in op.cit.,p.209,from Sadar Dewani Adalat Records - 1796.

155. N.K.Sinha, op.cit., pp.209-210.

A local news paper Samachar Chandrika accused the indigo planters of commiting 'heartless oppression' on the peasantry and forcing them to take dadan or dadni(advance money). And if any peasant accepted dadan money at the rate of rupees two per bigha, he never got rid of it till his death. He must cultivate indigo in his land to repay the dadan money in the form of indigo plants.[156] The ryots were naturally unwilling to take advance-money, because they had to pay out of these two rupees, to the gomastas, amins and servants of the tyrannical indigo planters.[157] Over and above they realised more quantity of indigo plants by counting two bundles for one bundle. But whatever might be the loss, the poor and helpless cultivators had to accept the dadan and agree with the contract. Otherwise their cattle were usually caught hold of by the planters' agents and confined in the factory without any grass or water for days together. As the xattle would become lean and thin day by day the native cultivators were compelled to accept dadan money for the sake of their valuable cattle, the most essential asset of their

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156. See Samachar Chandrika of Jaith 6, 1229 B.S./May 18,1822, collected and edited by Brajendranath Bandopadyyaya in Sambad patre Sekaler Katha,Vol.I(Calcutta,1339 B.S.), pp.108-109 ; see also the 'editorial reports' of Sambad Provakar of Asharh 2,1255 B.S., collected and edited by Binoy Ghose in Samayik patre Banglar Samajchitra,vol. I, (Calcutta, 1962),pp.73-74.

157. Ibid. also see J.T.Wheeler,Early records of British India (Calcutta,1877),pp.300-301.

lives.[158]

In this way the indigo planters harassed and oppressed the peasants frequently and compelled them to cultivate indigo at their sweet will. There was no remedy for the sufferings of the peasants. The local courts were unable to control the marauding indigo manufacturers.[159] The oppression of the indigo planters continued for more than half a century. In 1854 the Judge of Nadia observed such cruel behaviour of the indigo planters with the native peasants whose position was like 'working cattle merely, not men reconciled to labour by their gains'.[160] The village watchmen were unable to make any protest. They were silenced by violence. It is reported that once a village watchman Ghani Dafadar by name raised an outcry against the inhuman oppression and tyranny of the indigo planters who set the whole village on fire. The result was that the watchman got wounded and was perished in confinement for four months in a dark room.[161] The higher police officers were often bribed and they naturally showed favour to the indigo planters. The poor and distressed peasants never

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158. Ibid. By all the records it is proved that the indigo planters oppressed the poor cultivators inhumanly and the poor cultivators dared not say anything against it.

159. N.K.Sinha, op.cit., p.210 ; see also the 'editorial reports' of Sambad Provakar of Asharh 2,1255 B.S. in Binoy Ghose, op.cit., pp.73-75.

160. A.R.Mallick, op.cit., p.55.

161. Ibid.

dared to undertake journey to Calcutta to seek justice from the Adalat leaving their families at villages exposed to the tyranny of the exployters. Thus the law and justice were beyond the reach of the poor peasants while the oppressive indigo planters were practically beyond the reach of the law. As the indigo factories were set up in the Muslim populated area and the native cultivators were mainly the Muslims, the whole oppression fell on the poor Muslims and thus the economic condition of this class of Muslims aggravated.

Among the lower order of the Muslim society, weaver formed a large section. Weaving was a great source of income and wealth for the Muslims of the eastern part of India. Economic condition of the Muslims to a great extent depended upon the position of the weavers. During the Nawabi period, the cotton weavers formed the hinge of Bengal's economy. Bengal was a flourishing centre of cloth industry for a long period of time. Weaving was carried on in the private houses of the weavers throughout the country. Each district produced a distinct kind of cloth.[162] They produced huge quantity of coarse and fine cloths. This industry was so prosperous and produced so huge quantity of cloths that Bengal being rich cotton producing area had to import huge quantity of cotton from Bombay and Surat to meet the needs of her looms.[163] The Muslim weavers of Bengal produced such fine cloths that they

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162. K.K.Datta, Studies in the History of Bengal Subah, Vol.I, ~~op.cit.~~, p.419.

163. Ibid.

earned world wide reputation in manufacturing some special qualities - such as the 'Moslin cloth' of Dacca. They manufactured their goods freely without restrictions and there was no restriction in selling the finished goods to any market.[164] It was a common practice of all the tantee(weaver) families of Bengal 'to employ their capitals in manufacturing goods which they sold freely on their accounts'.[165] They would sell their coarse varieties in the Indian market while the finest and unrivalled Daccai Moslin, fostered by the Muslim ruling powers, used to be exported to European markets for two centuries.[166] After the occupation of India by the East India Company, like other industries of Bengal, the cotton weaving industry also got set-back due to the oppression of the Company's merchants and their agents. The condition of the weavers began to detoriorate. The Company's government imposed restrictions on production and selling. The Company appointed many native servants and gomastas to deal direct with the weavers and artisans through them. Vagabond 'of no character and position' wandering in the streets of Calcutta in rags 'were sent out as the gomastas of English merchants, factors or writers'. Dressed in the uniform of the English sepoys they tortured the ryots inhumanly ; exacted money from them and sometimes imprisoned the ryots and native merchants

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164. N.K.Sinha, ~~Economic History of Bengal~~, op.cit., p.159.

165. Ibid.

166. A.R.Mallick, op.cit., p.57.

under the awe of their Company masters. J.T.Wheeler observed [167] that the Company's gomastas bought and sold almost all the native commodities, such as salt, sugar, rice, ghee, tobacco at high price and 'obliged the ryots to give five rupees for articles which were not worth one'; while they took away the goods of the ryots for one-fourth of the market value.[168] The Company's merchants and their Bangalee gomastas 'exercised monopolistic control over the weavers'.[169] They arbitrarily fixed up the quantity and quality of goods to be supplied to them within specific time and the price to be received by the weavers. [170] But the price given by the Company's gomastas and Jachendars (assorters) would often be at least 15 percent and in some even 40 percent less than the market value. Even the other European companies gave 20 to 30 percent more than the East India Company's agents would give. [171]

On the otherhand the Directors of the Company adopted the policy of discouraging production of finished goods and encouraging production of only the raw cotton and silk. The silk dealers were forced to work in the Company's factory and they were prohibited from private production in the house of the weavers. In 1786 some regulations were passed "It is

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167. J.T.Wheeler, op.cit.,pp. 300-301.
168. Ibid.
169. J.C.Sinha, op.cit., p.80.
170. Ibid. p.81.
171. Ibid.pp.82-83 ; cf.J.T.Wheeler,op.cit.,pp.300-301.

hereby directed that every weaver be furnished with a ticket specifying the name, place of abode and cooty (house) under which he works, and containing an account of the deeds dates and the period of advances made, the value of the cloths and goods he shall from time to time deliver in return". In regulation XI it is stated "upon any weaver failing to deliver cloth according to the stated period agreed upon, the Company's agents shall be at liberty to place peon upon them and keep them under restraint".

This apathetic policy of the Company government seriously affected the weaving industry. The quality and quantity of goods declined. In 1799 the value of goods manufactured at Dacca and exported to Europe was 12 lacs which fell to only 3½ lacs in 1813.[172] The export of Daccai moslin almost ceased. Thus the reputation of cloth industry in Bengal had gone. On the other, the impact of cheap machine made goods from Great Britain aggravated the situation. The Muslim weavers lost glorious profession. They did not have enough landed property to back upon. The decline of handicrafts seriously affected the economic life of the Muslims.

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172. N.K.Sinha, ~~Economic History of Bengal~~, op.cit.,p.164.

In the field of trade and commerce also the Muslim lagged behind. They could not maintain their existence in the face of the policy adopted by the East India Company. The Company granted agency to some native traders, but they were almost exclusively Hindus.[173] The Muslims had export business to their credit from early time. But under the competition of the Company, their export business also dwindled and no longer they could stand in the line. Thus all the sources of wealth went dry. W.W.Hunter observed, "A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Muslim in Bengal to become poor ; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich.[174]

To conclude, the condition of the Muslims of the eastern part of India in the nineteenth century was deplorable in every respect. For them it was the period of decay and degeneration in all walks of life. But it is a fact that the general Muslim people never adopted un-Islamic practices intentionally. They always preferred Islam with firm belief in its dogma. But sometimes by insincere preachers and sometimes by dishonest leaders they were

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173. I.H.Qureshi, The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent(The Hague,1962),pp.220-221.

174. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, ~~op.cit.,~~ p.150.

misguided. Despite this whenever any sincere and God-fearing preacher or organizer called them and wanted to lead them aright and to guide them in the path of Allah, they did not hesitate to respond. In the beginning they might suspect such a preacher, but when they became sure of his sincerity and felt confident of him, they ardently responded to him. When Sayyid Ahmad Shahid came to this part of India and called the people to accompany him and to participate in the jihad movement, they spontaneously responded to the call, they crossed a far distance of hills and deserts, rivers and mountains. They participated in the movement and sacrificed their lives and properties. In this respect the land of Bengal is very firtile.

CHAPTER II

MAWLĀNĀ KARĀMAT 'ALĪ

(a) A brief biographical sketch.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali Jaunpuri was born at Mullatola in Jaunpur[1] in the present day Uttar Pardesh of India on Muharram 18,1215 A.H./June 11,1800 A.D.[2] 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Ḥusaynī says that he was born on Muharram 17,1215 A.H.[3] According to A. Yusuf 'Ali the exact date of his birth is uncertain.[4] The date given by the men of his own family like 'Abd al-Qādir, a nephew, son-in-law and a khalifa of the Mawlānā, and 'Abd al-Bāṭin, a grand son of him, is more acceptable to us. Originally his name was 'Alī;[5] later on

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1. Jaunpur is derived from Juna,the name of Muhammad bin Tuglaq in whose honour the town was founded by Firoz Shah. See H.R.Nevill,Jaunpur, A Gazetteer,Vol.XXVIII of the District Gazetteers of Agra and Oudh(Allahabad,1908),p.145.
2. 'Abd al-Bāṭin,Sīrat-i-Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī Jaunpurī (Allahabad,1368 A.H.),p.9; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr,Jamā'at-i-Mujāhidīn, II(Lahore,1955),p.293;see 'Abd al-Qadir's letter in Appendix A.
3. Nuzhat al-Khawātir, Vol. VII, p.194.
4. Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.II (Leiden,1927),p.752.
5. 'Abd al-Bāṭin,Sīrat,p.100; Mahfuẓ al-Haqq, Subh-i-Ṣadiq (Jaunpur,1921),p.9; 'Abd al-'Azīz,Darwish nāma(Calcutta, 1278 B.S.),p.284. 'Abd al-'Aziz writes -

" অবশেষে এমনভাব হৈল তোমার মোরশেদ এক,
নাম যার আলি জৌনপুরী। "

At last it was inspired that your murshid (Guide) had came whose name was 'Ali Jaunpuri.

he became renowned as Karamat 'Ali.[6] In his books, Mukāshifat-i-Rahmat, Nūr al-Hudā, Risāla-i-Fayd-i-'Ām, Tazkiyat al-'Aqā'id, Bay'at wa Tawba, Hujjat-i-Qāti'a, Muqāmi' al-Mubtadi'īn Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī started his writings with the words - 'Khasksār 'Alī Jaunpurī renowned as Karāmat 'Alī Jaunpurī'. Sometimes he wrote his name as 'Alī al-Jaunpurī al-Siddiqī-al-Hanafī.[7] His biographers claimed that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was the 35th descendant from Abu Bakar Siddiq, the first caliph of Islam.[8] Thus he came of a respectable family which had held the office of the khatīb under Muslim rule.[9] His father Abu Ibrahim Imam Bakhsh was a seristadar in the Jaunpur collectorate.[10] From his very boyhood he was intelligent, clever and man of sharp memory. Endowed with extraordinary retaining power and excellent memory, as it is said, he could recollect different events of his childhood.[11] However, no other writer except his grand son 'Abd al-Batin, mentioned the particular point about the sharpness of his memory. As he grew up, his father gave him

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6. 'Abd al-Bātin, Sīrat, p.100; Mahfuz al-Haqq, op.cit., p.9; 'Abd al-Wajīd Lashkar, Ahwal-i-Murshidīn (Barisal, 1348 B.S.), p.3. Lashkar says - "
[illegible] 'আলী নাম তার ছিল প্রথমেতে
করামতে হল তারি করামত আলি নামেতে।"
7. See Mulakhkhas (Calcutta, 1287 A.H.), p.30.
8. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Jama'at-i-Mujahidīn, p.293; 'Abd al-Wajid Lashkar, Ahwal-i-Murshidin, p.2; 'Abd al-Batin, Sirat, p.8 ; see the geneology of the Mawlana in Appendix C.
9. E.I., Vol.II, p.752; Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, Tajallī-i-Nūr, Pt.II, (Jaunpur, 1317 A.H./1900 A.D.), p.123.
10. E.I., Vol.II, p.752; James Wise, Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal (London, 1883), p.27.
11. 'Abd al-Bātin, op.cit., p.10.

lessons from the 'Am para (the last part of the Holy Quran). It is also said that by dint of his sharp memory he got the 'Am pāra by heart within a few days. It, however, seems to have been an exaggeration. This is because, if he could memorise the 'Am para within a few days, he would have memorised the Holy Qur'an in full. But available sources corroborate the fact that he was not a hāfiz, although he was a man of sharp memory. It is also borne out by some sources that he was meritorious and talented and as such could master different branches of learning while he was yet to be twenty.[12] His basic education started at home under the able guidance of his father. When he completed his primary education in Persian and Arabic his father realised that the boy was genius. He was then sent to some reputed teachers of the age to learn various subjects.[13] Jaunpur was a great seat of learning, patronised by many accomplished rulers of the time. Shahjahan used to call it the 'Shiraj' of Hind.[14] Naturally Mawlana Karamat 'Ali could easily avail himself of all the facilities provided by the cultural environment of the place. He studied preliminary lessons of 'ilm al-dīn under Qudrat Allah[15] Rudluwi and 'ilm al-ma'qul under Ahmad Ali

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12. Ibid.,p.11 ; cf.'Abd al-Qadir's letter,Appendix A.
13. Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī,op.cit.,p.123.; 'Abd al-Awwal,Mufid al-Muftī (Lucknow, 1326 A.H.),p.140.
14. Wolsely Haig,The Cambridge History of India,Vol.III,(Delhi, 1958),p.259; cf.Persy Brown, Indian Architecture(Bombay,3rd edition,N.D.,1st edition in 1942), p.43.

Cheriakuti (d.1272 A.H.) who was a great scholar of the time.[15] He studied the Qur'an and the Hadith under Ahmad Allah Annami.[16]

As regards the teachers of Mawlana Karamat Ali, the scholars are of different opinions. James Wise says that when he was sixteen years of age he went to Delhi and studied religious sciences under Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz (1746-1823).[17] A.Yusuf Ali maintained that he read 'theology and other Muslim sciences under various reputed teachers of the time,especially Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, Muhaddith of Delhi'.[18] Nūr al-Dīn Zaydī, M.A.Khan, and Anisuzzaman supported the view.[19] Their information is not, however, corroborated by other sources as Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī himself said that Shah 'Abd al-'Azīz was the spiritual guide and teacher of his own spiritual guide, Sayyid Aḥmad.[20] Elsewhere he mentioned his sanad of Hadīth and the Qur'an and said that his teacher in these subjects was Ahmad Allah ibn Dalīl al-Dīn Ṣiddiqī Annāmī.[21]

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15. Sīrat,p.13; 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni,op.cit.,p.194.;Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Jama'at-i-Mujāhidin,p.293;Rahman 'Alī,Tadhkira-i-Ulama-i-Hind (Lucknow,1894),p.20.
16. Karāmat 'Alī,Mukāshifat-i-Rahmat in Dhakhira,I(Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.),p.31;Masik Muhammadi,Dacca,Srabana,1353 B.S.p.844.
17. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.27.
18. E.I.,Vol.II,p.753.
19. Nur al-Din Zaydi,op.cit., 123; M.A.Khan,A Bibliographical Introduction to Modern Islamic Development in Pakistan(Dacca, 1959),p.91;Anisuzzaman,Muslim Manas O Bangla Sahittya(Dacca, 1964),p.37.
20. Karamat 'Ali,Kitab-i-Istiqamat,Dhakhira,I,p.168;Nur un 'ala Nur, (Jaunpur,1325 A.H.),p.88;'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni,op.cit.,p.194
21. Karamat 'Ali,Mukashifat-i-Rahmat,p.31, see Appendix 8.

In his student life he did not study 'ilm al-tajwīd (the art of reciting the Holy Qur'an correctly and melodiously) under any qāri. He learnt to read the Holy Qur'an from his father. In the course of time he studied the art successfully and practised it efficiently.[22] He learnt caligraphy from Hafiz 'Abd al-Ghani.[23] His biographers claimed that he could write excellently in three styles - nasta'liq, naskh and tughra and it is also claimed by them that some Arabic books and the Holy Quran written by his own hand are still found.[24] His hand-writing was so excellent, different sources tells us, as he could write the whole sura Ikhlas with بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم in the beginning and his name at the end upon a grain of rice.[25] Of course it seems to be impossible to write the whole sura on a grain of rice,but different sources available to us convince us to agree upon and leave no room for doubt. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali himself told that sometimes he met the expenditure of his journey by selling the Holy Quran copied with his own hand.[26]

With the advance of academic attainment he learnt wrestling under one goldsmith Bihari by name. In wrestling as well as swordmanship he stood first among his fellow-students and

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22. Cf. Karamat Ali, Sharh Jazri Hindi (Cawnpore,N.D.),p.3.
23. 'Abd al-Batin,op.cit.,p.15; Sayyid Iqbal Ahmad,Tarikh-i-Shiraj-i-Hind, Jaunpur (Lucknow,1963),p.779.
24. Sirat, pp.15-16; Sayyid Iqbal Ahmad, op.cit.,p.779;Appendix E
25. Ibid.;Nur al-Din Zaydi,op.cit.,p.124.
26. Karamat 'Ali,Itminan al-Qulub,Dhakhira,III(Dacca,1962),p.140.

became a gallant warrior.[27] This art always stood by him and proved to be of immense help in his journey for preaching Islam in the distant parts of Bengal.[28]

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali met Sayyid Ahmad first at Rai Bareli in 1234 A.H/1819 A.D. when the latter came back home from Delhi.[29] He maintained that he became murid of Sayyid Ahmad in tariqa and stayed there for 18 days;and received spiritual training from his murshid in the mosque of Bareli. Sayyid Ahmad explained the mysteries of 'ilm al-ma'rifa and tariqa which proved of an immense help in the spiritual life of the Mawlana.[30] He met his murshid for the second time in 1236 A.H/ 1821 A.D. when the latter was on his way to Mecca and accompanied him upto Calcutta. He presented some white cloths and forty rupees to his murshid.[31] After his departure for Mecca the Mawlana might have gone back to Jaunpur and came back to Bengal in 1822 for preaching Islam among the common people.[32] In 1239 A.H/1823 A.D. he met Sayyid Ahmad for the third time at Banaras and accompanied him upto Mirzapur when the latter was on the return journey from Mecca to Rai Bareli through Calcutta. Sayyid Ahmad gave him a khilafat nama on Shaban 2,

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27. Sirat,pp.17-18.
28. Karamat 'Ali, Itminan al-Qulub,p.140.
29. Ghulam Rasul Mihr,Jama'at-i-Mujahidin,p.193;Karamat 'Ali, Zad al-Taqwa (Calcutta,1293 A.H.),pp.112-113.
30. Karamat 'Ali, Nur 'ala Nur, pp.73-74;Zad al-Taqwa, p.113.
31. J.C.Jack,Bengal District Gazetteer,Bakarganj(Calcutta,1918), p.34;Ghulam Rasul Mihr,Sayyid Ahmad Shahid(Lahore,1952)p.198.
32. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, p.198.

1239 A.H./ April 3,1824 A.D. That khilafat nama is still preserved by his successors.[33]

There are different views about his visit to Sayyid Ahmad. James Wise, A.Yusuf 'Ali and J.C.Jack are of opinion that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali had been with Sayyid Ahmad at Calcutta.[34] 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni and Nur al-Din Zaydi write that Mawlana Karamat 'Alī became disciple of Sayyid Ahmad and received spiritual training from him.[35] Ghulam Rasul Mihr says that when Mawlana Karamat Ali was 18 years old he met Sayyid Ahmad and became his disciple in his tariqa.[36] 'Abd al-Batin also maintains that the Mawlana met his murshid Sayyid Ahmad at Rai Bareli when he was 18 years old and became his disciple.[37] 'Abd al-Qadir, in a letter from Comilla to 'Abd al-Awwal writes that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali at the 23rd year of his age had the fortune of bay'a in the hands of Sayyid Ahmad at Banaras in the month of Zu'lhijjah, 1237.[38] The fact of receiving initiation from Sayyid Ahmad is corroborated by all the above sources. Thus it may be rightly assumed that the fact of the Mawlana's presence in the levee of Sayyid Ahmad and receiving initiation from him when the latter stayed at Banaras on his way to Mecca,

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33. See Appendix B.
34. James Wise,Eastern Bengal,p.27; E.I.,Vol.II,p.752 ; J.C.Jack, op.cit.,p.34.
35. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni,op.cit.,p.194;Nur al-Din Zaydi,op.cit p.123.
36. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Jama'at-i-Mujahidin,p.293.
37. Sirat, pp.21-22.
38. See Appendix A.

is correct. But the time and date stated by 'Abd al-Qadir are not correct. Because Sayyid Ahmad had been to Banaras, on his way to Mecca, in the month of Zu'lhijjah, 1236 A.H. and he stayed there upto Muharram 10, 1237 A.H.[39] when the Mawlana was 22 years old. In Zu'lhijjah, 1237 A.H. Sayyid Ahmad had been at Mecca performing hajj pilgrimage.[40] Besides this, the Mawlana himself says that his murshid explained to him the mysteries of tariqa for 18 days in the mosque of Rai Bareli and he could overcome the darkness and difficulties and achieved the pure light of ma'rifa.[41] He also claims that during his stay at Rai Bareli he approached 'Abd al-Hayy to explain to him the reality of kashf and mushahada.[42] By examining all the sources including the Mawlana's own statement[43] we may rightly assume that he met his murshid at different times at different places and received initiation from him and became a renowned khalifa of Sayyid Ahmad. It may also be reasonably assumed that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali met Sayyid Ahmad for the second time and not for the first time in 1821 when the latter was on the way to Mecca and accompanied him upto Calcutta. This was the first visit of the Mawlana to Bengal. Thus he entered the realm of ilm al-ma'rifa when he was below 25 years of age. Of course, it was the initial stage of his initiation.

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39. Ja'far Thanissari, Sawanih Ahmadi (Lahore, N.D.), p.47; Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, p.186.
40. Ibid.
41. Karamat Ali, Zad al-Taqwa, p.113.
42. Karamat 'Ali, Nur 'ala Nur, pp.73-74.
43. Ibid., p.15; Itminan al-Qulub, p.153; Kitab-i-Istiqamat, p.168; Murad al-Muridin in Dhakhira, III, p.22.

He performed hajj pilgrimage. But it is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of his visit to Mecca. Because he did not mention any where in his book the date and period of his hajj pilgrimage except one word at the end of Miftah al-Janna where he said that just after returning from hajj he printed the book in 1243 A.H.[44] According to James Wise, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali accompanied Sayyid Ahmad to Mecca.[45] But we do not find any reference to this kind of statement in the biography of Sayyid Ahmad nor do we find it in the writings of the Mawlana nor in his own biography. On the other hand, J.C.Jack's report [46] in this regard is contradictory to that of James Wise. Moreover, the Mawlana himself says that he studied 'ilm al-qirat for two and a half years under the qaris of Arabia ;[47] whereas Sayyid Ahmad stayed there for fourteen months from Shában 18, 1237 to Zu'lqa'da 1, 1238.[48] Thus we cannot agree with James Wise in this matter. On examining various sources [49] and the Mawlana's own writings[50] in Miftah al-Janna and Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, we may

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44. Karamat 'Ali, Miftah al-Janna (Cawnpore, 1345 A.H.), p.118.

45. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.27.

46. J.C.Jack, op.cit., p.34.

47. Karamat 'Ali, Sharh-i-Jazri Hindi, p.3.

48. Ja'far Thanissari, op.cit., p.65 ; Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, p.238.

49. E.I., Vol.II, p.752; J.C.Jack, op.cit., p.34; James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.27. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni, op.cit., p.194.

50. Miftah al-Janna, p.118 ; Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.17.

come to the conclusion that he visited Mecca and performed hajj ; but he did neither accompany Sayyid Ahmad to Mecca nor did he performed hajj with him. He probably performed hajj in 1240 A.H. and might have studied there for two and a half years and returned in 1242 A.H.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was well-versed in Hadith and fiqh. His teacher in Hadith, as mentioned before, was Ahmad Allah Annami[51] whose teachings greatly influenced him in his support of taqlid. As we see that he maintained the same view about taqlid as revealed in Miat Masail fi Tahsil al-Fadail[52] written by Muhammad Ishaq Dihlawi and edited by Ahmad Allah Annami.[53] Thus he emphasised on the teaching of fiqh and condemned the people who did not follow the injunctions of it and called them la-madhhab and wahhabi.[54] The claim of some people that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was wahhabi is not, therefore, corroborated by the detailed exposition of his own views as expressed in his Mukashifat-i-Rahmat and Qawl al-Thabit.[55]

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51. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni, op.cit.,p.194 ; Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Jamaat-i-Mujahidin, p.293 ; Muhammad Sadiq, Tadhkira-i-Hanafiya-wa Mash'ikh-i-Sufiya (Jaunpur, 1345 A.H.), p.10.

52. This book comprises hundred questions put to Muhammad Ishaq Dihlawi and the answers thereof given by him. See Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in, Dhakhira II, p.224 ; cf. Qamus al-Kutub Urdu, Vol.I (Karachi, 1961), p.217.

53. Karamat 'Ali, Quwwat al-Iman (Calcutta, 1253 A.H.), p.95.

54. Karamat 'Ali, Nur 'ala Nur, pp.42-43.

55. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.7 ; Qawl al-Thabit, p.5.

When his position in respect of madhhab and taqlid became clear, he should not be confused with another Sayyid Karamat 'Ali[56] of Jaunpur (1796-1876), a contemporary Shiah 'alim who represented the British government in the court of Dost Muhammad Khan at Kabul, 1832-1835[57] and was subsequently appointed the mutawalli (superintendent) of Hugli Imambara in 1837 to serve in the same post till his death in 1876.[58]

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was a muhaddith and translated two famous books on Hadith: (I) Mishkwat al-masabih, pt.I and (II) Shamail-i-Tirmidhi. In his translation entitled Anwar-i-Muhammadi Tarjama-i-Shama'il-i-Tirmidhi[59], the Mawlana rendered in Urdu, the Prophet's habit of eating, living, ablution, bathing, praying, character and conduct with commentory, where necessary, and a preface at the beginning. He was a faqih of well repute. He wrote three books on the subject : (I) Miftah al-Janna (2) Zinat al-Musalli and(3)Tazkiyat al-Niswan. Miftah al-Janna written in Urdu earned so much

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56. Sayyid Karamat 'Ali of Jaunpur was the son of Rahmat 'Ali. See Qamus al-Kutub Urdu, p.296.

57. E.I.,Vol.II, p.753.

58. See a brief biography of Sayyid Karamat 'Ali in monthly Basumati, Calcutta,Srabana,1341 B.S.,p.590 ; see also C.E. Buckland,Dictionary of Indian Biography(London,1906),p.229.

59. Qamus al-Kutub Urdu,Vol.I, pp.151-152. The author of Qamus al-Kutub Urdu maintains that the manuscript of Anwar-i-Muhammadi prepared by his own hand is extant in the library of Uthmaniya University, Hydrabad,Deccan.

popularity and fame that it was reprinted time and again. This book is so popular compilation of the Mawlana as some writers mentioned him as Sahib-i-Miftah al-Jahha.[60] It was translated into Bengali as well by many writers and published in both Bengali and Urdu by many publishers. This book is still found in the houses of most of the Hanafites irrespective of murids and ghayr-murids.[61] The Urdu and Bengali versions of the other two books are also found in our country.

He was a qari of the first rank.[62] Qari Sayyid Muhammad Iskandarni and Muhammad Ibrahim Madani were his teachers in this field.[63] But we do not find the name of any teacher on 'ilm al-tajwid during his life in the elementary or secondary education. Thus we may assume that he did not learn 'ilm al-tajwid in the elementary or secondary level when he read other subjects under reputed teachers of Jaunpur. This assumption has been corroborated by his own confession that during that period he used to recite the Holy Quran incorrectly though it was not intentionally, is so far as he did not know the rules of recitation and pronunciation accurately. When he could feel this defficiency he became ashamed of it and laboured hard to

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60. Ja'far Thanissari, op.cit. p.141 ; See also Qamus al-Kutub Urdu, Vol. I, p.2.

61. Rahman 'Ali, op.cit., p.171; 'Abd al-Batin, op.cit., p.11 ; 'Abd al-'Aziz, Darwish nama (Calcutta, 1278 B.S.), p.395.

62. 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni, op.cit., p.194; Nur al-Din Zaydi, op.cit., p.123.

63. Karamat 'Ali, Sharh-i-Jazri Hindi, p.3; Zinat al-Qari, (Cawnpore, N.D.), p.9; 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni, op.cit., p.194.

learn the art fully. In fact his deficiency in 'ilm al-tajwid was made up when he went to Mecca to perform hajj. He approached the qaris of Arabia and spent two or two and a half years in learning this art, particularly under Qari Muhammad Iskandarni.[64] He exelled in the art and wrote four books on the subject, viz. (1) Sharh-Jazri Hindi, (2) Zinat al-Qari, (3) Makharij al-Huruf, and (4) Kawkab-i-Durri.[65] All these books made him immertal in the realm of tajwid al-Quran . These books have been included in the syllabi of many Arabic educational institutions and are referred to by the qaris of Indo-Pak-Bangladesh subcontinent. He did not innovate anything in the art, although he illustrated the rules and explained them explicitly by which the subject became easier to grasp.

He could compose poems and wrote some fine poems as we see in his books.[66] He was, however, not known as poet, and we did not find any book of poetry in the list of his works.

He was successful debater. In the course of his preaching tour in Bengal he had to take part in many a debate in which, as it is reported, he defeated the opposite party and successfully established his own views.[67]

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64. Karamat 'Ali, Sharh-Jazri Hindi, p.3.

65. See infra, chapter II(b).

66. Karamat 'Ali, Zad al-Taqwa, pp.114-115. He wrote khutba of jumu'a in Arabic poetical form. He also wrote poems in Urdu and Persian (See Miftah al-Janna, pp.119-126).

67. Wazir 'Ali, Muslim Rathahar, p. 9.

According to J.C.Jack, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali came to Bengal after Sayyid Ahmad's departure for Mecca in 1822, with the object of teaching Islamic faith.[68] It seems to have been correct. For Mawlana Ali died in 1873 after 51 years of his preaching tour in Bengal.[69] Initially he came alone without family ; because Bengal was quite unknown to him and it was wise enough for him to come alone to such an unknown place. After his short stay in this region he went back to Jaunpur and came to Bengal again. In 1250 A.H./1835 A.D. he came to Bengal accompanied by his family and it was in this journey that his son Hafiz Ahmad was born at Calcutta.[70] According to the author of Muslim Ratnahar, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali came to Bengal in 1245 B.S.[71] The author did not know the exact date of his first arrival. Perhaps he came to know him when he had reached Faridpur in 1245 B.S./1838 A.D. Thus M.A.Khan's observation[72]

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68. J.C.Jack, op.cit.,p. 34.

69. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Jama'at-i-Mujahidin, p.293; 'Abd al-Batin, op.cit., p.45.

70. Ibid.

71. Wazir Ali, Muslim Ratnahar,p.9. The author says -

" বাহ্য' পঞ্চত্রিশ সালে হিন্দুস্তানী ।
মওলানা করামত আলী আসে বঙ্গে ভূমি ।। "

I heard that a Hindustani Mawlana Karamat 'Ali came to Bengal in the year 1245 B.S.

72. M.A.Khan, History of the Fara'idi Movement (Karachi,1965),p.90.

that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali came to Calcutta from Jaunpur for the first time in 1250 A.H./ 1835 A.D. does not seem to be correct.

However, he sacrificed his life in preaching Islamic ideals and in doing so he had to suffer much.[73] He travelled from Calcutta to Faridpur, Barisal, Dacca, Chittageng, Mymensingh, Noakhali, Comilla, Sylhet, Rangpur, Purniya, Khulna, Nadiya, Murshidabad and Pabna . In these days the means of communication were backward. It was very difficult to travel from one place to another ; particularly in the rivers in Bengal. He hired a boat from Dacca and travelled by it from place to place.[74] He delivered speaches constantly in mahfils (religious gatherings). His delineation attracted the people who gathered enmasse in the mahfils. In the course of his preaching tour he reached Laxmipur in the district of Noakhali. There was a pious pir in Laxmipur named Azim Shah who was known as Dayrabarir Shah Sahib. Shah Sahib could recognise his talent and appreciated his service to the cause of Islam. He gave his daughter in marriage with him. This matrimonial relation gave him more scopes for preaching Islamic ideals among the people of this region. Sometimes he hired two boats - one for his family and the other for himself, his disciples and followers who used to come to him regularly.

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73. Karamat 'Ali, Itminan al-Qulub,p.140;Mahfuz al-Haqq,op.cit. p.9.

74. 'Abd al-Bashar, Sirat-i-Mawlana 'Abd al-Awwal (Jaunpur, 1370 A.H.),p.16 ; cf. Appendix A.

His life had a double struggle - on the one hand he had to struggle and endevour against the superstitious beliefs and practices and combat the un-Islamic and anti-Islamic activities of the bid'atis, and on the other hand he had to face the opposition by the Fara'idis on some points of difference and the Ahl al-Hadith on some others. After 51 years of preaching true Islamic ideals and reforming the superstitions he died at Rangpur in Bengal on 3 Rabi' al-thani, 1290/ 31 May, 1873.[75] At the time of his death he left his two wives, five sons, nine daughters and a vast number of khalifas and disciples.[76]

(b) An Introduction to his works.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali wrote several books and treatises, some of which had been published in his life time. After his death the necessity of his books was felt by his successors and followers who made an attempt to publish his works. From different sources we find a list of forty nine books and treatises ascribed to Mawlana Karamat Ali ;[77] but all of them are not available. Some of which might have remained in

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75. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Jama'at-i-Mujahidin, II, p.293 ; 'Abd al-Hayy al-Husayni, op.cit., p.194 ; E.I., Vol. II, p. 753.

76. See Appendix F.

77. See the list of the books in Appendix G.

manuscript form.[78] However, in those books and treatises the Mawlana expressed his thoughts and experiences gathered during his tour in Bengal and Assam and other places visited by him. Most of the works are in Urdu, while a few of them are in Arabic and Persian. His works can be classified into five categories as shown below :

(I) General works dealing with general practices of the Islamic way of life, such as Miftah al-Janna, 'Aqa'id-i-Haqqa, etc.

(II) Works dealing with the family life and social reforms, such as - Qawl al-Thabit, Tazkiyat al-Niswan, etc.

(III) Polemics around some doctrines of the Fara'idi, Wahhabi and Ahl al-Hadith movements, such as Hujjat-i-Qati'a, Nasim al-Haramayn, etc.

(IV) Works on the doctrines of mysticism and Sufism, such as Bay'at-i-Tawba, Nurun 'ala Nur, etc.

(V) Translation works, such as Tarjama-i-Mishkwa, Tarjama-i-Shamil-i-Tirmidhi, Sharh-i-Jazri Hindi, etc.

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78. This surmise arose out of the fact that in his book - Tadhkira-i-'Ulama-i-Hind, Rahman 'Ali gave a list of forty seven books (Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in and Radd al-bid'a being one and the same); and at the end of Qawl al-Thabit, published separately from Calcutta in Rabi' al-Awwal, 1293 A.H., the publisher appended a list of forty nine books and treatises of the author. But they did not mention whether all the books had been published or not. Had they been published they would have attracted the attention of the Mawlana's grand son, 'Abd al-Batin, who wrote a biography of him entitled Sirat-i-Mawlana Karamat 'Ali Jaunpuri and gave a list of forty two books. See Sirat, pp.145-149.

In his writings we find the reference of so many books and treatises, such as Radd al-Muhtar, Madarij al-Nabuwa, Jami' Saqir, Hisnu Hasin, Fatawa Alamgiriya, Sharh Wiqaya, Hidaya, Jami' al-Ramuz, Kanz al-Daqa'iq, Tafsir Madarik, Tafsir Ruh al-Bayan, Akhbar al-Akhyar, Bukhari, Muslim, Ibn Maja, Tirmidhi, al-Qawl al-Jamil, 'Awarif al-Ma'arif, Sirat-i-Mustaqim, Taqwiyat al-Iman, al-Ashbah wa-al-Naza'ir, Mizan al-Sha'rani, etc. He refuted the contents of many books and in support of his refutation he referred to many other books and treatises. It seems that he had gone through so many books and writings of various writers, specially for the purpose of taking part in bahth and munazara. He had to read the books of the opponents and prepare his own reply to them by studying relevant books and treatises in support of his own views. Sometimes he quoted the questions and writings of his opponents and replied them pointedly.[79] Of course in some cases he refuted the contents of some books written in Bengali, on the basis of the reports of his disciples and followers as he could not read Bengali well.[80] He always touched upon the contemporary problems and in solving them referred to the books and ideas of the forerunners. Mostly he referred to the books of fiqh

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79. See Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in in Dhakhira-i-Karamat, Vol.II (Cawnpore, 1334 A.H.), pp.213-238.

80. As for example he refuted a Bengali treatise of the Bananiya group. See Karamat 'Ali, Ihqaq al-Haqq (Matba' Islami, 1297 A.H.), pp.4-5.

and 'aqāid written by the scholars before him.[81] Often he quoted traditions in support of his ideas and explained them in order to prove the genuineness of his views. For the solution of any problem, he was not ready to compromise with anybody in any matter. To make the general people understand well he discussed the same thing repeatedly in his writings and lectures on various occasions. He frequently took down his polemical discussions and refutations of the ideas of his opponents : the Fara'idis(to him Kharijites of Bengal), Ahl al-Hadith (to him La-madhhab) and Mukhlis al-Rahman of Chittagong and his followers (to him Wujudiya). Sometimes in the course of discussion, he became so much angry and emotional that he did not hesitate to use harsh words repeatedly against them.[82] In his whole writings he defended the views of his murshid Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Muhammad Ismail. He did not agree that Shah Muhammad Ismail put more emphasis on Hadith than on fiqh. Whenever the question of Shah Muhammad Ismail and his writings arose he explained the writings in his own way.[83]

After going through the works of the Mawlana we came to the conclusion that he was an active man who moved from place to place in preaching Islamic ideology to the general mass.

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81. Karamat 'Ali, Nur 'ala Nur, p.5. He says : حدیث اور قرآن تو عین دین ہے اسی پر عمل کرنا کے والسطے فقہ - عقائد - تصوف مقرر ہوئے ہیں - پس ان تینوں میں جو بات نہ ملے تو جھوٹ اور دین کے خلاف ہے -

82. Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn,p.27.

83. See Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in,p.22.

Thus he got little time to concentrate his mind on writing systematically. In his extensive and life long tour, he tried to reform the erroneous ideas and un-Islamic practices of the Muslims. He strived to combat all the evil practices through his speeches and facile pen ; but he did not go deep into philosophical thought. Naturally, he did not produce original works. Some of his books have been translated into Urdu and Bengali. A brief synopsis of the contents of his books is given below.

Miftah al-Janna

This book was first published in 1243 A.H.[84] But the book which we consulted was published from Cawnpore in Jumada I,1345 /November, 1927. The total number of pages is 148.

In the very beginning of the book he praised Almighty Allah and prayed for the Prophet and his sahaba. In writing hamd (praise for Allah), unlike others, he gave a vivid description of Allah and His kindness and blessings towards the Muslim men and women who followed His orders; and His punishment fixed for the sinners. He wrote na'at in the similar manner.

He classified the book into four babs(chapters) which were again divided into fasls(sections). In the first bab he described iman (faith) and the excellence of prayer.[85] The second bab,

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84. See p.118.

85. See pp. 8-10.

divided into thirteen fasls was devoted to explain tahara (purification). In all of the thirteen fasls of that bab the author just described different aspects of tahara in general.[86] In the third bab which was divided into thirty two fasls he discussed the different aspects of prayers including fard, wajib, sunna and the like and how to perform them well.[87] In the fourth bab he discussed fasting and all the aspects related to it. This is a general work, and the general mass has been greatly benefited by it and perhaps for that reason it has been translated into Bengali by many and published for several times.

Zad al-Taqwa

The first edition of this book was published from Matba'-i-Ahmadi, Shialda in 1287 A.H. Later edition which we consulted was published from Cawnpore in 1340/1922. The total number of pages is 350.

In the introduction of the book, the author expounded one part of the Hadith-i-Jabra'il[88] and a verse of the Holy Quran[89]

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86. See pp. 10-38.
87. See pp.57-62.
88. A tradition narrated by 'Umar ibn al-Khattab in which it is stated that once Jabra'il came to the Prophet and sat close to him and asked a few questions which were promptly answered by the Prophet and the answers were seconded by Jabra'il, the questioner himself. The Mawlānā expounded the following part of the Hadith. - فاخبرني عن الاحسان قال ان تعبد الله كانك تراه فان لم تكن تراه فانه يراك

    See the Hadith in full in Mishkwat al-Masabih (Karachi, 1368 A.H.) p. 11.
89. Sura Āli Imran : 19. ان الدين عند الله الاسلام

and proved the necessity of muraqaba and mushahada and the futility of performing bay'a at the hand of a bid'ati pir or at the hand of an unworthy descendant of a pir. He held that the Quran is kalam lafzi (expressed word) which expresses kalam nafsi (word hidden in the heart) - an attribute of Allah. He argued that dhikr, muraqaba and the recitation of the Holy Quran led to mushahada and mushahada led to mahabbat bi-Allah (love with Allah) and mahabbat bi-Allah led to ittiba' ahkam (obedience to His commands). He rightly put respective importance on fard, wajib, sunna and nafl.

There are twelve fasls in the book. In the first and second fasls the author discussed the oneness of Allah and described His dhat and sifat (attributes) which are ascribed to and owned by Him alone.[90] In the third fasl he discussed the ma'rifa (cognizance) of Allah, how could He be realized and how could He be known. Referring to a book of tasawwuf viz. Ta'arruf of Kalabadhi he noted that the cognizance of Allah and His supremacy over everything did not require any evidence ; Because He Himself is an evidence. Man is not perfect as he is a created being. Thus he is unable to know Allah perfectly with the help of imperfect knowledge and wisdom. He referred to the saying of Nawabi who in reply to a question regarding the evidence for the cognizance of Allah, told that Allah Himself is the evidence.[91]

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90. See pp. 34-45

91. See p. 45

The auther then described the arkan of tasawwuf which were according to him, ten in number.[92] He gave a list of some sufis of the past generation beginning with 'Ali, the fourth caliph of Islam and his two sons - Hasan and Husayn. In the six fasl[93] he explained a few terms of sufism such as Jama' and tafriqa. Referring to 'Awarif al-Ma'arif [94] and some other books of sufism he explained the terms in the light of the statements of the learned authors of those books. In the seventh, he discussed the different kinds of tawajjuh, its effects and tariqa of tawajjuh.[95] In the light of al-Qawl al-Jamil of Shah Wali Allah he nicely explained the eleven words on which the Tariqa-i-Naqshabandiya was based.[96] He also expounded some sufistic words - muraqaba, nisbat, mushahada, fana, baqa, haqq al-yaqin and three kinds of tajalli.[97] In the eleventh fasl he highly admired Sayyid Ahmad and Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya, and showed the signs and symbols of a mujaddid. He also pointed out that Sayyid Ahmad had always been at the foot print of the Prophet and for that reason his tariqa was so named. He repeatedly discussed

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92. See p.50. The ten arkan are as follows :

93. See pp. 61-80.

94. This is an authentic book of tasawwuf written by Shahab al-Din Abu Hafs Umar ibn Muhammad ibn Abd Allah al-Sahrawardi.

95. See pp. 80-86.

96. See pp. 87-92.

97. See pp. 92-96.

the fadila (excellence) of dhikr, its effects and benefits, secrecy of mushahada and the ways and means of attaining it. Last of all he described in detail the ishqhal of Tariqa-i-Naqshabandiya and how to practise it.[98]

Nur 'ala Nur

This book was published from A'zam al-Matabi', Jaunpur in 1325 A.H.The total number of pages is 334. In the preface of the book the author informed us that he would concentrate his attention on two things : first, he would discuss radd(repudiation) of the anti-Sharia and anti-tawawwuf beliefs which had crept into the Muslim society;and second, he would deal with the detailed aspects of tasawwuf.[99]

The book has been divided into three fasls followed by a takmila (appendix) by Qari Muhammad 'Abd al-Qadir, a favourite khalifa of the author.[100] In the first fasl he mentioned five tanbihs (warnings) and four nasihats (advices). He highly admired Sayyid Ahmad and his tariqa.He discussed the miracles of the tariqa and cautioned the people not to fall a victim to the deciet of the mischievous.[101]

In the second fasl he gave eight hidayas (instructions) along with nine wa'zes (lectures) interspersed with several fa'idas (benefits) and one hikaya (story). In this long fasl

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98. See p.168f.

99. See pp. 2-10.

100.See p.297,foot note.

101.See pp. 11-26.

he discussed the problems and solutions of various aspects of tasawwuf which a salik (a man practising sufism) should know. The main instructions given by the author were the ways of practising suluk after understanding the Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya well. Quoting a verse[102] from the Holy Quran, he tried to prove the necessity of performing bay'a in the hand of a pir. He put more and more emphasis on the relation between the murshid and murid and told that a murid must have respect and veneration for his murshid. He mentioned that to have fayd (spirit) from more than one shaykh was in conformity with the practices of the former mashaykh.[103] Then he discussed some terms of sufism - sayr, suluk, latifa, etc.[104] He elaborated the principles of latifa and the ways of their sayr. He showed the of the prophets and opined that six outstanding prophets - Adam, Nuh, Ibrahim, Musa, 'Isa and Muhammad were the best and the most pious men.[105] He vehemently opposed the views of the upholders of the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud.[106] He refuted those who disbelieved the tradition of mi'raj (noctural journey towards heaven) of the Prophet.[107] Almost the whole chapter had been devoted in the discussion of various aspects of sufism.

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102. Sura al-Ma'ida : 35 — يا ايها الذين آمنوا اتقوا الله وابتغوا اليه الوسيلة وجاهدوا في سبيله لعلكم تفلحون -

103. See p. 67.

104. See pp. 148-224.

105. See pp. 197-198.

106. See p.204f.

107. See p.220f.

In the third fasl he discussed the various aspects of the Muslim life and some practices of their daily life[108] - such as purification, prayer, fasting. Last of all he gave the urdu translation and his own explanation of the seventh chapter of 'Ayn al-ilm,[109] where, according to Mawlana Karamat 'Ali all the aspects of life were discussed.[110]

DHAKHIRA-I-KARAMAT, Vol.I

Eight books and treatises of Karamat 'Ali have been brought together in this volume. The books are : (I) Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, (II) Risala-i-Fayd-i-'am, (III) Tazkiyat al-Aqa'id, (IV) Hujjat-i-Qatia, (V) Nur al-Huda, (VI) Kitab-i-Istiqamat, (VII) Zinat al-Musalli, (VIII) Aqa'id-i-Haqqa. Most of the above books and treatises were published separately earlier. Volume I under the name of Dhakhira-i-Karamat was published from Matba'--i-Majidi, Cawnpore in 1344 A.H. The total number of pages is 262.

Mukashifat-i-Rahmat

The book contains ten nasihas (instructions). In the first two instructions the author advised the people to give up vices and to take up right path guided by Allah and His apostle.[111] In the third and fourth, he discussed the condition of the Muslim society and the position of an individual who commits sin. He criticised the Muslims who had adopted the Hindu practices

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108. See pp.282-286.

109. This book of tasawwuf was written in Arabic by Jamal al-Din Muhammad ibn Uthman ibn 'Umar al-Balkhi.

110. See pp. 287-296.

111. See pp. 3-5.

in their practical life.[112] The fifth instruction dealt with the spiritual preceptorship.[113] Referring to some verses[114] of the Holy Quran he tried to prove the merits of the preceptorship. He refuted the idea of some munkirin who had misguided the general people with their wrong ideas about Sayyid Ahmad and his tariqa. He gave an account of the life and work of Sayyid Ahmad and admired him as a mujaddid of the 13th century hijra year with all the signs of the mujaddidin.[115] In the sixth, seventh and eighth instructions,[116] he described the punishment ascribed to the sinners and the ways and means to attain salvation from it and the processes to be followed to get rid of the eternal punishment. In the remaining two instructions,[117] he showed the path of avoiding bid'a and un-Islamic practices. For the purpose he laid stress upon the attainment of the companionship of Sayyid Ahmad. He also discussed how the authenticity of a thing could be ascertained.[118] In this connection he serially narrated his own sanad of the Quran and Hadith.[119]

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112. See pp. 5-9.

113. See p. 9f.

114. Sura, Al 'Imran : 31
al-Hashr : 7

115. See pp. 15-22.

116. See pp. 22-25.

117. See pp. 25-32.

118. See p. 28.

119. See pp. 31-32.

Risala-i-Fayd-i-'Am

This treatise contains fa'idas (benefits) and one khatima (conclusion). The author claimed that he had described the most important aspect of Tariqa-i-Mujaddidiya.[120] It was also discussed in detail in his another book Nur 'ala Nur.[121] He described 'alam-i-amr and 'alam-i-khalq and differentiated between the two.[122] He then discussed the technique of practising Tariqa-i-Mujaddidiya. Referring to Maktubat -i-Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani he tried to expound his points in the light of the Mujaddid.[123] He also discussed some aspects of Tariqa-i-Naqshabandiya and miscellaneous aspects of spiritual preceptorship.

Tazkiyat al-Aqa'id

In this short book of 22 pages the author discussed some aspects of belief and spiritual preceptorship. He did not clearly demarcate the contents of the book by marking fasl or nasiha. He condemned the Fara'idis, La-madhhabs, Wujudiya and bid'ati groups categorically. In condemning them he repeated the same thing as he pointed out in Hujjat-i-Qati'a and in other books. Unlike Mu'tazilite's doctrine, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali held that haqq (truth) is one and single. Thus according to him, one should follow anyone madhhab. He complained that the above groups of people by their constant propaganda misguided the common people and deceived them while they were very simple in thought.

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120. Mujaddidiya is named after the name of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani.

121. See p. 33.

122. See p. 34.

123. See pp. 34-46.

Hujjat-i-Qati'a

In this book the author discussed the pros and cons of the doctrine of the Fara'idis and explained the controversial points in it. He severely criticised them mainly because of their suspension of jumu'a and 'id prayers. He gave a detailed statement of his debates that took place between him and the Fara'idi leaders at different places in the districts of Barisal and Faridpur. He claimed that in all the debatable points he defeated his opponents Hajji Shari'at Allah and 'Abd al-Jabbar.[124]

There are three fasls and a khatima in this book. In the first fasl, he condemned Hajji Shari'at Allah and his followers popularly known as Fara'idis and called them Kharijites of Bengal. He claimed that he met Hajji Shari'at Allah in 1252 A.H. in a mosque at Malingi mahalla in Calcutta in presence of Hajji 'Abd al-Qadir and his people.[125] There, according to Mawlana Karamat 'Ali, Hajji Shari'at Allah was insulted and he fled away. He also claimed that Dudu Miyan, son of Hajji Shari'at Allah and leader of the Faraidis after the Hajji, also fled away at night from Barisal on Thursday and did not face the debate with him.[126] He continued that in this way another Faraidi leader 'Abd al-Jabbar fled fled away at night from Jhalakati town of Barisal district.

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124. See p.116.

125. See p.86.

126. Ibid.

Again he agreed to participate in the debate to discuss and decide some controversial points between him and the Mawlana. But he did not attend the meeting and fled away at the very night. He again agreed to send the fatwa (legal decision) regarding the position of a bi-namazi (a man who does not say prayer habitually) and cutting of navel cord of new born babies, to the jurists of Mecca and both of them deposited their discourses in writing with Qadi Shafi al-Din of Barisal.[127]

In the second fasl, he blamed the Fara'idi leaders to have taken sadqa-fitra which were Haqq (due) for the poor. He also blamed that the Faraidi leaders took haram mal (illegal money) from the people. Referring to sixth fasl ( ) of 'kitab al-hudud' of Fatawa-i-Alamgiri he tried to prove that the Faraidi leaders had taken huge amount of blood-money from the people, which was not permitted by Shari'a and as such it was illegal.[128]

In the third fasl, he said that the Fara'idis of Bengal did not belong to the Ahl al-sunna wa-al-jama'a and they were not 'alim; so they were not warathat al-anbiya (inheritors of the prophets). He wrote that the prophets left two things : (I) 'ilm al-ahkam i.e. fiqh , (II) 'ilm al-asrar i.e. tasawwuf and those 'ulama who owned both the 'ilms, inherited the prophets. Thus

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127. But he did not write clearly whether the discourses were actually sent to Mecca or not and what was the fate of those discourses.

128. See p. 89.

he concluded that a la-madhhab 'alim had no right to claim to be the heir of the prophets as he disowned fiqh.[129] Similarly the Fara'idis were not inheritors of the prophets though they claimed to be 'alim, inasmuch as they disowned tasawwuf.[130]

He highly admired Abu Hanifa, the greatest faqih who, according to Karamat 'Ali, was the first man to write fiqh systematically and all the latter fuqaha followed him.[131]

In the khatima the author repeated almost the same thing and gave a detailed report of a debate held on Tuesday, the 9th Asarh, 1272 B.S./July 2, 1865 A.D. at Barisal town in the Shah Sahib's mosque. In the debate questions were put before Karamat 'Ali and the Fara'idi 'alim 'Abd al-Jabbar and the author wrote that he had defeated the Fara'idi 'alim 'Abd al-Jabbar in all the six questions.[132]

Nur al-Huda

This treatise of 29 pages contains two fasls. In this the author discussed the doctrines of tasawwuf, particularly of Mujaddidiya order of sufism. He made highly intellectual and philosophical discussions related to asceticism and prayer. In the introduction of the book Karamat 'Ali wrote that tajalli-i-af'al (تجلی افعال), tajalli-i-sifat (تجلی صفات) and tajalli-i-dhat (تجلی ذات)

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129. See p. 97.
130. Ibid.
131. See p. 98.
132. See p. 98f : see also chapter IV.

were three things by which a man could achieve tasdiq qalbi (appreciation by heart) and this tasdiq qalbi made a man mumin kamil (when he fully surrendered himself to the will of Allah. Then he maintained that 'ilm which came down as inheritance from the Prophet was of two kinds - (I) 'ilm al-ahkam and (II) 'ilm al-asrar. He added that a man who knew 'ilm ahkam and 'ilm asrar was a murshid kamil, and a man who did not achieve those qualities was not a murshid kamil.[133] He maintained that every body should have tasdiq qalbi of his own. In this case taqlid was haram while in fiqhi masa'il taqlid is fard. A man who does not agree with this difference he does not know the difference between din and Sharia ; and iman and 'amal. Thus it is not possible to know the Creator properly without knowing tajalli-i- af'al, tajalli-i-dhat and tajalli-i-sifat. Those who do not know these things and claim to be murshid and initiate the people in their false tariqa, they misguide the people.[134] Hence the people should remain cautious about those false and fake darwishes.

In the first fasl[135] Karamat'Ali described three types of tajalli in detail and in the second fasl[136] he explained the mysteries of prayer in the light of the above introduction.

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133. See p.125.

134. See p. 127.

135. See pp.129-147.

136. See pp.147-153.

Kitab-i-Istiqamat

There are one mukaddama (introduction), twenty one madmuns (articles) and one khatima (conclusion) in this book of 67 pages. In the introduction there are six qa'idas and five nasihas .All the qa'idas and nasihas deal with some good advices to the general people regarding religious affairs. He instructed his readers and followers to stick to the Islamic principles and to remain firm on sunna. In all the twenty one articles, he described as to how to attain rectitude and remain firm on sunna of the Prophet. Thus the entire book relates various aspects of theological life - what is right path and how to follow it; what is bid'a and wrong and how to avoid them; and how to select right teacher to learn Shari'a - halal, haram, sunna, makruh, mubah and other tenets of Islamic Shari'a. Introducing two stories he illustrated his instructions and showed as to how to stick to Shari'a encountering the apparent difficulties.[137]

In the twenty first article, he discussed the doctrines of three groups of people - (I) the Ahl al-Hadith, (II) the Fara'idi and (III) the followers of Mukhlis al-Rahman (to him a great bid'ati pir) of Chittagong. The author repudiated their doctrines in this book in the same manner as he did in his other books. Here of course he gave a detailed and vivid picture of the controversy with Mukhlis al-Rahman and his followers at Chittagong.[138]

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137. See p. 192.

138. See p. 199ff.

He claimed that with his argument and upright opinion he defeated the opponents. He also claimed that he had refuted the bid'ati ideas contained in Risala-i-Khatra of Mukhlis al-Rahman.

In khatima (concluding chapter) he introduced four ifadas in which he discussed the merits and benefits of saying darud on the Prophet and showed as to how to be a good man to enter the heaven and to escape the hellfire with the help of darud.[139]

Zinat al-Musalli

The very name of this short treatise of 31 pages implies the contents of it. There are three bābs which are again divided into many fasls. In the first bab, the author discussed the masā'il of ablution and the necessary rules and regulations of prayers, the system of offering them with their preconditions, obligations and prohibitions.[140] In the second bab, he discussed as to how to avoid evil thoughts in prayers.[141] He also stated the secrets and significance of arkan and ādāb of prayers. In the third bāb, he discussed as to how to make nīya for saying prayer. He rightly said that uttering of words of niya with tongue was not obligatory to intend for saying prayer.[142] He translated some du'ās and tasbīhāt which are recited in prayers.[143] At the end of the book, he wrote a khutba of marriage and discussed the process of solemnizing marriage. He also discussed the masā'il of tarābih at the end.[144]

139. See pp. 211-220.
140. See pp. 221-228.
141. See pp. 228-238.
142, See pp. 239-244.
143. See pp. 245-246.
144. See pp. 247-249.

'Aqa'id-i-Haqqa

This booklet of 11 pages contains 144 short questions of general type and the simple answers thereof.

DHAKHIRA-I-KARAMAT, Vol.II

There are six books and treatises of Karamat 'Ali which have been brought together in this volume. They are - (I) Qawl al-Thabit, (II) Da'wat-i-Masnuna, (III) Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in, (IV) Haqq al-Yaqin, (V) Bay'at nama or Bay'at-i-Tawba, and (VI) Qawl al-Amin. Most of these books were published earlier separately. The present volume was published from Matba'-i-Qayyumi, Cawnpore in 1334 A.H. The total number of pages is 244.

Qawl al-Thabit (al-Qawl al-Thabit)

The book contains 130 pages and is divided into one muqaddama and thirteen wa'azes. In the muqaddama the author described the social and religious conditions of the then Muslim society.[145] He said that it was very difficult, but at the same time beneficial, to uphold true Islam in these days of moral degradation. This is because the tenets of Islam have been shrouded with many innovations and anti-Islamic practices.

In his lectures he instructed the people to follow fiqh, which, according to him, is solely based on the Quran and Hadith. Moreover, he advised them to keep themselves aloof from the company of the anti-Islamic groups, particularly the Wahhabis who were shaytan (devils) in the eye of the author.[146] He severely criticised

145. See pp. 3-4.
146. See pp. 8-12.

them and advised the people not to be misled by them. In some lectures he told the people not to become the slaves of this world forgetting the world hereafter.[147] He held that to take money to meet the expenses of the preacher was legal. In the ninth, tenth, eleventh and thirteenth lectures, he discussed the spiritual aspects of the Muslims' life.[148] Here he enumerated the benefits of performing bay'a at the hand of a pir whose chain of preceptorship was connected with murshid kamil. He also discussed the demerits of bay'a in the hand of a fake pir whose chain of preceptorship was not connected. He explained the term rabt al-qalb bi-al-shaykh (ربط القلب بالشيخ) and in the explanation he followed the ideas of Sayyid Ahmad.[149] He thought it necessary for a novice to search for a pir.[150] He also discussed the merits of meditation and devotion. In the twelfth lecture, he elaborately discussed and criticised various innovations and practices of jahiliya (the days of ignorance) which crept into the Muslim society because of the simplicity and ignorance of the general people and their belief in the propaganda of the anti-Islamic groups. Condemning the la-madhhab people vehemently, he said that if anybody did not follow any book of fiqh and claimed to abide by the tenets of Islam by understanding the Qur'an and Hadith directly, he must have been a mujtahid. This is because if a man is not mujtahid, it is haram (unlawful) for him to choose ahkam from the Quran and Hadith directly.[151] To that effect he quoted a Hadith of the Prophet from second fasl of 'bab tayammum' of Mishkwat al-Masabih narrated

147. See pp. 16-25.
148. See pp. 29-42, 124-130.
149. See pp.36- 37.
150. See pp. 37-38.
151. See pp.43-44.

by Jabir in which the Prophet imprecated the men who would not ask any 'alim about the matter which they did not know well.[152] If a man claims that he is a mujtahid, he will be examined by fiqhi masa'il. Whether his answers are right or wrong that shall have to be corroborated by the verses of the Quran or Hadith. If he cannot quote he is foolish and mad. If he quotes, he will be asked to explain those verses or traditions. If he cannot explain he is a jahil (ignorant). If he answers he must then explain the sanad of tafsir. If he is unable to explain he is a jahil at the same time jahannami (man destined to hell-fire).

The author claimed that he refuted the complains of a La-madhhab who wrote a treatise entitled Qalb al-Itminan in refutation of his Itminan al-Qulub.[153] He said that he had refuted all the points raised by that La-madhhab in his treatise and bridged the gulf of misunderstanding created by him about Imam Abu Hanifa. He explained the comments of Imam Bukhari and Imam Gazzali about Abu Hanifa and clearly showed that they had not defame Abu Hanifa rather they admired him.[154] In reply to a question about a book entitled Idah al-Haqq and its author, the Mawlana told that the author of the book was another Ismail and not Shah Muhammad Isma'il. Of course he

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152. The Prophet Muhammad(peace be on him) says :
قتلوه قتلهم الله الا سألوا اذ لم يعلموا انما شفاء العي السوال -
Mishkwat al-Masabih(Asah al-Matabi' (Karachi,1368 A.H.) p.55.

153. See pp. 44-46.

154. Ibid.

defended Sirat-i-Mustaqim and told that his murshid specially advised him to abide by the book.[155] On the whole he refuted the contents of many treatises like Qalb al-Itminan, Risala-i-Laythiya, Asrar al-Nabuwa and the wrong ideas of the writers whom he called jahil and tried to explain his own ideas regarding taqlid, milad al-Nabi, iman, ikhlas, asceticism, the secrets of creation of men, etc. in the lengthy lectures of this book. Discussing every detail of the controvercies between him and the others he warned the people to be aware of them and their activities.

Da'wat-i-Masnuna

This book of 82 pages contains supplications. In his preface the author said that he wrote the book in complying with the request of his son Hafiz Ahmad.[156] He chose the necessary du'as to be remembered and recited by the Muslims in their various fields of work. He chose them from different books of Hadith[157] and the sayings of the salaf salihun (past pious men) without scrutinizing the authenticity and put the collection with Urdu translation thereof in this book. This book had been translated into Bengali by Sayyid Manjur Murshid and was published from Barisal.

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155. See pp. 54-55.

156. See p. 131.

157. Hisnu Hasin, Mishkwat al-Masabih, Jami' Tirmidhi, Shama'il Tirmidhi, etc.

Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in

In this short book of 28 pages Karamat 'Ali replied to seven questions put by Mukhlis al-Rahman of Chittagong to him. He copied the questions in Persian and translated them into Urdu and answered them in the same language so that the general people could understand the matter. The first question was with regard to the difference of opinions of the 'ulama on the determination of the creeds and tenets of Islam while, after twelve hundred years of nazul Quran, there was little chance of any new ijtihad. The second question was about rasmi fatiha (to recite verses of the Quran putting food before the reciter and to pray for the dead). The third question was about Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. The fourth one was about Sayyid Ahmad and his followers, whether they were Wahhabi or not. The fifth one was about the theories and ideas contained in Sirat-i-Mustaqim, Taqwiyat al-Iman and some other books of this group. In the sixth question Mukhlis al-Rahman asked whether Shah Muhammad Isma'il and 'Abd al-Hayy and their followers were right or wrong. The seventh one was about the propaganda of Sayyid Ahmad's disappearance and the worship of his image.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali replied the questions elaborately in 1274 A.H. In replying to the questions, he tried to defend his opinion and the opinions expressed by Sayyid Ahmad,Shah Muhammad Isma'il and Abd al-Hayy in their books regarding various aspects of imama (leadership), sufism and taqlid.[158] To establish his own

158. See p.224.

opinion, he referred to many books and scolded the questioner as a great bid'ati and tried to humiliate him in the eyes of the people.

Haqq al-Yaqin

This treatise of 26 pages contained ten ard (appeals). In the first appeal,[159] the author explained the merits of unity of the Muslim society. Having quoted the verses of the Quran, he tried to make them understand the necessity of unity of the Muslims and the demerits of disunity and dissension. In the second appeal,[160] he cited an example and requested the Muslims to act according to the spirit of kalima. In the scope of third and fourth appeals, he showed the ways of remaining aloof from the deciet of the false dogma and asked the people to refrain from bid'at and anti-Islamic practices.[161] In the fifth, he simply said that the dead would be benefitted with the prayers and alms given to the poor in rememberance of them by the survivors.[162] In the sixth appeal, the author simply discussed as to how to behave with the parents.[163] In the seventh, he condemned the un-Islamic and anti-Islamic practices of some people on the occasion of slaughtering cows and other animals.[164] He maintained that it was not at all permissible and lawful in the eye of Shari'a to slaughter in honour of anybody except Allah,

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159. See pp.241-247.
160. See p. 248.
161. See pp. 148-258.
162. See pp. 258-260.
163. See pp. 260-262.
164. See pp. 262-263.

the Almighty. In the eighth, ninth and tenth appeals he repudiated the ideas of some people who considered fatiha to be of great merit for the deads.[165]

Bay'at-i-Tawba

This treatise of 15 pages is nothing but the fourth hidaya (instruction) extracted from Quwwat al-Iman, a book by the author himself. Here the author refuted the people who claimed that they belong to the Ahl al-sunna wa al-jama'a and at the same time held that oath-taking in the hands of spiritual guides was bid'a. As to bay'a, the Mawlana confirmed his own opinion which according to him, was supported by the Quran and sunna.[166] Quoting some verses of the Holy Quran and traditions of the Prophet he explained the excellence and benefits of performing bay'a in the hands of a murshid.[167] In reply to a question of 'Abd al-Jabbar ibn Habib Allah of Shaikhpura about mixing of four known madhhabs, the Mawlana said that neither four tariqas were mixed by Sayyid Ahmad nor could four madhhabs be mixed. In clarification of this view he explained The difference between ijtihad fi al-shar' and ijtihad fi al-madhhab. Lastly, he discussed in detail seven stages of fuqaha.[168]

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165. See pp. 264-266.

166. See pp. 268-277.

167. Sura, al-Fath :10 - ان الذين يبايعونك انما يبايعون الله ط يد الله فوق ايديهم -
يا ايها النبي اذا جاءك المؤمنات يبايعنك على ان لا يشركن بالله شيئا ولا يسرقن ولا يزنين ولا يقتلن اولادهن
ولا يأتين ببهتان يفترينه بين ايديهن وارجلهن ولا يعصينك في معروف فبايعهن واستغفر لهن الله ط
Sura, al-Mumtahina :12 ان الله غفور رحيم -

168. See pp. 278-281; see infra, chapter IV.

Qawl al-Amin

In this short treatise of only 7 pages, the author condemned two groups of people - the Fara'idis and La-madhhabis. He called all of them Wahhabis and refuted their policies and processes of work. Sometimes, he became very much furious against these groups and expressed his disliking against them in a crude manner.[169]

DHAKHIRA-I-KARAMAT, Vol. III

There are five books and treatises of Karamat 'Ali which have been brought together in this volume. They are - (I) Murad al-Muridin, (II) Qawl al-Haqq, (III) Mar'at al-Haqq, (IV) Itminan al-Qulub and (V) Mulakhkhas. Most of them were published separately during the life time of the author. The present volume was published from Imdadiya Library, Chawk Bazar, Dacca in 1382 A.H./ 1962 A.D. The total number of pages is 186.

Murad al-Muridin

This book of 102 pages contains one tamhid (preface), one mukaddama (introduction), some fa'idas (points of benefit), tanbih (warning) and some wa'zes (lectures). The whole book is devoted, as the very name implies, to discussion about piri muridi (spiritual preceptorship). In the introductory note[170] the author condemned the Fara'idis and the Ahl al-Hadith, and referring to Radd al-Muhtar,[171] he called them Wahhabi and Khariji.

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169. See p. 287.
170. See pp. 4-5.
171. See Ibn 'Abidin, Radd al-Muhtar Sharh Durr al-Mukhtar, Vol.III, 1249 A.H., 'bab al-bughat', p.426.

He discussed the process of attaining sincere love for the Prophet by following any one of the four madhhabs and by arranging milad mahfil.[172] Having expounded some attributes of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him) in this connection, he proved the elevated position of the Prophet. He thus advised to contemplate into haqiqat-i-Muhammadiya[173] (reality of Muhammad). He referred to Junayd Baghdadi, a great saint and held that the Prophet was the medium in the way of Allah.[174] He then discussed some aspects of family life and the importance of prayer and taught the people as to how to lead family life according to the direction of Shari'a. He warned the Muslims in general and his disciples in particular to be aware of the deciet of the bid'atis and of those people who propagated the false doctrines.[175] In the middle of the book, he discussed some aspects of individual and social life - marriage, divorce, prayer and the importance of learning. In the whole book he repeated

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172. A gathering in which the events of the birth of the Prophet is discussed.

173. See p.14f.

174. See p.26. This doctrine of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali apparently goes against the spirit of Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Muhammad Isma'il as depicted in Sirat-i-Mustaqim,p. and Taqwiyat al-Iman,p.4 and his own explanation as revealed in his book Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in,p.224 where he supported the view of Shah Muhammad Isma'il who considered it shirk to bring the Prophet as medium between 'abd and Allah.

175. He meant the Fara'idis and the Ahl al-Hadith the doctrines of whom he refuted in this as well as in other books.

the same topics without concentrating his writings on a particular subject or subjects. Towards the end of the book he discussed the position of the speakers, who through their speeches at different places, preached Islam. He made it permissible to take money from the people to meet the expences of the preachers.[176]

Qawl al-Haqq

This short treatise of 12 pages comprises of a preface and two points of benefits and one answer to a question regarding milad al-nabi. In the preface he rightly explained the significance of la ilaha illa Allah.[177] He opined that under all circumstances the Prophet and his ashab (companions) were to be followed. This is because we get the traditions of the Prophet through his ashab about whom Allah said :'Allah became pleased with the believers when they performed bay'a in your hand under the tree'.[178]

Referring to a question on milad al-nabi he classified it into three divisions of which the first two were (I) to discuss different events of the life of the Prophet and (II) to hold majlis without fixing any particular day or date for each year and without any extravagance. He,however, said that it would be naja'iz(unlawful) if any bid'a was committed or any type of ringing or singing was allowed. He permitted qiyam (to stand) at the time of reciting

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176. See p. 71f.

177. See p. 103.

178. Sura, al-Fath :18 — لقد رضى الله عن المؤمنين اذ يبايعونك تحت الشجرة

salam. He maintained that Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi made it unlawful only on the point of fixation of day or date.

Risāla-i-Mir'āt al-Haqq

There are eight instructions in this short treatise of 22 pages. In the first, second, third and fourth instructions,[179] the author put emphasis on unity, and advised the people to be aware of the decietful Wahhabis and bid'atis who always raised some confusions among the people and misguided them thereby. Quoting some verses from the Quran,[180] he instructed them to be united under sunna of the Prophet. He admired Sayyid Ahmad and condemned those who raised objections, in vain, to the instructions given by him. In the fifth and sixth admonitions[181] he clarified and explained his ideas regarding milād which he discussed in his another treatise viz. Qawl al-Haqq. In the remaining two admonitions[182] he condemned the bid'atis and malicious people and explained bid'a in the light of a tradition[183] and the verdict of its interpretors.

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179. See pp.115-122.

180. Sura, Al Imran: 31 — قل ان كنتم تحبون الله فاتبعوني يحببكم الله —
واعتصموا بحبل الله جميعا ولا تفرقوا واذكروا نعمة الله عليكم اذ كنتم اعداء فالف بين
قلوبكم فاصبحتم بنعمته اخوانا وكنتم على شفا حفرة من النار فانقذكم منها ط - آل عمران: ١٠٣

181. See pp.122-131.

182. See pp. 131-136.

183. Mishkwat al-Masabih, 'bab al-I'tisam bi al-kitab wa al-sunna', p. 27.
من احدث في امرنا هذا ما ليس منه فهو رد -
عن عائشة رضي الله عنها قالت قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من احدث في امرنا
هذا ما ليس منه فهو رد -

Itminan al-Qulub

In this book of 31 pages Karamat 'Ali discussed the utility of taqlid and the supremacy of Hanafi madhhab among the four. He claimed that Shaykh Abdur Rahim, Shah Wali Allah, Shah 'Abd al-Aziz and Sayyid Ahmad were Hanafi and almost all the great 'ulama belonged to Hanafi madhhab.[184] Having explained taqlid[185] and its utility and superiority he discussed the futility[156] of the doctrine of 'adm taqlid (not to follow any school of law). In this book he also condemned and vehemently criticised some mischievious activities of the fake and bid'ati pirs and la-madhhabis. He repudiated the idea of some people who were of the opinion that Idah al-Haqq was written by Shah Muhammad Isma'il.[187] In support of his claim he said that the contents of Idah al-Haqq went against the ideas discussed in Sirat-i-Mustaqim which was edited by Shah Muhammad Isma'il.[188] Next he discussed milad al-nabi and qiyam and tried to prove their relative merits with the help of his arguments. He again refuted the ideas of some people who considered him to have been deviated from the teachings of Sayyid Ahmad. He also refutes the ideas of some people, to him bid'atis and la-madhhabis, who disown milad and qiyam. He also repudiated the malpractices of tariqa by the bid'atis[189] and repeatedly condemned la-madhhabis and their doctrines.

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184. See pp.141-142.
185. See p.145; see infra chapter III & IV.
186. See infra chapter IV.
187. Karamat 'Ali claimed that the book entitled Idah al-Haqq was written by another Isma'il not Shah Muhammad Isma'il.
188. See infra chapter IV.
189. See pp.153-154.

Mulakhkhas

Karamat 'Ali wrote this treatise first in Arabic and then translated it into Urdu. Both the versions are available. This is anabstract of his another treatise entitled Karamat al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn fi Izalat Shubuhat al-Fariqayn.[190] In this book the author gave answer to a question regarding milad al-nabi and qiyam. In reply to the question he discussed different aspects of milad and qiyam and with arguments and evidences he tried to prove the lawfulness of them - their utility and validity.[191] At the end of the present Urdu edition it is declared that some fatwas of the muftis and imams of Mecca[192] which were originally written in Arabic and printed with seals in the original Arabic script, had been put here.[193] But we do not find any fatwa or any seal of the muftis as mentioned in the Urdu edition.

Rafiq al-Salikin

This treatise[194] was published from Muhsini press, Jawnpur in 1366 A.H. The total number of pages is 36. As its name implies, the treatise was written on sufism, mainly on Naqshabandiya and Qadiriya orders. Originally it was a part of Rahat-i-Ruh, two chapters of which (one chapter on Naqshabandiya tariqa and another

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190. See p.181.
191. See pp. 182-186.
192. 'Abd al-Rahman Siraj, mufti of Hanafi madhhab, Ahmad Wahlan, mufti of Shafi'i madhhab, Muhammad Husain, mufti of Maliki madhhab, Muhammad ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Hamid, mufti of Hanbali madhhab, Sayyid Muhammad, Khatib and imam of al-Masjid al-Haram and others.
193. See pp. 182-186.
194. This treatise was translated into Bengali by Rahmat Allah of Faridpur which was published from Dacca in 1937.

chapter on Qadiriya tariqa) were incorporated in this treatise.[195]

There are twenty fa'idas in this treatise of which eleven have been devoted to Naqshabandiya order while nine others to Qadiriya order of sufism. The author discussed some characteristics of Naqshabandiya order and as to how to practise it.[196] He gave the description of Samadiya muraqaba and its two stages — ibtida (beginning) and intiha (end).[197] He then discussed in detail the Qadiriya order of sufism and distinguished it from Naqshabandiya by holding the view that the dhikr of Qadiriya was loud. The technique of practising the tariqa was also dealt with. Lastly the author in a nasiha (admonition) advised that until and unless a man could overcome the ten evil habits, he would not be much benefited with dhikr and shugal. He mentioned those ten evil habits by quoting a ruba'i (a stanza of four couplets) in Persian.[198]

Tazkiyat al-Niswan

This book was published from Matba'-i-Bashiri in 1292 A.H. The total number of pages is 54. As the very name implies, the book devoted to different aspects of secret life of the womenfolk with special emphasis on satr and parda (the Islamic system of veiling). The social condition of the Muslim family life revealed in this book. There are two ifadas (points of benefit) in it.

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195. See p.3.

196. See pp. 3-14.

197. See p.26.

198. خواهی که دل تو شود چو آئینه + ده چیز برون کن از درون سینه
حرص و طمع و بخل و حرام و غیبت + کذب و حسد و کبر و ریا و کینه

The first one is exactly the Urdu translation of a chapter of Nasim al-Haramayn.[199] In this chapter, he discussed the defects and un-Islamic practices that crept into the Muslim family from the neighbouring Hindus. Having described the general rules he showed the ways and means of leading proper family life by maintaining satr and parda particularly by the womenfolk.[200] In the second ifada he gave the translation of Hadith, sometimes with text, and the others, without, in support of parda system and its merits.[201]

Sharh-i-Jazri Hindi

Originally the book was written by Muhammad ibn Jazri al-Shafi'i. As claimed by Karamat 'Ali, it was translated by him first into Persian and then into a Hindustani language i.e. Urdu after which it is so named. Karamat 'Ali translated the text of the book first and then he added something according to his own idea about 'ilm al-tajwid (the science of reciting the Holy Quran correctly). He just followed the process and teachings of his teacher Sayyid Muhammad Iskandarani.[202]

Zinat al-Qari

This book was published from Cawnpore. We did not get the date of publication. Originally this book was written in Arabic. The author wrote in the conclusion[203] that he translated the important treatise for the benefit of the general people with due consultation with his teacher Sayyid Ibrahim ibn Muhammad Madani. In addi-

199. Nasim al-Haramayn is a book of this author in Arabic;see infra.
200. See pp. 9-17.
201. See pp.18-54.
202. See p.3.
203. See p.9.

addition to translation, sometimes he put his comments. As the author of the original book left some important aspects of 'ilm al-tajwid such as, makharij al-huruf and sifat al-huruf, Karamat 'Ali added three fasls and discussed them separately.[204] Though he did not write anything from his own, his explanations and illustrations made the subject easier for the learners. He described[205] seventeen makharij separately at the end of the book and illustrated[206] all the makharij by drawing eight diagrams.

Risala-i-Faysala

This treatise was fully reprinted in a Bengali punthi named Radd al-Mafsidin.[207] We did not find the treatise separately. In this short treatise the author denounced one Fayd Allah who, as reported by the author, urged upon him to withdraw his words against a book named Idah al-Haqq. Karamat 'Ali condemned this sort of idea and pointed out that it is a futile idea of Fayd Allah to uphold a book which went against Sirat al-Mustaqim and which supported the doctrines of La-madhhabis and Wahhabis regarding milad, qiyam and taqlid. He also denounced 'Abd al-Wahhab of Najd. This is because, against his alleged mischievious activities, as mentioned by Karamat 'Ali, the Prophet warned his followers.

At last he said that the Prophet had pronounced faysala (decisive words) to meet the controversies. So all should abide by the tradition of the Prophet in which he said that his followers would not be unanimous on batil (wrong ideas).

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204. See pp. 9-20.
205. See pp. 21-25.
206. See pp. 26-30.
207. See 'Abd al-'Aziz, Radd, p.200.

Ihqaq al-Haqq

This treatise was published from Matba'-i-Islami in 1279 A.H. This treatise was written in refutation of the creed of a group of people called by the author himself Bananiya who wrote a treatise in Bengali propagating a wrong news of the disappearance of Sayyid Ahmad.[208] In fact Sayyid Ahmad was martyred in the Balakot disaster and not disappeared. Thus the news of disappearance misguided the general mass. He also refuted the idea of those people who were reported to have said at page 49 of that Bengali treatise that twelve hundred years of darkness in the Islamic world the leader was born for salvation of the Muslim nation. Karmat 'Ali said that the author purposely mentioned twelve hundred years and to include the periods of all the luminaries of Islam after the era of the associates of the Prophet. They wanted as added by Karamat 'Ali to include the period of Imam Abu Hanifa who was born in 80 A.H. and was a tabi'i , in the period of darkness.

Referring to Ashi''at al-Lam'at Sharh Mishkwat al-Masabih Karamat 'Ali said that the period of sahaba continued upto 110 A.H. and the period of tabi'in continued upto 170 A.H. while that of tabi' tabi'in continued till 260 A.H.; and according to the forecast of the Prophet three generations of sahaba, tabi'in and tabi' tabi'in i.e. the whole period upto 260 A.H. was good.[209] Thus the

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208. The origin of the story of Sayyid Ahmad as Karamat Ali maintained, was that once a person told the Sayyid that as the whole world derived benefit from him in his lifetime after his death there would be a rush of people waiting after him. At this Sayyid Ahmad desired that it would be so good if Allah consealed his dead body;so that nobody could know his grave. See P.6.

209. The Prophet said : خير القرون قرني ثم الذين يلونهم ثم الذين يلونهم -

Nasim al-Haramayn al-Sharifayn

This book was written in Arabic and published from Matba'-i-Ahmadi, Mollatola, Jaunpur. It was an important work of Karamat 'Ali. We did not get the complete book. Major part from the title page upto page number 192 was available to us. It comprised some tanbihat. The author made his polemical discussion in detail in this book. In the first tanbih he stated the basic principles of Islam and said that a Muslim should profess kalima tawhid and should have belief in both the parts of the kalima. He must have firm belief in the Oneness of Allah and His attributes, specially rabubiya and His function as Rabb. Another thing on which stress should be put was the prophethood of Muhammad (peace be on him) and the lead of life on the line and guidance of the Prophet. He then discussed the tenets of Islam and how to follow them. He put more stress on taqlid and by his arguments he proved the necessity of it. Thus he detested the Ghayr al-muqallids and invieghed their doctrines. In the third tanbih he related the views of some people who gave up the prescriptions of fiqh and followed Hadith on the basis of the opinion of the imams who maintained that whenever any prescription of fiqh went against the apparent meaning of that mentioned in the Holy Quran and Hadith, the former should at once be given up and the latter should be followed.[212] He referred to 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani and his book Mizan al-Sha'raniya and maintained that prescriptions of fiqh did not go against the Kitab or Hadith.

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212. See pp. 15-17.

In the fourth tanbih he put emphasis on the secure of the love of the Prophet by adopting his lines and guidance.[213] In the fifth he showed the fadila (excellence) of fiqh.[214] Quoting a tradition of the Prophet he said that to be a faqih was a gift of Allah and the distributor of it was the Prophet.[214] In the sixth and seventh tanbihs he discussed the qualifications of a muhaddith.[215] He then described the danger of not following fiqh and mentioned that whoever did not abide by the masa'il of the fiqh, inescapably followed his own caprices. The author also described the conditions of Bengal when he came to this part of the subcontinent and began to preach Islam.[216] Quoting a Hadith[217] of the Prophet he disparaged the Ghayr al-muqallids and called them dajjal, kadhdhab. He said that the madhhab of the Ghayr al-muqallids was based on three things[218] (I) denial of the evidence of the Concensus (انكار حجية الاجماع), (II) refusal to act according to the dictates of fiqh (ترك العمل بالفقه) and (III) consideration of taqlid as haram (تحريم التقليد). He showed the difference between Din and madhhab and criticised the Ghayr al-muqallids.[219] He mentioned that they called themselves Muhammadi

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213. See pp. 17-19.
214. See pp. 19-20.
215. See pp. 20-24.
216. Karamat 'Ali maintained that he wrote this book and dreamt at night of Ramadan 23,1277 A.H. that his book was printed in white papers and was put in a white plate which was in the hands of those people who were driven out of Mecca and told that if they would follow the book, would be allowed to enter Mecca with safety, p. 25.
217. See p.26. عن ابي هريرة رضي الله عنه قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يكون في آخر الزمان دجالون كذابون يأتونكم من الاحاديث بما لا تسمعوا انتم ولا اباؤكم - اياكم واياهم لا يضلونكم ولا يفتنونكم - رواه مسلم
218. See p.27.
219. See p.33.

and did not differentiate between Din and madhhab. Having explained both the terms, Karamat 'Ali said that madhhab was the name of ways and means by which Shari'a could be understood well.[220] Referring to Mizan al-Sha'raniya Karamat 'Ali said that a Hanafi might change his madhhab fully and would accept the madhhab of Imam Shafi'i and vice versa. But it was not lawful to change the madhhab frequently according to convenience. He also discussed in detail the ahkam of taqlid and as to how to follow a particular madhhab. Referring to a Hadith of 'Abd Allah ibn Zubayr, he said that raf'u al-yadayn was repealed.[221]

He then discussed the doctrines and activities of the Fara'idis whom he called the Kharijites of Bengal. He said that the founder of this sect was Haji Shari'at Allah who went to Arab cities and lived there for a considerable period of time with the Kharijis, Wahhabis and Khitabiyas. Thus, according to Karamat 'Ali, he went astray and mixed the doctrines of all these madhhabs with his own madhhab. He took from the Kharijis the doctrine of takfir bi-irtikab al-kabira (to become infidel for committing a grave sin), from the Wahhabis, the doctrine of calling a man mushrik (idol worshipper) if he did not belong to Wahhabi group, and from the

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220. Karamat 'Ali then wrote in detail the opposition of Ahl al-Hadith and their hatred towards Hanafis. In explaining the quarrel and controversies he mentioned the name of 'Abd Allah, Shaykh Na'ib Allah, Sakhi Mandal, Ibrahim, Ramadan Ali and referred to a mosque of Jahangirnagar(See pp.33-46).

221/ See p.72f.

Khitābīya he took the doctrine of legality of false witness for the interest of the party. So the Farā'iḍīs formed a separate group and did not take our food and our slaughtered animals and they did not offer prayer behind us. He also maintains that they do not say jumu'a and 'īd prayers ; because they consider British India as dār al-harb and whoever offers jumu'a or 'īd congregational prayers here in India is called by them kāfir. He also says in this book that the Fara'idis consider a tārik al-ṣalat (a man who does not say prayer habitually) kāfir. In this way he describes the Farā'iḍīs as oppressors. He opines that India does not become dār al-ḥarb after British occupation. Because the main preconditions of dār al-ḥarb do not exist in British India. Of course he advocates for four raka'āt of akhīr al-zuhr after two raka'āt of jumu'a. He writes that India does not become dār al-ḥarb ; because in India the English rulers did not proclaim aḥkām al-shirk and they did not prohibit the tenets of Islam and the Muslims of India live in safety here.

Anwār-i-Muḥammadī Tarjama-i-Shamā'il-i-Tirmidhī

This book was originally written by Abū 'Īsā Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī. Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī translated it into Urdu. The volume which we have consulted was published from Shawkat al-Maṭabi', Meerut in 1307 A.H.The total number of pages is 242.

In its preface [222] the Mawlana alleged that the people did not pay enough attention to learn Hadith seriously and had consequently no opportunity to acquaint themselves with the detail aspects of the Prophet's life. Whereas one cannot follow the teachings of the Qur'an without having intimate knowledge of the Prophet's life. The Qur'an regards the Prophet's life as the best model for mankind. He, therefore, made an attempt to render into Urdu the traditions relating to the Prophet's day to day life - his character and conduct. This facilitated the people to know the Prophet and mould their lives accordingly. Keeping the above idea in view he selected Shama'il-i-Tirmidhi for his Urdu translation which contained sahih ahadith (correct Traditions) about the physical fitness, dress, eating and sleeping habits, sign of nubuwwa, character and conduct of the Prophet. He translated the Traditions in simple and easy language. To make the general people understand well, he added explanatory notes and commentaries where necessary. At places he also added some ahadith which supported the point into discussion and were not found in the Shama'il of Tirmidhi.

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222. See pp. 2-4 .

CHAPTER III

A BRIEF STUDY OF THE CONTEMPORARY REFORM MOVEMENTS

The nineteenth century Muslim society of Bengal gave birth to a number of reform movements which were social, economic, political and religious in character. Almost all the movements started by the Muslims of the time were more or less concerned with religious reform. Because at that time the condition of the Muslims of Bengal was deplorable. They were socially superstitious, economically backward and politically subjugated. Their indifference to Islam and its ordinances was mainly responsible for social, economic, political and moral degradation. The present chapter studies, in brief, the main four reform movements - (a) Jihād movement, (b) Ahl al-Ḥadīth movement, (c) Farā'iḍī movement and (d) Tītū Mīr's movement.

(a) Jihād Movement.

Inspired by the teachings of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz (1746-1823), the illustrious son of Shāh Walī Allah (1703-1762), a profound thinker and reformer, Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareli (1201 A.H./1786 A.D.- 1245 A.H./1831 A.D.)started his preach-

ings and reforms in 1818.[1] His mission was to revive the teachings of the Quran and the sunna. So he preached tawhīd and prevented the people from shirk. He also preached the sunna of the Prophet and guided the people to hold it and remain firm on it

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1. Sayyid Aḥmad son of Sayyid Muḥammad 'Irfān was born on Muharram 1,1201 A.H./October 24, 1786 A.D. at Rai Bareli. From his boyhood he was more inclined to play jihād with his playmates. He went to Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz for higher studies but he was not so much interested in reading and writing. He developed a quality of swordsmenship and a spirit of social service. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz could recognise the qualities in Sayyid Aḥmad and told him to give up pursuing bookish knowledge; for, Allah has created him for another purpose. Accordingly he gave up his formal education and took lessons of 'ilm al-ma'rifa by making formal bay'a in the hand of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz. Thus at the age of 22 he entered into the realm of 'ilm al-ma'rifa. See Ja'far Thānissarī, Sawānih Aḥmadī(Lahore N.D.),p.8. He came back to Rai Bareli and married Sayyida Zuhra. In 1226 A.H./1810 A.D. he went to Nawab Amir Khan Pindari and joined the free booters under him. There he showed his extra ordinary soldierly activities and participated in the war against the English government and the Hindu Kings. Sayyid Ahmad left military service under Amir Khan when the latter made a compromose with the English and ceased to be an independent Nawab. See Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd (Lahore, 1952),p.108. He then came to Delhi and appeared before his murshid Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz who in a dream could fully realise the position of his pious and distinguished disciple. Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz nominated him as his successor and asked the people to make bay'a with him. Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit. pp.15-16 ; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd, pp. 113-114.

by giving up all sorts of bid'a . To make an end of grave praying, to uproot the practice of taziya and bewilment on the occasion of Muharram and to reintroduce the widow remarriage were some of the objectives of his reform movement.[2] He wanted to revive the golden age of al-khulafā' al-rāshidūn. Keeping this end in view he did not hesitate to incur the risk of jihād against the Sikhs who endangered Islam and oppressed the Muslims inhumanly.[3] Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ḥayy(d.1243 A.H./1828 A.D.) and Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl (1193 A.H./1779 A.D.-1246 A.H./1831 A.D.), two great schdlars and luminaries of the time and a number of other revered and renowned 'ulama' of the Shāh family of Delhi became his disciples.[4] Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ḥayy

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2. Masud 'Alam Nadwī, Hindustān kī Pahilī Islāmī Tahrīk(Rawalpindi, 1366A.H),p.41;S.M.Ikrām,Mawj-i-Kawthar(Lahore,N.D.),p.13.

3. Ibid.

4. Ghulām Rasūl Mihr reported that Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ḥayy asked Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz about the mysteries of prayers and presence of mind(اسرار الصلوة وحضور القلب).Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz told him that those things had been explained in the books of Sufism;but it was very difficult to realise without murshid-i-kāmil;and thus advised him to approach Sayyid Aḥmad.He then approached the Sayyid accordingly. Sayyid Aḥmad replied that they could not be gained by outward conversation. He asked him to offer two raka'āt of prayer. Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ḥayy performed ablution and offered two raka'āt of prayer accordingly and his object was gained. Thence he became a staunch follower of the Sayyid. Following this incident Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl also became his disciple and staunch follower till his shahada at Balakot.(See Sayyid Aḥmad Shahid,pp.115-118). Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khan maintained that both Mawlānā 'Abd al-Ḥayy and Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl approached Sayyid Aḥmad and requested him to give them lessons about ḥudur al-qalb(presence of mind) in prayer and they wanted to have practical experience of it.He asked them to come at night in his room. He offered two raka'āt along with them and asked them to say two raka'āt separately. They started prayer and passed the whole night in two raka'āt.In the morning they performed bay'a at the hand of the Sayyid and showed uncommon allegiance to their murshid till their death.(See Athar al-Sanadid, Karachi,1966,pp.229-230).

and Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl were to Sayyid Ahmad what Abū Bakr and 'Umar to the Prophet Muhammad (sm) respectively.[5] Having received full training under Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz, 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl launched campaign of preaching the tenets of Islam anong the general masses. Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl[6] delivered a series of lectures on the stairs of the Jāmi' mosque of Delhi[7] in which he preached the ideas against the superstitious beliefs and practices, the polytheistic innovations and also against uncompromising dogmatism of the conservative 'ulamā'. By his constant and ardent speeches he awakened the indolent and deviated Muslims and guided them aright. The number of listeners increased day by day in response to his preaching call they gathered in the mosque of

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5. Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit., p.142.

6. Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl son of 'Abd al-Ghanī was an unrivalled 'ālim of the time. By dint of his God gifted merit and intelligence he exelled in all the human qualities and became master over all the branches of Islamic Shari'a in his young age. His books and tratises and over all his speeches proved the correctness of the claim. He wrote many books and added foot notes on many. Witnessing the deplorable condition of the people particularly of the Muslims he started his missionary works and became a successful reformer. At the direction of Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and at the instance of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, as we told before, he became a disciple and ardent follower of the Sayyid, accompanied him in weal and woe and received shahāda (martyrdom) along with his murshid at the Balakot disaster in 1831.

7. Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit.,p.143 ; S.M.Ikrām, Mawj-i-Kawthar, p. 34.

Delhi to offer jumua' prayer. His speeches were so argumentative and effective that no body could raise any question. It will not be exaggeration to say that many 'ulama of the time became spell-bound to hear his argumentative and forceful speeches. Even the 'ulamā' of the opponent camp had no courage to oppose him.[8] He wrote many valuable books in which he shaped his ideas about the tenets of Islam and different aspects of the life of Muslims. He tried to give solution to all the problems of the Muslims' religious, social and political life. Fadl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrabādī, a renowned 'ālim and unrivalled logician of the time raised question on Shāh Ismā'īl's view that expressed in Taqwiat al-Iman about the power of Allah to create another prophet like Muhammad (sm).[9] In the list of varied compilations we find a book of Shah Muhammad Isma'il entitled Ik Ruzah.[10] In this book he was reported to have refuted Khayrabādī's doctrine that contained in Imtinā' al-Naẓir to the effect that creation of another prophet like Muḥammad (sm) was an impossibility in itself (امتناع بالذات).[11] Ja'far Thanissari wrote[12] that being defeated Fadl-i-Ḥaqq Khayrabādī became furious and by his personal influence in the officials of the

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8. Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit., p.143.

9. Ibid.

10. It is reported that Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl wrote this book in one day ; and that was why it was so named.

11. Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit., 143.

12. Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit., p.144.

English government he stopped the lectures of Shāh Ismā'īl in the mosque. But due to the pressure from the listener the government again permitted him to deliver lectures. He also opposed the Khayrabādī's view that Hanafi madhhab was the best of all madhhabs and it was incumbent upon every Hanafī to blindly follow and abide by the decisions of Imām Abū Hanifa.

Mawlānā 'Abd al-Hayy, on the other hand, was a Hanafi by madhhab, and advocated for the Hanafī school of law which in his view, was the right path to be followed.[13] But they never quarreled among themselves, no ill feeling grew between the two component groups during the life time of their murshid Sayyid Ahmad.[14] The Sayyid, however, could understand the situation and his wishes were to remove the discord and controversy among the different groups of the Muslims by giving a permanent solution to the problems that arose among them. Of course the towering personality of Sayyid Ahmad overshadowed the dissention and fully controlled the situation. The Muslims of different madhhabs united at one platform and they worked unitedly

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13. Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī shared the view and showed more enthusiasm in advocating for taqlīd-i-shakhsī, Sayyid Tufayl Ahmad, Musalmanun ka Rawshan Mustaqbil (Badayun, 1939), p.87 ; also see infra, Chapter IV.

14. M.A.Bārī, A Comparative study of the early Wahhabi doctrines and contemporary reform movements in Indian Islam (unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University, 1953), fol. 147.

under the able leadership of their *murshid*. In the controversial matters in which the Muslims divided into different groups, he adopted generally the middle course and diverted the attention of the mass from mutual controversies which sometimes led to destruction and humiliation, to the common course of safeguarding Islam and the Muslim community as a whole from the attack of the un-Islamic forces.[15]

Sayyid Ahmad, the exponent of *jihād* movement,[16] erroneously supposed to the founder of Wahhabi movement in India,in course of his reform activities had to be involved in direct *jihād* against the enemies of Islam. Before being involved in direct *jihād* Sayyid Ahmad started for Mecca on Shawwal 1,1236 A.H./

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15. Sayyid Tufayl Ahmad, *op.cit.*, ~~Vol.X~~,p.87.

16. There was no relation between the puritanic movement started and led by Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab of Najd and the *jihād* movement led by Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareli. Because Sayyid Ahmad went to Mecca in 1822 when there was no follower of Wahhabi movement in Mecca.The movement was crushed ere long. On the other hand W.W.Hunter says, "Between 1813 and 1830 no Wahhabi could walk the streets of Mecca without danger to his life,nor indeed, upto the present hour, without risk of insult and violence", *The Indian Muselmans* (Calcutta,1945),p.100. Whereas Sayyid Ahmad stayed at Mecca for about eight months during this period but he faced no danger there. So by the words of W.W.Hunter we can prove that Sayyid Ahmad was not a Wahhabi. Of course there was similarity and unanimity in the theories and principles of these two movements, particularly their attitude of *shirk* and *bid'a* .And the contents of *Kitāb al-Tawhīd* of Shaykh al-Islam Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab and those of *Taqwiat al-Imān* of Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl are similar to great extent. Still there are some basic differences. And we see that *Da'wat-i-Tajdīd wa Jihād* of Sayyid Ahmad is by no way influenced by *Tahrik al-Tawhid wa Islāh* of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab.The same view is expressed by Mas'ud 'Alam Nadwī, *Hindustan ki Pahili Islamī Tahrik*, p.23. Despite that the European writers had intentionally and purposely to defame the *jihād* movement called it Wahhabi movement.

June 2,1821 A.D. accompanied four hundred men and women who came under the banner of the movement.[18] In the way he stayed at some important places. More and more people met him and became his disciples by performing tawbah in his hand at Calcutta where he stayed for three months. From Calcutta he hired some ships and went to Mecca accompanied by his vast number of disciples. He performed hajj pilgrimage in 1237 A.H. /1822 A.D. He stayed there for eight months after hajj and left for home in Zu'lqa'ada, 1238 A.H./1823 A.D. and reached Rai Bareli on Shaban 29,1239 A.H./April 30,1824 A.D.

After returning from hajj pilgrimage he organised his disciples and sent 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl to preach the idea of jihād among the people. Instead of murāqaba and mushāhada, the people were given military training. At last the great mujāhid of Islam started direct war in 1241 A.H./ 1826 A.D. They fought many battles at Akurha,Saydu, Zaida, Phulura, Panjtar, etc. and won in many of them. The last battle was the battle of Balakot. The people of Peshawar showed extra ordinary zeal in obeying the directions of the leader. But due to the tribal pride,inexperience of the mujāhids and due to some trouble created by some 'ulamā' opposed to him, the battle was lost. It is reported that there was some sort of dissension among different groups under the Sayyid, and 'a difference of

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18, Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit.,p.47 ; Ghulām Rasūl Mihr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd,p.186.

opinion had also arisen amongst them as to the fitness of Sayyid Ahmad to be their leader.[19] Thus the mujāhids of Islam were defeated by the Sikhs at the battle field of Balakot on Friday, the 24th day of Zu'lqa'da, 1246 A.H./ the 6th May, 1831. Sayyid Ahmad and his great general Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl were martyred in the same battle.

Sayyid Ahmad's idea of the Creator and His creations, the worldly life and the eternal life, the duty and responsibility of man towards Allah and His creatures, the secrets of human life and its relation with the Knower of the secrets; on the whole his delineations of human existence was compiled in a book, Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm[20] by 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl. In this book they described tawhīd and sunna and advised the people to held them accurately and asked them to refrain from shirk and bid'a . They also explained the practices of four schools of Sufism - Qādirīya, Chistīya, Naqshabandiya

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19. S.A.Khan, Writings and teachings of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan (Bombay, 1972), p. 72.

20. It is generally believed that the book Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm is written by Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl as we find his name on the title page of the book as a musannif. But in fact the book is written by Sayyid Ahmad with the help of 'Abd al-Hayy and Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl who used to write in their own words in conformity with the delineation of Sayyid Ahmad. Of course the entire book is edited by Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl. See Introduction to Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm (Lahore, N.D.), pp.15-17.

and Mujaddidiya and also Ṭarīqa-i-Muḥammadīya,[21] in detail.[22] They condemned the Wujūdīya.

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21. Ṭarīqa-i-Muḥammadīya : Though it is new by name but old by sense, as he himself says -

"طریقۂ من طریقۂ جد خود سید المرسلین است - یک روز نان خشک سیری خورم و شکر خدا بجا آرم و یک روز گرسنه می مانم و صبری کنم - لشکر من همین چند از مهاجرین صادقین است که بنابر مجرد خدمت دین رب العلمین کمر بسته و از طرف خود جان خود را به کشتن داده - حق جل و علا ایشان را به منصب شهادة سرفراز کند یا بنصرت و فتح موافق گرداند ...."

(Quoted by Ghulām Rasūl Mihr in Jamā'at-i-Mujāhidīn, p.69 from Majmū'a Makātib-i-Shāh Ismā'īl, Manuscript, fol-282)
"My ṭarīqa is the ṭarīqa of my grand father, the leader of the prophets, himself. One day I take a full meal of dry bread and thank Allah ; and on the other day I remain hungry and bear it with patience. My army includes only those few sincere muhājirs who got ready only for the service of dīn of the Lord of the universe and voluntarily consigned their lives for sacrificing in the path of Allah. Pray that may Allah grant them high position with the bliss of martyrdom or bless them with victory and success ... "

22. Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl, Sirāṭ-i-Mustaqīm, pp.238-325.

At Rampur being asked by the people about Ṭarīqa-i-Muhammadīya, Sayyid Ahmad answered that Ṭarīqa-i-Muhammadīya was nothing but to mould the life according to the will of Allah, to maintain His orders in every walk of life and to seek His pleasure thereby. It was nothing but to transform the essence of into practice (See Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, p.130. In another occasion when he was asked by Hakim Ata Allah Khan, brother of Hakim Ghulām Husain, nāib wali of Rampur to clarify Ṭarīqa-i-Muhammadīya, he answered almost the same. He told that the link of the four known ṭarīqas with the Prophet was internal and that of the Ṭarīqa-i-Muhammadīya was external. So the external activities of Ṭarīqa-i-Muhammadīya shall be in conformity with the Sharī'a.[23] On the appreciation of these explanations we may reasonably assume that Ṭarīqa-i-Muhammadīya was not confined to the mystic order. He condemned the Wujūdīya,[24] the exponents of wahdat al-wujūd (identity of the Creator and the creature) ; but he did not go deep into the controversies and theoretical niceties - though the doctrine of wahdat al-wujūd was considered as fundamental point which was discussed

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23. Ja'far Thānissarī, op.cit.,pp.22-23 ; S.M.Ikram,Mawj-i-Kawthar, p.12.

24. Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl, Sirāṭ-i-Mustaqīm, p.114 ; Burhām Ahmad Fāruqī, Mujaddid's Concept of Tawhīd (Lahore,1940) p.165 ff.

all through in the literature of Sufism, in so far as his main object was 'to rouse the Muslims, to unite them, to purify their beliefs and to prepare them for jihād' against the enemies of Islam.[25] He tactfully averted the controversies saying that it was very harmful to discuss these things and the least harm was to kill the valuable time by discussing a matter of which the Prophet did not tell us. But as the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud gained considerable ground among the Muslims and its authenticity was questioned by them ; so he maintained that all that the Muslims should know is that these created things were not actually the same as Allah ; though they had their stability in Him. These should be compared with the attributes as they are not 'ayn of Allah nor the ghayr of Allah ; still they have their stability in Him.[26] Thus he practically preferred the doctrine of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindī, popularly known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī who preached a parallel doctrine of wahdat-al-shuhūd.[27]

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25. Though he started jihād against the Sikhs first, his aim was to drive the British out of India (Cf.Husayn Ahmad Madanī, Naqsh-i-Hayat, pt.II (Deobond,1954), pp.12-14.

26. Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl, Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm (another edition, Lahore, 1956), pp. 88-89.

27. Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindī, Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thānī,Maktūbāt-i-Imam Rabbani (Cawnpore, 1891), p.I, maktub No.43, p.57 and maktub No. 160, p.159.

In the matter of taqlīd, too, when a controversy arose among the followers and Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl delivered an argumentative speech in support of 'adm taqlīd (not to follow blindly any particular imām), Sayyid Ahmad dismissed the matter saying that this was not the time of tark taqlīd (to give up blind following).[28] Because the main objective that lay before them was to defend Islam and the Muslims as a whole from the onslaught of the un-Islamic forces by waging jihād against them and preaching the fundamental principles of Islam among the Muslims. Thus for the sake of greater interest and common objectives of the Muslim community he inspired them to give up the minor controversies and united them under one banner. However, all the three leaders 'were cautious not to press the question to the point of creating dissension in their own ranks'. Of course they condemned the following of any imām or mujāhid in violation of the Qur'an and the sunna and considered it as ishrāk fi al-'ibāda.[29]

Observing some similarities between the teachings of the jihad movement and those of the Wahhābi movement some writers, particularly the Europeans like W.W.Hunter[30] and Bevan Jones[31]

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28. Ja'far Thānīssarī, op.cit., p.147. Sayyid Ahmad referred to four schools of law ; but at the same time he maintained that 'ilm of the Prophet could not remain confined to a particular person, Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm, pp.165-66.
29. Shah Muhammad Ismā'īl, Taqwīat al-Imān (Shaharanpur, N.D.), p.27: M.A.Bari, A Comparative study, p.178.
30. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans (Calcutta, 1945), pp.52-53.
31. Bevan Jones, The People of the Mosque (London, 1932), p.206.

called Sayyid Ahmad and his followers the Wahhabis of India. But in fact the allegation does not hold good. Because Sayyid Ahmad had been in Arabia during the last eight months of 1822 and the first six months of 1823 when the Wahhabi movement was at a very low ebb, for the Egyptian soldiers under the command of Ibrahim Pasha at the order of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamid defeated the Wahhabi regime. So Sayyid Ahmad could not be influenced by Wahhabism. Of course, he might have come in contact with Wahhabis who might have been concealing their love for Wahhabi doctrines from the then government. They could not influence him; because of the fact that the main ideas and inspirations which he got from his teacher and spiritual guide Shāh 'Abd al-'Azīz and also from Shāh Walī Allah had already been recorded in Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm and Taqwiyat al- Īmān which were compiled before his visit to Mecca. If there are some similarities there are some differences also. Two principal differences between the two schools of thought are (I) their attitude towards taqlīd and ijtihād and (II) their doctrines of sufism. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab rejected both absolutely, whereas Sayyid Ahmad adopted middle course on the question of taqlīd and ijtihād and practised Sufism. He not only practised it but also innovated his own tarīqa.

(b) Ahl al-Hadīth Movement

A reform movement with a bias against the secterian schools or madhhabs, based on the principle of preferential treatment of the Prophetic tradition after the Qur'an to the prescriptions of the schools of law was known as Ahl al-Hadīth movement. The upholders of this movement in India were mainly Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl's group in the jamā'a of Sayyid Ahmad. Being inspired by the teachings of Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl, they formed a separate organisation under the leadership of the Sayyid's two successors — Mawlānā Wilāyat 'Alī (1205/1790 — 1269/1852) and Mawlānā 'Ināyat 'Ali (d.1274/1858) of Azimabad after the martyrdom of their leaders at Balakot. They called themselves Ahl al-Hadīth.[32] They were also known as 'Muhammadī' (followers of Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya).[33] But this movement though not quite different from, is not identical with Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya of Sayyid Ahmad. Because Sayyid Ahmad preferred the

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32. Ahl al-Hadīth means upholders of the Prophetic tradition. It is not an innovation of Willāyat 'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Ali of Azimabad, even Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl was not the exponent of this school of thought. It dates back to the early Abbasid period when the group of Muhaddithīn and Ahl al-Hadīth distinctly came into existance, Mas'ud 'Alam Nadwi, op.cit.p.31. Ibn Hazm of Spain (d.456 A.H.) explained the fundamental principles of Ahl al-Hadīth in Al-Ihkām fī Usūl al-Ahkām and Muhalla.

33. Tufayl Ahmad, op.cit, p.87.

tenets of the four schools of law in practice. Of course he was not a blind supporter and follower of the prescriptions of the schools of law; as he maintained that the 'ilm of the Prophet was not confined to the 'ilm of a particular man.[34]

The fundamental principles of Ahl al-Hadīth movement are, as Shāh Walī Allah Muhaddith of Delhi maintains,[35] to accept the Prophetic tradition whether that tradition is known to the fuqahā' or it remained confined to a particular place or family, whether it is narrated by different chains of narrators or by one chain, for solving any problem, the solution of which is not found in the Holy Qur'an, even though the scholars and imāms do not abide by that tradition. If the solution is found in a Prophetic tradition, no tradition of any ṣahāba or ijtihād of any mujtahid against the Prophetic tradition will be accepted. So in all cases the Prophetic tradition is preferred by the Ahl al-Hadīth and, as we mentioned above, they did not recognise any particular school of law to be followed for solving any problem.[36] They do not consider the ṣahābīs and tābi'īs to be ma'ṣūm and infallible ; and on the basis of this idea though they show due respect to ṣahābīs, tābi'īs and other scholars, do not consider them to be their imāms. So they are not ready

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34. Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl, Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm (another edition, Lahore, N.D.), pp.99,100,165.

35. Shāh Walī Allah, Hujjat Allah al-Bāliqha, Pt.I (Karachi, N.D.), p.343.

36. Tarjamān al-Hadīth, Dacca, Zu'lqa'da & Zu'lhijjah, 1371, p.397.

to abide by the decisions of them against the Holy Quran and the Prophetic tradition.[37] Because Abu Hanifa, the greatest imam among the ahl al-rây himself says- "اذا رايتم كلامنا يخالف ظاهر الكتاب والسنة فاعملوا بالكتاب والسنة واضربوا بكلامنا الحائط" (when you see that my verdict goes against the outward expressions of the Qur'an and the sunna, you abide by the Qur'an and the sunna and throw my verdict on the wall).[38] In another place he says -"اذا صح الحديث فهو مذهبي" (when any point of law is found in Ṣaḥīḥ Ḥadīṯ that will be my madhhab).[39] Imam Shafi'i also expressed the same opinion in the same wordings.[40] There are reasons for saying so, for, as Shah Wali Allah observes, there were not sufficient Hadith of the Prophet with the ahl al-rây in Iraq. So it was not possible for them to compile fiqh on the basis of Ḥadīṯ of the Prophet as the Ahl al-Ḥadīṯ of Hijaz could do ; for they got sufficient Ḥadīṯ of the Prophet and the ṣaḥābīs.[41] Mawlānā 'Abd Allah al-Kafī, a renowned 'ālim of this school complains that though the Ahl al-sunna groups, in principle, agree with the sovereignty of the Quran and the sunna, practically they prefer the decision of their respective imāms and in many a case leaving aside the sound Prophetic traditions

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37. 'Abd Allah al-Kāfī al-Qurayshī, Ahl al-Hadith Andolener Sankhipta Bibaran (hereafter Sankhipta Bibaran)(Pabna,1375 AH) p.3.

38. Quoted by 'Abd Allah al-Kafi al-Qurayshi in Firkabandi banam Anusharanio Imamganer Niti, Pt. I, p.82.

39. Quoted by Ibn 'Abidin,Radd al-Muhtar,Pt.I,1249 A.H.,p.462.

40. See Shāh Walī Allah,'Iqd al-jīd(Karachi,1379 A.H),pp.122,142.

41. Shāh Walī Allah,Hujjat Allah al-Bāligha,Pt.I,p.353.

the respective imāms are followed by their followers.[42] While, in his opinion, it is unlawful and considered to be a great sin to accept the decision of any scholar, lawyer or mighty ruler against the Holy Quran and genuine Hadīth.[43]

Before his coming into contact with Sayyid Aḥmad, Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl explained the tenets of the Quran and the sunna and ignoring the prevalent schools of law advocated for establishing his own ideas that derived from his studies. After entering into the company of the Sayyid which composed of two component groups - Ḥanafī and Ahl al-Hadīth, to avoid misunderstanding and non-cooperation among themselves, Shāh Muḥammad Ismā'īl at the instruction of the Sayyid might have suspended some minor controversies like amīn bi al-jahr and raf'u al-yadayn(رفع اليدين).[44] But after the Balakot disaster the same controversy arose among the successors who 'not only on the question of leadership, but also on the question of creed' split into many groups.[45] The Sadiqpuri followers of Sayyid Aḥmad led by Mawlānā Wilāyat 'Alī, who was appointed

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42. 'Abd Allah al-Kāfī al-Qurayshi, Sankhipta Bibaran, pp.4-6. This claim is corroborated by the assertion of Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī who maintained the same view as depicted in his book - Quwwat al-Imān, p.72.
43. 'Abd Allah al-Kāfī al-Qurayshī, Sankhipta Bibaran, pp.4-6; cf. Ahl al-Hadīth Parichiti (Dacca, 1964), p.118 ff.
44. Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī claimed so, Muqāmi' al-Mubtadi'in, p.224.
45. M.A.Bari, A Comparative study, p. 148.

directly by the Sayyid himself and was more influenced by the teachings of Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl, continued the jihād movement with added enthusiasm. /After the Balakot disaster he came back to Azimabad and passed two years in preaching and propagating the ideology of Islam and the ideals of Tarīqa-i-Muhammadīya movement in Bihar and Bengal. After two years, accompanied by his family he went to Mecca for performing hajj. On returning from Mecca he along with his younger brother Mawlānā Inayat 'Alī organised the mujāhidīn to fight against the Sikhs. The mujāhidīn, who continued the struggle after Balakot disaster, got encouraged and defeated the Sikhs in many a battle. But they failed to subjugate the tyrannical administration of Gulab Sing inasmuch as he joined hands with the powerful East India Company government. They came back to Patna where they had to sign a bond to the effect thay they would not move further for jihād against the Sikhs.[47] Mawlānā Wilayat 'Alī's book entitled 'Amal bi-al-Hadīth inspired his followers to abide by the Prophetic tradition and to utter the word amīn in loud voice (آمین بالجہر) at the end of sūra Fātiha and to raise hands (رفع الیدین) frequently at the time of turning from one position to another position in prayer. Though

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46. When Sayyid Ahmad sent back Wilāyat 'Alī and Muhammad 'Alī of Rampur (d.1258 A.H.) to preach the ideas of the reform movement he told Wilāyat 'Alī that he wanted to bring him up as seed(ہم آپکو تخم کو کے اٹھاتے ہیں). Thus he wanted to make him an origin of the successive movement,Ja'far Thānissarī, Sawanih Ahmadi, p.140.

47. Ja'far Thānissarī,op.cit.,p.162 ;cf.Calcutta Review,October, 1870, p.381.

Mawlānā Wilāyat 'Alī said to have confessed to be Ḥanafī by madhhab yet he did not hesitate to go against the prescriptions of the Hanafite school if any sound Prophetic tradition centradicted them.[48] This liberal attitude of the Mawlana developed a distinct school of law and his followers and successors came to be known as Wahhabis[49] of India. Besides, they were involved in a series of state trials officially known as 'Wahhabi Trials'.[50] At that time they emphatically called themselves Ahl al-Hadith and formed a jamā'a known as Jam'iya Ahl al-Ḥadīth.[51] Another group came out of the main body under the leadership of Mawlawī 'Abd al-Jabbar of Calcutta, another disciple of the Sayyid who also confessed to be Hanafi but did not follow Hanafi madhhab blindly in case of any contradiction between the prescription of Ḥanafī law and a sound Prophetic tradition.[52] Mawlānā Karāmat 'Alī considered the views of 'Abd al-Jabbār as a naya madhhab.[53] Wilāyat 'Alī and 'Abd al-Jabbār belong to the same school of thought. Both of them were originally Ḥanafī by madhhab but with attitude

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48. Ja'far Thānīssarī, op.cit.,p.163.
49. The word wahhabi(وهابی) used in the East India Company's government circle to mean a rebel (باغی). Anybody uttered the word āmin (آمین) in loud voice in the end of sūra Fatiha was suspected to be Wahhabi,i.e.rebel,Mas'ūd 'Ālam Nadwī, op.cit.,p.29. It was used as a synonym for traitor.Cf.W.W. Hunter,The Indian Musalmans,pp.64-65.
50. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.
51. Mas'ud 'Ālam Nadwī, op.cit.,p.29.
52. 'Abd al-Jabbār,Jawab-i-Quwwat al-Iman,1887, p.2.
53. Quwwat al-Īmān, p. 323f.

towards the Prophetic traditions. Despite this there might have arisen some points of conflict in the question of taqlīd and other juzʾiyāt (جزئيات) and farū'āt (فروعات). Therefore we see that two books of the two scholars promoted two different tendencies, one inclining to the schools of law and another showing reluctance to the schools of law.[54]

The aim of Ahl al-Hadīth as explained by the scholars of this school, is to establish the sovereignty of Allah and the leadership of the Prophet i.e. to renovate tawhīd and sunna and to eliminate shirk and bida'a, to solve the problems which arise from time to time in the light of the Quran and Prophetic traditions and in doing so the power of ijtihād would be applied. They believe in solving the social political and economic questions arising from day to day according to the need of the age, with the help of ijtihād, the door of which, according to them have not yet been closed.[55] Another object of Ahl al-Hadith, as they claim, is to revive the Islamic state and to mould the Muslim society on the ideals of Khulafā'-i-Rāshidūn.[56]

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54. 'Abd al-Jabbār's Taqwīyat al-Muslimīn fi ittiba'Sunan Sayyid al- Mursalīn -1840 inclining to the schools of law and Wilayat 'Ali's 'Amal bi-al-Hadīth showing reluctance to the schools of law.

55. 'Abd Allah al-Kāfī al-Qurayshī, Sankhipta Bibaran, p.7.

56. Ibid., p.8.

In the period under analysis , besides Shāh Muhammad Ismā'īl and his ardent followers Wilāyat'Alī and 'Ināyat 'Alī, the scholars and reformers of this group, like Nawab Siddīq Hasan (d.1891), Sayyid Nadhīr Husayn (1805-1902) Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān (1817-1898) and Maulawi Muhammad Husayn Batalawi (1256-1338 A.H.) devoted their life in preaching and propagating the ideals of Islam. They did immense service to the cause of Islam mainly by spreading the Prophetic traditions and fighting against the doctrines of the Shi'as and the Qadianis.[57] Explaining the tenets of the Qur'an and the sunna they wrote many books and treatieses and published them for guiding the Muslims aright.[58] They explained the concept of tawhīd and sunna and denounced shirk and bida'a vehemently. To save the Muslims from un-Islamic customs and ceremonies, from extravagance on the occasion of circumcision and marriage and from worship of the pirs and their graves, they worked hard. They also denounced the particular system of mīlād and rasmī fātiha which were customery among many Hanafites[59] in the subcontinent. The opponents of this group often called them la madhhabī or rafadan (raf'u yadayn). The word la madhhabī means a man who does not follow any particular school of law. In this sense application of the word for the Gayr muqallid is appropriate.But it was applied to them by way of reproach to suggest that they were lā dīnī.

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57. S.M.Akram,Mawj-i-Kawthar, pp.48-50.
58. Nawab Siddīq Hasan is said to have written 222 books and treatises, Mawj-i-Kawthar, p.49.
59. Mas'ūd 'Alam Nadwi, op.cit.,pp.57-58.S.M.Akrām,Mawj-i-Kawthar pp.48,55.

Now we shall examine whether the word wahhābī is rightly applicable to Ahl al-Hadīth or not. The word wahhabi had been used chiefly by the Company government of India to mean rebels and thus the successors and followers of Sayyid Ahmad were called Wahhabis as we discussed earlier.[60] But all the followers of Tarīqa-i-Muhammadīya or Jihad movement are not Ahl al-Hadith or Ghayr muqallid. The followers of Deoband seminary showed wholehearted respect to Sayyid Ahmad and fully supported his ideals but they were Hanafite by madhhab.[61] And all the Gayr muqallid people are not Wahhabi. Even it is reported that Mawlawi Muhammad Husayn Bataluwi, a renowned 'ālim of Ahl al-Hadīth group wrote a book entitled Al-Iqtisād fī Masā'il-i-Jihād[62] in which he advocated for futility and invalidity of jihād in the changing environment and made loyality to the English government obligatory. Moreover, he blamed some Hanafī 'ulamā for rebellion.[63] Of course some scholars and 'ulamā of Ahl al-Hadīth group were really influenced by the thought of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb Nazdi who was a Hanbalī.[64]

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60. See supra, chapter III(a).
61. S.M.Ikrām, Mawj-i-Kawthar, p.48 ; Mas'ūd 'Ālam Nadwī, op.cit. p.30
62. The author compiled the thesis in Persian in 1293 A.H. and was published in a periodical viz. Ishā'at al-sunna, Vol.II in 1296 A.H. it was again published in a complete book form in 1306 A.H.
63. S.M.Ikrām, Mawj-i-Kawthar, p.48 ; Mas'ūd 'Ālam Nadwī, op.cit p 30
64. Sayyid Nadhīr Husayn was greatly influenced by Wahhabi thought and Sir Sayyid Ahmad also in a version included himself in the third group of Wahhabis i.e. Nīm Chrha Wahhabī (S.M.Ikrām, Mawj-i-Kawthar, pp.50-51).

(c) Farā'idī Movement.

Another reform movement that sprang up in the lower Bengal in the early nineteenth century as a protest against the corrupt religion and degenerated Muslim society is known as the Farā'idī movement.[65] The Farā'idīs as the followers of the movement were called must have been strict to fard, the most important hukm among the five ahkām - fard, wajib, sunna, mustahab and mubah. The movement was started by Hajjī Sharī'at Allah (1781-1840) of Faridpur and after his death led by his son Muhsin al-Din Ahmad alias Dudhu Miyan (1819-1862). It aimed at reforming and developing the Muslim society which was steeped in the abyss of social, economic and moral degradation. According to James Wise Hājjī Sharī'at Allah was the first man in East Bengal to denounce the superstition and corruption.[66]

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65. M.A.Bari, A Comparative study, pp.123-124. Fara'idi is derived from farā'id which is the plural of farīda meaning obligatory duty. Most European writers on the subject did not transliterate the term properly. T.E.Revenshaw wrote, "Ferazie derived from ferz", Selections from the records of the Government of Bengal, Vol.XLII, p.140. J.Taylor also used the same term, Topography, p.248. J.Wise mentioned 'Farazi' in his book Eastern Bengal, p.26 It seems most likely that these writers were influenced by the utterance of the indigenus people. Thus Kachha chhara Farazi (a man who does not pass one end of his cloth between the legs) is a proverb still heard in the districts of Faridpur and Barisal Later European writers on the subject, however, transliterated the term correctly. This terminology appears to be as correct as that found in the writings of Karāmat 'Alī (see Nasim al Haramayn, pp.159-160, Qawl al-Amin, p.182), 'Abd al-'Aziz, (Darwish nama, p.192) and M.A.Bari (A Comparative study, fol.124).

66. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.22.

Hājjī Shari'at Allah son of 'Abd al-Jalil Talukdar was born in 1781 at Shamail, a village under Madaripur subdivision which was transferred from the district of Bakarganj to the district of Faridpur in 1873. He came of a middle class family. He had a strong but 'amiable personality' and possessed profound knowledge of Islamic sciences.[67] At a very early age his young and impressionable mind was profoundly stirred by the diplorable condition of the Muslims, particularly the pitiable condition of the Muslim peasantry of Eastern Bengal. Thus he 'developed a keen sense of indignation against social,economic and political disabilities imposed upon the Muslims'.

At the age of 18 Hajji Shari'at Allah went to Mecca, but instead of coming back after performing the pilgrimage he stayed there for twenty years.[68] Inspired by the teachings of Shaykh Tahir Sanbal al-Makki, a Hanafi jurist of well repute he came back to Bengal in 1818 and began to preach Islam.[69] But at the initial stage his mission did not emerge successful. He then went to Mecca for the second time and met his teacher and spiritual guide Shaykh Tahir Sanbal, secured his advice and blessings for want of which, according to Munshi 'Abd al-Halim[70] his mission did not succeed and came back for the second time in 1820-21.[71]

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67. J.A.S.P. Vol.III, 1958, p.187; H.Beveridge, The District of Bakarganj (London, 1876), p.249.

68. M.A.Bari, A Comparative study, p.125; J.A.S.P., Dacca, Vol.IV, 1959, p.53.

69. J.A.S.P., Dacca, Vol.III, 1958, p.187.

70. Ms. Hajji Shari'at Allah, fols. 13-15.

71. Adil al-Din, Halat-i-Karguzari, fol.7; J.Tayler, Topography, p.248; 'Abd al-Bari, Nithar al-Din Ahmad Sahiber Jibani (Dacca, 1359 B.S) p.1.

His movement was primarily a religious movement, although it took a particular note of the existing social condition of the people.[72] Laying special emphasis on tawhid, he explained Islam among his fellow Muslims, mostly weavers and artisans[73] and told them to practise the Islamic laws and tenets, particularly the five fundamental principles of Islam.[74] He laid emphasis on the Quranic concept of tawhid which was similar to that of Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab of Najd as we mentioned earlier.[75]

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72. J.Taylor, Topography, p.248.

73. Tradition current in the opponent quarters of Hajji Shari'at Allah called him the pir of the jola (জোলাপীর) and the Fara'idis were called the sons of the weavers (জোলার পোলা). A rural poet says -

"কবিতাতে বাঁধিয়া করিনাম প্রচার
সেই মুরুকের বর্ণমান নাজাই সিকদার ।।
তারা কাহাপোলা ২, জোলার পোলা, বাঁটি মোসলমান ??

(The above lines of rural poem were found in a torn out piece of a punthi).

74. Durri Muhammadi punthi describes - pp, 6-7.

"তৈয়ব কলেমা যেই - ইমানের মুল সেই
দিনে দিনে হৈল ওয়াজার ।
রোজা বাগানের কলি - নামাজ তাহাতে অলি
জাকাত বুলবুল পোষ নাহান ।।
হজ্জ যে গাছের ডাল - মুল যত নেক হাল
মালদার যেই মেহিনমান ।
এই পাঁচ হৈতে যত - মোশাবা তেশাবা কত
দীন এছলামির খুবি হৈল ??"

75. See supra, chapter III(a).

Any deviation from the unity of God or any belief or action which had remotest semblance with kufr (infidility) or shirk (polytheism) were considered by him as kufr and shirk. So he tried to wipe out any belief or practice repugnant to tawhid and prevented his people from idolatrous act or any act leading to idol worship.[76] Thus subscribing money to the Hindu ceremonies or participating in them was vehemently condemned by him and was abandoned by his followers. He also urged them, as J.Taylor observed,[77] to adhere to the fara'id of Islam strictly and to give up the extra functions and bad practices such as puttee, chuttee and chilla[78] which are against the Islamic principles. He stressed on the observance of the rite of 'aqiqa as the Prophet did.

The Fara'idis wore dhutis without passing one end between the legs as J.C.Jack described,"the Faraizi wraps his dhuti or waist cloth round his body without closing his legs from his aversion to anything like infidel trousers".[79] They avoided all the extravagancy at the time of shaving the head of a new-born baby and distributed 'the weight of hair in gold or silver according to the circumstances of the parents' among the poor.

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76. Nazim al-Din Punthi, pp.2-4.
77. J.Taylor, op.cit.,p.248.
78. These are some superstitious rite as we told before which were observed from the 1st to the 14th day after the birth of a child. See J.Taylor, op.cit.,p.248 ; cf. H. Beveridge, The District of Bakarganj, p.254. J. Wise described the terms fully (see Eastern Bengal, pp.50-52).
79. J.C.Jack, op.cit., p.34f.

In marriage ceremony also they prohibited all the formalities and customs of 'sitting in state', of 'carrying and applying turmeric', of 'measuring for wedding garments' and 'the shubghust procession'.[80] Of course they allowed the adornment of the bride and bridegroom and the feast of walima to their relatives and poor on the occasion. In this way they strictly prohibited all the un-Islamic activities and ceremonies of offering fruits and flowers and various kinds of fatiha khwani at the grave. They did not raise their graves 'above the surface of the ground nor marked those out by any building or brick or stone'.[81] They observed the Muharram ceremony on the tenth day of the month as the Prophet did[82] and put importance on the day not as a day of marthiya and bewailing for the martyrdom of Husayn and his kith and kin but as the day of bestowal of numerous blessings of Allah on the earth on that day.[83] They kept fast on the day of ashura and the following day and observed the commendable duties'of feeding the poor,and effecting a reconciliation among persons at enmity with each other'.[84]

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80. Ibid., p.249.

81. Ibid., p. 250.

82. Ibid., pp. 248-249.

83. Ibid., pp. 248-249.

84. J. Taylor, Topography, p.248

In those days of superstition it was a very difficult problem to cut the navel cord of a new born baby. There was a vanity of the parents to engage a midwife to cut the navel cord. Because they considered it to be a work of the lower class people; and thus felt insulted to cut the cord by their own hands. Hajji Shariat Allah appreciated and assessed the serious effects of the prejudice. He told his people not to engage any midwife or any other person to cut the navel cord and made it an obligatory duty of the parents to cut it by their own hands. Because this superstitious practice and general feeling of insult created so many troubles in the society. Sometimes the mother of the baby had to wait for the arrival of a midwife even for days together and it caused unnecessary and intolerable hardship.

Hajji Shari'at Allah denounced the prevalent corrupt practices of piri-muridi. Because in most cases the pirs(mystics) were venerated so excessively that they would be regarded as wasila (intermediary) between man and his Creator.[85] But it does not mean that he denied mysticism and sufism or he wanted to abolish the rites and customs of sufism; and he himself was initiated in Qadiriya order of sufism. Just to reduce the undue importance and unjust veneration, he abandoned the term pir and murid and used the term ustad(teacher) and shagird (student)

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85. James Wise, Eastern Bengal, pp.10-19.

instead.[86] In the same way and for similar reason he denounced the custom of holding 'urs on the death anniversary of a pir and considered it bid'a. Because 'urs is also a kind of fatiha khwani. Of course fatiha does not indulge so much unlawful and sinful activities as an 'urs does. Because at the time of 'urs of a pir people get together from different places and in order to show their utmost veneration and achieve their desire they some-times prostrate before the grave of the pir.

The Fara'idis interpreted the Arabic word jarad (جراد) and took it for a grasshopper (faring) of Bengal and did not make any distinction, as J. Wise reported,[87] between a locust and a grasshopper. Mawlana Karamat Ali also reported that the Faraidis considered both of them as jarad and thus lawfully edible inasmuch as there was no distinction between a chicken of Arabia and a chicken of Bengal.[88]

The most distinguishing feature of the Faraidi movement is the suspension of jumu'a and 'id congragational prayers. Hajji Shari'at Allah is said to have considered India under British

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86. Ibid.,p.22 . The word ustad does not command as much veneration as the word pir does. Similarly the word shagird does not indicate complete submission as the word murid does.

87. J.Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.23.

88. Karamat Ali, Hujjat-i-Qati'a, p.106.

rule as dar al-harb.[89] For this reason, he suspended jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers on the ground that presence of amir and qadi appointed by the lawful Muslim ruler, did not exist in Bengal or India, while the presence of amir and qadi or their agents is one of the six preconditions laid down by the Hanafi jurists which must be fulfilled for holding jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers.[90] They are - (I) al-misr al-jami, (II) presence of the Muslim Sultan or his nay'ib (agent), (III) prescribed time, (IV) delivery of khutba (sermon), (V) jama'a (congregation) and (VI) idhn al-'am (access for all) This bar on the congregational prayers was lifted in 1947 when the British rule was over and the country got independence.[91]

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89. Muhammad Siddiq Khan, Pir Dudhu Miyan (Dacca 1964), p.18; J.A.S.B. Vol. LXIII, pp.48-49 Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn, p.165; Hujjat-i-Qati'a, p.105 ff. The Faraidi leaders must have considered India under British rule as dar al-harb which is implied in their activities; but openly they did not join the controversy about the status of the country and at that time it was a wise policy for them to avoid political implications.

90. Shaykh Burhan al-Din Murghinani, Hidaya, pt. I, p.148.

91. The Faraidi 'ulama met in a conference on Ashwin 29 and 30 of 1358 B.S. at Rikabi bazar, Dacca and decided to lift the bar.

Social and economic reform.

As an accomplished leader and guide of a vast number of Muslim people, Hajji Shari'at Allah put balanced emphasis on the social condition of the fellow Muslims, as we mentioned above. He could understand that his fellow Muslims were as religiously corrupt as they were socially backward and economically oppressed. So to reform the society he must pay attention to all the spheres of their lives. To save the peasantry from the oppression of the Hindu zamindars and the European indigo planters he told them to unite in one platform against their oppression. He prevented them from paying idolatrous taxes, like Kali vritti, Durga vritti which were considered by him as the violation of the doctrine of tawhid (monotheism) and encouraged them to slaughter cows especially on the occassion of sacrificing in the days of 'id al-adha. Naturally a conflict between the Fara'idis and the Hindu zamindars increased day by day. A Hindu inhabitant of the district of Dacca in a letter to the editor of Darpan wrote in 1243 B.S./1873 A.D. that Shari'at Allah of Bahadurpur under Shibchar police station in the district of Faridpur in view of establishing his own kingship gathered 1200 disciples from among the jolas and Musalmans and ordered them to keep beard and to wear dhuti without passing one end between the legs. A number of jabanas[92]

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92. By the term jabanas he meant hated and wicked Muslims.

from among the disciples of Shari'at Allah showed different kinds of repacities of Babu Tarini Chandra Majumdar of Patkanda in the district of Faridpur They thwarted puja (idol worship) slaughtered cows in his house and demolished the twelve Siva lingas which were erected by Diwan Mritunjoy Roy of Rajanagar in the district of Dacca. The zamindar Majumdar did not consider it fit to fight against those jabanas and informed the Magistrate of Faridpur of their rapacities. The Magistrate after investigation and judging the facts and figures imprisoned some of the jabanas.[93] Soon the zamindars rose against the movement and sharply reacted against them. To crush the movement they adopted the policy of 'devide and rule'. They took the opportunity of conflict between the Faraidi and the traditional Muslim society on the onehand and raised the wrath of the English authority by misrepresenting[94] the activities of the Hajji and his followers to Robert Grote, the then Magistrate of Faridpur, on the other. They encouraged the Muslim peasantry who could not yet reconcile with the doctrines of the Faraidi movement and did not, therefore, support its leader, to stand against the Hajji and his followers in bahth (public debate) which frequently took place between the two two parties. On the other hand the magistrate of Faridpur after investigation punished the Fara'idis and their leader

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93. Brojendranath Bandopadhay, (ed.) Sangbad Patre Sekaler Katha (Calcutta, 1356 B.S.), Vol.II, p.379; J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIII, No.I, 1894, p.51; cf. Calcutta Review, Vol.I, p.215.

94. Calcutta Review, Calcutta, 1844, Vol.I, pp.215-16; Brojendranath Bandopadday, op.cit., p.379.

Hajji Shari'at Allah with imprisonment.[95] The Fara'idi doctrines gained considerable ground and, despite all tortures by the Hindu zamindars, more and more people of the district of Bakarganj, Faridpur, Mymensingh and Dacca joined the party of the Hajji. According to J.Taylor, in 1840 nearly one third of the Muslim population of the city of Dacca were Fara'idi.[96]

At the closing years of his life Hajji Shari'at Allah would not take active part in the activities of the movement and died in 1840. Before his retirement, he handed over the charge of the movement to his young and enthusiastic son Muhsin al-Din alias Dudhu Miyan. He put more emphasis on the social and economic problems of the general Muslims who were mainly the peasantry and weavers. Thus in the lifetime of the Hajji, the movement turned to social and economic reforms. J. Taylor writes,"The Ferazean have the character of being stricter in their morals than their Muhammadan breathren, but they are inclined to intolerance and persecution, and in showing their contempt of the religious opinions of their neighbours they frequently occasion affrays and disturbances in the town".[97] He also writes that Hajji Shari'at Allah excited his disciples to withhold the payment of revenue for which he had been in the custody of the police.[98]

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95. See Brojendranath Bandopadday, op.cit., p.380.

96. J.Taylor, op.cit.,pp.247-48.

97. Ibid., p.250.

The statement seems to be correct. Because at this stage it is likely that the disciples of the Hajji being very much oppressed as we mentioned above might have looked for a chance for taking retaliation. The young and energetic spirit of Dudhu Miyan might have found it a great opportunity to make the full use of the great force of the public sentiment to redress the oppression from them.

Dudhu Miyan was born in 1819 at Mulfatganj in the aforesaid Madaripur subdivision. He was a strong organiser and an accomplished leader in whose period the Fara'idi movement reached its peak. He spent his youth and energy in organising his fellow Muslims and developing their religious,social and economic conditions. As he enjoyed the position of an unparalleled leader of the Faraidis, he had to endure torture from different quarters as well. He died on September 24,1862 in Dacca. Till his death he led the movement with success.[99] The mazar of Dudhu Miyan lies at Bangshal Road,Dacca.

Dudhu Miyan proclaimed that the earth belonged to God and none had any right to levy any tax on land. The peasantry who united under the platform of the movement had withheld the payment of tax to the zamindars.[100] Dudhu Miyan collected more and more followers and trained them for fighting against those who would oppress them. Naturally the Hindu zamindars became furious

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99. J.Wise, Eastern Bengal, pp.23-26; H.Beveridge,op.cit., p. 254.

100. See J.A.S.B.Vol.LXIII,pt.III,No.I,1894,p.51.

and afraid as well. They brought many false cases against Dudhu Miyan and his followers.To raise the wrath of the ruling authority and to have their cooperation in the expedition for subjugating the recalcitrant Faraidis,they represented them as politically dangerous; but in the opinion of H.Beveridge they were not so.[101] On the other hand they endevoured best to prevent their tenants from joining the party of Dudhu Miyan and to torture them inhumanly. Besides imposing beard tax at the rate of Rs.two and a half, the disobedient tenants were punished for non-payment of illegal beard tax by tying their beard together and giving them 'chilli powder as snuff'.[102] However,Dudhu Miyan was arrested by the joint magistrate of Faridpur and was confined in Alipur Jail as a state prisoner. He would have been released had he not showed dauntlessness for having 50,000 followers to answer to his summons. Of course it was very difficult to substantiate the charges of anti-government activities against Dudhu Miyan. Because his movement was directed against the oppressing zamindars and into planters and against those Muslim peasants who did not respond to his call. So several times he was arrested and released but he continued the movement sometimes vigorously and sometimes with feeble voice and their preaching and vogue made the Muslims 'more consistent followers of the Prophet'.[103]

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101. H.Beveridge, op.cit.,p.225.

102. J.Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.24.

103. J.C.Jack,Bengal District Gazetteers,Bakarganj,pp.33-34.

(d) Titu Mir's Reform Movement.

The reform movement started by Titu Mir is said to be an offshoot of Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya or jihad movement ; for the exponent of this movement Mir Nithar Ali alias Titu Mir was a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad.[104] Titu Mir was born at Chandpur in the district of 24 Parganas in the family of a respectable husbandman on Magh 14,1188 B.S./1782 A.D.[105] In his young age he became a renowned wrestler and defeated a number of wrestlers of high repute.[106] Thus the accounts of some writers[107] which depict Titu Mir as a 'man of bad and desperate character' do

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104. "The Wahhabis in India",No.II, Calcutta Review,Vol.LI, No.CI, 1870, p.177.

105. 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi, Shahid Titu Mir (Dacca,1961),p.13; cf. "The Wahhabis in India",No.II, Calcutta Review,Vol.LI, No.CI, 1870, p.177. Very little is known to the scholars about his early life. His short biographical data Shahid Titu Mir by 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi gives us some valuable information but it does not stand fully to historical criticism and he did not mention his sources of information. We have entertained only those information which are corroborated by other contemporary sources and which are backed by reasons.

106. Cf. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans (reprint from third edition, Calcutta, 1945), pp.36-37 ; cf. Calcutta Review, Vol. LI, No. CI, 1870, p.177.

107. Calcutta Review, Vol. LI, No.CI, 1870, p.177.

not hold good. Because those writers depended upon the local information given by the Hindu zamindars against whose activities Titu Mir was compelled to register a protest. Besides this, it is a common tendency of the non-Muslim writers, with few exceptions, to depict the Muslim reformers, whoever preach the pure doctrines of Islam, as a man of bad and desperate character. Moreover, his biographers including a non-Muslim writer maintained that Titu Mir was very sincere in preaching and protecting his own religion and a devoted man like him was hardly found in the Muslim community.[108]

As regards Titu Mir's contact with Sayyid Ahmad in Mecca the writer of "The Wahhabis in India No.II" said that "he made the acquintance of Sayyid Ahmad, who had arrived the previous year (1822), and adopting his doctrines, became his disciple".[109] 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi's statement regarding the time and place of initiation of Titu Mir agreed with it.[110] But at the same time he informed us that he became the disciple of Sayyid Ahmad at the age of 39 years.[111] The chronology of Titu Mir does not convince us to agree with it ; Because Sayyid Ahmad stayed at Mecca in 1822-23 while the 39th year of Titu Mir ended in 1821 when Sayyid Ahmad was at Calcutta. On the other hand in his Sawanih Ahmadi, Ja'far

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108. Bihari Lal Sarkar, Titu Mir O Bashbariar Larhai (Calcutta, 1304 B.S.),p.3 ; 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi,op.cit.,p.43f.

109. Calcutta Review, Vol.LI, No.CI, 1870, p.177.

110. 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi, op.cit., pp.31-32.

111. Ibid., p.32.

Thanissari refers to one Nithar Ali as a distinguished pupil of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz who at the instruction of the latter met Sayyid Ahmad and accompanied him at Calcutta when Sayyid Ahmad stayed there en route to Mecca.[112] Moreover, the writer of "A Sketch of the Wahhabis in India down to the death of Sayyid Ahmad in 1831" states that the people of Calcutta and Baraset flocked to him in numbers. Among those who became his disciples was Titu Mir, who afterwards in 1831, raised the standard of revolt in Baraset.[113] So by examining all the sources we may come to the conclusion that he became his disciple at Calcutta and again he met him at Mecca. This conclusion is supported by the statement of W.W.Hunter who says — "Among the disciples of the prophet in Calcutta was a certain professional wrestler and bully, by name Titu Miyan ... he made a pilgrimage to Mecca, met Sayyid Ahmad in the Holy City, and returned to India as a powerful preacher of the faith".[114]

Titu Mir started his movement in his own village Chandpur-Haidarpur. First he preached the doctrines of Islam. He advised the people to lead an Islamic life and to give up the practice of worshipping the pirs, saints and the tombs of the saints ; for none of them has power to bestow any benefit or cause any harm to anybody. He also advised them to observe the rites and ceremonies

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112. See Ja'far Thanissari, Sawanih Ahmadi (Lahore, N.D.), p.53.
113. See Calcutta Review, Vol.L., No.C. 1870, p.82.
114. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, pp.36-37.

approved by the Quran and the sunna and give up bid'a, such as the system of Muharram and fatiha observance, the ceremonies observed on the occasion of marriage and death, etc.[115] He directed his followers to wear their dhutis without passing the end between the legs, so as to be easily distinguished from their Hindu neighbours. He denounced the un-Islamic system of naming the babies and shaving the beards.[116] Being attracted by the people he was called to Sarfarazpur[117] to preach among them the tenets of Islamic Shari'a. He responded to the call and began to preach there the pure doctrines of Islam. Though his movement remained confined to a very limited area in West Bengal and though not very remarkable for its religious doctrines, yet in view of spirit that it maintained it was not less important than others. This movement had no connection with the Wahhabi movement of Arabia. Because Titu Mir started for Mecca when he has already become the disciple of Sayyid Ahmad who was not a Wahhabi[118] and in Mecca he might have come in contact with the ideas of Wahhabi reforms which were in most cases similar to those of his murshid Sayyid Ahmad.

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115. Bihari Lal Sarkar, op.cit., p.11.

116. Cf."The Wahhabis in India" No.II, Calcutta Review, Vol.LI, No.CI, 1870, p.178.

117. Sarfarazpur is about 12 miles away from Chandpur.(See Shahid Titu Mir, p.44.

118. See supra, chapter III(a).

The growing influence of Titu Mir made the Hindus in general and the Hindu zamindars in particular afraid. Because they could guess the result of the Muslim renaissance when they saw that the Muslims changed their habits of observing the Hindu rites and ceremonies. Apprehending danger, Krishna Dev Roy, the influential zamindar of Punrha at the banks of Ichhamati interfered in the movement[119] and declared Titu Mir to be a Wahhabi and advised the Muslims not to obey him.[120] It is not unlikely that some of the Muslims who followed the traditional customs did not accept Titu Mir's reforms and kept themselves aloof from him. But the conspiracy of the zamindars who exerted all their powers to check the growth of Titu Mir's influence and his reform movement,made the case more complicated. According to 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi Krishna Dev Roy in consultation with some other zamindars of 24 Parganas[121] and on receiving a petition from some of his obedient Muslim ryots issued an order to the following effects:[122] I) Those who would accept Wahhabism at the instance of Titu Mir, keep beard and cut moustache would have to pay a beard tax[123]

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119. Bihari Lal Sarkar, op.cit.,p.47; cf.Calcutta Review,Vol.LI, No.CI,1870,pp.177-78.

120. Calcutta Review, Vol. LI, No.CI, pp.177-78.

121. Deva Nath Roy of Gobra Govindapur and Kali Prasanna of Gobardanga.

122. 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi, op.cit., p.46; cf.Calcutta Review, Vol.LI, No.CI, p.177.

123. Syed Murtaza 'Ali, Saints of Bangladesh,(Dacca,1971),p.16.

of Rs. two and a half and a moustache tax of Rs.one and a quarter each.

II) These who would build a mosque would have to pay a nazrana of Rs. five hundred in case of a kachha mosque and Rs. one thousand in case of a pakka one.

III) Whoever would change the name given by fathers and grand fathers would have to pay a fee of Rs. fifty each.

IV) If anybody slaughter a cow his right hand would be cut off; so that he might not be able to slaughter any more.

V) Whoever would make room for Titu Mir, a Wahhabi, would be expelled from home.

To register a protest against the illegal orders, as 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi maintained, Titu Mir wrote a letter to Krishna Dev Roy. In the letter he clearly stated that his ambition was nothing but to reform the corrupt religious practices of the Muslims by teaching them the pure doctrines of Islam. He also wrote that there was no Wahhabi religion in the world.[124]

Instead of being convinced by the letter, Krishna Dev Roy became furious and for non-payment of beard tax, Amin Allah, the bearer of the letter was severely dealt with and it was reported by the same biography that he was the first martyr among the participants of this reform movement.[125] Krishna Dev Roy

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124. 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi, op.cit., p.50.

125. Ibid., p.52.

continued his persecution unabated and successfully collected the illegal 'beard tax' in his native village Punrha. But the neighbouring village Sarfarazpur where Titu Mir was organizing the Muslim disciples under his reform programme, refused to pay this illegal 'beard tax' which was fully against the spirit of Islamic ideology and the ideals of the reform movement.[126] This attitude of the Muslims of Sarfarazpur made Krishna Dev Roy furious. Without any delay Krishna Dev Roy accompanied by the regular club-men and musketeers of the zamindars of the locality attacked the mosque of Sarfarazpur in which Titu Mir and his followers and other people of the village were offering prayers.[127] They set the mosque on fire, oppressed the reformists and murdered two persons inhumanly.[128] It raised, quite naturally, an ill-feeling and hostility in the minds of the reformists against the Hindu zamindars and gradually against the Hindu community as a whole.

A complaint was immediately lodged by the refomists at the Colinga O.P. under Bashirhat police station which was followed by a counter case by the naib of Krishna Dev Roy. Titu Mir's party accused Krishna Dev Roy of committing plunder and arson. The zamindar's naib accused the followers of Titu Mir of the illegal arrest and confinement of the zamindar's peon.[129] The

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126. Calcutta Review, Vol.LI,No.CI,1870,p.178; M.A.Bari,A Comparative study,fol.140;J.A.S.P.Dacca,Vol.IV,1959,p.119.
127. Bihari Lal Sarkar, op.cit.,p.14;'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi,op.cit. pp.54-58;cf.M.A.Bari,A Comparative study fols.140-141;Calcutta Review,Vol.LI,No.CI,p.178.
128. Calcutta Review,Vol.LI,No.CI,p.178.
129. Ibid.

muharrir of the O.P., however, proceeded to the spot, enquired into the case and submitted an impartial but incomplete report in which he told the higher authority to entrust Ram Ram Chakravarty to investigate into the case and to submit the final report.[130] The joint Magistrate of Baraset accepted the report and entrusted Ram Ram Chakravarty to investigate fully into the case. Finding his favourite person investigating the case Krishna Dev Roy, who was still absconding, appeared before the joint Magistrate on the 7th July, 1831 and expressed his complete ignorance of the case on the ground that he had been in Calcutta when the riot took place. Joint Magistrate Alexandar, however, released him on bail and told him to appear before the court on summons.[131] Ram Ram Chakravarty who had already lined up with the Hindu zamindars assumed the charge of investigation and in his hand, as presumed, the case took a new turn.[132] He scolded the reformists and threatened them. As a result the witnesses absconded and did not appear before the court to give evidence. Thereupon Ram Ram Chakravarty drew up the final report in favour of the zamindars.[133] The reformists lodged a complaint against the conduct of the Hindu daroga in the court of the Joint Magistrate on the 15th and again on the 29th July, 1831, in which they accused him of 'having openly colluded with their opponents' but presumably for want of evidence the petition bore no fruit and

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130. Ibid.
131. Ibid.
132. Ibid.
133. Ibid.

the Magistrate dismissed the case on September 2, 1831 and took bonds from both the parties for maintaining peace.[134] The Commissioner of the Division comments that the order passed by the Joint Magistrate "was neither calculated to check the illegal and arbitrary practices of the zamindars on the one hand, nor to allay the feelings of irritation excited in the minds of the opposite, and I am inclined to believe, primarily aggrieved party on the other".[135] On the 25th September,1831 Titu Mir and some of his followers went to Calcutta to file an appeal to the Judge but on account of his absence they came back on the 28th September.[136] Being despaired of getting justice they, on the request and guidance of Miskin Shah, a faqir who joined the party and who could guess the future of Titu Mir's reform movement, they left Sarfarazpur for Narkelbaria on the 17th October,1831.[137]

Though the reformists in view of getting relief from the oppression of the zamindars and avoiding clush came to Narkalbaria, the zamindars did not leave them to work there peacefully. The Hindu zamindars of the locality - Krishna Dev Roy of Punrha, Kali Prasanna of Gobardanga, Deva Nath Roy of Gobra Govindapur

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134. Ibid.; Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, 3 April,1832, Nos.3 and 6, quoted by M.A.Bari in A Comparative study,fol.142

135. Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, 3 April,1832, No.3, Commissioner to Dy Secretary 28 November,1831, 3,quoted by A.R.Mallick in British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal(Dacca, 1961), p.81.

136. Calcutta Review,Vol.LI,No.CI,1870,p.179;'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi op.cit., p.65.

137. Cf.Calcutta Review, Vol.LI,No.CI,1870,p.179; 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi, op.cit.,pp.66-68.

and Latu Babu of Calcutta gathered in a meeting at Calcutta on a conspiracy against the reformists and resolved to take drastic measure against Titu Mir and his party by all possible means.[138] By their fraudulant and oppressive use of the power of summary arrest for arrears of rent authorised under 'the provision of Regulation 7, 1799' they decided to crush the movement and the reformists.[139] They started mal-propaganda among the Hindus and the Muslims as well as the European indigo planters and the British officers.[140]

By the 23rd October, 1831 the followers of Titu Mir gathered at Narkelbaria to observe an 'urs. In the gathering they decided to confront the evil aggression of the zamindar of Punrha.[141] and defend themselves against the attack and oppression of the Hindu zamindars. On the call of Titu Mir people flocked to him including his lieutenant Shaykh Ghulam Ma'sum with large number of his valiant forces.[142] They erected a

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138. Bihari Lal Sarkar, op.cit.,p.20; 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi op.cit.,52; Cf. M.A.Bari, A Comparative study, fol.138; See J.A.S.P. Vol.IV, Dacca,1959,p.121.

139. Bengal Criminal Judicial Consultations, 3 April,1832, No.6, quoted by M.A.Bari,A Comparative study, fol.138.

140. Cf.Brojendra Nath Bandopadday(ed), op.cit.,p.311.

141. Calcutta Review,Vol.LI,No.CI,p.179;cf.W.W.Hunter, the Indian Musalmans, p. 38.

142. Cf. Calcutta Review, Vol.LI, No.CI, 1870, p.179.

bamboo stockade around the centre and on November 6,1831 five hundred fighting Muslims filled with sacrificing spirit for the cause of Islam under the command of Ghulam Ma'sum marched and confronted the evil aggression of the zamindar of Punrha which caused injury and death of soldiers of both the parties.[143] The fighting Muslims attacked the Hindus and 'slaughtered a cow in the market place, defiled a Kali Mandir with the blood of the animal, looted a few shops on the spot and then dispersed.[144] The Hindu zamindars of the locality propagated the news of this incident and inspired the Hindus as well as the European indigo planters against the reformists. Davis,manager of Mullahati indigo factory persuaded by Kaliprasanna who might have convinced Davis to rebellious character of the reformists, attacked Titu Mir's party at Narkelbaria. The reformists faced them boldly and defeated the enemy. The Europeans were thus involved in the action at the misguiding and persuation of the Hindu zamindars.[145] Zamindar Kali Prasanna of Gobardanga and zamindar Devanath Roy of Gobra Gobindapur proceeded to Narkelbaria with full preparation to quell the zeal of the reformists and to destroy the bamboo stockade and the exponent of the

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143. Calcutta Review, Vol.LI,No.CI,p.179; 'Abd al-Ghafur Siddiqi, op.cit., pp.72-75; cf.W.W.Hunter,The Indian Musalmans,p.38.
144. Abdul Bari,"The Reform Movement in Bengal",History of Freedom Movement,edited by Mahmud Husain et.al.,Vol.I(Karachi,1957), p.552; Bihari Lal Sarkar, op.cit.,p.20;cf.Calcutta Review, Vol.LI,No.CI,1870,p.179;cf.W.W.Hunter,The Indian Musalmans,p.3
145. Bihari Lal Sarkar, op.cit., p.20.

movement.[146] On the request of Kali Prasanna, Latu Babu of Calcutta sent 200 habshi (affray fighters) to join the zamindar's party against Titu Mir's followers.[147] The reformists proceeded with great zeal and faced the opponents at Lawghati.[148] A fierce battle took place between the two parties. Zamindar Devanath Roy was killed and the reformists came out victorious.[149] As a result the Europeans in the neighbourhood became alarmed and Piron, Superintendent of Barguria factory wrote a letter to Storm of Calcutta suggesting armed interference to quell insurrections.[150] Storm took it seriously and addressed the Government on the subject on 13 November, 1831.[151] They were so serious and their petition against Titu Mir was so strong that the authority despatched a detachment of the Calcutta militia to the Jessore Salt Agency at Bagundi and directed Alexandar, Joint Magistrate of Baraset, to proceed personally to the spot and to apprehend the rioters.[152] On the following afternoon Alexandar started for Narkelbaria by way of Bagundi and took one jamadar, one havildar and twenty sepoys in addition to the police force of Bashirhat.[153] Alexandar reached Narkelbaria on 15 November, 1831 to apprehend the reformists, while the reformists armed with local weapons were 'prepared to make every possible resistance'.[154]

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146. Ibid.,p.21.
147. Ibid.
148. Calcutta Review, Vol.LI,No.CI.,p.180.
149. Ibid.; Bihari Lal Sarkar,op.cit.,p.21.
150. Calcutta Review,Vol.LI,No.CI,p.180.
151. Ibid.
152. Ibid., p.181
153. Ibid.
154. Ibid.

Alexandar attacked the reformists' party but he could not stand in the field and fled away leaving behind many of his police force including one jamadar, one havildar of the Calcutta militia and the daroga ofBashirhat. Many of them were left wounded and arrested in the hands of the reformists. It is reported by the writer of the article 'The Wahhabis in India No.II' that the jamadar of Calcutta militia, ten sepoys and three barkandazes were killed and the daroga of Bashirhat thana was carried away into the bamboo stockade and was murdered in cold blood.[155] This victory emboldened the reformists to resist any sort of attack and oppression by their own force. Finding the victory of the reformists more people joined hands with Titu Mir.[156]

On 16 November Alexandar hurried to Calcutta to inform the Government of the gravity of the situation and convinced the Government to take the matter more seriously and to destroy the rebellion without any delay. As a result a Regiment of Native Infantry including two guns and some Horse Artillery under Alexandar and Major Scott Harring proceeded to Narkelbaria on 19 November. The reformists met the troops[157] in the open field and killed many soldiers ; but ultimately many of the reformists including Titu Mir fell in action. The bamboo stockade was burnt and the houses around were looted by the troops. Thus the movement met its final collapse on 19 November,1831 at the hand of united

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155. Ibid.

156. Bihari Lal Sarkar, op.cit.,p.23.

157. 'Abdul Bari, "The Reform Movement in Bengal",op.cit.,p.553.

force of Alexandar and Major Scott Harring.[158] According to Hunter's report, 350 were arrested,[159] among them Ghulam Ma'sum was sentenced to death, 11 were transported for life and 128 were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.[160]

Colvin's careful investigation into the causes and nature of the disturbances and his report to the effect that 'the disturbance was entirely of a local and so far as regards the individuals, principally or subordinately concerned in it of a very important character',[161] though apparently seems to be correct, but in view of the origin, does not fit to the context. Because though circumstances led the reformists to be involved in the local problems and socio-economic crisis, originally it aimed at achieving a common but far reaching object of purifying the Muslims in all aspects. For we know that the exponent of the movement Titu Mir was a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad and the movement was an offshoot of his Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. But At the same time it does notjustify the claim of some of the writers of the seventies of the 19th century that the capture of Peshawar in 1830 by the Fanatic Host emboldened Titu Miyan to throw off all disguise; and the petty oppressions to which the Hindu landlords subjected his followers, placed him at the head of an infuriated peasant rising; which later on aimed at 'the extinction of the Company's rule'.[162]

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158. M.A.Bari, A Comparative study, fol.137.
159. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p. 39.
160. Ibid.; A.R.Mallick, op.cit., p.83.
161. Quoted from Boards Collection, Vol. ,1361, p.400by M.A.Bari, op.cit., pp.142-143.
162. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.37.; Calcutta Review, Vol.LI, No.CI, p.179.

Because we see that Titu Mir and his followers being humiliated and persecuted by the zamindars instead of throw off all disguise and counter attacking, submissively and lawfully filed a petition at the court of the Joint Magistrate of Baraset and being repeatedly frustrated and disappointed of having justice left Sarfarazpur and came to Narkelbaria. In Narkelbaria also they proceeded peacefully and did not make any violance till they were again attacked by Krishna Dev Roy and his club-men. The European indigo planters, not any European ruling efficer, were attacked only after they had showed hostility against the reformists and their movements. On the other hand they took the defensive measure and counter attacked the aggressive zamindar after the Balakot disaster when the Jihad movement was at wane. Of course they might have reasonably desired to extinguish the Company's rule as they charished the same spirit of Sayyid Ahmad, but they avoided any possibility of direct clash with the British rule as Sayyid Ahmad did.

Similarly Shamsun Nahar's assertion that Titu Mir's reform movement was merely a peasant movement, based only on socio-economic factors[163] does not seem to be correct. As we have already demonstrated by detailed analysis,[164] Titu Mir's movement was purely Islamic, designed to purify society of all sorts of

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163. Shamsun Nahar,"The Agrarian Uprising of Titu Mir 1831" in the Journal of the Institute of Bangladesh Studies, Vol.I, No.I, 1976, p.109.

164. See chapter III(d).

innovations practised in the name of Islam, and to make it conform to the teachings of the Qur'an and the Sunnah, the two basic sources of Islam. He believed that Islam was not only a religion in the popular sense, limited to certain rites and rituals, but one which encompassed the entire gamut of a Muslim's life, giving equal importance and attention to spiritual as well as to material needs. Hence the socio-economic aspects of life are never divorced from the religion of Islam. Viewing Titu Mir's activities in this perspective, it becomes clear that he did not roam about hither and thither idling away his valuable time. Rather he did spend all his time looking for a proper murshid and guide, at whose hands he could take the oath of allegiance (bay'at). Eventually he succeeded in finding such a murshid in the person of Sayyid Ahmad, and performed the bay'at at his hands.

When Titu Mir witnessed the torture and inhuman behaviour meted out to Muslim peasants by the Hindu Zamindars, he was naturally very shocked and grieved, and looked for ways and means to remedy the situation. The situation of the Muslims according to him, was not all conducive to a life of peace, free from economic exploitation and even physical and moral humiliation. Titu Mir had, it would seem, only two options before him - either to organise the Muslims in to a

strong group and fight back against all tyrannies and injustices, or to surrender to the oppression of the Hindu Zamindars and continue to live in humiliation and abject poverty. He evidently took the first alternative, for he organised the Muslim peasants under the banner of his Islamic movement and made them revolt against the torture of the Hindu Zamindars. It would, however, be wrong to deduce that it was only for the socio-economic reasons that Titu Mir organised the Muslim peasantry to fight. If one looks carefully into the method of his organisation and the different religions and social reforms he initiated, one will soon be convinced that the vision of Islam which he had before him was by no means limited or parochial. He directed his followers, as Shamsun Nahar mentions, 'to grow beards' and 'wear one piece of cloth without passing one end between the legs',[165] neither for socio-economic reasons nor because these things helped them in any way to encounter their enemies more affectively. These reforms, as has been corroborated by a multitude of evidence, were prompted by religious feelings and zeal to conform to the pure form of Islam, to the extent that one should not resemble Hindus even in their mode of dress. Therefore, it would be incorrect to say that Titu Mir took advantage of the name of Islam and exploited religious feeling for economic gains.

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165. Shamsun Nahar, op. cit., P. 109.

CHAPTER IV

REFORMS OF MAWLANA KARAMAT 'ALI

Mawlana Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi once remarked, "In Bengal none has contributed more to the spread of Islam and reformation of the Muslims than Mawlana Karamat 'Ali".[1] Sayyid Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi also expressed a high opinion about his reforms.[2] It is no exaggeration to say that the Mawlana was indeed responsible for the propagation of Islam, its principles and practices, to the furthest villages of the riverine Bengal. It seems that the Mawlana was interested in joining the jihad[3] against the Sikhs along with his

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1. Quoted by Shaykh Muhammad Ikram in Mawj-i-Kawthar (Lahore,N.D.), p. 40.

2. Ta'mir, Lucknow, May 1, 1949. Sayyid Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi stated that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was a renowned dini reformer and a spiritual guide. He was a distinguished figure in the thousand years' history of Bengal and by his untiring efforts he made the people dindar (pious), muwahhid(monotheist), muttabi' al-sunna (followers of the sunna) and ba-Khuda (God fearing) and the number of people so reformed was not less than one crore.

3. See Appendix A. Ja'far Thanissari opined that he took part in the jihad, Sawanih Ahmadi (Lahore,N.D.), p.141; while A.Yusuf 'Ali and 'Abd al-Batin expressed the opposite view,E.I.Vol.II, p. 753 and Sirat, p.37. On examination of all the views we can conclude that he did not take part in the direct battle for some reasons or other and kept himself aloof from the scene of the battle in the Frontier. This view is corroborated by his own statement that he did not find an opportunity to see his murshid in the battle field,Zad al-Taqwa(Cawnpore, 1340 A.H.),p.115.

teacher and guide Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareli.[4] The Sayyid, however, had other ideas about his young disciple whom he considered specially qualified for preaching the teachings of his movement in the towns and villages of Eastern India.[5] It is said that on the express advice of his murshid Mawlana Karamat Ali took to preaching of the tenets of Islam in this region.[6]

Initially he selected Jaunpur, his home town, as the first centre of his reformist activities. The Jami' mosque of Jaunpur at that time was in a deplorable condition [7] in so far as there was no arrangement for its proper upkeep.

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4. See Appendix A.

5. 'Abd al-Batin, Sirat, Allahabad, 1368 A.H., pp.37-38 ; cf. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans (Calcutta, 1945), p.42.

6. See Appendix A ; See also Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi, Ta'mir, Lucknow, May 1, 1949 ; Abd al-Batin, Sirat, pp.22, 37-38.

7. Sirat, p.28. Describing the condition of the mosque Munshi 'Abd al-Majid Dimag composed the following verses -

جو مشہور کعبے کے حالات ہیں + تھی اس سے بھی کچھ اسکی حالت ردی
مویشی یہاں باندھتے تھے کساں + وہاں تو بتوں ہی کی بھرمار تھی
بھرے اسمیں بالکل ہی تھے جانور + وہاں پھر بھی رہتے تھے کچھ آدمی
یہاں لید و گوبر کا انبار تھا + وہاں تو صفائی تھی ہر طرح کی
وہاں تھا نہ اسطرح فسق و فجور + عبادت بھی تھی گو بتوں ہی کی تھی
یہاں پر خلاف اسکے اندھیر تھا + برے کاموں کی سارے مرکز یہ تھی

- Sirat, p. 29.

Cont.

There is evidence to show that adhans were not called and prayers were not offered in the mosque regularly; and the people of the neighbourhood did not even hesitate to use it as a stable. There are also reports that the mosque instead of being a place of worship of the devotees had become a rendezvous of the wicked persons of the town.[8] The Mawlana addressed himself whole-heartedly to the task of rehabilitating the mosque for the purpose for which it was originally built in 1470 by the last Sharqi Sultan of Jaunpur, Husain Shah.[9] With the help of a handful of loyal supporters, whom he won over to his cause by preaching and persuation,he did succeed in making satisfactory arrangement for the calling

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" The condition of the mosque was worse than the known condition of the Ka'ba.

The farmers used to keep their cattle therein while there was only the rash of idols.
Only the animals filled the mosque while some people were therein (Ka'ba).
Here in the mosque was a heap of filth and dung while there was cleanliness in all respects.
There was no such falsehood and wickedness, it was worshipping though to the idols.
On the contrary there was darkness and it was the centre of all sorts of heinous activities. "

8. Cf. Appendix A ; Sirat, p.30

9. Persy Brown, Indian Architecture, Bombay,N.D.(1st edition published in 1942,we consulted third edition), p. 45.

of adhan, holding of jama'at and proper maintenance of the mosque.[10] He then undertook a tour, as his biographer 'Abd al-Batin claimed, in the neighbouring towns viz., Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Faydabad and Sultanpur where he called upon the Muslims to be true to their faith in profession and actions.[11] According to the same report he laid the foundation of a madrasa at Jaunpur to teach 'ilm-i-din with special stress on the Hanafite fiqh.[12] Thus he made the people acquainted with the Shari'a and they gradually came close to the Islamic Laws.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali first visited Calcutta in 1821 in the company of Sayyid Ahmad.[13] But this time he did not stay long in the province.[14] Later in 1250 A.H./1834-35 A.D., he

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10. 'Abd al-Batin, Sirat, pp.30-31. For the first time only five persons — Mawlana himself, his paternal uncle Shaykh Amir Allah and other three sincere companions of his own mahalla responded to the adhan. He then went to other mahallas and invited the people to offer prayers. cf. Appendix A.
11. Sirat., p.43.
12. Ibid.,pp.34-35 ;cf.R.H.Nevill, Jaunpur, a gazetteer, Vol.XXVIII of the District gazetteers of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (Allahabad,1908),p.139.
13. E.I.Vol.I ,p.752; J.Wise, Notes on the Races, Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal (London,1883),Vol.I,p.27.
14. See supra, Chapter II.

moved to Bengal with his family. Thenceforth there began a period of long association between him and the people of lower and eastern Bengal ; and even today it continues through his descendants. Travel in those days was not an easy task. There were some places in the province where there were no roads and which were not accessible even by boats. Moreover, he had to face many dangerous situations in this unknown region. To cope with those situations he, as pointed out by himself, had to remain ready with arms as an when necessary.[15]

/At the critical juncture of moral, social and religious degradation of the Muslims of Bengal and Assam, as discussed earlier, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali played a significant and vital role in reforming his coreligionists and inspiring them in playing positive role in the happenings that were taking place around them. He made an extensive tour all over Bengal and met the people of Dacca, Chittagong, Barisal, Faridpur, Sylhet, Noakhali, Comilla, Mymensingh, Rangpur, Dinajpur, Murshidabad and Purnia.[16] He had no fixed programme in his mind. His aim and object was to preach the tenets of Islam and to reform the

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15. Karamat 'Ali, Itminan al-Qulub in Dhakhira, III (Dacca, 1382 A.H./1962 A.H.), p.140.

16. Karamat 'Ali, Hujjat-i-Qati'a in Dhakhira, I (Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.), pp.86, 104 ; Murad al-Muridin in Dhakhira, III, pp. 61, 84 ; Nasim al-Haramayn (Jaunpur, N.D.), p.49.

Muslims and purge all un-Islamic practices. Everywhere he studied the situation very closely and carried on his reformist activities accordingly. He observed some gross accretions in Islamic practices which were brought about by ignorance of some Muslims or by their long association with the Hindus. He also observed some changes that occurred due to the difference of opinions of the contemporary thinkers and reformers.

Thus the Mawlana had to campaign simultaneously against four groups of peoples : first, the people who indulged in superstitious beliefs and practices, customs and ceremonies because of the evil influence of the false pirs and notorious darwishes as well as their long association with the Hindus;[17] second, the Faraidis, to him the Kharijites of Bengal ;[18] third, the Muhammadi or Ahl-al-Hadith, to him La-madhhab[19] and Wahhabi; forth, the Wujudiyah i.e. the followers of the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud,[20] to him the bidatis like the followers of Mukhlis al-Rahman[21] of Chittagong. He inveighed all the four groups.

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17. See infra, chapter II(b).
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in in Dhakhira,II, (Cawnpore, 1334 A.H.), p. 213.

He combated, to a large extent, the notorious activities of the false pirs who exploited and deceived their disciples in various ways. They used to give them amulets as a security against danger and travelled from one disciple's place to another's and collected money. They did not teach them even how to perform ablution and offer prayer.[22] They were venerated by their disciples just as the Hindu Brahmins were respected by the ordinary Hindus. They held 'urs' in pomp and grandeur where they perpetrated many shirks and bid'at like prostration before the graves, illumination of the tombs,[23] illumination on

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22. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat in Dhakhira, I (Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.), p.13.

23. Illumination of the tombs and graves is strictly prohibited as it revealed in the sayings of Ibn Abbas (May Allah be pleased with him).

عن ابن عباس قال لعن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم زائرات القبور والمتخذين عليها المساجد والسرج

al-Khatib, Mishkat al-Masabih, bab al-masajid wa mawadi al-salah (Asahh al-Matabi', Karachi), 1368 A.H.), P. 71.

laylat al-bara'at[24] and laylat al-qadr,[25] beating of the drum, singing and dancing and the like. These false pirs taught them that to sing and to play on the ma'azif and mazamir[26] were not only permissible but were also 'ibada in the rite of Chistiya tariqa.[27] Sometimes they showed their disciples the super natural power by adopting artificial means of deception. They prevented them from teaching their children the Holy Quran on the plea that they were not careful and they did not keep ablution. The disciples did not see their pirs with scrutinizing eyes and perhaps it was due to the fact that they firmly believed that to have salvation one must follow a pir.[28]

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24. Laylat al-bara'at(ليلة البرأة) is the 15th night of the month of Sha'ban, lit. means the night of salvation. It is believed that in this night Allah grants His special mercy and blessing to His creatures.

25. Laylat al-qadr(ليلة القدر) lit.means the night of luck and it is clearly mentioned in the Quran(see sura, al-qadr)that this night is better than thousand months: (ليلة القدر خير من الف شهر). So to observe these nights by arranging meritorious functions to seek the pleasure of Allah and to pray for salvation of the souls is good but to perpetrate shirk and bid'a in these nights by indulging in anti-Islamic practices like prostration before the graves,illumination of the tombs or to play with fire-works are very bad.

26. Maazif and mazamir are two musical instruments.

27. Karamat 'Ali,Mukashifat-i-Rahman, p.15.

28. M.A.Bari, A Comparative study of the early Wahhabi doctrines and contemporary reform movements in Indian Islam (unpublished D.Phil thesis,Oxford University,1953), fol. 120.

Karamat 'Ali maintained the full spirit of his khilafat nama received from Sayyid Ahmad [29] and explained tawhid in the true sense of the term.[30] He called upon the poeple not to indulge in polytheism by depending upon the pirs and saints for salvation. He said that to show respect to the prophets or to the Muslim saints was not shirk; rather sometimes it was wajib or mustahab.[31] Of course, the respect that leads to shirk is haram. As for example, he said that to make an offering in the name of the saints, to sacrifice animal in their names or to slaughter any animal in order to show respect to them, to make prostration before their graves, to ask help from them, and to believe in the theory that they are 'alim al-ghayb(knower of the unseen) and qadir al-mutlaq (all powerful), were shirk and haram.[32] He preached that Allah is Almighty. He can do and undo whatever He likes; and none except Him has any power to redress the difficulties or to do any harm to anybody if He does not wish to do so.[33]

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29. See Appendix B.
30. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat,pp.19-20.
31. Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in in Dhakhira,II Cawnpore,1334 A.H.),p.235.
32. Ibid.
33. 'Abd al-'Aziz explained it in his punthi viz.Darwish nama (Calcutta,1278 B.S.), p. 46. He says -

"আল্লার হুকুমে চন্দ্র তারায় আসমান। সেজে জানো পীরা জানো তাহার ফরমান॥
আল্লা ছাড়া অন্য নামে হাজত মানত। সেজেক হইবে পাপের আল্লার মদত॥
আল্লা বিনে তাকদীরুল্লা কে করিতে পারে। খাক্ক নাহি পির ওলি কিবা ফেরেস্তারে॥"

He also denounced all sorts of shirk and bid'a which were committed in the garb of 'urs.[34] He severely criticized the bid'atis, some of whom were 'alim, as Mukhlis al-Rahman of Chittagong, and their bad practices of rasmi fatiha.[35] When he went to Chittagong and began to preach his ideas among the people of the locality, Mukhlis al-Rahman put forward some questions to him in Persian. Karamat 'Ali translated the questions into Urdu and replied them in that language, so that the common people might understand them.[36]

In the first question he was asked that as the Quran was revealed twelve hundred years back and Hadith was started writing many years ago and the period of ijtihad

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34. See supra, Chapter I.

35. Karamat 'Ali Muqami' al-Mubtadi'in, p.215. By the term rasmi fatiha they meant the practice of the people to present dishes of food before an alim who read surah al-Fatiha and other du'as and raised the hands and prayed to Allah for salvation and betterment of a particular soul or souls.

36. It stands to eternal credit of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali that he mixed himself with the common men and talked to them according to their intelligence and capability. That is why here he first rendered the Persian questions into Urdu and then replied in the same language. Thus the common men could benefit properly.

and imama had gone, was there any scope of divergence of opinion and how did the difference of opinion appear in masa'il of 'aqa'id ? Mawlana Karamat 'Ali replied that the period of ijtihad had not been closed ; rather its door was always open.[37] He said that the suspension of imama before the arrival of Imam Mahdi was nothing but the creed of the Rafidites. Moreover, the difference of opinion among the 'ulama' was a rahma (blessing) and thus it did not make any harm to the society.[38] In reply to the question of Mukhlis al-Rahmān regarding Isma'iliya sect., he said that he did not know anything about them.[39] In the second question, as reported by Karamat 'Ali himself, he was asked the reasons for the unlawfulness of rasmi fatiha, whereas the dish on which the fatiha was recited was regarded halal (lawful).[40] The Mawlana replied that the dish was lawful but the very act of rasmi fatiha was unlawful. He explained that if it was performed in pursuance of woddly gains then it was an abuse of Islamic principles and consequently useless. But if it was done to gain some merits in the world hereafter, then we should see that whether this was permissible in the books of 'aqā'id, tasawwuf or fiqh or by any one of the seven classes of fuqaha.[41] He declared it as bid'a and advised

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37. Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in, p.215.
38. Ibid.
39. Ibid.
40. Ibid., p. 215.
41. See detail of seven classes of fuqaha in this chapter, f.n. 91.

the people to give it up. In the third, he was asked about Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya which was, in the opinion of Mukhlis al-Rahmān, as reported by the Mawlana, any invention of Sayyid Ahmad, Shah Muhammad Isma'il and 'Abd al-Hayy. The questioner told, if that new tariqa was right, why the followers of it were expelled from Mecca ? In the fourth, he was asked, whether the 'ulama of Mecca called the new group of people Wahhabi or not. In the fifth, he was asked about some books of Shah Muhammad Isma'il - Taqwiat al-Iman, Tanwir al-'Aynayn, Sirat-i-Mustaqim, etc.- whether those were true or false. In the sixth, he asked, whether Shah Muhammad Isma'il and 'Abd al-Hayy were right or wrong as regards their beliefs and practices. In the seventh, it was asked, why the image of Sayyid Ahmad was worshipped after his death at Balakot if it was considered by them as shirk ? Mawlana Karamat 'Ali replied to all the questions and in support of his views he penerated into detail and thereby proved the authenticity of it.[42] He also criticised the practice of the fake darwishes who preferred the conduct of the Hindu saints to that of the prophet and refrained from marriage.[43]

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42. Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al-Mubtadi'in, pp. 216-220 ; see also 'Abd al-'Aziz, Radd al-Mafsidin, (Calcutta, 1283 B.S.), pp. 330-331; see supra, chapter II.

43. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahman, p.5.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali campaigned against the superstitious beliefs and polytheistic customs which had penetrated into the Muslim society.[44] He preached Islamic ideals among the Muslim masses and told them that they were wrong in believing that the diseases were caused and cured by Satan and spirit. He also taught them that the astrologers or the witch-doctors could not cure the diseased persons[45] until Allah, the Almighty, wished and helped do so. Illustrating the futility of worshipping the Hindu gods and Hindu shrines his khalifa 'Abd al-'Aziz pointedly declared[46]:

If the worship of Shiva would fulfil the desire,
nobody would have chosen the profession of prostitution.
If Shiva,Krisna or Brahma themselves were the doers,
Shiva would never have kidnapped Durga nor Krisna would have kidnapped Radha.
If Rama, Lakshmana be the lords
Notorious Ravana would never have kidnapped the wife of Rama.
Oh the slaves of Allah,give up polytheism.
Whoever makes shirk with Allah would go the hell for ever.

44.See supra, chapter I.

45.Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat,p.13.

46.Darwish nama, p.51.

" শিব যিহঁ পুজিবে যদি মনস্কাম হৈত ।
ছেনাল কহবি নারি (নারী) কেহ না হইত ।।
শিব কৃষ্ণ ব্রহ্মা যদি (যদি) সমুৎ কর্ত্তা হৈত ।
শিবে দুর্গা কৃষ্ণে রাধায় কভু না হরিত ।।
রাম লক্ষ্মন হৈত যদি পতি ঈশ্বর ।
রাবের নারী না হরিত রাবন দুস্কর ।।
ছাড়হে আল্লার বান্দা সেরেকের কাম ।
যে (যে) করে সেরেক সদা রবে জাহান্নাম ।। "

He also preached and wrote treatises against gambling which was invariably played particularly in the night of dewali[47] and also against the polytheistic practice of Muslim participation in the Hindu festivities such as holi, dewali, rath yatra, basanta puja, the worship of Sitala and the worship of a Hindu shrine of manohara matha,[48] He also prevented the Muslims from participating in dashahara and other Hindu festivals.[49] He preached against another abominable practice of not marrying the widows which was the root of many evils in the society.[50] Referring to Masail-i-Arba'in of Shah Muhammad Ishaq and some treatises of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz he pronounced a fatwa denouncing[51] all the bid'at which were practised in the marriage ceremony. These bid'at are : compulsory horse-riding of the bridegroom on the day of marriage ; to invite the singers, dancers and musicians who will increase the amusement and jubilation of the function by their sheer un-Islamic and anti-Islamic activities ; to clad the bridegroom with silken robe ; to feed him from the golden or silver plates on the occasion ; to measure the body from head to foot by a thread charmed by the sorcerer so that the bridegroom might love the bride well.

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47. See supra, Chapter I.
48. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.7.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.,p.6.
51. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Radd al-Mafsidin, pp.308-316.

Women at that time were neither aware of Islamic regulations nor observing them properly. They were generally not in the habit of observing pardah as mentioned before.[52] Frequently and unhasitatingly they went out to bring water, to bathe in the river or tank without properly covering their bodies which was obviously repugnant to the Quranic laws.[53] Moreover, the women did not know the masa'il (detailed regulations) of tahara and how to perform prayer. Similarly when they went to the house of any relative to participate in a marriage or any other ceremony they stayed there for days together.[54] They mixed and met one another - male and female-at that house violating the Islamic rules of purdah. Karamat 'Ali launched a reform campaign against all these un-Islamic practices of the Muslim men and women. He wrote a book entitled Tazkiyat al-Niswan in which he discussed the behaviour of the Muslim women and taught them how to behave with muhrim and ghayr muhrim and urged the Muslim men and women not to go to the Hindu fair held on the occasion of puja and to observe pardah properly. His book Tazkiyat al-Niswan became very popular and was deemed so necessary that his khalifa 'Abd al-'Aziz translated it into Bengali in punthi form which was published from Calcutta in

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52. See supra, Chapter I.

53. Sura, al-Ahzab : 33

54. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.7 ; see supra, Chapter I.

1862. The original book also was published a number of times as several editions of it are found now. As a result of his preaching and writing, the people of Noakhali, Barisal, Comilla and Dacca to a great extent, abstained themselves from these un-Islamic activities. The people of other areas were also considerably influenced.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali toured throughout Bengal particularly the north-eastern and south-eastern districts by boats[55] and earned great fame. It is learnt from oral sources and his own statement[56] that sometimes he kept three boats - one for his family, one for himself and the other for his students and disciples. Wherever he went he attempted to establish a madrasa. This is supported by the statement of Sayyid Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Nadwi[57] and 'Abd al-Batin,[58] and also by the fact that many madrasas are still found in Bangladesh named after him. Some of these are Karamatiya Madrasa at Noakhali town, Madrasa-i-Karamatiya at Monoharpur in the district of Jessore, Karamatiya Madrasa at Rangpur town. Thus we see that he was a patron of learning. He wrote books and treatises and delivered

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55. Eastern Bengal is fed by rivers. So the only easy means of communication here is through the inumerable number of boats. Karamat 'Ali journeyed by a big type of boat which were called in the local and colloquial language 'Bajra'. In a bajra there are three rooms - one bed room, one big drawing room and one small bath room. The roof of the boat is constructed in such a level that the boat men can easily dwell by placing a tent thereon.
56. Karamat 'Ali, Murad al-Muridin, p.77.
57. See Ta'mir Lucknow, May 1,1949.
58. 'Abd al-Batin, Sirat, p.49.

speeches in the public meetings. He also participates in various munazara and mubahatha at various places where he propagated his own ideas about religious and social aspects of life of the Muslims. As a result of his preaching and writing a large number of people gave up their un-Islamic beliefs and practices and became puritan Muslims. Ajmal Khan remarks, "Inspite of the fall of the Islamic sultanate, the number of Muslims increased so much that the whole of East Bengal became Muslims. This was possible through the struggle of one pious man of Jawnpur who within a short period converted more than one crore to Islam. His name was Mawlawi Karamat Ali" [59]

In fiqhi masa'il Karamat 'Ali identified himself with the school of Imam Abu Hanifa [60] and vehemently criticised the Ahl al-Hadith whom he termed as la madhhab. He claimed that taqlid-i-shakhsi was not a new thing. It dates back to the

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59. Muhammad Ajmal Khan, Sawanih Hadrat Khwaja Muin al-Din Chisti (Lahore, N.D.), p.29.

60. It may be the reason for James Wise's observation that Karamat 'Ali's movement came to be known as ta'ayyuni movement (see James Wise, Eastern Bengal, p.6). Ta'ayyuni is an Arabic word derived from ta'ayyun (تعين) means to establish ; to manifest or to identify. The fact that Karamat 'Ali identified himself with the school of Imam Abu Hanifa and opposed the doctrines of Ahl al-Hadith endorses the view, if the last meaning the taken.

beginning of the third century hijra. He maintained[61] that Allah in His saying[62] فاسئلوا اهل الذكر ان كنتم لاتعلمون tells us to ask the learned if we do not know anything and hence Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz in his tafsir Fath al-'Aziz argued thereby in favour of wajub ittiba' of mujtahidin al-Shari'a (وجوب اتباع مجتهدين الشريعة). Karamat 'Ali also thought that it was haram (unlawful) for a man who was not a mujtahid to choose ahkam directly from the Quran and Hadith.[63] Quoting a Hadith[64] of the Prophet he said that the Prophet did not like the man who did not ask any 'alim about the matter which he did not know well. Referring to Mizan al-Sha'raniya of 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani he opined that it was not permissible for the followers of any school of law to disregard the prescription of his own madhhab and to prefer the creed of another imam in the case of a particular mas'ala for the sake of their own interest. He maintained that they might change the madhhab fully.[65]

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61. Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn, pp.96-97.
62. Sura al-Nahl : 43
63. Karamat 'Ali, Qawl al-Thabit in Dhakhira, II, pp.43-44.
64. Mishkwat al-Masabih, bab tayammum, 2nd fasal (Karachi, 1368 A.H.), pp.54-55.
عن جابر قال خرجنا فى سفر فاصاب رجلا منا حجر فشجه فى راسه فاحتلم فسال اصحابه هل تجدون لى رخصة فى التيمم قالوا ما نجد لك رخصة وانت تقدر على الماء فاغتسل فمات فلما قدمنا على النبى صلى الله عليه وسلم اخبر بذلك فقال قتلوه قتلهم الله الا سالوا اذ لم يعلموا انما شفاء العى السوال

65. Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn, p.51.

Another argument of the Mawlana is the indication of a supposed ijma' al-salaf (consensus of the early 'ulamā') which came down from generation to generation favouring taqlid shakhs mu'ayyan. For, all agreed that the fiqh of every madhhab was learnt and taught separately due to the fact that taqlid was wajib.[66] In reply to the question of not following the rite of taqlid shakhs mu'ayyan when one follows the decision of Abu Yusuf or Muhammad or Ja'far he maintained that Abu Yusuf or Muhammad or Ja'far was not a mujtahid mutlaq.[67] They had no separate school of law and they followed the same rules as was evolved by Imam Abu Hanifa. Thus they were mujtahid fi al-madhhab[68] and

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66. Ibid. p.98.
67. Al-Mujtahid al-mutlaq : By the term he means a mujtahid who is in a position to lay down formula for ijtihad and to infer on the basis of four fundamentals - the Quran, sunna, ijma' and qiyas in accordance with his maxims. Karamat Ali, Bay'at-i-tawba, Dhakhira, II, pp.278-279.
68. By the term al-mujtahid fi al-madhhab(المجتهد فى المذهب) he means a mujtahid who has no separate formula to draw out the judgement but he is able to make inference on the basis of four fundamentals in accordance with the principles laid down by the mujtahid al-mutlaq, Karamat 'Ali, Bay'at-i-Tawba p.279. On the basis of the above explanation which is corroborated by the opinion of Shah Wali Allah, 'Iqd al-jid (Karachi 1379 A.H.), p.71 ff, Abu Yusuf was considered as mujtahid fi al-madhhab and Ahmad ibn Hanbal being a student of Imam Shafi'i was considered as al-mujtahid al-mutlaq, Karamat 'Ali Nasim al-Haramayn, p.101.

their madhhab was the madhhab[69] of Imam Abu Hanifa.

Thus he detested the Ahl al-Hadith movement and its exponents and upholders vehemently in his different books and treatises.[70] He could not tolerate them even for a moment. He treated them in the same manner as he did the Faraidis and the Wujudiya.[71] He believed that a particular school of law was to be followed strictly.[72] Thus in his opinion figh, aqaid and tawawwuf must be followed ; if any tafsir goes against them that tafsir should not be accepted.[73] The Ahl al-Hadith do not believe in the genuineness of these things. They do not believe in customary milad and fatiha while Karamat 'Ali strongly supported milad and wrote many books and tracts[74] in which he explained milad and the procedure of reciting it. He told them that the 'ulama of la-madhhab group were not the warith (heir) of the Prophet.[75] He stated that they all were jahil and could not distinguish between 'ami (عامی) and ummi (امی).[76]

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69. Karamat 'Ali defined madhhab as follows :
-madhhab is the name of some formulas formulated by the mujtahid al-mutlaq, Nasim al-Haramayn, p.100.
70. See supra, chapter II(B).
71. See supra, chapter II(B).
72. Karamat 'Ali, Murad al-Muridin, p.44.
73. Karamat 'Ali, Nurun 'ala Nur, p. 5. جو تفسیر کی ان چیزوں کے خلاف ہوگی وہ عمل کے قابل نہ ہوگی
74. Murad al-Muridin, Qawl al-Haqq, Mulakhkhas, Miraat al-Haqq, Al-Barahin al-Qati'a fi Maulud Khayr al-Bariya.
75. Karamat 'Ali, Nurun 'ala Nur, p.53; Tazkiyat al-'Aqa'id, p.81.
76. Karamat 'Ali, Nurun 'ala Nur, p. 56.

He condemned the Ahl al-Hadith for their practice of raising hands frequently (رفع اليدين) in prayer and thought that these people went against the Prophet and the time honoured *murshids*.[77] The Ahl al-Hadith people put more emphasis on *ijtihad*, as mentioned above. But Karamat 'Ali denounced their views and told that by avoiding *taqlid*, the *Ghayr muqalid* people were following their caprices while the Muqalids saved themselves from the evil of the caprices.[78] He called the Ahl al-Hadith people *Lā madhhab*, Bananiya and Wahhabi[79] and by using these terms he wanted to convey his belief that the Ahl al-Hadith had grossly deviated from *Dīn*. While in *usul* (fundamentals), as M.A.Bari maintained, the Wahhabis were the followers of the Quran and ~~the~~ sunna and in *faru'at* (detail laws based on judgement of the 'ulema) they were in most cases the followers of Ahmad ibn Hanbal;[80] and, according to Professor Gibb, their inspiration lay in Hambalite school.[81] Of course it is a fact that they were not blind followers of Ahmad ibn Hanbal or of any other *imam*. By denouncing them as Wahhabi, because of some similarities between the doctrines of Ahl al-Hadith and Wahhabis of Arabia, he helped the opponent camp who called Sayyid Ahmad

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77. *Ibid.*, p.96.
78. *Ibid.*, p.14.
79. See *supra.*, chapter III(B).
80. M.A.Bari, *A Comparative study*, fol. 58.
81. *Ibid.*, p.33

the exponent of Wahhabism in India for similar reason.[82] Once he admitted that he did not go through the literature of the Wahhabis and did not know their doctrines except a little which he could gather from the report of the people.[83] It is quite probable that he did not read the Wahhabi literature to know their doctrines and if he knew it must have been very inadequate. He referred to one 'Abd al-Jabbar[84] of Shaykhpura who asked him a question regarding four known tariqas of tasawwuf and four schools of law.[85] Criticising the doctrine of the Mawlana regarding taqlid shakhsi 'Abd al-Jabbar wrote a book entitled Jawabi-i-Quwwat al-Iman[86] in which he condemned taqlid shakhsi and advocated for mixing of four schools of law (تخليط مذاهب اربع).[87] as, in his opinion, Sayyid Ahmad mixed four known tariqas of asceticism and made a fifth tariqa viz. Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya for his own. He also said that inspite of various differences of opinions among Abu Hanifa, Abu Yusuf, Muhammad and Zufar all the opinions were regarded as Hanafi madhhab. He questioned why, in this way, all the four madhhabs would not be mixed and a fifth madhhab under the name of Muhammadi madhhab be made. He maintained that all the four schools of law were

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82. See supra., chapter III(a).
83. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.17.
84. One should not confuse this 'Abd al-Jabbar with the Fara'idi Khalifa 'Abd al-Jabbar.
85. Karamat 'Ali, Bay'at-i-Tawba, pp. 273-276.
86. 'Abd al-Jabbar wrote this book in refutation and reply to Quwwat al-Iman of Karamat 'Ali.
87. Karamat 'Ali, Bay'at-i-Tawba, pp.273-276; cf. 'Abd al-Jabbar, Jawabi-i-Quwwat al-Iman, (1887), p.2.

right. So considering the circumstances one should follow any one of them which he deemed more reasonable and appropriate ; as in the case of Hanafi madhhab sometimes the verdict of Abu Yusuf was preferred and sometimes other's opinion preferred.[88] The Mawlana opposed this view and maintained that though all the four madhhabs were right, yet one must stick to any one madhhab for whole life and must not change madhhab conveniently.[89] He told that 'Abd al-Jabbar was not correct in his opinion regarding Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. Because Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya was not a mixure of four known tariqas and Sayyid Ahmad did not take bay'a in Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya only. At the time of taking bay'a he mentioned the four tariqas first and at the end he uttered the word Muhammadiya.[90] In reply to the question of 'Abd al-Jabbar regarding different opinions of Imam Abu Hanifa and other imams of Hanafi madhhab, he showed the difference between mujtahid fi al-shar' and mujtahid fi al-madhhab. He maintained that a mujtahid fi al-madhhab was not an independent entity while a

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88. Ibid.

89. Karamat 'Ali, Murad al-Muridin, p.44.

90. According to Mawlana Karamat 'Ali, Sayyid Ahmad used the following words at the time of bay'a :

بیعت کیا میں نے بیچ طریقہ ~~نقشبندیہ~~ چشتیہ اور قادریہ اور نقشبندیہ اور مجددیہ اور محمدیہ کے اور
ہاتھ فقیر سید احمد کے - اللہ تو قبول کر اور نعمتیں ان طریقوں کا ہمارا نصیب کر -

I perform bay'a in tariqa-i-Chistiya and Qadiriya and Naqshbandiya and Mujaddidiya and Muhammadiya, in the hand of faqir Sayyid Ahmad. Oh Allah, grant it and provide me with the blessings of those tariqas.(See Bay'at-i-Tawba, p.272)

mujtahid fi-shar' was fully independent. For more clarification he explained different kinds of mujtahid and seven stages of fuqaha.[91]

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali also referred to one Ibrahim in the locality of Atiya (at present in the district of Tangail) who came to him when he was in the house of Sa'adat 'Ali Khan of Atiya and asked him two questions — one regarding raf'u al-yadayn and another regarding a man who avoiding the prescription of the Hanafite school of law in a particular question, followed a tradition of the Prophet which was sahih to the muhaddithin ;

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91. Ibid.,pp.275-280. Referring to 'Iqd al-Jid and Qurrat al-Azar of Shah Wali Allah, the Mawlana explained seven stages of fuqaha. First, mujtahid fi al-shar', such as four known imams - Abu Hanifa, Malik, Shafi'i and Ahmad ibn Hanbal - who had their own formula to draw out the judgement in corroboration with the Quran, sunna, ijma and qiyas. Second, mujtahid fi al-madhhab, such as Abu Yusuf, Muhammad, Zafar who had no separate formula but could infer on the basis of the formula laid down by their master Abu Hanifa in corroboration with the four fundamentals. Third, mujtahid fi al-masa'il, such as Fakhr al-Din Qadi Khan, Khassaf, Abu Ja'far Tahawi, who had no formula of their own but could draw out masa'il in a particular case where they did not get any directive from sahib madhhab, on the basis of their formula laid down by them. Fourth, ashab takhrij from among the muqallids, such as Razi who had no power of ijtihad al all. But as he was well versed in the formulas and knew the process of drawing out judgement, he could explain an ambiguous word of sahib madhhab and could point out the probable meaning.

whether this change would be correct or not and whether this man would remain Hanafi or not. He also told, as the Mawlana reported, that he used to raise hands frequently in prayer following the madhhab of Imam Abu Hanifa who had reportedly told that if any sahih Hadith contradicted any prescription of law given by him that Hadith should be followed.[92] Karamat 'Ali claimed that he replied to the questions according to his own doctrine and made him silent.[93] In reply to the first question, the Mawlana maintained that whoever, had done so following his caprices, he surpassed the limit of his madhhab and fell into the ditch of tark al-wajib (to forsake an obligatory duty). Thus he became baghi (rebel) and cursed to the people and Allah. If he continued be became fasiq.[94] In reply to the second question, he referred to Mizan al-Sha'raniya of 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Sha'rani and told that a man could change the madhhab fully for ever not for the convenient time.[95] He complained that by allowing option to adopt any maslak (way to be followed) of the imams according to personal likings the La madhhab people taught the illiterate Muslims the creed of mu'tazilas who believed in the multiplicity of truth ; while

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92. Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn, pp.45-47.
93. Ibid., pp. 46-49.
94. In replying to this question Mawlana Karamat 'Ali did not bring evidence from the Quran or Hadith,nor did he argued with learning and logic.It seemed that he twisted a thing to suit his convenience.
95. Ibid., pp.51-52.

according to the Ahl al-sunna wa al-jama'a truth lay in one; and thus it was obligatory to imitate the verdict of one 'alim.[96] He told that they were deceiving the people of Bengal who were very simple and sincere in thought by misinterpreting history, telling them that Imam Bukhari was contemporary to the Prophet and Imam Abu Hanifa was born four hundred years after the Prophet.[97]

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali vehemently criticised those people who believed in the momentary disappearance[98] (غيبة) of Sayyid Ahmad who had actually been martyred in the Balakot disaster. He called it idol-worshipping to consider an image of a man to be the leader of the party rather of the nation. He called those over

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96. Karamat 'Ali, Tazkiyat al-'Aqa'id, Dhakhira I,pp.63-64.

97. Ibid.;p.64. But we do not find any evidence on the fact that any prominent 'alim of Ahl al-Hadith group said so.

98. After the Balakot disaster when the body of Sayyid Ahmad could not be identified and some people told that they had witnessed the Amir al-muminin after the battle, the devout souls could not believe in the martyrdom of their leader. On the other hand the situation was so aggravated that it was not possible to reorganise the frustrated mujahids under the leadership of anybody except Sayyid Ahmad. So they might have considered it fit for the moment to declare his disappearance. But it is an astonishing they the great khalifas of the Sayyid also accepted the idea and for a long period of time they continued to organise the mujahids under the banner of this fancied idea. (Cf. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid,II, pp.443-444.)

enthusiastic followers of the Sayyid La madhhab and refuted their doctrines.[99] He claimed himself to be a devoted follower

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99. It is a basic question of 'aqa'id whether an imam may disappear from the eyes of the people for fear of the enevies or not. Referring to Sharh 'Aqa'id Nasafi of Sa'ad al-Din Taftazani (see p.11), Mawlana Karamat 'Ali said that those people who actually believed in the disappearance of Sayyid Ahmad were, Rafidi or Shi'a, Ihqaq al-Haqq, pp.4-5. On the otherhand a large section of jihadis including Mawlana Wilayat 'Ali, Yahya 'Ali 'Abd al-Rahim, Ja'far Thanissari believed in the disappearance of the imam. Mawlana Wilayat 'Ali wrote a treatise named Da'wat in which he clearly wrote that the Imam Sayyid Ahmad disappeared for the time being and it was a sunna of many of the prophets. He mentioned the disappearance of the prophets Yunus, Musa, 'Isa and Muhammad (peace be on them) who disappeared from their umma and appeared after certain period. He also wrote that disappearance of the Sayyid was not like the disappearance of 'Isa (peace be on him) who disappeared for long period. Thus he wrote that the Sayyid would appear after short period and shine the world like the bright sun (Da'wat, pp.10-11).

Ja'far Thanissari also believed that in the clear field of Balakot the Sayyid was standing in the jama'a and all on a sudden disappeared from the eyes of the people, Sawanih Ahmadi, p.136. This belief was strong in the Sadiqpuri followers of the Sayyid. In the Wahhabi trials some great khalifas of the Sayyid confessed that whoever would come to Sadiqpur Centre returned with the ideas of disappearance of the Sayyids. Ghulam Rasul Mihr, Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, pp.447-448. It was also stated that Nizam al-Din Chisti and 'Abd Allah also accompanied the Sayyid in his disappearance, Sawanih Ahmadi, p.137. But this idea of disappearance does not stand fully historical criticism. With the passage of time the idea of disappearance lost ground. After 60 years when Ja'far Thanissari wrote the biography of the Sayyid, he seemed to have reconsiled himself with the idea of the Sayyid's martyrdom. So it is very difficult to say that the great khalifas of the Sayyid actually meant so. They might have mentioned so out of emotion or just to console the devote mujahids and to reorganise them as we mentioned earlier.

of the Sayyid and, according to his own statement,[100] when he was asked by Mukhlis al-Rahman of Chittagong regarding the correctness of Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya he defended the tariqa and told that, to invent a new path would continue till the day of resurrection and according to the prophecy of the Prophet, mujaddids would come after every hundred years and they would revive Din. He thus regarded Sayyid Ahmad as mujaddid and his murshid in tariqa and told that the teacher of the questioner Mawlana Muhammad Wajih was also a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad.[101] He also showed great respect to Shah Muhammad Isma'il and Mawlana 'Abd al-Hayy, two distinguished khalifas[102] of the Sayyid and claimed that both of them were Hanafi by madhhab.[103] He refuted Mukhlis al-Rahman's idea of wahdat al-wujud. Mukhlis al-Rahman raised an objection, as Karamat 'Ali reported, against some ideas that were incorporated in the books of Shah Muhammad Isma'il and others in relation to the doctrine of tawhid.[104] The

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100. Muqami' al-Mubtadi'in, pp. 220-222.

101. Ibid.,p.221.

102. Ibid.

103. Ibid.Mawlana Karamat 'Ali's claim does not seem to be correct; because it is known from authentic sources that Shah Muhammad Isma'il was not a Hanafi nor he was in favour of taqlid shakhsi. (See Ja'far Thanissari, op.cit., p.147; also see supra, chapter III(a)).

104. Muqami' al-Mubtadi'in, pp.223-224.

author of those books[105] maintained that the Prophet had no knowledge of 'ilm al-ghayb[106] while according to Mukhlis al-Rahman, the Ahl al-sunna wa al-jama'a continually from age to age believed in the 'ilm al-ghayb of the Prophet.[107] Karamat 'Ali

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105. Taqwiat al-Iman, Tanwir al-'Ainayn and Sirat-i-Mustaqim of Shah Muhammad Isma'il and Miat al-Masa'il and Masa'il-i-arba'in of Mawlana Muhammad Ishaq.

106. 'Ilm al-ghayb is to know the things generally not visible or felt by any of the five organs of feelings.

107. It was an important question of the day whether the Prophet Muhammad (May Allah bless him and grant him peace) had any power to know the ghayb as Allah knows it. A section of over enthusiastic people in course of showing veneration to the Prophet had surpassed the limit and sometimes they elevated him and even some pious walis such as 'Abd al-Qadir Jilani, to the equal position of Allah. At that time to check this sort of feeling which directly went against the fundamentals of tawhid, the reformers of the 19th century had to devote a lot of time and energy to preach against their false ideas; and in course of their speeches and writings sometimes they became more rigid and it was natural. In his book Taqwiat al-Iman Shah Muhammad Isma'il expounded tawhid and advised the people to hold the doctrine firmly and to give up shirk. He told that the Prophet deserved much reverence no doubt but after all he was a man and a slave of Allah and not equal to Allah. So he was not to be worshipped. (See Taqwiat al-Iman, p.4f). This declaration raised controversies and some of the 'ulama' whose horizen of knowledge regarding reformation was very narrow went against them and vehemently criticised them. They made the public understand that Shah Muhammad Isma'il and his followers did not show respect to the Prophet. The general Muslims who were very simple and sincere in thought, as we told before, fell in their provocation. Thus a quarrel and controversy spread everywhere. It is still going on.

refuted the idea and tells that besides some words in favour of raf'u al-yadayn there is nothing in those books contradictory to the beliefs of Ahl al-sunna wa al-jama'a in the matter of 'ilm al-ghayb. He categorically asserts the books and the ideas contained in them.[108] He confirms the opinion of Shah Muhammad Isma'il regarding 'ilm al-ghayb and referring to Sharh 'Aqa'id Nasafi, Fatawa Sirajiya, Fatawa 'Alamgiriyya and Tafsir Madarik he tells that none except Allah has any power to know ghayb. In support of his opinion he quoted some verses from the Holy Qur'an and established his view.[109]

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108. Cf. Karamat 'Ali, Maqami' al Mubtadi'in, p.225.

109. Ibid.,pp.225-228. Sura, al-naml: 65 قل لا يعلم من في السموات والارض الغيب الا الله -
al-A'raf : 188 قل لا املك لنفسي نفعا ولا ضرا الا ما شاء الله ولو كنت اعلم الغيب لاستكثرت من الخير -
There are many verses in the Holy Quran which directly denote that none except Allah knows ghayb, such as sura, al-An'am:50
قل لا اقول لكم عندي خزائن الله ولا اعلم الغيب - 'Tell (O the Prophet) that I do not tell you that the treasures of Allah are with me and nor I know ghayb.' Thus it is clear that the Prophet had no knowledge of 'ilm al-ghayb. In another verses it is said that the Prophet might know some ghayb if Allah informed him or bestowed sense to know the particular ghayb. As Allah says in sura, Yusuf : 96 about the Prophet - اني اعلم من الله ما لا تعلمون -
'I know from Allah which you know not.' In another verse He says in sura Yusuf: 102 ذلك من انباء الغيب نوحيه اليك -
'This is of the tidings of ghayb which we inspire in you.'

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali defended Shah Muhammad Isma'il from the attack of the opponents[110] but at the same time he condemned raf'u al-yadayn[111] in support of which Shah Muhammad Isma'il wrote a separate book entitled Tanwir al-Aynayn fi Ithbat Raf' al-Yadayn which was repeatedly admired by Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz when it was placed before him.[112] Mawlana Karamat 'Ali supported milad al-nabi but denounced the idea of some peoples that either the body or the soul of the Prophet appeared in the majlis (function).[113] He, however, did not abandon qiyam. He considered it mustahsan to stand at the time of salam if the people automatically and without being biased to any fanatic idea, do so.[114] Of course, the case of a mad man or majdhub should be considered as an exception.[115] By writing many treatises such as, Mulakhkhas, Murad al-muridin, Qawl al-Haqq, Mir'at al- Haqq, Risala-i-faysala and al-Barahin al-Qati'a he established his ideas and refuted the opinion of the Ahl al-Hadith. He also refuted the idea of some people that maqam mahmud

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110. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, pp.19-20; Maqami' al-mubtadi'in,p.224; Qawl al-thabit, pp.54-55.

111. Karamat 'Ali, Nurun ala nur, p.96.

112. Ja'far Thanissari,Sawanih Ahmadi, p.148.

113. Karamat 'Ali, Mir'at al-Haqq, Dhakhira III,Dacca,1962,p.26.

114. Ibid.,p.29; Qawl al-Haqq, p.108. So one may stand or may not stand. But if anybody stands to welcome the soul of the Prophet he will be a sinner for innovating a bid'a.

115. Ibid.

He also opposed the view of the Faraidis who had identified the faring of Bengal (grasshopper) with the pangapal (locust) and considered both of them edible lawfully. Karamat 'Ali clearly explained that grasshoppers and locusts were not the same thing; and the Arabic word jarad meant tiddi in Urdu. In Bengali it was called 'pangapal' and not 'faring'. He told that though there was some similarities between the two species they were not identical in all respects. A grasshopper does not fly but jump from one place to another while the jarad i.e.'pangapal' flies.[119]

In his book Hujjat-i-Qatia, Karamat 'Ali reproduced an ishtihar (hand-bill) regarding a debate between himself and a Faraidi khalifa 'Abd al-Jabbar which was held on Sunday, the 19th Asharh, 1272 B.S. at Barisal.[120] In this debate, as reported

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119. Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn, p. 190; Hujjat-i-Qatia,p.98f.

120. According to the report of Karamat 'Ali four thelogians of the town namely (i) Mawlwi 'Abd al-Karim Khan sahib bahadur, (ii) Mawlwi Mufid al-Din Muhammad, (iii) Mawlwi Sayyid Tajammul 'Ali and (iv) Mawlwi Qadi Siraj al-Din were the judges and arbitrators in the debate while a large number of people including Mawlwi Muhammad Fadil, the 'kutoal' i.e. police officer of the town, attended the debate, Hujjat-i-Qatia, p.104f.

by him, six points of difference[121] were discussed before the general mass of the Muslims including 'ulama and other respectable citizens of the town, and he was successful in establishing his own views and ideas about these things.

According to Mawlana Karamat 'Ali 'amal is not a part and parcel of iman. He argues that if 'amal be included in iman, a woman in the period of her menstruation becomes kafir. Because in that period she neither says prayer nor keeps fast.[122] Only the belief in the heart (تصديق بالجنان) and confession by tongue (اقرار باللسان) are included in iman ; and this is called Din. While amr (commands) and nahi (prohibitions) are Shari'a. So a

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121. The points of difference discussed in the debate were (I) Janaza on the death of a bi-namazi, (II) to make bay'a in the hand of a pir, (III) cutting of navel cord of new born babies by the parents compulsorily or by midwifes, (IV) jumu'a and 'id prayers in Bengal and India under British rule, (V) lawfulness or unlawfulness of eating grasshoppers and (VI) defination of misr (town) where jumu'a is lawful. The Mawlana puts more importance to these questions and repeatedly discusses them to make the general muslims understand well. Sometimes he becomes very much angry with the opponents and uses unpolished words against them.

122. The opinion of the Mawlana is supported by the fact that in so many occasions Allah says,
(varily those who possess iman and do good deeds). Here the sentence 'amilu al-Salihat(عملوا الصلحت) is ma'tuf and amanu(آمنوا) is ma'tuf 'alaih. In Arabic grammar ma'tuf and ma'tuf 'alaih are two different things. So 'amal salih (good deed) is not included in iman and thus 'amal does not become a part and parcel of iman.

man does not become kafir only neglecting Shar'i ahkam. Only six prophets - Adam, Nuh, Ibrahim, Musa, 'Isa and Muhammad (peace be on them) proclaimed Shari'a one after another while Din al Islam remained the same in all ages. Thus he reformed the practice of not saying janaza prayer on the death of a Muslim who did not say daily prayers in his life time on the plea that the Prophet had called such a person kafir[123] in his saying - من ترك الصلوة متعمدا فقد كفر. Maulana Karamet Ali

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123. We are to find out the reason as to whether a man who neglects prayer intentionally or habitually without any rhyme or reason becomes kafir or not. There are two aspects of the mas'ala. If he denies the fardiya of prayer or any hukm which is fard and obligatory on him, according to unanimous opinion of 'ulama, no janaza prayer will be offered on the death of such a person. If he believes in the fardiya but he does not say prayers because of laziness, then in the opinion of Imam Malik and Shafi'i and the majority of the 'ulama of the past, he will not be a kafir. He will, however, be a fasiq, for which he should make tawba. If he does not do so he will have to undergo capital punishment as a hadd of his sin. According to one group of 'ulama of the past, as it is reported from 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, and in the opinion of Ahmad ibn Hanbal, he will be a kafir. 'Abd Allah ibn Mubarak, Ishaq ibn Rahwaih and some upholders of Shafi'i madhhab supported the view. Abu Hanifa and a group of the people of Kufa and Mazni, an upholder of Shafi'i madhhab opined that such a person was neither a kafir nor would he be killed. Of course he will be imprisoned and punished until he says prayer, Nawawi Sharh Muslim, Vol.I, p.61. Badr al-'Alam, a commentator of Fayd al-Bari, a sharh of Bukhari by Anwar Shah Kashmiri, says that iman is the name of a contract. The breach of any clause of this contract will be considered as a violation of the contract. Thus by not offering prayer a man ceases to be a mumin, Fayd al-Bari, Vol.I (Cairo, 1938), p.48, f.n.i.

interpreted the tradition in another way. Referring to Sharh al-'Aqa'id al-Nasafiya[124] he wrote that the word kafara(کفر) meant he became ungrateful to the blessings (کفران نعمت کیا), not that he became a disbeliever. Thus he explained the Tradition as 'whoever gave up prayer intentionally surely he became ungrateful to the blessings of Allah'.[125]

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali considered British India as dar al-Islam and denounced the Fara'idi leaders for their suspension of jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers and urged the people to offer them. He blamed the Fara'idis that they had suspended jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers because of the fact that they considered India under British rule as dar al-harb;[126] while the Fara'idis did not agree that they had suspended jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers considering India under British rule as dar al-harb. In his book Hujjat-i-Qati'a the Mawlana mentioned in detail the debate[127] between himself and

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124. Cf.Sa'd al-Din al-Taftazani,Sharh al-'Aqa'id al-Nasafiya (Delhi, 1350 A.H.,p.85.

125. Karamat 'Ali, Hujjat-i-Qati'a, pp.88,93 abd 94 ; see supra. chapter II . This opinion is supported by Allama Shami(see Radd al-Muhtar 'ala Durr al-Mukhtar Vol.I,p. 235).

126. Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn, pp. 165,187.

127. See the report of debate between Karamat 'Ali and 'Abd al-Jabbar in Shah Sahib's mosque at Barisal on Sunday, Ashar 19, 1272 B.S.in Hujjat-i-Qati'a ,p. 104f.

the Fara'idī khalīfa 'Abd al-Jabbar about the legality of jumu'a prayer in India under British rule. In this debate, as reported by him, it was asked, "What is your opinion about the congregational prayers of jumu'a and 'īd to be held in Bengal and Hindustan at the present time under British regime and British administration ?" The reply was that under the circumstances he regarded the prayer of 'īd as wajib i.e. farḍ 'amalī (فرض عملی) and the prayer of jumu'a as farḍ i'tiqādī (فرض اعتقادی). 'Abd al-Jabbar did not agree to this view and opined that the congregational prayers of jumu'a and 'īd were not lawful in Bengal and Hindustan under the circumstances ; rather it would be makrūh taḥrima to hold congregational prayers of jumu'a and 'id under the prevailing circumstances. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali challenged him to prove it on the basis of the fatwa of Mecca. 'Abd al-Jabbar replied that fatwa about jumu'a was not sought from Mecca ; opinion was sought on the question of miṣr al-jāmi'.[128] One Hajji 'Abd al-Jalil then produced a fatwa of Mecca in which it was stated that under the prevailing circumstances in India, if the Muslims of a locality appointed an imam from among themselves, then the prayer of jumu'a would be lawfully permitted. Thereupon, addressing the 'kutoal' of the town, 'Abd al-Jabbar(sarcastically) said 'if we appoint an imam you would put handcuffs on our hands'. The 'kutoal' kept silent and the discussion on the point was stopped.[129]

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128. Ibid.

129. Ibid.

Now it is clear that the approach of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali and that of the Fara'idis to the problem of legality of jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers were fundamentally different. The former's claim of the legality of the prayers on the basis of the status of the country - whether it was dar al-Islam or dar al-harb ; and the Fara'idis viewed it from the angle of the status of the place - whether the locality of the prayers is al-misr al-jami' or not. The Fara'idis argued that according to the jurists the congregational prayers of jumu'a and 'id were not permitted except in al-misr al-jami'[130] i.e. a constitutional township in which the amir and qadi is present.

In the debate the last agenda was the conception of al-misr al-jami' which was a prerequisite for offering congregational prayer of jumu'a. It was asked in the debate,'How do you define al-misr al-jami' ? ... Do you accept either or both the interpretations provided by Hidaya ?'[131] Mawlana Karamat 'Ali replied

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130. Shaykh Burhan al-Din Marghinani, Hidaya, Vol.I (Delhi,N.D.) p. 148. Hidaya reads: لا تصح الجمعة الا في مصر جامع او في مصلى المصر ولا تجوز في القرى
'jumu'a is not lawful except in misr or in the neighbourhood of misr and it is not permitted in qura.'

131. Ibid. Hidaya reads : المصر الجامع كل موضع له امير وقاض ينفذ الاحكام ويقيم الحدود...
ويقيم الحدود ...

'Al-misr al-jami' is a place where is the amir and qadi who enforce civil and criminal laws of Islam.'

انهم اذا اجتمعوا في اكبر مساجدهم لم يسعهم

Another interpretation :
'A locality where if all its inhabitants (on whom jumu'a is obligatory) congregate in the biggest of its mosques, it cannot accommodated them all.

that both the interpretations as given in Hidaya were acceptable to him. 'Abd al-Jabbar told that he agreed with the first conception of misr given in Hidaya and the second was not acceptable to him. Thus the Fara'idis considered the first conception to be correct and on the basis of that conception they suspended the congregational prayers of jumu'a and 'id due to absence of al-misr al-jami'. However, the Hanafi jurists of the early times laid down six conditions which must be fulfilled for holding jumu'a congregational prayer. They are (1) al-misr al-jami', (II) presence of the Muslim ruler or his agent, (III) prescribed time for prayer, (IV) delivery of khutba, (V) jama'a and (VI) access for all to the place.

It is to be examined carefully whether the jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers were lawful in British India or not. Opinion differs. This question of legality of jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers is not a Fara'idi innovation. It dates back to the period of Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq of Delhi. In 741 A.H./1340 A.D., a controversy revolved around the question - whether jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers were lawful or not in a country ruled by a Sultan who did not obtain recognition of the Khalifa.[132] It is reported that Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq was convinced that no organised religious or social function was lawful without the consent of the Khalifa and so

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132. I.H. Qureshi, The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi (Karachi, 1958), p. 34.

he suspended jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers.[133] These prayers were restored in 745 A.H./1344 A.D. when he obtained recognition from the Abbasid Caliph of Egypt.[134]

In the reign of the Christian rulers in India the legality of jumu'a and 'id prayers should be determined by considering two important points which were essential for jumu'a and 'id prayers. They were - (I) the presence of amir and qadi or representatives and (II) the status of the place whether it was al-misr al-jami' which is the prerequisite for offering jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers is defined by Imam Shafi'i as " a habitat of forty or more persons on whom the congregational prayers are compulsory'. Imam Malik maintains that a locality where even less than forty persons reside will offer congregational prayers. While Abu Yusuf maintains that 'a locality where the amir and qadi reside and enforce civil and criminal laws of Islam, is called al-misr al-jami''. Imam Abu Hanifa also maintains the same view in one of his versions. In another version he says that 'a locality where if all the inhabitants of the place get together in its biggest mosque, they are not properly accommodated', is called al-misr al-jami'.[135] In a third version he defines misr as 'a large township in which there are roads, lanes, market-places and many villages attached to it, and where wali resides, who is able to administer

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133. Ibid.

134. Ibid.,pp.34-35.

135. Shaykh Burhan al-Din Marghinani, op.cit.,p.148.

justice and protect the oppressed from the oppressor, to whom the people turn whenever any calamity befalls them'.[136]

However, difference of opinions exist on the question of legality of jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers, based mainly on the difference of opinion regarding the concept of al-misr al-jami' and not on the difference of opinion regarding the status of the country. The congregational prayers of jumu'a and 'id are legal both in dar al-Islam and dar al-harb as we see that the Prophet's representative Mas'ab ibn 'Umayr who was sent to Medina before hijra (migration of the Prophet), offered jumu'a prayer ; and when the Prophet himself went to Medina, he not only approved it but also offered jumu'a congregational prayer while at that time the ordinances of Islam were not at all in force in Medina. Sayyid Ahmad also in response to a question maintained that while the Prophet and his representative did so, then in India under British rule also the Muslims should offer jumu'a congregational prayer.[137]

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was not satisfied in the debate of Barisal. He renewed all the allegations against the Fara'idis as contained in his ishtihar in course of his subsequent speeches and writings. He argued that since the Fara'idis had established a sort of their own regime in Eastern Bengal, they had no excuse to shrink from jumu'a prayer. Here he put an interesting question

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136. Ibid.

137. See letter No.54 of Sayyid Ahmad in Ja'far Thanissari, op.cit. pp.237-238.

to the Fara'idis : "where as you have established the custom of administering justice among your disciples and where as you punish them by beating with shoes to the extent of one hundred strokes and by imposing fine to the extent of one or two hundred rupees, and as these disciples still do not bring their complaint before any of the judges, what excuse has remained there, in accordance with your own principles, to refrain from saying jumu'a prayer within the regime of your elected amir?"[138] This allegation of the Mawlana against the Fara'idis is true and justified. Because H.Beveridge also agreed that two Muslim preachers - Karamat 'Ali and Dudu Miyan exercised more influence on the general Muslim masses than any judge or magistrate.[139] In this ishtihar he also accuses the Fara'idis of having demolished the mimbar (pulpit) of many mosques to force their doctrine of suspension of the congregational prayer of jumu'a.[140] He regarded the prayers of jumu'a and 'id as the most important institutions of Islam which must not be abandoned under any circumstances.

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138. Karamat 'Ali, Hujjat-i-Qati'a, pp. 107-108.
139. H.Beveridge, The District of Bakarganj, p.381.
140. According to W.W.Hunter's report,many devout Musalmans including two most eminent persons of Calcutta - Muhammad and the Qadi al-qudat Fadl al-Rahman refrained from saying jumu'a prayer and some of the mosques refused to allow its performance. Of course the traditional Muslim society,according to the same report, did not give up the Friday performance and continued to hold the congregational prayer as usual though they acknowledged the gross political changes in the country. (see W.W.Hunter,The Indian Musalmans, pp.135-136).

Being a staunch supporter of the congregational jumu'a prayer and considering it fard i'tiqadi, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali advocated for four raka'at of zuhr or akhir al-zuhr after the congregational prayer of jumu'a. In his book Nasim al-Haramayn, he raised a question of a questioner who might say that the offering of akhir al-zuhr created doubt in the permissibility of holding prayer of jumu'a.[141] The Mawlana maintained that it was similar to doubt in the number of rak'a, whether three or four, in the mind of musalli while praying. When a musalli could by no means ascertain the exact number he should, as Karamat 'Ali maintained, count the lesser i.e. three raka'at; but he would sit after these three, then he would say another rak'a. This sitting after three raka'at was considered necessary on the conjecture of completion of four raka'at and after this sitting he would say another rak'a on the conjecture of three raka'at beforehand. As in this case of doubt the musalli had not to leave one and accept another but he observed both. In this way there was no harm in observing both jumu'a and akhir al-zuhr by way of caution. He referred to 'Alamgiriya and quoted from 'bab salat al-jumu'a'[142] in support of his decision and declaration. Thus he maintained that whenever any doubt arose in the permissibility of jumu'a prayer due to indecision

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141. Karamat 'Ali, Nasim al-Haramayn, pp. 187-189.

142. See Tarjama-i-Hindiya Fatawā 'Alamgiriya, Vol.I(Lahore, 1964), p.266. 'Alamgiri reads :

ثم فی کل موضع وقع الشك فی جواز الجمعة لوقوع الشك فی المصر او غیره او اقام اهله الجمعة ینبغی ان یصلی بعد الجمعة اربع رکعات و ینووا بها الظهر حتی لو لم تقع الجمعة وقعها یخرج عن عهده فرض الوقت بیقین

in determining misr or any other condition and the people of that locality said jumu'a prayer, they should also offer four raka'at of zuhr. So that they might be exempted from obligatory zuhr prayer in case their jumu'a prayer was not considered lawful. In earlier times when the opinion of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz (1746-1823) was sought about the legality of jumu'a prayer and exemption of the obligatory zuhr in British India, he also quoted from Fatawa 'Alamgiriya and maintained that 'it was permissible for the Muslims to hold the prayer of jumu'a in a country under the reign of the infidels, and a qadi would be appointed by mutual agreement of the Muslims; but they must strive for Muslim ruler'. .. Of course four raka'at would be offered necessarily by way of caution.[143]

His views on political affairs

So far as the political affairs are concerned Mawlana Karamat 'Ali did not maintain the spirit of his murshid Sayyid Ahmad in the changing situation which followed the Balakot disaster, while the major group of the mujahids continued their movement on the same footing. Besides, Hajji Imdad Allah (1817-1899), Muhammad Qasim Nanatawi (1832-1880) and Rashid Ahmad Ganguhi (1828-1905) of Deoband Seminary

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143. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, Fatawa-i-'Azizi, Vol.I(Delhi, 1311 A.H.), p.32. See also Fatawa 'Alamgiriya, Vol.I, pp. 267- 68.

extended their support to the mujahids.[144] They established a regular institution and started an anti-English movement. At the time English education was regarded as an act of infidelity; because the Muslims had sufficient cause for discontent. They lost their position and prestige and were deliberately kept out of the government services. 'The main reason for this antipathy may be found in the psychology of the Muslims of that time. For, the gradual decadence of the Muslim political power throughout the world from the second half of the nineteenth century was generally regarded as caused by their deviation from the original beliefs of islam. In this subcontinent and elswhere, therefore, they pinned their hopes with the religious reform movements for the recovery of their power and prestige. Thus it is natural that so long as there had remained the faintest hope for the success of these movements, they would attach themselves both physically and spiritually, to these reform movements.'

The Mawlana, however, considered India dar al-Islam and declared jihad unlawful. He explained his ideas in his book Nasim al-Haramayn;[145] and delivered a long speech in the sixth monthly meeting of the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta held at the residence of Nawab 'Abd al-Latif on the 23rd November,1870 in which he claimed that India under British

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144. Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, The Deoband School and the demand for Pakistan (Calcutta, 1963), p.21.

145. See Nasim al-Haramayn, pp.176-185.

rule was dar al-Islam. Hence jihad against the British power was illegal according to the Shari'a. He vehemently criticised the Wahhabis who were supposed to have been the dead enemies of the European rulers. He then came forward to help the loyalist movement led by Nawab 'Abd al-Latif (1928-1893) and others. Thus the European officers gave him certificates and testimonials in which they mentioned that the Mawlana was a great 'alim and loyal to the English government.

From different activities and speeches of the Mawlana it became evident that he was not in favour of any war against the English people who got hold of the country. For whatever might be the reason he did not take part directly in jihad against the Sikhs, nor did he say anything against the growing power of the Christian rulers in the Indian territory. However, the other 'ulama of the country became perturbed to see the growing power of the English government. They also visualized that the British power increased so much so that they could abolish or retain the ordinances of Islam according to their sweet will. Thus some renowned 'ulama[146] of the country issued a fatwa declaring British India as dar al-harb in which it was incumbent on the Muslims to wage war against the non-Muslim rulers.[147] Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, a celebrated 'alim and reformer of India, issued a fatwa in which he declared that under the prevailing condition of the country and

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146. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz, Mawlana 'Abd al-Hayy, Mawlana Rashid Ahmad Ganguhi.

147. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans(Calcutta,1945),pp.134,135.

the then position of the Cristian rulers, India was dar al-harb.[148] Mawlana 'Abd al-Hayy, an illustrious 'alim and nephew of Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz also declared that India, from Calcutta to Delhi, and other countries adjacent to Hindustan proper, were all dar al-harb. But Mawlana Karamat 'Ali's attitude was quite different. He 'had a wholly peaceful and religious aim'. He brought a large number of ignorant Muslims, as O' Malley maintained, 'to abandon the extreme doctrines by which they were being led into dangerous paths of political irredintism'.[149]

During the revolt of 1857 Mawlana Karamat 'Ali gave shelter to two European ladies at Jaunpur 'until a detachment of Europeans were sent to escort them into Benares'.[150]

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148. Ibid.,p.134 ; Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz,Fatawa-i-'Azizi, p.17; Ziya-ul-Hasan Faruqi, op.cit.,pp.2-3.

149. L.S.S.O'Malley,ed.,Modern India and the West: a study of the interaction of their civilizations(London,1968), pp. 394-395.

150. See the testimonial of the Mawlana given by W.F.Leggee from Buttowah on the 21st April,1870. It is reported that Mahbub 'Ali(d.1864), a devoted follower of Sayyid Ahmad came back home after the Balakot disaster and was summoned by Bukht Khan,the Commander in Chief of the Muslim forces in the revolt of 1857,and requested by him 'to sign the proclamation for the religious war against the English'. But he refused and expressed idea similar to Karamat 'Ali, Shan Muhammad, Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (Bombay,1972), p.73.

It is said that he did this on humanitarian ground. But it was not a lone incident. He always showed this sort of attitude to the British rulers. Particularly after the failure of the Muslims in 1857 he could realise the futility of militant antagonism towards the British government and thus joined hands with Nawab 'Abd al-Latif to preach in favour of loyalism.[151] To save the Muslims from the grudge of the mighty European rulers he preached that the Muslims were not antagonistic to the British government. This attitude of the Mawlana to British rule in India was to a great extent similar to that of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-1898), though he had no personal contact with him. Sayyid Ahmad Khan wanted to bridge the communication gap between the Muslims and the British rulers. He wrote a book viz. Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind 1857 in which he explained some of the 'Acts' proclaimed by the British government and showed the real cause of the revolt and 'in his policy of co-operation with the Government he came in clash with Sir W.W.Hunter who in his book The Indian Musalmans arraigned the Musalmans of India as being disloyal to the British rule'. He also wrote a review of Hunter's book and showed that

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151. The main features of the Muslim modernism and loyalism was to bring a raproachment between the Muslims and the British rulers by encouraging the Muslims to adjust themselves with the new order introduced by the European rulers and to give up the militant antagonism which, according to the modernists, set them back from the Hindus who by their loyalism to the British government and by adjusting themselves with the European arts and sciences had gone many steps forward.

he was not correct in holding the Muslims alone responsible for the revolt of 1857. Thus they should not be made the target of retaliation.[152]

In 1870, assailling the modernism and loyalism of Nawab 'Abd al-Latif and Sayyid Ahmad Khan, some prominent 'ulama' of Lucknow issued a fatwa in which they declared the subcontinent a dar al-harb 'implying thereby the duty of the Muslims to wage war against the British'. This fatwa was published and well circulated in the then Urdu newspapers which attracted the attention of the masses particularly of the Muslims, and created a great uproar against British rule and the activities of the modernists. In the same year the Mawlana visited Calcutta where the people asked him two questions repeatedly. One about the status of India under British rule - whether dar al-Islam or dar al-harb, another regarding lawfulness of waging war against the British rulers who professed the Christian religion. The Mawlana was surprised to hear such questions ; because he had come to Calcutta before, but was never similarly questioned. Hearing the news it occurred to him that a dissertation might be written on the questions and it might be published in the same newspapers ; so that the matter might be cleared to the people and such doubts as might arise in the minds of the Muslims, removed. Thus he

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152. Shan Muhammad, op.cit., pp.9,74-75.

might be spared the trouble of replying to everyone individually. Meanwhile, he had an interview with Nawab 'Abd al-Latif Khan Bahadur, Secretary to the Mahammadan Literary Society of Calcutta who in course of conversation requested him to read such a dissertation at a meeting of the Society. He told that under the bye-laws of the Society this dissertation would be published by the Society itself. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali responded to the invitation and attended the six monthly meeting of the Society on Wednesday, the 23rd November, 1870 at the residence of the Nawab to deliver his learned speech on the above questions.[153] In the course of his speech he explained the matter with quotations from Fatāwā'Alamgīrīyā[154] and reference to many other authentic books such as Hidāya, Sharh Wikāya, Jāmi' al-Rumūz, Durr al-Mukhtār, Tahtavi, Radd al-Muhtar, Fatawa-i-Qadi Khan, Bahr al-Ra'iq, Nabl al-Fa'iq, Fasul-i-Imadi, Nihayat al-Murad, al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā'ir.

According to Fatawa 'Alamgiriya the existence of only one condition was sufficient to convert dar al-harb into dar al-Islam ; and that condition was the proclamation of the rule of Islam. He added that Imam Muhammad in his book Ziyadat wrote that according to Imam Abu Hanifa a dar al-Islam could not be a dar al-harb except on three grounds mentioned below: (I) the rule of the infidels was openly exercised, and the ordinances of Islam were not observed ; (II) the place was

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153. See Abstract of Proceedings, pp. 2-3.

154. See infra.

situated in such contiguity to a country which was dar al-harb and that no city of dar al-Islam intervened between the two ; and (III) the Muslims or dhimmis did not enjoy religious liberty and safety.[155] He explained the grounds more clearly and maintained that there might arise three different occasions : (I) the conquest of any of our countries by the inhabitants of dar al-harb, or (II) the apostasy of the inhabitants of a city and the enforcement of the ordinances of infidelity or (III) the violation of the terms by the dhimmis on which they lived and obtained supremacy in their own country. The existence of all these occasions simultaneously would make a country dar al-harb. He, however, observed that according to Imam Abu Yusuf and Muhammad, the existence of only one condition i.e. the proclamation of the ordinance of the infidels was sufficient to convert dar al-Islam into dar al-harb. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali, of course, did not agree with Abu Yusuf and Muhammad

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155. Abstract Proceedings, p.3 ; W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, pp.118-119. See also the fatwa of Rashid Ahmad Ganguhi, Kiya Hindustan dar al-harb hay ? (Deoband, 1352 A.H.), pp. 6-10. Fatawa Alamgigiya reads :

قال محمد في الزيادات انما يصير دار الاسلام دار الحرب عند ابي حنيفة بوجوه احدها اجراء احكام الكفر على سبيل الاشتهار وان لا يحكم فيه بحكم الاسلام الثاني ان تكون متصلة بدار الحرب لا يتخلل بينهما بلدة من بلاد الاسلام والثالث ان لا يبقى فيها مؤمن ولا ذمي آمنا بامانه الاول الذي كان ثابتا قبل استيلاء الكفار بالمسلم باسلامه وللذمي بعقد الذمة - وصورة المسئلة على ثلثة - اوجه اما ان يغلب اهل الحرب على دارين دورنا او ارتد اهل مصر وغلبوا واجروا احكام الكفر او نقض اهل الذمة العهد وتغلبوا على دارهم - ففي كل من هذه الصور لا تصير دار حرب الا بثلث شرائط - وقال ابو يوسف ومحمد بشرط واحد لا غير وهو اظهار احكام الكفر وهو القياس -

see last page of كتاب السير

on this point, on the ground that they had formed their opinion by analogy with the conversion of dar al-harb into dar al-Islam. As a rule a dar al-harb would become dar al-Islam simply by the proclamation of the Muslim rule in it.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali then stated the principles of adopting the verdicts of the imams when they differed on a particular point. He agreed upon the principles that laid down in Durr - al-Mukhtar,[156] and accepted the opinion of Imam Abu Hanifa. He thus maintained that since most of the injunctions of Islam, particularly those with reference to worship and prayers, were entirely in force, and the injunctions having connection with day to day affairs of life, such as marriage, divorce, dower, maintenance, inheritance, gift, endowment, pre-emption, will and the like were mostly in force, since there were 'many small

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156. This is an authentic book compiled in the eleventh century hijra by Muhammad 'Ala al-Din Haskaji, mufti of Damascus. The author of Durr al-Mukhtar states : The most accurate procedure is that maintained in Sirajiya and other law books that the final decision should be given in all cases in accordance with the opinion of the chief Imam i.e. Abu Hanifa. But if his opinion be not forthcoming in any point, that point should be decided in accordance with the opinion of the second Imam i.e. Abu Yusuf. Again when the opinion is not forthcoming on any point, then it would be decided in accordance with the opinion of the third Imam i.e. Muhammad. When no opinion of Imam Muhammad, however, be forthcoming on any point, in such case, the decision should be made according to the opinions of Imam Zafar and Imam Hasan ibn Ziyad. (see Abstract Proceedings.)

principalities in the very heart of the country' which could undoubtedly be termed as dar al-Islam, and all the countries in the borders were also dar al-Islam, and since the majority inhabitants of this country, both Muslims and Hindus, were in safety, this country continued tobe a dar al-Islam[157] as it

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157. The Muslim jurists were of different opinions about the status of India under British rule. Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz of Delhi, a renowned scholar and muhaddith of India considered it dar al-harb, on the ground that the British consolidated their power in India and it became almost impossible for the Muslims of India and of the neighbouring areas to drive them away. And the European Christians were in a position that they could abolish or retain any ordinance of Islam at their suit will while the Muslims were simply undone and had no power to oppose their decisions (W.W. Hunter, Indian Musalmans, p.134).'Abd al-Hayy (d.1828) a later scholar of this school also distinctly ruled as follows : "The Empire of the Christians from Calcutta to Delhi, and other countries adjacent to Hindustan proper (i.e.,the North-West Provinces), are all the country of the Enemy (dar al-Harb),for idolatry (Kufr and Shirk) is everywhere current and no recourse is made to our holy law ..." (Quoted from W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.135). In the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century Ganguhi, a great scholar of Deoband Seminary expressed similar views in his fatwa (see Rashid Ahmad Ganguhi, Kiya Hindustan dar al-harb hay ?, p. 14). But in the later half of the nineteenth century, when the rulers fully subdued the Indians and increased their power Mawlana Karamat 'Ali gave up antagonism with the British ruling authority and declared India as dār al-Islam.

was before the advent of the Britishers. Therefore, it was unlawful to wage war against the British government ; rather the Muslims were bound to assist their rulers.[158] Some of the reputed 'ulama of northern India and Mecca also declared the subcontinent under the sway of the Christian government as dar al-Islam.[159] Mawlana Mahmud al-Hasan, a great scholar of Deobond Seminary, is reported to have said in reply to a question of Mr. Richard Brown, former Chief Secretary of the United Provinces that India might be regarded as both dar al-Islam and dar al-harb. He explained the answer and told that in the sense that India was under the sway of the infidels who got power to promulgate any ordinance they wished, India was dar al-harb and in the sense that ahkam al-Islam(ordinances of Islam) and shi'ar al-Islam (the manners and customs of Islam) were not forbidden openly, India was not dar al-harb.[160] This declaration by an eminent 'alim like Mawlana Karamat 'Ali of Jaunpur had reduced the Muslims' antagonism to the British power to which 'they', according to W.W.Hunter, 'had been for many years source of chronic danger'.[61] It may be noted that while Nawab Abd al-Latif advocated for dar al-Islam only as an 'indispensible expedient' Mawlana Karamat 'Ali justified it as a religious duty. Naturally this fatwa of the Mawlana in support

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158. See Abstract of Proceedings, p.20.

159. See W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, pp.207-209.

160. S.M.Ikram, Mawj-i-Kawthar, p.39. S.M.Ikram quoted from Husayn Ahmad, Safar nama-i-Shaykh al-Hind.

161. W.W.Hunter, The Indian Musalmans, p.34f.

of loyalty to the British rule became a powerful weapon for the leaders of the loyalism and modernism. However, this declaration, though right in the opinions of the law doctors, poured cool water on the spirit of jihad.

But one point to be scrutinized is that the questioners asked the law doctors that in a country where the 'Christian ruler does in no way interfere with the Muhammadan subjects in the rites prescribed by the religion, such as prayer, fasting, pilgrimage, zakat, Friday prayer and jama'a' while Islam is not confined only to these things and alike. Islam commands to translate into practice the ordinances of the Qur'an and sunna in every sphere of life. But the Christian government had undoubtedly interfere in the social, economic and political aspects of life of the Muslims. To establish the ordinances of the Qur'an and sunna in all spheres of life, the Muslims are always bound to strive for even in dar al-Islam.

After a thorough and careful examination of the various letters[162] and testimonials[163] issued by the European officers in favour of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali at different times and

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162. See the letter of Mr. G.Mel. Farmer, A.D.C. to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal at Alipur to Hafiz Ahmad on February 20, 1871.

163. See the testimonials of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali given by Ashley Eden from Bengal Secretariate on January 18,1871, by James O'Kinealy from Rajmehal on October 31,1870, by J.C.Price, Officiating Magistrate at Midnapure on April 11, 1871 and by W.F. Legge from Buttourah on April 21, 1870.

places, we may rightly assume that whatever might be the reason, he was a loyal citizen of the British government.[164] After the failure in the revolt of 1857-58, the Mawlana particularly realised the futility of militant antagonism towards the British rulers and joined hands with Nawab 'Abd al-Latif who was regarded, in the language of R.M.Edward, 'as a bitter enemy of the Wahabees'.[165] Thus he discouraged the Muslims from their futile antagonism. He tried to convince the Muslims that they should derive much benefit from modern arts and sciences which passed from the Greeks to the Arabs, and from the Arabs to the Europeans through Spain.

It seems that as a result of his long association with the Nawab he could fully realise the importance of the modern ideas and new system of education which was introduced by the Britishers. Moreover, the repeated defeat of the Muslim mujahids might have led him to the conclusion that without the co-operation with the British rulers the Muslims could not compete the Hindus and as a result they were sure to remain a second class citizen of the British empire.

Having been convinced of the above fact Mawlana Karamat'Ali vehemently denounced the Fara'idis who thwarted his struggle for

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164. During the revolt of 1857-58, he protected two European young ladies at Jaunpur until a detachment of Europeans were sent out to escort them into Benares. See the testimonial of the Mawlana given by W.F.Leggee from Buttoureh on the 21st April, 1870.

165. See the testimonials of the Mawlana given by M.R.Edwards from Jaunpur on July 11, 1870.

co-operation. According to his own report he chased the Fara'idi khalifa 'Abd al-Jabbar, first at Jhalakati in the district of Bakarganj in 1272 B.S. and then at Bayzidpur in the same district.[166] But 'Abd al-Jabbar did not like to face the public debate and thus avoided him. In the same report he alleged that 'Abd al-Jabbar did not appear at the debate on the plea that there was no neutral person among the local 'ulama' who could preside over the debate meeting since most of them were the servants of the British government.[167] The Mawlana himself admitted that since the Fara'idis were against the British government and did not want to participate in the debate with a government servant in the Chair, he was in a favourable position.[168]

Thus we see that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali had relations with almost all the contemporary reform movements of Bengal. Sometimes his opinions coincided with the views of other reformists and at the other he differed with them on particular points. For instance, on the question of taqlid, he was at one with the Fara'idis but differed with the Ahl al-Hadith; while on the issue of legality of jumu'a and 'id congregational prayers, he differed with the Fara'idis and conformed with the Ahl al-Hadith. He showed great respect to Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Muhammad Isma'il, defended their ideals and identified himself with Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. For this reason, Mukhlis al-Rahman

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166. Hujjat-i-Qati'a, p.104 f.
167. Ibid.
168. Ibid.

of Chittagong and other people of the opponent camps blamed him as a Wahhabi; and characterized him with the successors of Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Muhammad Isma'il. But the Mawlana himself blamed one group of followers of the Sayyid as idol worshippers for making an effigy of the Sayyid after his martyrdom in the battle of Balakot. Further, he differed with most of the contemporary reformers disapproved of the British occupation of the Muslim dominions - the South Asian subcontinent. Perhaps in the changed circumstances, after the Balakot, he deemed it as wastage of wealth and energy to wage war against the British who had already established their power in this subcontinent. Thus he might have deemed it better to co-operate with them as the Hundus did ; and through co-operation with them the independence could be achieved as the other leaders of modernism pleaded for.

CHAPTER V

MAWLANA KARAMAT 'ALI'S DOCTRINE OF SUFISM

Though it is said that the word 'mystic' of Greek religion is represented by 'sufi' in Arabic, Persian and Turkish languages, yet the term 'sufi'[1] has a specific religious connotation.[2] It is applied only to the Muslim saints and ascetics who devoted their lives for the spiritual development. Of course they are not a separate sect and they have no separate dogmatic system,[3] though their way of life differs from that of others.

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1. Sufi (صوفی) is an Arabic word. Suf (صوف) means wool. Those who used to put on woolen and coarse cloth and devoted their lives to remembrance of Allah were called sufis. They had a distinct philosophy of life, different in many aspects from that of other people. They kept aloof from the worldly affairs. This separate way of life gradually gave rise to an ism which was named as sufism or mysticism. According to Qushayri and Shahabuddin Suhrawardy the term sufi came into use for the first time before the end of the second century of the Hijra era. Cf.R.A.Nicholson, A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge,1956),p.228 ; The Mystics of Islam (London,1963),pp. 3-4 ; Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam (Leiden, 1953), p. 579.
2. R.A.Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, p.3.
3. Ibid., p.27.

According to Hatim al-Asamm[4] (d.237/852) a celebrated Sufi of Khorasan school of asceticism, "If a man continued alive for two hundred years and did not know these four things, he should not (God willing) escape from Hell:- first, the knowledge(ma'rifa) of God ; second, the knowledge of himself ; third, the knowledge of God's commandment and prohibition; fourth, the knowledge of God's adversary and his own."[5] By the end of 4/10th century sufism had become a clearly definable way of life and system of thought.[6] Gradually certain technical terms developed in the Sufi literature. Maqam (station) and hal (state) are two distinct terms on which many other terms of Sufi literature are based.[7] According to al-Qushayri (988) hal is gift and maqam is earning.[8]

Love is the main theme of sufism. Allah says that He loves them and they love Him (يحبهم ويحبونه).[9] The universe is the manifestation of the love of Allah. Love of Allah dispels ignorance and darkness of nafs and thereby removes the veil and brings about the highest consummation of soul. So there is no contradiction with Mawlana Karamat 'Ali who maintains that love of Allah is not the main object. The main object is to be His slave and

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4. Hatim al-Asamm was a disciple of Shaqiq of Balkh(194/810) who was a noted pupil of renowned Sufi Ibrahim bin Adham(d.160/777).
5. Quoted by A.J.Arberry in Sufism (London,1969),p.39,from Abu Nu'aim al-Isbahani (d.430/1038),Hilyat al-awliya.
6. A.J.Arberry, op.cit.,p.74.
7. Ibid., p.75.
8. Ibid.
9. Sura al-Ma'ida : 54.

love of Allah is the medium of achieving the main object of bing His slave in the true sense.[10] In another place Allah says,"Now surely the friends of Allah - no fear for them, nor shall they grieve"(الا ان اولياء الله لا خوف عليهم ولا هم يحزنون).[11] To make friendship with Allah the Sufis undergo austerity.Through long austerity they grasp Light. Because Allah is the Light of the Heavens and the Earth.[12] So Light is also a keynote of Sufism. Allah says that He is very near to His slaves and He responds to the call of the caller when he calls Him (فاني قريب اجيب دعوة الداع اذا دعان),[13] and He is nearer than the jugular vein (نحن اقرب اليه من حبل الوريد).[14] Thus we can say that 'the whole of Sufism rests on the belief that when the individual self is lost, the Universal Self is found,.... Asceticism, purification, love, gnosis, saintship - all the leading ideas of Sufism - are developed from this cardinal principle'.[15]

The main object of the Sufis is the gnosis (ma'rifa) and to be the slave of Allah in the true sense and it can be achieved by knowing self. The Prophet says,"He who knows himself knows his Lord. From this point of view a group of the Sufis proclaimed

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10. Karamat 'Ali, Nur 'ala Nur(Jawnpur,1325 A.H.),p.13.
11. Sura, Yunus : 62.
12. Sura,al-Nur:35.
13. Sura,al-Baqara : 186.
14. Sura,Qaf : 16.
15. Quoted from R.A.Nicholson,The Mystics of Islam,p.59.

the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud[16] or pantheism Muhi al-Din ibn al-Arabi, an upholder of the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud says, "Glory be to God who created things, being Himself their essencess (اعيانها). According to Abu Sa'id ibn Abu al-Khair (d.440/1049) a great Sufi of Khurasan "to pass away from self (فناء) is to realise that nothing exists except God. Of course all the pantheists do not hold the same opinion. Even Mansur al-Hallaj, a renowned pantheist, was of the opinion that though mystically united, the human nature and Divine are not essentially identical and interchangable.[17] On the other hand, the upholders of the doctrine of wahdat al-shuhud or panentheists are of opinion that the creator and the creatures

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16. The doctrine of wahdat al-wujud was first introducted by Bayazid (Abu Yazid) Bustami (d.261 A.H./875 A.D.) and Mansur Hallaj (d.309 A.H./923 A.D.), Burhan Ahmad Faruqi, The Mujaddid's concept of Tawhid (Lahore,1940),pp.80-81. The upholders of the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud argued with the sayings of Allah and the Prophet, such as نفخت فيه من روحي (I breathed of my spirit into him), Sura, Sad : 72 ; خلق الله آدم على صورته (Allah has created Adam according to His own image), Mishkwat al-Masabih,p.397.

17. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Mysticism(Cambridge,1967), p. 81.

are not one and identical. Even if a man elevated his position through long austerity he does not become united or attain ittihad with Allah. Jalal al-Din Rumi(d.772/1273) maintained that the state of an annihilated man (صاحب فناء) may be compared to iron coming in contact with fire. The fire does not become iron. The iron retains its own essential nature and at the same time it comes to possess the glow of fire. Similarly, the condition of the man spiritually elevated, and yet remains a man by nature.

In Sufiism Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was a murid (disciple) of Sayyid Ahmad who gave him a khilafat nama[18] and advised him to initiate the people with a reference to him. In the khilafat nama Sayyid Ahmad put stress on two things — (1) tark shirk and (2) tark bid'a. He explained both of them and told that tark shirk was that one should not depend upon anybody except Allah. Allah is Omniscient and Omnipotent. Only His help is to be sought. Besides Him none even the angels or the murshids could do anything. None should ask help from anybody. Because none except Allah has power to ease the difficulties, to cure the diseases or to do any sort of benefit or harm to anybody. To achieve the goal none should bring any angel or any favourite person of Allah in between.[19] By tark bid'a he meant to follow in the foot steps of the Prophet in practical life.[20] No new thing which was against

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18. See Appendix B.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abstract of Proceedings	: Abstract of Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta on the 23rd November, 1870.
Comparative study	: A Comparative study of the early Wahhabi doctrinse and contemporary reform movements in Indian Islam.
Eastern Bengal	: Notes on the Races Castes and Trades of Eastern Bengal.
Eastern India	: The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India.
E. I.	: Encyclopaedia of Islam.
E.R.E.	: Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics.
Fatawa 'Alamgiriya	: Tarjama-i-Hindiya Fatawa 'Alamgiriya.
J.A.S.B.	: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.A.S.P.	: Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan.
J.I.B.S.	: Journal of the Institute of Bangladesh Studies.
J.P.H.S.	: Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society.
Observation	: Observation on the Mussulmauns of India.
Sirat	: Sirat-i-Mawlana Karamat 'Ali Jaunpuri.
Topography	: A Sketch of Topography and Statistics of Dacca.

the principles of the sunna was to be followed. In worship and daily affairs one should strictly follow the path shown by the Prophet and should give up all the innovations which were innovated after the death of the Prophet. First he should restrain and reform himself and then he should advise the people to do so. Because as ittib' al-Shari'a (to follow the injunctions of the Shari'a) was fard (obligatory), amr bi al-ma'ruf (to encourage the people to do good deeds) and nahi 'an al-munkar (to prevent them from vile things and indecent works) were also fard.[21]

Sayyid Ahmad certified Mawlana Karamat 'Ali to be a good preacher and intelligent in the field of guiding and teaching and permitted him to initiate and to teach the people on his behalf. He advised him to follow the Shari'a carefully and to instruct the people who would come in contact with him After receiving the khilafat nama he practised the rituals (ashghal) of mysticism and started initiating people in his tariqa. Thus in the field of mysticism he showed unflinching allegiance to Sayyid Ahmad[22] and claimed that he was authorised to initiate in all the four tariqa-Qadiriya, Chistiya, Naqshbandiya and Mujaddidiya and in his own Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya in which Sayyid Ahmad initiated. Though he was certified and authorised and had been given training in this branch of his

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21. Ibid.

22. Karamat 'Ali, Mukashifat-i-Rahmat in Dhakhira, I (Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.), p. 15f.

life for eighteen days it was not possible to study Sirat-i-Mustaqim under Sayyid Ahmad which was the accumulated treasure of his murshid. The Mawlana confessed that he studied the book under the Sayyid's learned khalifa Mawlana Imam al-Din Sudarami[23] (1788-1859). Thus he studied the book and followed the teachings of this murshid in practical life.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali explained two terms of Sufism - jama' and tafriqa. By jama' he meant to sacrifice oneself to the will of Allah while the other word tafriqa denoted separation. When anybody loses himself and fixes his eyes only on Allah, it is jama'; and when he remains conscious about his existence it is tafriqa. Jama' is the root and tafriqa is the branch. But jama' without tafriqa i.e. not to differentiate between the Creator and the creations is heresy (زندقہ) and tafriqa without jama' i.e. to see the creatures and to know them on the denial of the necessity of the Creator is totally futile.[24]

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23. Karamat 'Ali, Qawl al-Thabit, Dhakhira,II (Cawnpore, 1334 A.H.), p.55 ; see Karamat 'Ali of Noakhali, Pir Tatta (Noakhali,1341 B.S.), p.37. The author of Pir Tatta says in poetical form :

" ইমামদ্দিন আছে নোয়াখালীতে।
ছিরাত্তাল মুস্তাকিম কিতাব শিখিতে।।
যাও তুমি তার কাছে চলিয়া।
সব মুকছেদ যাবে পূর্ণ হইয়া।। "

Imām al-Dīn is residing in Noakhali.You go to him to study Sirāt-i-Mustaqīm.All your desires will be fulfilled.

24. Karāmat 'Alī, Zād al-Taqwā(Cawnpore,1340 A.H.), p.63f.

On the basis of this doctrine he denounced the idea of one section of Sufis who preached the doctrine of wahdat al-wujud.[25] He tells that the defenders of wahdat al-wujud are not 'arif bi-Allah. That is why they were denounced as kafir in all the books of tasawwuf.[26] He referred to one Risala-i-Laythiya in which the doctrine of wahdat al wujud was explained. He told that he refuted the treatise and advised the people to refute and hate the contents of the treatise, for they went against the secret and expressed features of the Shari'a.[27] Conceiving the same idea from his murshid Munshi 'Abd al-'Aziz vividly described their action and position in his Bengali punthis.[28] He referred to another group of Sufis who were called Hamaust wujudiya. Their doctrine was according to Munshi 'Abd al-'Aziz, that every visible thing was Allah.[29] In refutation to this doctrine Munshi 'Abd al-'Aziz told that if all were Allah then who would be mukallif and who would be punished and who would remain in peach.[30]

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25. See supra, chapter III(a).
26. Karamat 'Ali, Nurun 'ala Nur , p.159.
27. Karamat 'Ali, Qawl al-Thabit, pp.70-71 ; 'Abd al-'Aziz, Radd al-Mafsidin(Calcutta,1283 B.S.),p.96f.
28. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Ganj-i-Ma'rifat (Calcutta,1330 B.S.),p.18f; 'Abd al-'Aziz, Radd al-Mafsidin, p.22.
29. 'Abd al-'Aziz,Darwish nama(Calcutta,1278 B.S.),pp.166-67. 'Abd al-'Aziz says :

    " হামাওস্ত অজুদিয়ার মানি জান এই ।
    যত কিছু দেখা যায় সব খোদা সেই ।।"

    The meaning of Hamaust wujudiya, you know, is that all those things which are visible are Allah.
30. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Radd al-Mafsidin, p. 83.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali explained the term rabt al qalb bi-al-shaykh(ربط القلب بالشيخ). Referring to al-Qawl al-Jamil of Shah Wali Allah and Sabil al-Rashad of Shah Muhammad Ishaq he told that one should keep connection with the shaykh. He quoted from Akhbar al-Akhyar and explained it as - it is to connect the heart of the murid with the shaykh i.e. murshid(هو عبارة عن تعلق قلب المريد بالشيخ).[31] He refuted the idea of some Sufis, to him na waqifun(ignorants) who told the murid to keep in mind the exact picture of the murshid and to be attentive to the picture at the time of dhikr;[32] for the image of the murshid resembled the image of Allah as the Prophet said that Allah has created Adam according to His own image.[33] They called it shughal barzakh. He criticised the idea of shughal barzakh vehemently.[34] His most favourite khalifa Munshi 'Abd al-'Aziz also refuted the contents of a book of this group entitled Ithbat al-Rabita.[35] The Mawlana maintained the same spirit and told that one must be wrong if one considered his murshid to be a ha'il (hindrance) between himself and Allah and the murshid by his own effort could make a direct link between his disciple and Allah.[36] This

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31. Karamat 'Ali, Qawl al-Thabit, p.37.
32. Ibid., p.36 ; Nurun 'ala Nur, p. 107.
33. See supra, f.n. 16.
34. Karamat 'Ali, Qawl al-Thabit,pp.36-37; Nurun 'ala Nur,p.107f.
35. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Radd al-Mafsidin, p.90.
36. 'Abd al-'Aziz, Darwish nama, p.263.

spirit must have been infused in Munshi 'Abd al-'Aziz from his murshid Mawlana Karamat 'Ali. But at the same time he maintained that one must have performed bay'a[37] in the hand of a murshid.[38] Referring to a verse of al-Quran[39] he affirmed his verdict. To establish his opinion he again says that the sahaba (companions of the Prophet) performed bay'a in the hand of the Prophet on various occasions - sometimes on hijra and jihad ; sometimes on iqamat arkan Islam ; and sometimes on qarar in the battle field against the infidels.[40] Quoting from the Quran and Tradition he argued that this bay'a was established and confirmed by the Quran[41] and the sayings and doings of the Prophet.[42] In refutation of the opinion of the people who disowned the idea of placing hand

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37. Bay'a means to sell. But here it means to promise something placing hand of the promiser in the hand of a prophet or a murshid(Cf. al-Qawl al-Jamil,p.8).

38. Karamat 'Ali, Nurun 'ala Nur, p. 55.

39. Sura, al-Ma'ida : 35 : يا ايها الذين امنوا اتقوا الله وابتغوا اليه الوسيلة
O you who believe,be mindful of your duty to Allah and seek the way of approach unto Him.

40. Karamat 'Ali, Bay'at-i-Tawba,Dhakhira,II, p.263 ;Shah Wali Allah, al-Qawl al-Jamil (Cawnpore,1345 A.H.), p.8.

41. Sura, al-Fath : 10;sura al-Mumtahina :12.

42. Mishkwat al-Masabih, p.
قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم وحوله عصابة من اصحابه بايعوني على ان لا تشركوا بالله شيئا ولا تسرقوا ولا تزنوا ولا تقتلوا اولادكم ولا تاتوا ببهتان تفترونها بين ايديكم وارجلكم ولا تعصوا في معروف فمن وفى منكم فاجره على الله ومن اصاب من ذلك شيئا فعوقب في الدنيا فهو كفارة له ومن اصاب من ذلك شيئا ثم ستره الله عليه فهو الى الله ان شاء عفا عنه وان شاء عاقبه - فبايعناه على ذلك .

in the hand of the murshid, he referred to Tafsir Husayni and told that in case of female disciple, as reported by 'A'isha, the Prophet did not touch the hand; and sometimes he initiated by putting his hand in water in which she put her own hand.[43] On the basis of Hadith Jibril he held that tasawwuf was also a basis of Islam.[44] He expressed his opinion in conformity with that of 'Abd al-Haqq, Muhaddith Dehlawi who held that the perfection of din depended on fiqh, aqaid and tasawwuf.[45]

But before performing bay'a one must seek and choose a real murshid. Referring to Imam Gazzali's explanation of the sayings of the Prophet, he compares the position of a pir in his gawn with that of a prophet in his umma.[46] So a pir must be kamil. Otherwise a nala'id pir (unworthy guide) will lead his disciple astray. According to him a kamil pir does not means that he must be a perfect man who does not commit sin in his life ; because none except the prophets and angels is ma'sum.[47] Each and every person commits sin knowingly or

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43. Karamat 'Ali, Bay'at-i-Tawba, p.269.
44. Because the mushahada of which the Hadith Jibril has spoken could not be achieved without muraqaba or dhikr, Karamat 'Ali Zad al-Taqwa, p.5. See 'Hadith Jibril', Mishkwat al-Masabih, (Karachi, 1368 A.H.), p.11.
45. Shaykh 'Abd al-Haqq, Ashi''at al-Lum'at, Vol.I (Lucknow, 1913), p. 45.
46. Karamat 'Ali, Nu 'ala Nur, p.57.
47. Ibid., p.59.

unknowingly. Of course a kamil pir should have been 'alim and muttaqi[48] (Allah fearing) who crossed over four sayr : (I) sayr ila Allah(سير الى الله), (II) sayr fi Allah(سير فى الله), (III) sayr 'an Allah bi Allah(سير عن الله بالله) and (IV) sayr fi al-ashyā' bi-Allah(سير فى الاشياء بالله). Here, the Mawlana explained all the four sayr . According to his explanation sayr ila Allah means to travel to Allah leaving everything behind . Sayr fi Allah means to sacrifice himself in Allah and enter into Him by forgetting all the things besides Him. Sayr 'an Allah bi Allah means to come back with Allah i.e. to return from upwards to the lower world being filled with the pleasure of Allah. Sayr fi al-ashyā' bi-Allah means to travel in all things with the pleasure of Allah. In this regard he frequently referred to Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani[49] So a pir need not exhibit miracles to prove his kamaliya.[50] A pir cannot kill his disciple or make him alive physically by his miraculous power, but he can do it spiritually.[51] A disciple should show respect to his pir and he should be obeyed by his disciples. Of course if any disciple attains the position of a pir by crossing over all the sayr and becomes able to receive intuition, he will be free to exercise his own idea according to the intuition he receives.[52]

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48. Ibid.,p.57.
49. Ibid.,pp.128-130.
50. Ibid., p.127.
51. Ibid.
52. Ibid.,pp.125-126.

Referring to the 78th maktub[53] of Shaykh Ahmad Sarhindi he holds that it is ruinous for the disciples to raise any objection or any question to the tariqa of their pir.[54]

According to the opinion of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali one may perform bay'a in the hand of more than one pir. He holds that if anybody performs bay'a in the hand of more than one pir, of course he has reason to do so, all of them will catch hold of him when his legs will slip on the day of resurrection.[55] He thus tried to dispel the idea of some people who considered it sinful act to seek another pir and perform bay'a in his hand and learn lesson with him after performing bay'a in the hand of any other pir.

He divided bay'a into three classes (I) bay'at-i-tawba, (II) bay'at-i-tabarruk and (III) bay'at-i-ta'akkud or iradat.[56] He is guided by the idea of Shah Wali Allah who expressed the same view in al-Qawl al-Jamil.[57] Referring to tafsir of sura, Iqra in Tafsir Fath al-'Aziz he says that tathir or tawajjuh which a pir throws to his disciples are of four kinds : (I) tathir in'ikasi, (II) tathir ilqa'i, (III) tathir istilahi (IV) tathir ittihadi.[58]

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53. Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani,(Cawnpore,1891),pp.100-101.
54. Karamat 'Ali, Nur ala Nur, p.22.
55. Ibid., p.67.Cf.Shah Wali Allah, al-Qawl al-Jamil(Cawnpore, 1345 A.H.), pp.19-20.
56. Karamat 'Ali, Hujjat-i-Qati'a in Dhakhira,I(Cawnpore, 1344 A.H.), p.105 ; Nur 'ala Nur, p.64.
57. Shah Wali Allah, al-Qawl al-Jamil, pp.18-19.
58. Karamat 'Ali, Zad al-Taqwa, pp. 80-81.

Following his *murshid* Mawlana Karamat 'Ali initiated in all the four *tariqas* keeping Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya at the end.[59] He claimed that he had *shajra* (certificates) of all *tariqas*. He maintained that as there were four schools of jurisprudence, so also the same condition was with sufis' order. But one difference was that - it was not necessary to confine oneself only to those for orders. One could follow any order of sufism other than four *tariqas* like Rifa'iya, Saharwardiya, etc. He held that as Mujaddidiya order was an offshoot of Naqshbandiya, so Muhammadiya was a branch of Qadiriya order and at the same time it also had come out of Chishtiya, Naqshbandiya and Mujaddidiya orders of Sufism.[60] Explaining Naqshbandiya mystic order he tolds that Tariqa-i-Naqshbandiya was based on eleven words -(I) *hush dar dam*, (II) *nazar bar qadam*, (III) *safar dar watan*, (IV) *khilwat dar anjuman*, (V) *yad kard*, (VI) *baz gasht*, (VII) *niqah dast*, (VIII) *yad dast*, (IX) *waquf-i-zamani*, (X) *waquf-i-qalbi*, and

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59. He initiated the intending persons with the following words, as used by his *murshid* Sayyid Ahmad :

اللہ توبہ کیا میں نے سب برے کاموں سے اور سب بری باتوں سے اللہ تو بخش دے لا الہ الا اللہ محمد
رسول اللہ ۔ اللہ کے سوا کوئی دوسرا معبود بندگی کے لائق نہیں ہے اور محمد صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم
اللہ کے بھیجے ہیں بیعت کیا میں نے بیچ طریقے چشتیہ اور قادریہ اور نقشبندیہ اور مجددیہ
اور محمدیہ کے اوپر ہاتھ فقیر سید احمد کے خلیفہ حضرت مولانا شاہ عبد العزیز صاحب کے
اللہ تو قبول کر اور نعمتیں ان طریقوں کی اللہ میرا نصیب کر ۔

Karamat 'Ali, *Rafiq al-Salikin* (Matba'-i-Mazhiri, 1277 A.H.) p. 28.

60. *Ibid*.

(XI) waquf-i-'adadi.[61] The first eight were narrated by Khwajah 'Abd al-Khaliq Gajdani and the latter three were narrated by Khwaja Muhammad Naqshband Bukhari. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali explained in detail each and every term and gave a vivid picture of Islamic mysticism.[62] Though he

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61. Karamat 'Ali, Zad al-Taqwa (Sialdah, 1287 A.H.), pp.154-162.

62. I) Hush dar dam (هوش در دم) means to remain awaken with each and every breath with the remembrance of Allah and follow His orders.

II) Nazar bar qadam (نظر بر قدم) means to fix the eyes on foot and not to see anything; so that the mind might not divert.

III) Safar dar watan (سفر در وطن) is to avoid the evil desires and adopt good qualities of men and angles.

IV) Khilwat dar anjuman (خلوت در انجمن) indicates that in all the affairs of life one should remember Allah.

V) Yad kard (یاد کرد) means to remember Allah in the dhikr in negative and positive style.

VI) Baz gasht (بازگشت) denotes that in the midst of dhikr one should pray to Allah now and then.

VII) Nigah dast (نگهداشت) means to dispel the danger of heart in the deceit of mind.

VIII) Yad dast (یاد دشت) means to pay attention only to Allah.

IX) Waquf-i-Zamani (وقوف زمانی) is to turn to the remembrance of Allah after short interval in which the heart forgets the name of Allah and remains in the state of remissness.

X) Waquf-i-qalbi (وقوف قلبی) is to concentrate the mind to heart.

XI) Waquf-i-'adadi (وقوف عددی) is a mystic term by which Mawlana Karamat 'Ali means that one should make odd number of dhikr.

himself practised and initiated the people in all the four tariqas, Tariqa-i-Naqshbandiya was preferred by him. He described it in detail and showed the characteristics features of this tariqa. To distinguish between Naqshabandiya and other three orders of Sufism he held that if anybody practised the former, he would get interested in it and become hopeful. But as he would proceed further, his interest would be banished and he would become afraid and despaired. But in the case of other tariqas a novice would not get interested at the initial stage.[63] Of course, he could get interested at the end. Another characteristic of this tariqa, according to the author, is that dhikr of this tariqa should be in feeble voice. He traced six latifas and their position in the person of a man.[64] After practising dhikh of six latifa a novice should practise nafi (negative) and ithbat (positive) dhikr with his breath stopped(حبس دم).[65] After denying all the things in the world the salik will confront either tawhid safai (pure Oneness of Allah) or hajb nuraniya (screen of Divine light) and the latter position is the actual goal for the salik.[66] He introduced muraqaba samadiya and divided it into two stages - ibtida and intiha (beginning and end). In the first stage a salik of this muraqaba (meditation) should consider himself and everything in the world helpless and all

63. Karamat 'Ali, Nur 'ala Nur, p.136.

64. Karamat 'Ali, Rafiq al-Salikin, p. 3ff.

65. Ibid.,p.5 (Nafi i.e. la ilaha and ithbat i.e. illa Allah).

66. Ibid.

are muhtaj (needy) to Him. In the second stage he should completely surrender to the will of Allah.[67] Dhikr of Qadiriya order according to him, is jali (loud). So contrary to the dhikr of Naqshbandiya a novice in this order reiterate dhikr loudly. Dhikr may be of one strike (يك ضربى) or two, three and four strikes. He guides that one who practices one strike or two strikes dhikr should seat like seating in prayer and make dhikr loudly.[68] Then he should practice three strikes dhikr - one strike to right, one to left and one to heart in the position of four fold sitting. Then he should practice four strike dhikr alike, having the fourth beating in the front. After finishing dhikr salik should devote himself to fikr (pondering) and muraqaba (meditation). After having muraqaba completed he should practice dawra of asma-i-husna i.e., Allah Sami' (الله سميع) Allah Basir (الله بصير) Allah Qadir (الله قدير) and Allah 'Alim (الله عليم). Next he should practice shughal of nafi-ithbat (negative and positive).[69]

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67. Ibid., p. 26.

68. Ibid., pp. 30-31.

69. Ibid., p. 33.

He encouraged his disciples to engage themselves in dhikr and muraqaba. He puts more emphasis on Naqshabandiya order and distinguished it from other orders of Sufiism.[70] This Sufiism was the main spirit of his reform movement. But in dhikr and muraqaba he had no distinct thought. He followed the system of Sayyid Ahmad, Shah Wali Allah and Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi and in his writings about tariqa and tasawwuf he frequently referred to Sirat-i-Mustaqim of Sayyid Ahmad, al-Qawl al-Jamil of Shah Wali Allah and Maktubat-i-Imam Rabbani of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindi. He fully devoted eight of his books and treatises —

(I) Nurun 'ala Nur ,

(II) Zad al-Taqwa ,

(III) Rafiq al-Salikin,

(IV) Ihqaq al-Haqq,

(V) Rahat-i-Ruh ,

(VI) Bay'a wa tawba ,

(VII) Faid-i- 'Am , and

(VIII) Itminan al-Qulub

in the discussion of tasawwuf and Sufiism. He also discussed it occasionally in his other works. But everywhere he resounded the voice of his fore-runners.

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70. See infra , Chapter VI.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali's contribution to the Muslim society in general and to the Muslims of Bengal in particular, is very great. Having been a man of the United Provinces of the then India he had to undergo much trouble in preaching Islam in Bengal and Assam. He dedicated his life to the reform of the superstitious Muslims by preaching Islamic ideology and morality among them. During his reformist activities he had to face many difficulties. He faced much opposition from different quarters. The bid'atis as well as the leaders of other reformist movements opposed him vehemently. However, his strong personality and firm conviction overcame them everywhere.

Through his murshid Sayyid Ahmad, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was a follower of the school of Shah Wali Allah, the great reformer of India, whose teachings spread everywhere in the subcontinent. He received a khilafat nama from his murshid and became an ardent follower of Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. This Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya was not only a philosophy of spiritual life but also a wonderful synthesis of rah-i-wilayat and rah-i-nubuwat. On the one hand, it was a socio-religious reform movement and, on the other, it inspired its followers to be involved in jihad expedition against the Sikhs. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was fully aware of the ideals of this movement;

but he did not take part in direct war against the Sikhs. This is because his murshid sent him to Bengal for preaching Islam, recruiting volunteers and collecting money and materials for jihad expedition. He performed his duty in this respect properly until Balakot disaster in 1831.

After the Balakot, observing the situation and position of the Muslims and Mujahids, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali changed his views about direct war against the Sikhs and other anti-Islamic forces. Thus he was alleged to have cut off all connections with the jihadis and found ways of progress in modernism and loyalism. This is not altogether correct ; because, as mentioned above, although the Mawlana was not directly involved in war against the Sikhs, he supported the cause of it through the recruitment of manpower and collection of materials under the instruction of the Sayyid.

However, after the Balakot while the followers of the Sayyid were divided into many groups, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali tried to establish his own views and opposed the others, especially the Patna group headed by Wilayat 'Ali and 'Inayat 'Ali who were in favour of continuing jihad in the same form as they did before the defeat of the mujahids in the battle of Balakot. This Patna group considered themselves to have been guided by the principles of Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. Thus they branded the Mawlana as an opponent of Sayyid Ahmad's movement.

From the sayings and activities of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali it is evident that although he criticised and opposed the activities of the jihadis after the Balakot, he did not cut off connections with Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya, rather he accepted the Tariqa whole-heartedly and explained it on different occasions. It is also evident that he not only showed due respect to his murshid but also tried to prove himself to have been an ardent follower of him. Everywhere he tried to justify the sayings and doings of Sayyid Ahmad particularly when the opposite quarters opposed and refuted the doctrines of Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya. Although Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was a muqallid and orthodox Hanafi, he showed due respect to the Sayyid's lieutenant, a great 'alim Shah Muhammad Isma'il who was the foremost leader of the Ahl al-Hadith.

However, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali struggled hard to bring about a healthy rapprochement between the conservative Muslims and the modernists by holding the views that India under British rule was dar al-Islam and dar al-aman (abode of peace) and that war against the British rulers was unlawful. Thus he was a loyal and favourite citizen of the British government. Particularly after the failure in the revolt of 1857-58, he could realise the futility of militant antagonism towards the British government and joined hands with Nawab 'Abd al-Latif.

But at the same time Mawlana Karamat 'Ali should not be confused with a contemporary Shi'a 'alim of Jaunpur, Karamat 'Ali by name and should not be alleged thereby to have maintained close touch with the British rulers and received gifts from them frequently. For, that Shi'a 'alim was another person who represented the British government to the court of Dost Muhammad in Kabul and had been a superintendent of Hughly Imambara as we have mentioned in detail in the text of the present study[1]. Moreover, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali denounced the Shi'ites and condemned their activities vehemently. He also condemned the Wahhabis and criticised their activities repeatedly[2]. In the text of the present thesis we have also refuted the claim of those people who called him and his murshid Sayyid Ahmad, Wahhabis. So he was neither a Shi'a nor a Wahhabi but a Sunni Muslim.

The followers of Sayyid Ahmad differed not only on the question of jihad but also on theological tenets. Three leading khalifas of the Sayyid came out with three distinctive views on the issue of preferential treatment of the Hadith of the Prophet to the prescriptions of the schools of law. Wilayat 'Ali whose centre was at Patna, preferred the Hadith of the Prophet to the prescriptions of the schools of law. He wrote a book, 'Amal bi al-Hadith, and expressed his

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1. See supra, chapter II(a).

2. Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.7; Qawl al-Thabit, p.5.

idea in this regard in detail. 'Abd al-Jabbar, another renowned khalifa of the Sayyid professed to be a Hanafi, but still he preferred the Hadith of the Prophet to the prescriptions of the schools of law. He also wrote a book, Taqwiat al-Muslimin fi ittiba'i sunnat Sayyid al-Mursalin, in which he gave vent to his ideas regarding the above point in detail.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali claimed himself to be a Hanafi and preferred the prescriptions of the Hanafi school to the Prophetic Traditions. He wrote a book, Quwwat al-Iman, and explained in detail his idea of preferential treatment of the prescriptions of the schools of law to the Hadith of the Prophet. He maintained that every Muslim must abide by any one of the four recognised schools of law i.e., Hanafi,Maliki, Shafi'i and Hambali. According to him the necessity of taqlid of any one of the four schools had been established by ijma' al-umma (concensus of the Muslim community). So practically there remained no schope of fresh ijtihad.

According to James Wise Mawlana Karamat 'Ali's reform movement was called Ta'yyuni movement. But our findings are that, though he was a orthodox Hanafi and identified himself with a particular school of thought, he did not start any particular theological movement on the basis of a particular point of converting the Muslims to Hanafi school of law. He was a successful debator and general preacher of morality. He had

no fixed programme in his mind. But everywhere he observed the situation and accordingly carried on his reformist activities. He observed some gross changes and accretions in Islamic practices which were brought about by the ill-motives of some people or by long association with the Hindus. He also observed some changes that occured due to the difference of opinions of the contemporary thinkers and reformers. Thus he had to campaign simultaneously against four groups of people - (I) the people who indulged in superstitious beliefs and practices because of the evil influence of false pirs and notorious darwishes as well as their long association with the Hindus, (II) the Fara'idis, (III) the Ahl al-Hadith and (IV) the Wujudiya. He inveighed all the four groups.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali wrote that he found the Muslims of eastern part of India plunged so much in superstitious beliefs and activities that he apprehended Divine retribution in this region. This was one of the reasons for which he dedicated his life to the propagation of true doctrines of Islam among the people of Bengal. For the same purpose sometimes he hired two boats - one for himself, another for his family, and thus kept his family permanently with him for the convenience of preaching Islam in this region whole-heartedly.

Like other reformists Mawlana Karamat 'Ali denounced all sorts of shirk and bid'a. He campaigned against the supersti-

tious beliefs, politheistic customs and un-Islamic innovations and struggled hard to purify the Muslims from un-Islamic and anti-Islamic activities. He categorically denounced music, dance, raising ~~of~~ tazia on the occasion of Muharram and prevented the Muslims from participating in Hindu festivals. He preached Islamic system of pardah, wrote books and thus tried to save the Muslim society from many evils. He delivered lectures in the gatherings, distributed pamphlets and participated in the debates against the activities of the bid'ati pirs and faqirs and also against the doctrines of other reformists of the time. Although he never claimed to be a mujtahid, he was, to some extent a self-conceited man. When he disapproved of any doctrine or any activity of any section of people he denounced it sharply. In course of denouncing a man or a section of people, he used such wordings which seemed unbecoming of an enlightened man who at the same time claimed to be a mystic and spiritual guide.[3] Perhaps the situation compelled him to do so .

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali participated in the debates with the Fara'idi leaders Dudu Miyan and 'Abd al-Jabbar on several points, particularly on the point of legality of jumu'a and 'id prayers in the then Bengal. To establish his views on the legality of jumu'a and 'id prayers he wrote many tracts. In different talks and debates he tried to defeat the opposite parties by asking tricky and shuttle questions on their attitude to the ruling power and thereby putting them in embar-

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3. See Nur 'ala Nur, p.3.

rassing situation. In the debate of Barisal he again and again asked the Fara'idi leader 'Abd al-Jabbar about the status of the country under British rule ; though 'Abd al-Jabbar did not want to be involved in political discussion; nor did he like to express his attitude against the British regime openly. In order to understand the teachings and reforms of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali , it is necessary to visualize them in the environment in which he worked.

In fine we may say that apprehending dissention and disruption in the Muslim society due to radicalism of the Fara'idis and Ahl al-Hadith and also not fully agreeing to the co-operative tendency of the modernists at a time when the general mass of the Muslims was steeped in superstitious beliefs and practices, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali came forward with the compromising attitude and strived to find a modus vivendi in a milder type of reform. Thus we see him admiring and defending the reform movement led by Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Muhammad Isma'il, on the one hand, and denouncing the idea of non-co-operation by their successors with the rising British power, on the other.

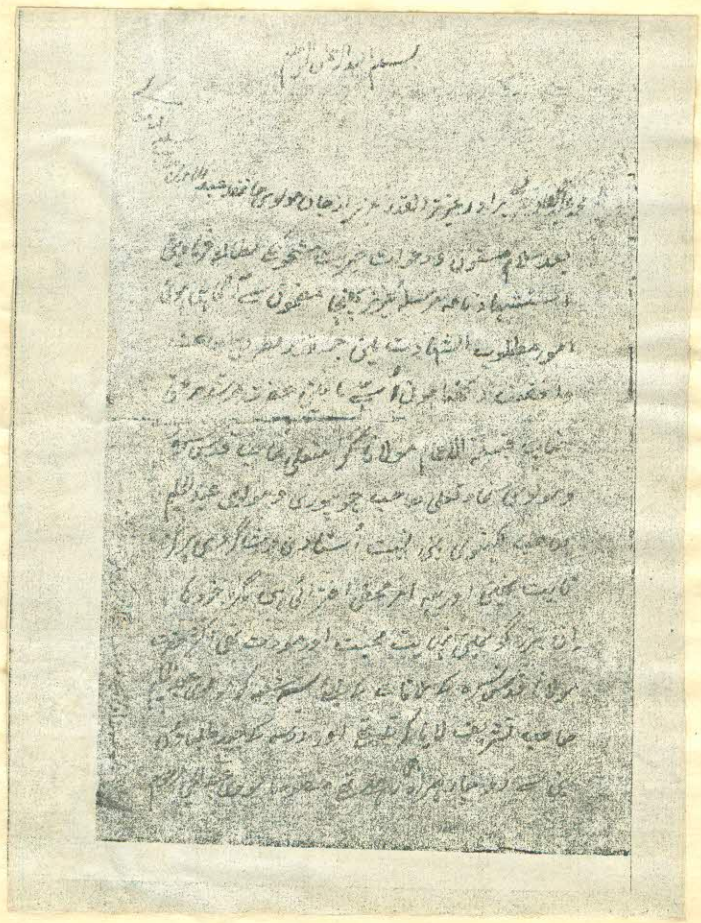
Before the war of independence of 1857-58, when the Muslims of the subcontinent exhibited uncommon enthusiasm to expel the British, particularly in the life time of Sayyid Ahmad and Shah Muhammad Isma'il, when Tariqa-i-Muhammadiya was at the peak, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali showed his extreme zeal

and attachment to the ideas of war against the un-Islamic and anti-Islamic forces. But after the repeated failure of the Muslims in competition with the neighbouring Hindu community, he changed and modified his ideas. To save the Muslims from total collapse and to give strength and keep pace with the Hindus, he encouraged them to give up militant antagonism and advised them to improve their position by co-operating with the British rulers whom Allah has given supremacy over them.

At once a reformer, a patriot, a mystic and a mujahid he exerted deep influence on millions of Muslim men and women of the lower and eastern part of India, particularly of rural Bengal. Although he was not a founder of any distinctive movement, as has been told earlier, he was a successful preacher and reformer. The influence of his preaching and persuasion is still a living force.

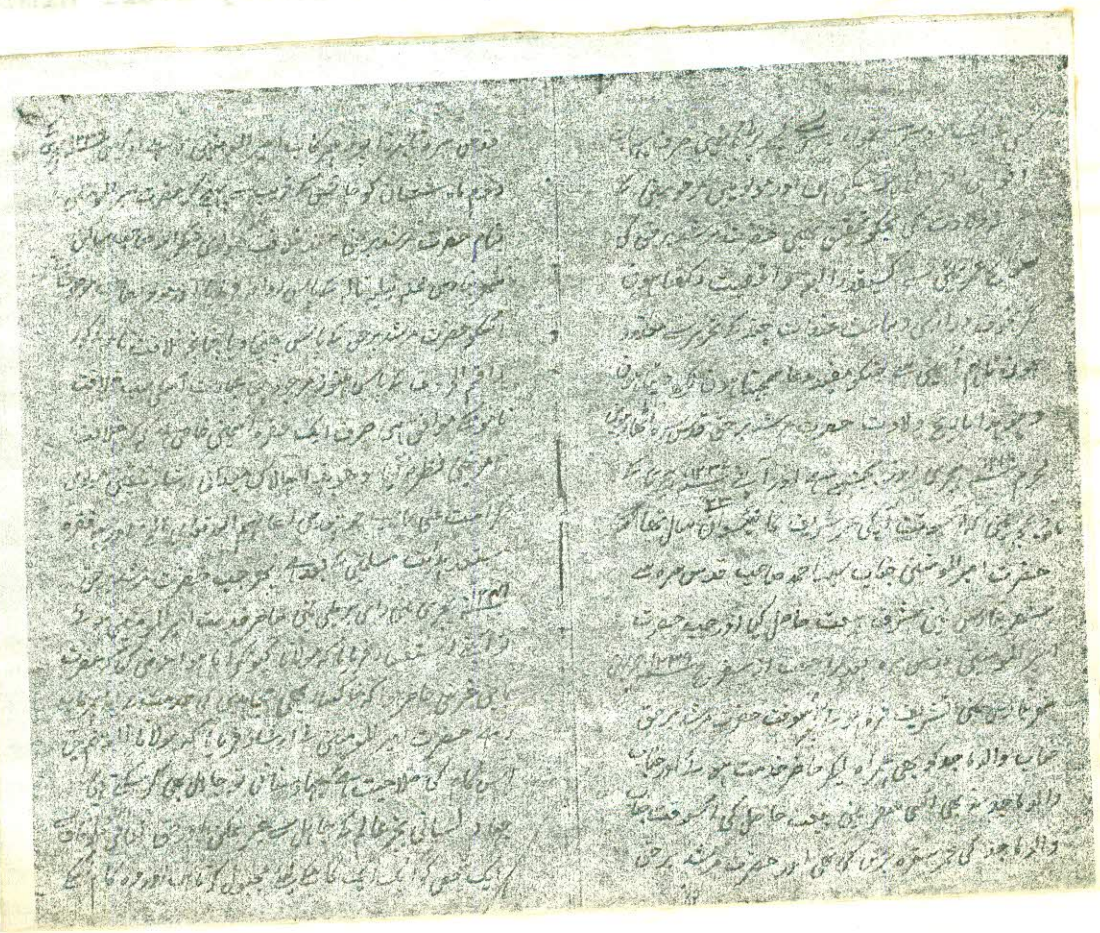
APPENDIX A

A letter of Muhammad 'Abd al-Qadir to Hafiz 'Abd al-Awwal.



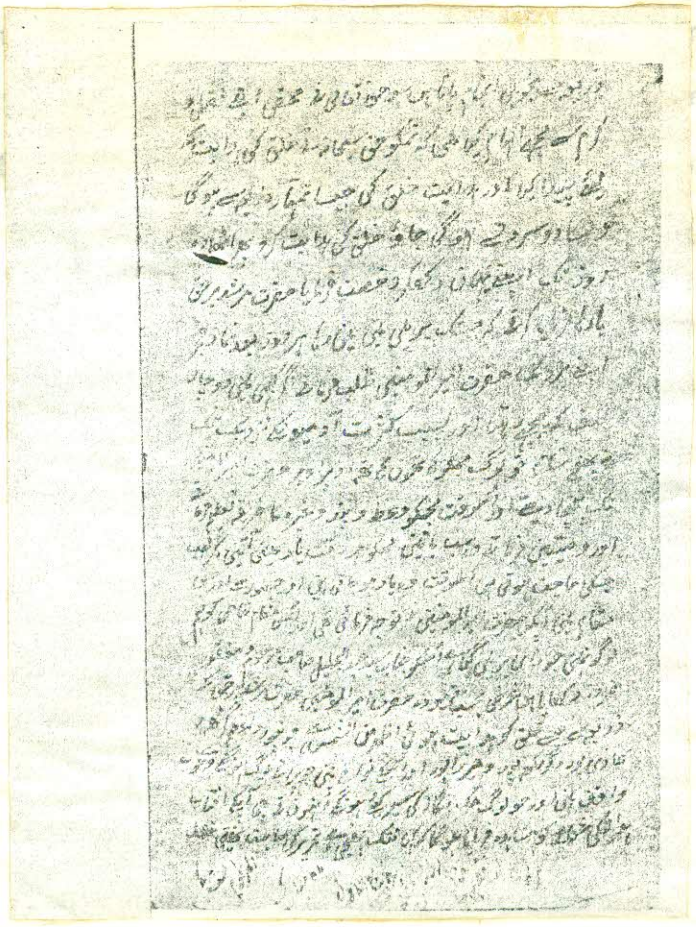
مرحوم سے کچھ پڑھا ہے صحیح یاد نہیں فرمایا کہ بیٹا مولوی
محمد نعمی مجھے بہت چھوٹے تھے میں نے جس وقت جامع
مسجد کو مسمار کر کے پانچ آدمیوں کی نماز جمعہ قائم کی
اور وعظ و نصیحت کرنا شروع کیا اس وقت میری عمر
دس برس کی تھی اور مولوی صاحب پیر تھے اس وقت تک وہی
عمر تھی اور جس کو کھیلنے کودنے کا اتفاق ہوتا
اور اس میں علوم سے بھی آگاہ ہوتے تھے تو میں
کہتا ہوں کہ بہت سے میری ذات پر مرکز کر بیٹھ جاتے
اور یہی فرماتے تھے کہ بچپن زمانہ میں تحصیل علم اور
تحصیل مستعلق سے میں فراغت کر چکا تھا اور مولوی صاحب
کا زمانہ تحصیل تھا جو کچھ بھولے تھے یہی حال دوستی
تھا لکھنؤ میں محمد نعمی صاحب اکثر وقت سفر حال
ملنے کو آیا کرتے تھے جو کچھ مولوی صاحب میں بہت
تھی کہ مزاج میں بھی نہایت جلد باز تھے کہ اکثر ناچیز
بیشتر اس کے کہ بات تمام ہو جائے سمجھ جاتے
جو کچھ عرض کرنا ہوتا تھا مولوی صاحب
نہ تو اپنی مسلمانی کے بات مستعمل ہوتے تھے بعد مولوی
صاحب اس قدر تیز چھوٹے تھے کہ ہمیں اس کو عمر بھر
نہ پایا اور مولوی صاحب ایک دن ناشتا کر لیتے تھے
یعنی کتب درسیہ عربی اور عربی میں صرف و نحو شرح
جامی تک پڑھی تھی اور اس سے پہلے فارسی
بھی فارسی میں صرف گلستان اور عربی میں نحو مختصر
دوانی سے پڑھا تھا اور باقی علوم و فنون میں
اور یہی خدا کو بھی مولوی محمد نعمی صاحب مولوی اور
مولوی محمد علی صاحب جن کو مولوی صاحب اور
مرحوم سے بھی سنا ہے کہ مولوی صاحب مرحوم
فارسی میں صرف گلستان پڑھا تھا عربی میں جامی
اور اکثر مولوی صاحب مرحوم عربی بیان فرماتے تھے

guidance of his father. When he completed his primary education in Persian and Arabic his father realised that the boy was genius. He was then sent to some reputed teachers of the age to learn various subjects.[11] Jaunpur was a great seat of learning, patronised by many accomplished rulers of the time. Shah Jahan used to call it the Shiraz of Hind.[12] Naturally Maulana Karamat Ali could easily avail himself of the



he claimed that with his arguments and upright opinion he defeated the opponents. He also claimed that he had refuted the bid'ati ideas contained in Majalis-i-Khatra of Muhibb al-Rahman.

In Khatima (concluding chapter) he introduced four ifada in which [illegible] merits of saying dhikr on the [illegible] a good man to enter the [illegible] with the help of dhikr.



[English version]

In the name of Allah, the Merciful, the Mercy-Giving.

From Muhammad 'Abdul-Qadir (to) his dear and respected brother Mawlawi Hafiz 'Abdul-Awwal, may Allah protect him (from all eventualities).

With due greetings and very best wishes, I would like to offer the following for your perusal :

I have received your kind letter soliciting my opinion, the contents of which have been noted. With regards to the matter requiring my testimony, I can state that to the best of my knowledge there is no evidence of any teacher-student relationship existing between my uncle, the respected guide and teacher Mawlana Karamat 'Ali of Jaunpur, and Mawlawi Sakhawat 'Ali Jaunpuri and Mawlawi 'Abdul-Halim of Lucknow. Such a claim is absurd and a mere concoction. Nevertheless, this much is fact that they maintained very cordial and friendly relations among themselves. Most often Mawlawi 'Abdul-Halim used to pay a visit to Mawlana Karamat 'Ali on Tuesdays. On such occasions, some selected students from the Madrasah, such as Mawlawi 'Abdul-Halim (of Frangimahal, Lucknow and the compiler of the Majmu'a fatawa), who was quite young in those days, and Mawlawi Khadim Husayn of 'Azimabad, used to accompany him.

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali also frequented the Madrasah to see the Mawlawi. It was with the help of the late Mawlawi Sakhawat 'Ali that Mawlawi 'Abd al-Halim was transferred as a teacher from Bandh to Jaunpur. This appointment was made before the 'mutiny' and after Mawlana Karamat 'Ali returned from his trip to Bengal. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali spent about eighteen to nineteen years on that trip to Bengal, and had many discussions and debates with leading 'ulama' on matters of Shari'a. On one occasion, he had a lively debate with his favous rationalist, Mawlawi 'Abu'l-Hasan of 'Azimabad on the question of offering the fatiha (for dead persons) in the Haji-Tala Mosque. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali won the debate. Some of the eye-witnesses still survive in 'Azimabad (Patna). On another occasion, he had a debate with Hafiz Siddiq, one of the members of the staff in the 'Alia Madrasah, Calcutta, on the question of the permissibility of eating prawns. It was in those days that Mawlana Karamat 'Ali compiled a treatise in Arabic entitled "Burhan al-Ikhwan fi hill al Arbyan"[1] which he translated into Persian and had published from Calcutta. The original manuscript signed by the author is in my keeping. These facts clearly demonstrate that a man with such a brilliant literary career to his credit could hardly have been in need of learning Arabic grammar ! The allegation (against Mawlana Karamat 'Ali) is absolutely

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1. This word also occurs in the form irbiyan.

baseless as are the other assertions levelled at him. Similarly, to regard Mawlawi Sakhawat 'Ali as a teacher of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali[2] is totally absurd, because the late Mawlawi (Sakhawat 'Ali) was definitely much younger than Mawlana Karamat 'Ali. I can not speak with authority concerning his stature, but I have heard my father mention him as five years his junior, which makes the late Mawlawi eleven years younger than Mawlana Karamat 'Ali.

On one occasion, in my presence, my late brother Mawlawi Hafiz Mahmud asked Mawlana Karamat 'Ali about the veracity of certain people's assertion that the latter was for some time a student of Mawlawi Sakhawat 'Ali, to which Mawlana Karamat 'Ali replied sarcastically : "My son,Mawlawi Sakhawat 'Ali was much younger than me. When I occupied the Jami' Mosque and established the Jum'a prayer there with only five persons in attendance, and started my preaching and discussions, I was then about eighteen or nineteen years old, whereas Mawlawi Sakhawat 'Ali had not even reached the age of prayer; if he happened to attend any of my religious lecture programmes in the city, he could not sit very long on the floor and therefore used to lie down with his head on my thigh". Mawlana Karamat 'Ali also said: "In the days when I was completing my education and learning the art of calligraphy, Mawlawi Sakhawat 'Ali was still a student.

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2. Throughout this letter, instead of using his name, the author reverentially calls Mawlana Karamat 'Ali Hadrat Murshid bar-haqq (i.e. the respected true guide and teacher).

Since there was friendship and complete harmony between us, he used to come to see me mostly in the afternoon. Because of his young age and restless disposition, the Mawlawi developed a habit of playing with my pens and damaging them with his teeth. I therefore made it a point to remove all pens before his arrival and put in their place some tooth-brushes from the nim[3] tree, yet when he came he could not help playing with them. If such was the age and condition of the Mawlawi, then how could I be his student ? Of course, it is a fact that he and I were students of the same teacher. That is, I received my education in Persian, Arabic language and grammar from my father, and the Mawlawi had also studied under my father the elementary books of Arabic and Persian, such as the Gulistan in Persian and the Kafiya in Arabic grammar. So far other disciplines of learning are concerned, both of us received education from Mawlawi Qudrat 'Ali Rudlawi and Mawlawi Ahmad 'Ali Chiryakuti. I have heard my late father say that although the Mawlawi read only the Gulistan in Persian, he could write Persian very well, and he would often boast that this was possible because he had studied under Shaikh Abu Ibrahim Muhammad Imam Bakhsh. There is no need to explain further. It is obvious from the above facts that none of us were students of one another. What has been circulated is nothing but a pack of lies".

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3. A bitter tree, commonly used as tooth-brush.

I do not have any definite information on the date of birth of these late Mawlawis, though I have some acquaintance with the biography of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali. I cannot divulge everything here, through constraints of space and some other reasons. Still, I shall try to mention whatever I feel to be of the utmost interest, as follows :

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was born on Thursday, the 18th of Muharram, 1215 A.H. At the age of twenty-three, he had the honour of taking the oath of allegiance (bay'at) at the hands of the Amir al-Mu'minin Sayyid Ahmad[4] in the city of Banaras in the month of Zu'lhijjah, 1237 A.H. In 1239, when the Amir al-Mu'minin returned to Banaras from his journey of pilgrimage, Mawlana Karamat 'Ali called on him in the company of his father, who also took the opportunity of taking the oath of allegiance. At that time, his father was seventy years old. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali accompanied the Amir al-Mu'minin on his trip to Mirzapur and after they reached a place near Jais on the 2nd of Sha'ban, 1239 A.H., Hadrat Amir al-Mu'minin dictated the certificate of succession (Khilafah) in the name of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali and sent it to Mawlawi Shukrullah of Banaras who lived near the village of Tilianala. Later on the Mawlawi sent the certificate to Mawlana Karamat 'Ali. A copy of the certificate

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4. This refers to Sayyid Ahmad Shahid, the leader of the Tahrik Mujahidin, whom his followers elected and called Amir al-Mu'minin.

of the Khilafah is still in my keeping, and reads the same as other extant copies, except for one line which I have not been able to find anywhere else. That is as follows :

"The discreet worker in the field of preaching and exhortation, Mawlawi Karamat 'Ali Jaunpuri, may Allah help him in his efforts ..." This sentence is written after "ever vigilant for the guidance of the Muslims".

Once when, in 1241 A.H., Mawlana Karamat 'Ali came to Breli and paid a visit to the Amir al-Mu'minin, the latter asked him about the purpose of his visit, whereupon the Mawlana replied that he wanted to travel with the Mujahidin[5] and help them in their cause. The Amir al-Mu'minin replied :

"I can see you have the strength to take up arms and fight but that can be done by any unlettered person, whereas the task of fighting with the tongue is one that none save a learned man can do. God, the Almighty has created every man with a specific purpose, and that specific task can be performed only by him. Allah has let me know out of his bounty that you have been created for the purpose of guiding of mankind, and the service you will be able to render in this domain will not be matched by anybody else. Go and guide the people along the right path."

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5. This refers to the follower of the Tahrik Mujahidin.

The Amir al-Mu'minin, however, hosted him for eighteen days. Mawlana Karamat 'Ali used to say quite often :

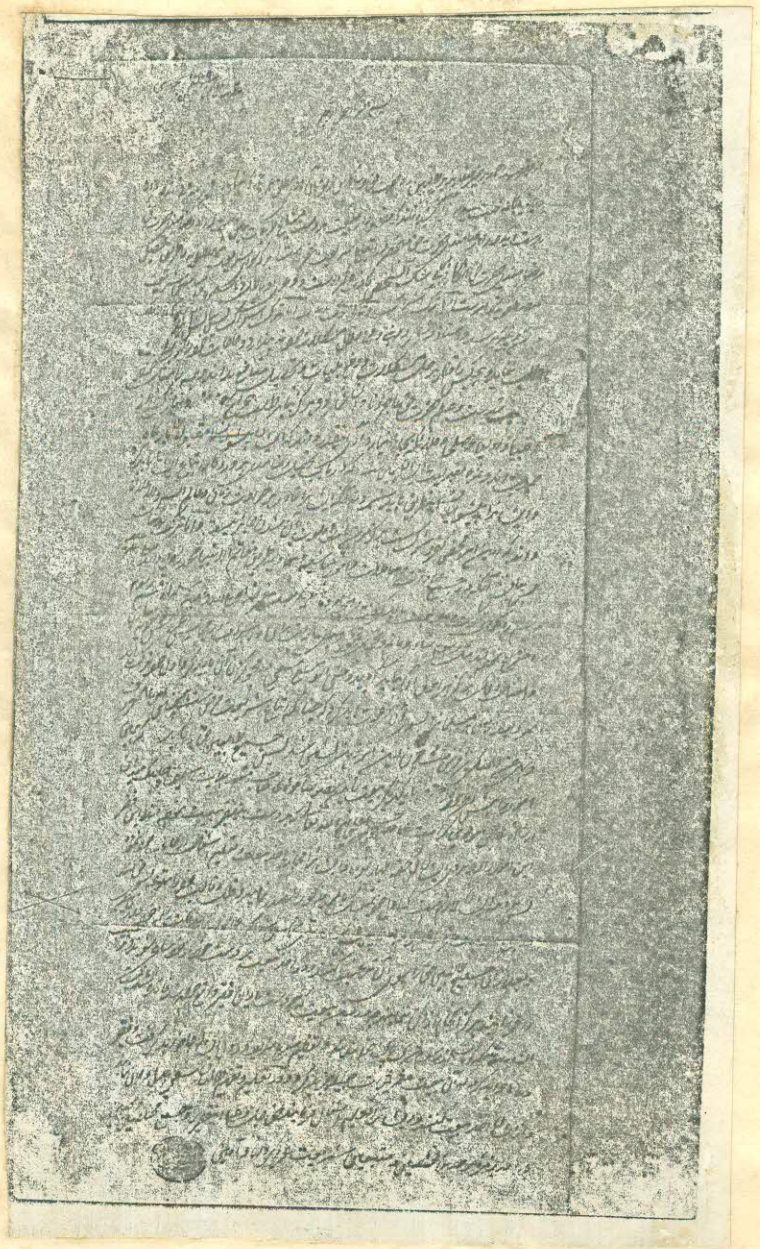
"Every morning during my stay in Breli, after the Fajr prayer, the Amir al-Mu'minin used to summon me and teach me the method of preaching the message of Islam and giving me specific instructions ; and if I happened to be in the back row and was not able to make my way through the throng, people usually lifted me by my arms and helped me reach the Amir. I do not remember all that I was taught, but whenever I needed anything I remembered it. The late Sayyid 'Abdul Jalil used to show visitors to Breli the place where I was given instruction and special attention by the Amir."

However, the guidance that the general public received from Mawlana Karamat 'Ali in accordance with the prophecy made by the Amir is all too well known. Every old man of Jaunpur, Azamgarh, Ghazipur, Gurakhpur, Mirzapur and its surroundings who still survives, knows it very well, and even those who have travelled to the land of Bengal will have noticed the far-reaching influence of his preaching activities. There is hardly any need to write everything here.

Written on Thursday, 21st Rabi'al-Awwal, 1308, from the district of Kumerlai(Comilla) by 'Abdul-Qadir, the son-in-law and nephew of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali.

APPENDIX B

Photo copy of Bay'at nama of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali



Written on 2 Sha'ban 1239/2 April 1824

From Faqir Sayyid Ahmad,

It should not remain hidden from the enlightened minds of seekers after God's path, followers of the way of the Almighty, and those who love this humble servant of God both inwardly and outwardly, that the object of paying allegiance at the hands of tariqa-leaders is to obtain the good pleasure of Allah. The pleasure of Allah depends on following the noble Shari'a. He who accepts any way other than the Prophet's Shari'a in the hope of gaining Allah's pleasure, is undoubtedly a liar and has deviated from the right path. His claim is invalid and not worthy of notice. Muhammad's Shari'a rests on two foundations : first, abandonment of associating anything with Allah, and second, the avoidance of innovations.

The meaning of abandoning associating anything with Allah is never to seek assistance from angels, jinn, pirs, preceptors, teachers, disciples, prophets or saints in solving one's problems, and never to solicit their aid for the fulfilment of one's desires. One should not regard anyone at all as capable of solving problems, warding off evils, and bestowing benefit, but should consider them all just as helpless and ignorant as oneself in relation to Allah's power and knowledge. In no case should one make any religious offerings to the prophets, saints,righteous servants of Allah, and angels, for the sake of having one's requirements fulfilled. At best they can be regarded as favourites in the eyes of Allah, and as such they should be followed in

seeking Allah's pleasure, and are regarded as leaders on this path. To attribute to them control over events and knowledge of the hidden and the manifest is nothing but an act of disbelief and associating others with Allah. It is by no means permissible for a devout Muslim to get involved in such matters.

To abandon innovations means to cling tenaciously and enthusiastically to the way of the Seal of the Prophets, Muhammad the Messenger of Allah (the Blessings and Peace of Allah be upon him), in all matters of worship and transaction, in the affairs of this world and those of the Hereafter.

After the time of the Prophet Muhammad (the Blessing and Peace of Allah be upon him), people invented certain ritual practices, like nuptial festivities, funeral lamentation, the illumination of graves, erecting buildings over graves, extravagant gatherings in commemoration of saints, passion plays, and so on. One should do one's utmost to eradicate these evils. Having first abandoned them oneself, one must summon others to follow suit, because it is obligatory to follow the Shari'a. Likewise " to bid what is proper and forbid what is improper" is obligatory.

Once these things have been clearly understood, seekers after Truth should bear them in mind when making their oath of allegiance to one another. In particular, the Mawlawi, who is ever vigilant for the guidance of the Muslims and discreet in the field of preaching and exhortation - Mawlawi Karamat 'Ali Jaunpuri

(may Allah assist him) - has made the oath of allegiance at the hands of this poor servant of Allah. This poor servant of Allah has explained everything to them properly, and permitted them to take the oath of allegiance from others and to give instruction on my behalf. Now it is imperative for them to hold fast to all the matters mentioned above. They should be directed body and soul towards Allah, and to following the noble Shari'a both outwardly and inwardly. They should shun all kinds of pollution, associating anything with Allah, and involvement in innovations. After that, they should persuade all seekers after Truth to do likewise. They should endeavour to take the oath of allegiance from others, exclusively for the pleasure of Allah, as well setting out to promote the application of the injunctions of Islam. They should try hard to persuade others. They should never show indifference to this work.

If Allah wills, all who utter the Kalima will be cleansed of all polytheistic rituals and innovations, and respect for the Shari'a will be strengthened in their hearts. This is the main purpose of the oath of allegiance. This humble servant of Allah prays that this allegiance may bear fruit,and that the seekers make great efforts to teach and educate others; for this purpose may they take allegiance from them, and may they instruct them to perform the accepted practices. May Almighty Allah keep me and all my sincere and beloved friends in the group of monotheists sincere followers of the noble Shari'a.

APPENDIX C

Geneology of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali *

Karamat 'Ali ibn Abu Ibrahim Imam Bakhsh ibn Jar Allah ibn Gul Muhammad ibn Muhammad Da'im ibn Muhammad Fadil ibn Muhammad Wali ibn Abu Muhammad ibn'Abd Allah ibn Abu al-Fath ibn Hamid ibn Muhammad Hafiz ibn Makhdum Shahladh Hafiz ibn Sa'ad Allah Hafiz ibn Burhan al-Din ibn Ashraf ibn Qadi Nizam al-Din ibn Nasir al-Din ibn Najib ibn Saif Allah ibn Shams al-Din ibn Bayzid ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Sufi ibn Muzaffar ibn Mus'ab ibn Saif al-Din ibn Nasir al-Din ibn Abu Sahm ibn Abu 'Ali ibn 'Umar ibn Awhad ibn Abu Muhammad ibn Ibrahim ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Amir al-Mu'minin Abu Bakr Siddiq, the first caliph of Islam.

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* 'Abd al-Awwal, Akha'ir al-dhakha'ir fi Ansab al-Akabir, a treatise in al-Bayan al-Munsajam fi Kashf al-Musta'jam, (Lucknow,1321 A.H.), p.88.

APPENDIX D

Silsilat al-Sanad of the Qur'an and Hadith of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali

The silsilat al-sanad of the Qur'an of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali as he himself relates*-

He studied under Ahmad Allah Annami who studied under Shaykh 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Rasul ibn 'Abd al-Karim Makki who got from Abu al-Hasan Ali ibn 'Abd al-Bardanay Hasni who studied under Sayyid Muhammad Murtada Ali al-Fayd Hubayni and 'Abd al-Rahman ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Muhammad Zubayri both of them got from Muhammad Hasni Baladi who studied under 'Ali 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Qasim ibn Isma'il al-Baqari who studied under Sulayman ibn 'Abd al-Da'im Babili who studied under Najm al-Din Abu al-Ishaq Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn 'Ali Sikandarni who studied under Shams al-Din Muhammad ibn Muhammad who studied under Qutub al-Din Muhammad who got from Muhammad ibn Nasir who studied under Ammar Abu Bakr ibn Ibrahim who studied under Abu 'Abd Allah Muhammad ibn Jabir who studied under Abu al-Abbas Ahmad ibn Muhammad Kharzaji who studied under Abu al-Hasan Muhammad ibn Hudhayl who studied under Abu Dawud Sulayman who studied under Abu 'Umar 'Uthman ibn Sa'id who got from Faris ibn Ahmad Handi who got from 'Abd al-Baqi ibn Husayn Maqri who got from Ahmad ibn Salim who studied under Hasan ibn Mukhlid who studied under Bazzi who studied under Akrama ibn Sulayman who studied under Isma'il ibn 'Abd Allah who studied under ibn Kathir who studied Mujahid who studied under 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas who studied under Ubaiy ibn Ka'ab who studied under the Prophet.

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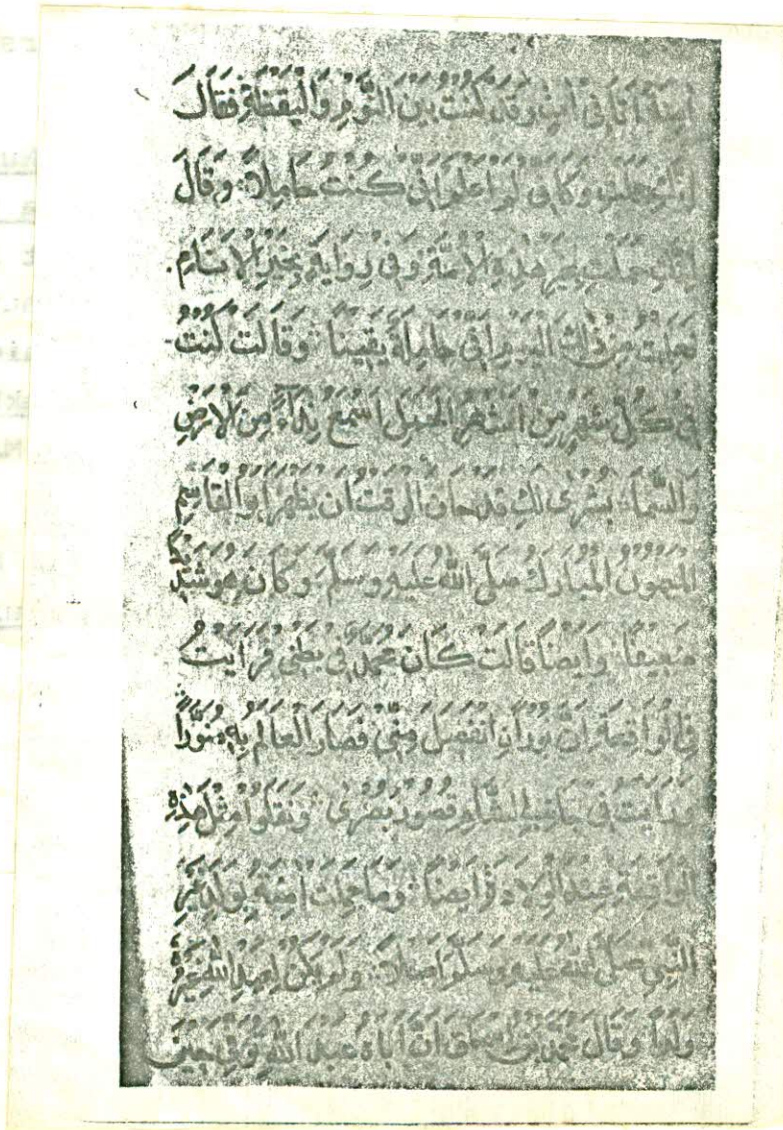
* Mukashifat-i-Rahmat, p.31.

The *sanad* of Hadith:

Mawlana Karamat 'Ali says, " I read *Jami' Tirmidhi* under Ahmad Allah Annami who studied under Shah 'Abd al-'Aziz who studied under his father Shah Wali Allah Dihlawi". The *sanad* of Wali Allah Dihlawi is known to the scholars, we need not mention.

APPENDIX E

Specimen of Arabic, Persian and Urdu hand-writings of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali.



جا خواهد گرفت که اصل غرض ازین بیعت همین است و فقیر دعا خواهد کرد
که آن بیعت مثمر ثمرات جلیله جزیله گردد و در تعلیم و تفهیم طالبان
سعی بدل و جان نمایند و از ایشان اخذ بیعت کنند و انشاء تعلیم
اشغال فرمایند حق جل و علی این فقیر را و جمیع مخلصین و محبین ما را
در زمرهٔ موحدین مخلصین و متبعین شریعت غرا گرداناد آمین

معروف کرخی

بلند کا اور ان نشانیون مین سے ہی خشک ہوجانا ساوہ ندی کا اور
زمین کے اندر گھس جانا اُس کے پانی کا اور جاری ہونا اُس ندی کا
جسکو ساوہ کہتے ہین اور اسکے ہزار برس پہلے سے اُسکا پانی خشک
ہوگیا تھا اور بجھ جانا آتش خانہ فارسیون کا جو اسکے پہلے ہزار
برس کی مدت سے روشن اور گرم تھا اور اُن نشانیون مین
سے ہی بتون کا مُنہہ کے بل گر جانا اور مارے ذلّت کے اوندھا ہونا
اور قریش کی ایک جماعت کے واسطے ایک بت تھا کہ ہر سال کے شروع
مین اُسکے پاس جمع ہوتے تھے اور عید کرتے تھے اور اُسکے آگے
اعتکاف کرتے تھے سو اُسکو ایک رات کو دیکھا کہ مُنہہ کے بل گر پڑا ہے
اور اپنے مکان سے جدا ہوکے گر پڑا تب اُسکو لیا اور اُسکے مکان پر
رکھا پھر گر پڑا پھر اُسکو درست کیا پھر تیسری بار گر پڑا پھر
جب اُسکا یہہ حال دیکھا تب خمناک اور ملول ہوئے اور اُسکو
اُس کے مقام پر خوب مضبوط کرکے کھڑا کر دیا تب اُس کے
اندر سے ایک کہنے والے کی آواز سنا کہ وہ اسطرح کہتا تھا

APPENDIX F

A Complete List of the Works of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali (on the basis of available sources).

1. 'Aqa'id-i-Haqqa
2. Barāhīn Qatī'iya fi Mawlud Khayr al-Bariyya
3. Bay'at-i-Tawba
4. Burhan al-Ikhwan
5. Dafi' al-Waswas
6. Da'wat-i-Masnuna
7. Fath-i-Bab-i-Sibyan
8. Haqq al-Yaqin
9. Hidayat al-Rafidin
10. Hujjat-i-Qati'a
11. Ihqaq al-Haqq
12. Itminan al-Qulub
13. Karamat al-Haramayn
14. Kawkab-i-Durri
15. Kitab-i-Istiqamat
16. Makharij al-Huruf
17. Miftah al-Janna
18. Mir'at al-Haqq
19. Misbāh al-Zalām
20. Mukashifat-i-Rahmat
21. Mulakhkhas
22. Muqami' al-Mubtadi'in
23. Murad al-Muridin

24. Nasim al-Haramayn

25. Nur al-Huda

26. Nur 'ala Nur

27. Qawl al-Amin

28. Qawl al-Haqq

29. Qawl al-Thabit

30. Qurrat al-'Uyun

31. Quwwat al-Iman

32. Quwwat al-Ruh

33. Rafiq al-Salikin

34. Rahat-i-Ruh

35. Risala-i-Fayd-i-'Am

36. Risala-i-Faysala

37. Risala-i-Muhammadiya

38. Sabil al-Rashad

39. Sharh-i-Jazri Hindi

40. Sharh-i-Shatibi

41. Tanwir al-Qulub

42. Tarjama-i-Mishkat

43. Tarjama-i-Shama'il-i-Tirmidhi

44. Tazkiyat al-'Aqa'id

45. Tazkiyat al-Niswan

46. 'Ukazat al-Mu'minin

47. Zad al-Taqwa

48. Zinat al-Musalli

49. Zinat al-Qari

APPENDIX G

Successors of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali

At the time of his death Mawlana Karamat 'Ali left five sons and nine daughters. They are 1) Hafiz Ahmad, 2) Hafiz Mahmud, 3) Muhammad Hamid, 4) Muhammad'Umar alias Bara Miyan, 5) 'Abd al-Awwal, 6) Umme Kulthum bibi, 7) Umme Salma bibi, 8) 'Umdah bibi, 9) Sugra bibi, 10) Zuhra bibi, 11) Munna bibi,12) 'Aysha bibi, 13) Hajira bibi, and 14) M'asuma bibi.

A brief biography of Hafiz Ahmad who succeeded his father to become the spiritual guide of his followers and carried on the reform movement of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali in Bengal :

Hafiz Ahmad the eldest[1] son of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali was born at Calcutta in 1250 A.H. His original name was Ahmad. In his boyhood he got the whole Quran by heart. Thus he was called Hafiz[2] Ahmad. Though he was not very learned in the general sense of the term, he was no doubt meritorious. Thus he was chosen by Mawlana Karamat 'Ali to inherit him as a spiritual guide for the successors and followers. He was sober in thought, generous in gift and true to his words. Though he

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1. His eldest son was Hafiz 'Abd Allah who died earlier in the life time of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali. So among the survivers he was the eldest son(Sirat, p.142).

2. This suffix is so popular that it became a part and parcel of his name.

was born in Bengal, he passed his early life at Jaunpur where he was given education. According to the report of Mahfuz al-Haqq[3] just after the death of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali he with his khilafat nama arrived at Noakhali in Bengal. First he was not accorded a warm welcome by the people as he was not so educated. The people hardly came to him. But his inner merits attracted those who came in contact with him and those who came to him for obtaining du'a and to have their water and kali jira (black cumin seed) to be blown for the cure of diseases. They gradually became his disciples and showed utmost reverence to him.

Like his father he made a journey from district to district and from village to village by a boat. His boat in which he journied for preaching Islam is still preserved and found at Jugirkanda under Ujirpur police station in the district of Bakerganj. Some people of that locality even some time-honoured persons believe that the boat was originally used by Mawlana Karamat 'Ali and after his death it was used by Hafiz Ahmad. By examining the various sources we came to the conclusion that it was not used by Mawlana Karamat 'Ali. It is first used by Hafiz Ahmad who purchased it from

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3. Subh-i-Sadiq., p.12.

Dacca.[4]

Hafiz Ahmad also combated the superstitious beliefs and practices as his father did. But he did not attack the opponents with sharp tongue. Daulat Khan, the headquarter of police station in the district of Barisal was his centre. Of course in political affairs he followed the foot steps of his father for which he also got many certificates and testimonials from the European officers.

Hafiz Ahmad passed 26 years of his life in Bengal. He died in Dacca in 1316 A.H. and was burried at Chawk bazar.

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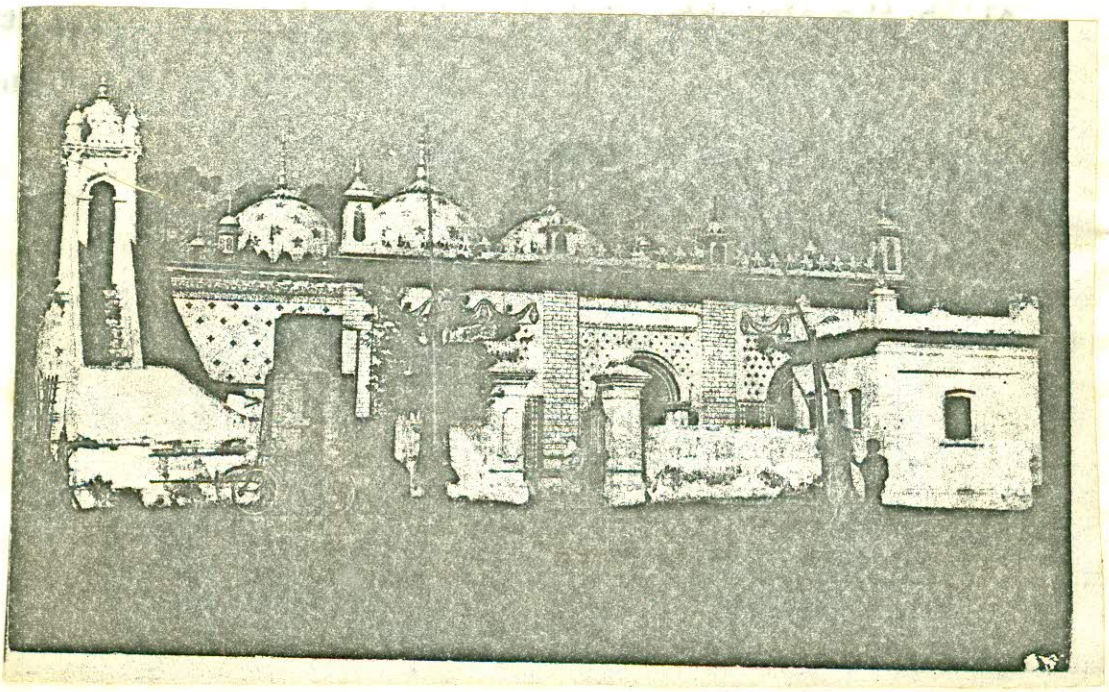
4. The boat in which he travelled from place to place was inherited by his son 'Abd al-Rab who used it for the same purpose in his life time. After his death the boat was kept by his devoted followers in a canal at Chawlakati under Banaripara police station in the district of Barisal. In course of time when controversy arose as regards the possession of the boat another group of devotees from Jugirkanda under Ujirpur police station in the same district brought it to the present site in the darkness of night. They kept it in a tank where, it was reported by the people of that locality, the boat was fully repaired and it lay uptil now in good condition. The boat is very much respected by the Muslims and the Hindus as well. It is so popular that the people of that locality and also the followers of the Jaunpuri group at different places meant only 'this boat' by using the word 'boat'. They promise offerings to the boat and the khadim (care taker) gets a huge number of offerings in cash and kind from both the Muslims and the Hindus.

APPENDIX H

Photo of Maqbara of Mawlana Karamat 'Ali (inside the mosque).



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