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At-Tajdid

A Biannual Refereed Intellectual
Published by International Islamic University Malaysia

Volume 29

January 2025 / Rajab 1446

Issue No. 57

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ISSN 1823-1922 & eISSN: 2600-9609

Correspondence

Managing Editor, *At-Tajdid*
Research Management Centre, RMC
International Islamic University Malaysia
P.O Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Tel: (603) 6421-5074/5541
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Published by:
IIUM Press, International Islamic University Malaysia
P.O. Box 10, 50728 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Phone (+603) 6421-5014, Fax: (+603) 6421-6298
Website: <http://iiumpress.iium.edu.my/bookshop>

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A Historical Exploration of Islamic Discourse in Sri Lanka: A Descriptive Analysis of Contemporary *Da'wah* Organizations

Ashker Aroos*
Mohamed Ashath**
Mohammed Insaf Mohammed Ghous***

[Submitted for publication on 17/12/2024 – Sent for review on 5/1/2025 – Resubmitted after revision on 7/1/2025 – Accepted for publication on 15/1/2025]

Abstract

The Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka, which has a history of more than a thousand years, has been questioned recently. Following the Easter attack in 2019, the work of contemporary Islamic organizations has been viewed with suspicion by others. This has necessitated an explanation of the history of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka. A study of the origin, development, and contemporary status of Islamic organizations, which are considered to be the contemporary ambassadors of Islam, is required. For this, qualitative research based on the library and relevant authentic sources has been used as the research method. This study begins with a brief historical introduction to the Muslims of Sri Lanka. Then, in a two-part discussion, the *Ṣūfī* orders, Islamic scholars and individuals, Islamic Educational Institutions, Islamic *Da'wah* organizations, etc. that have supported the development of Islam in Sri Lanka are explained in historical order. In the second part, the selected Islamic

* PhD Student, Islamic Thought and Civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Senior Lecturer, Jamiah Naleemiah Islamiah, Sri Lanka. Email: ashker888@gmail.com

** PhD in Comparative Religion, IRKHS, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM), Visiting Faculty Member Ripah International University, Pakistan. Email: msmaasath@gmail.com

*** PhD Student, Islamic Thought and Civilization, International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM). Email: sheikh.insaf2010@gmail.com

Da'wah organizations carrying out Islamic discourse in contemporary Sri Lanka such as *Tabligh Jamaat*, *Jamaati-Islami*, and *Jamaati-Tawheed* are examined. Finally, this study attempts to record the history of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka descriptively from past to up to date.

Keywords: Historical Exploration, Islamic Discourse, Descriptive Analysis, *Da'wah* Organizations, Sri Lanka.

ملخص البحث

يُعدّ الخطاب الإسلامي في سريلانكا، الذي يمتد تاريخه لأكثر من ألف عام، موضع تساؤل في الآونة الأخيرة. فبعد الهجوم الذي وقع في عيد الفصح عام 2019، باتت أنشطة المنظمات الإسلامية المعاصرة محل شك من قبل الآخرين، مما استدعى توضيح تاريخ الخطاب الإسلامي في سريلانكا. لذا، تبرز الحاجة إلى دراسة نشأة وتطور ووضع المنظمات الإسلامية المعاصرة التي تُعتبر سفراء الإسلام في العصر الحديث. ولتحقيق ذلك، اعتمدت هذه الدراسة على المنهج النوعي القائم على المصادر المكتبية والمراجع الموثوقة ذات الصلة. تبدأ الدراسة بمقدمة تاريخية موجزة حول المسلمين في سريلانكا، ثم تُعرض في قسمين متكاملين: يسلط القسم الأول الضوء على الطرق الصوفية، والعلماء والشخصيات الإسلامية، والمؤسسات التعليمية الإسلامية، ومنظمات الدعوة الإسلامية، وغيرها من الجهات التي ساهمت في تطور الإسلام في سريلانكا، وذلك وفق ترتيب تاريخي. أما القسم الثاني، فيتناول دراسة تحليلية للمنظمات الدعوية الإسلامية المعاصرة التي تواصل الخطاب الإسلامي في سريلانكا اليوم، مثل جماعة التبليغ، والجماعة الإسلامية، وجماعة التوحيد. وأخيراً، تسعى هذه الدراسة إلى توثيق تاريخ الخطاب الإسلامي في سريلانكا بطريقة وصفية، منذ الماضي وحتى الوقت الحاضر.

الكلمات المفتاحية: الاستكشاف التاريخي، الخطاب الإسلامي، التحليل الوصفي، منظمات الدعوة، سريلانكا.

Introduction

Sri Lanka is a famous country in the world, also known as 'Serendib' or 'Sapphire Island' among Arabs and Muslims. It was also known as 'Ceylon' until 1972 when it was renamed 'Sri Lanka', and currently its official name is 'The Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka'. Sri Lanka is an Asian country in the south of India which is a multi-religious,

multi-racial, and multilingual island with an estimated population of 22 million, where the majority of them are Buddhists. Sri Lanka has a significant religious diversity. Buddhists make up 70.1% of the population, Hindus 12.58%, Muslims 9.7%, Christians 7.62%, and others 1%.¹ In Sri Lanka, the history of Islam and its religious discourse dates back to the time of the Prophet Muhammed (PBUH) and the Caliphate. The introduction and the actual spread of Islam on the island of Sri Lanka started at the end of the first century of *Hijrī* and the beginning of the second century when it spread along the island's coasts.²

Sri Lankan prominent scholar Sithi Lebbe writes in his Magazine named 'Muslim Nation' that the Prophet (PBUH)'s companion, Wahab Ibnu Abi Hafsa, visited Sri Lanka and welcomed the Sri Lankan king to Islam during his voyage to China as the Prophet (PBUH)'s envoy to China. In response to this appeal, the Sri Lankan King provided permission to promote Islam, accept it from those who were interested, and build a mosque. According to the note, after teaching Islam to the Arabs who were present at the time, the Prophet (PBUH)'s companion left the island in *Hijrī* 632.³

In his work, '*Ajāib al-Hind*', Ibnu Shahryār expresses the theory that Islam was brought to Sri Lanka during the reign of the second Caliph, Umar (RL). According to Dr. Sirima Kiriya-muna, Sri Lankan King Aggabodhi III (624-640 A.D.)⁴ sent an envoy to Arabia to learn about Islam when the people of Sri Lanka became aware of the arrival of a Prophet (PBUH) in Arabia. When that envoy arrived in Arabia, the Prophet (PBUH) and his first Caliph had both died, and the second Caliph was in power (634-644 A.D.). After learning about Islam from the Caliph, he died on the way to Sri Lanka, on the Pakistani coast near Macron and his servant returned to Sri Lanka with the news about Islam.⁵ In the 10th

¹ DSC, Latest reports and bulletin, Department of the Censure and Statistics, Colombo, Sri Lanka, 2012.

www.statistics.gov.lk

² M.A.M. Shukri, *Muslim of Sri Lanka: Avenues to Antiquity*, (Beruwala: Jamiah Naleemiah Institute, 1986)

³ Department of Muslim Religious and Cultural Affairs, *As Seera Wttahareekh (Seera and History)*, (Colombo: Department of Muslim Religious and Cultural Affairs, 2017), P.114.

⁴ Ibnu Shahryār, '*Ajā'ib al-Hind: Barruhā wa-Baḥruhā wa-Jazā'iruhā*', (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Sa'ādah, 1908), p. 117-118; M.A.M. Shukri, *Muslim of Sri Lanka: Avenues to Antiquity*, (Beruwala: Jamiah Naleemiah Institute, 1986), p. 96.

⁵ Department of Muslim Religious and Cultural Affairs, *As Seera Wttahareekh (Seera and History)*, P.116.

century, in order to develop the religious knowledge of Sri Lankan Muslims, the Abbasside Caliph sent a religious scholar named 'Khālīd Ibnu Baghāya' to Sri Lanka, and this was the first attempt to introduce Islam in Sri Lanka. After teaching the Islamic code of Life, he passed away in 950 A.D (317 *Hijrī*). The inscription stone at his graveyard is evidence of this fact.¹

In this context, it is necessary to study how Islamic discourse developed among Sri Lankan Muslims with a thousand-year historical tradition and who are its founders and contributors. As its modern-day ambassadors of Islam in the Sri Lankan context, Islamic organizations are under various threats² in the country today, especially after the Easter attacks.³ This necessitates a study of the work, history, and contemporary status of Sri Lankan Islamic Institutions.

Despite its rich and longstanding history of Islamic discourse, Sri Lanka's Muslim community faces significant challenges in preserving and advancing their religious traditions and institutions in the modern era. While the island's historical ties to Islam trace back to the time of the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and the early Caliphates, contemporary Islamic organizations such as the Tablighi Jamaat, Jamaat-e-Islami, and Thawheed face increasing scrutiny and societal pressures, particularly in the aftermath of the 2019 Easter attacks. These events have intensified public and governmental perceptions of Islamic institutions, often conflating religious practice with extremism. However, there remains a lack of comprehensive academic studies that trace the historical evolution of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka while analyzing the current role and contributions of major da'wah organizations. This gap in scholarship not only limits understanding of the unique challenges faced by Sri Lankan Muslims but also undermines the potential for fostering interreligious harmony and informed dialogue in a pluralistic society. Addressing this issue is crucial for preserving the historical and contemporary legacy of

¹ Department of Muslim Religious and Cultural Affairs, *As Seera Wttahareekh (Seera and History)*, P.118.

² The National Shoorā Council, Sri Lanka (NSC), published a guideline handbook on Guidance and Mechanisms for the Coordinated Engagement of Social Reformist Institutions following the aftermath of the Ester attack. Hence, the NSC requested that the country's challenges be utilised as opportunities and that guidelines be proposed for the social reformist mission with utmost concern for national interests. (Colombo: NSC, 2020). p. 2.

³ A.R.M. Imtiyaz, *The Easter Sunday Bombings, and the Crisis Facing Sri Lanka's Muslims*, Journal of Asian and African Studies, Vol.55(1). (2020): pp. 3-16.

Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka and for ensuring the sustained relevance of *Da'wah* organizations in promoting peace, understanding, and religious values in the island nation.

The limitation of this research lies in its specific focus on da'wah organizations and movements, as outlined in the study. While da'wah encompasses a wide range of activities, including societal reform (*Islah*) and introducing Islam to others, this study narrows its scope to organized da'wah efforts, excluding other forms such as the establishment of educational institutions. These institutions are indeed effective and detailed methods of da'wah, but the research objective necessitated concentrating on three selected groups to maintain clarity and manageability.

Therefore, this study consists of two parts. First, the history of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka is briefly examined up to 1950. Second, the three major *Da'wah* organizations engaged in Islamic discourse in contemporary Sri Lanka, namely *Tablighi Jamaat*, *Jamaat-e-Islami*, and *Thawheed*, are examined. For this, the research adopts a qualitative methodology that involves textual and library research. The data are gathered according to chronological order and the historical method is used to know how Islamic discourse has emerged and evolved in the modern context of Sri Lanka. As a result, this study attempts to record the history of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka up to date.

Literature Review

The discourse on Islamic da'wah in Sri Lanka has been extensively explored through various lenses. Fara Mihlar examines the politicization of Islam in Sri Lanka, emphasizing the interplay between piety and separatist ideologies, though its focus on political undertones may overshadow grassroots da'wah activities.¹ Vanniasinkam and Franchina critically analyze intra-group dynamics among Sri Lankan Muslims, shedding light on fracturing community relations; however, their scope on da'wah efforts is limited, emphasizing social rather than theological dimensions.² Jalaldeen provides a comparative analysis of Islamic and Hindu revivalist movements, offering insights into revivalist

¹ Fara Mihlar, *The Pursuit of Piety and the Quest for Separatism: The Politicisation of Islam in Sri Lanka* (SOAS, University of London, 2015).

² M. F. Vanniasinkam and Franchina N. Vanniasinkam, *Fracturing Community: Intra-group Relations among the Muslims of Sri Lanka*, International Centre for Ethnic Studies, vol. 7, issue 2 (2015).

underpinnings but lacks a detailed account of the unique challenges faced by contemporary *Da'wah* organizations.¹ The research on Islamic movements in Sri Lanka sheds light on the primary *Da'wah* organizations and identifies certain groups that have deviated from mainstream Muslim society. However, this study does not address the contemporary issues facing these *Da'wah* organizations, leaving a gap in understanding the current dynamics and challenges within the Islamic community.² The National Shura Council's work on *Guidance and Mechanisms for the Coordinated Engagement of Social Reformist Institutions* presents practical frameworks for coordinated engagement, though its generality may limit its applicability to the Sri Lankan context.³ The paper on *Strategic Imperatives of Muslim Leadership in Post-War Sri Lanka: Citizenship, Rights and Reconciliation* covers some works of Muslim organizations in Sri Lanka yet it does not specifically address the historical exploration of Islamic discourse or contemporary *Da'wah* organizations in Sri Lanka. It focuses on the responses of Muslim civil organizations to the Sinhala Buddhist ideological paradigm in post-war Sri Lanka.⁴ Finally, Fernando discusses Islamism and the challenges of being a Muslim minority in Sri Lanka, offering a macro-level analysis that may benefit from deeper engagement with local *Da'wah* strategies.⁵ Together, these works provide a multifaceted view of the socio-political, communal, and revivalist aspects of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka, but a gap remains in analyzing the operational frameworks and challenges of contemporary *Da'wah* organizations specifically.

1. History of Islamic Discourse in Sri Lanka

The history of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka is linked to the history of Islam in Sri Lanka, which still needs further research and study. Travel

¹ M. S. M. Jalaldeen, "Revivalist Movements in Sri Lanka—A Comparative Study of Hindu and Islamic Revivalist Movements," *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies (JETERAPS)*, September 2016.

² S.M. Moosa, *Ilankayil Islamiya Iyakkangal: Our Vettumuham* (Islamic Movements in Sri Lanka).

³ NSC, *Guidance and Mechanisms for the Coordinated Engagement of Social Reformist Institutions*, n.d

⁴ Mohamed Zacky, Md., Moniruzzaman., Mohamed, Ashath. (2024). 5. Strategic Imperatives of Muslim Leadership in Post-War Sri Lanka: Citizenship, Rights and Reconciliation. *Jurnal ilmu kemanusiaan*, doi: 10.21315/kajh2024.31.2.8

⁵ P. Suresh Noel Fernando, *Islamism and Muslim Minority in Sri Lanka* (Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, December 2018).

records and information from colonialists are the main sources of information in this area. Though in the years before European colonialism, the Kings of Sri Lanka had employed Arabs and Muslims as advisors for them, Sri Lankan Muslims had to compete with Christian missionaries for four centuries as a result of Portuguese, Dutch, and eventually British colonization. More than half a million people in this country converted to Christianity during these centuries, and Islam continued to spread through individual efforts without any financial or political assistance from outside the country.¹ As for the demography of Muslims in Sri Lanka, they were scattered in all provinces of the nation, and it is the same until today.

From the inception of Islam on the island, *Ṣūfīs*, Muslim scholars, Islamic organizations, educational institutions, and individuals contributed to conveying the message of Islam and encountered various challenges that Sri Lankan Muslims have been facing in different periods throughout history. They have continued to guide them in upholding a strong sense of religion, belongingness, and identity². In the mid-20th century, the Islamic revivalist approach impacted the Muslim minds across the world whether Muslims constitute a majority or minority.³ As a result, the Sri Lankan Muslim minority community was also influenced by the revivalist approach to Islam that brought a holistic view covering all walks of life.

1.1. *Ṣūfī Tarīqas* (*Ṣūfī orders*)

Ṣūfism is a mystic body of Islamic practice focused on purification, spirituality, ritualism, asceticism, and esotericism. It promotes spiritual advancement and self-awareness, emphasizing the development of innate spiritual abilities and the concept of the "Perfect Man" *al-Insan al-Kamil*.⁴ Traditionally, Muslims of Sri Lanka followed *Ṣūfism*, and the Sri Lankan Muslim identity is also rooted in *Ṣūfism* which in Sri Lanka includes two

¹ M.A.M. Shukri, *Muslim of Sri Lanka: Avenues to Antiquity*, (Beruwala: Jamiah Naleemiah Institute, 1986).

² A.J.M. Arafath Careem, *Ilangay Muslimkalin Shirthirutta Waralaru (reform History of Sri Lankan Muslims)*, *Journal of Islamiya Sinthanai*, (Beruwala: Publication Bureau of Naleemiah Institute of Islamic Studies, 2013) no:35, I:2, P:33-39.

³ M.S.M. Jalaldeen, *Revivalist Movements in Sri Lanka- A Comparative Study of Hindu and Islamic Revivalist Movements*, *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies* no: 7(6) 2016 P: 397.

⁴ Nazir Asiya, *Sufism and Mysticism: Short Biography of Hazrat Abdul Qadir Jeelani (R.A)*. *British Journal of Multidisciplinary and Advanced Studies*, 2024, doi: 10.37745/bjmas.2022.04139

main interconnected branches, *Tarīqah* and *Taqqiya*. There were three important *Tarīqas*¹ on the island and now they are branched to another few smaller ones. The most popular *Ṣūfī* order in Sri Lanka, as in the case in South Asia in general is *Qādiriya*, established by Abdul Qādir Jīlānī (1077-1116). Second is the *Shādhuliya* founded by Abūl Hasan al-Shādhulī (1196-1258), an order which gained popularity in coastal areas along the southwest coast of Sri Lanka, including Colombo, Beruwala, and Galle. The third major *Ṣūfī* order in Sri Lanka is the *Rifaiya* followers of Ahmad al-Rifai (1118-1182).

Ṣūfīs played an essential role in educating Sri Lankan Muslims on Islamic principles, and rituals and creating an intellectual Muslim society from the early time of Islam in Sri Lanka till the end of the colonial era. Even today, *Tarīqas* and *Taqqiyas* continue to preserve *Ṣūfī* traditions and culture in Sri Lanka and their influence is particularly strong in coastal areas like Beruwala, Galle, Matara, and Kalmunai. Nowadays, in addition to these three *Ṣūfī* orders, there are also some Muslims in some parts of the country who have been attracted to other *Sūfī* orders such as the *Naqshabandī*² order, the *Mustafavīya* (or *Nabavīya*)³, and the *Alavīya* order⁴

1.2. Islamic Scholars and Individuals

In the history of Islam in Sri Lanka, Sri Lankan Muslim intellectuals have made various significant contributions to the Islamic discourse. Their roles and revolutionary contributions emphasized a wide range of aspects of Muslims' religious and spiritual lives on the island. Without the contributions made by these Muslim intellectuals, Sri Lankan Muslims would not be as evolved as they are now. Hence, it is critical to appreciate these individuals' achievements and recognize the accomplishments achieved by them. A few of them are detailed here with their major

¹ Mohamed Faslan & Nadine Vanniasinkam, *Fracturing Community: Intra-group Relations among the Muslims of Sri Lanka, Islamic Reformist Movements in Sri Lanka*, (Colombo: International Center for Ethnic Studies, 2015) P:12.

² The *Naqshbandi* is a major *Sunni* order of Sufism. Its name is derived from Baha-ud-Din Naqshband Bukhari. (1318-1389)

³ This is one of the branches of the *Naqshabandi* order.

⁴ Ahmad al-Alawi (1869 – 14 July 1934), in full Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā ibn ‘Alīwa, known as al-‘Alāwī al-Mustaghānimī was an Algerian Sufi Sheikh who founded his own Sufi order, called the *Alawiyya*.

contributions briefly mentioned in the footnote:¹

Kasawaththai Aalim Appa ²	(1829-1893)	Akurana
Mohamed Cassim Siththy Lebbe ³	(1838-1898)	Kandy
Orabi Pasha ⁴	(1841-1911)	Egypt
I.L.M. Abdul Aziz ⁵	(1867-1915)	Jaffna
Vappichchi Maraikar ⁶	(1868-1925)	Colombo
M.C. Abdul Rahman ⁷	(1868-1933)	Weligama
M.C Abdul Cader ⁸	(1875-1946)	Jaffna
N.H. Abdul Gaffoor ⁹	(1875-1931)	Colombo
Justice Akbar ¹⁰	(1880-1944)	Colombo
Dr. A.M.A. Azeez ¹¹	(1889-1973)	Jaffna
Dr. T.B. Jayah ¹²	(1890-1960)	Colombo

¹ Department of Muslim Religious and Cultural Affairs, Islamic Scholars and Pioneers, n.d.,

<https://muslimaffairs.gov.lk/en/home/islamic-scholars-pioneers/> , 01.04.2024.

² Leading Islamic Theologian and expert in Arabic-Tamil literacy and published several books in Arabic-Tamil. His famous book is DeenMalai”.

³ He is a Pioneer in Sri Lanka for Muslim Social Development and as well as Pioneer of the His role in the establishment of Colombo Zahira College and Muslim Ladies Education. He is the author of 1st the Tamil Novel in Sri Lanka (Asanbe Sariththiram).

⁴ He was exiled by the British from Egypt for Political Reasons. He Contributed to the Muslim Social Development along with Siththy Lebbe and Encouraged the Muslims to Learn English and Returned to Homeland in 1901.

⁵ He Engaged in Social Development activities along Sithy Lebbe and Published the Magazine titled “Muslim Guardian”.

⁶ He Donated his own land to the Government of Sri Lanka, free of charge for the establishment of the National Museum in Sri Lanka. It is closed on Friday on his request until now. He was a Main donor to Zahira College and Served as Manager at Zahira College.

⁷ He is the First Muslim Member of the “Ceylon Legislation Council” and Colombo Municipal Council and as well as the first un-official Municipal Magistrate

⁸ 1st Muslim Graduate in Sri Lanka. He was successful in securing Muslim Identity through approval to wear “Turk Cap” everywhere, including the court of Law.

⁹ He was a gem merchant during the British Ruler’s time and a great donor and founder of Gafforiya Arabic College.

¹⁰ He is the First Muslim Justice in Sri Lanka. The main contributor to the creation of Muslim Personal Law while holding the Position of state councilor and Main contributor to the establishment of the University of Peradeniya.

¹¹ He is Sri Lankan’s first Civil Servant. He served as Principal of the Colombo Zahira College and Founder of the Sri Lanka Muslim Scholarship Fund.

¹² He served as Principal of the Colombo Zahira College for more than 27 yrs. Moreover,

Sir. Razik Fareed ¹	(1893-1984)	Colombo
M.S. Kariyappar ²	(1899-1989)	Kalmunaikudy
Dr. M.C.M. Kaleel ³	(1899-1994)	Colombo
Al-Haj H.S. Ismail ⁴	(1901-1993)	Puttalam
Dr. Badiudeen Mahmood ⁵	(1904-1997)	Matara
Prof. M.M. Uwais ⁶	(1922-1996)	Panadura
Naleem Hajjar ⁷	(1932-2006)	Beruwala
M.H.M. Ashraff ⁸	(1948-2000)	Sammanthurai

Apart from them, other prominent Islamic figures and individuals sacrificed their lives, knowledge, wealth, and time in order to protect the religion of Islam in Sri Lanka, educate its adherents, and raise them to be good men in the home, society, and country.

he established Zahira Colleges in several parts of the country. He is identified as one of the leaders who fought for the Independence of Sri Lanka. He served as Minister in the Parliament of Sri Lanka and as an Ambassador for Sri Lanka in Pakistan.

¹ He is the Founder of nearly 250 Schools in Sri Lanka. Through the education field, he Contributed to Community Development. He is considered as a Founder of Teachers' Training Colleges at Addalaichenai & Aluthgama.

² Most research had been done by him in Tamil Literature. More than 2000 books were founded.

³ He was a leading Physician, social worker, politician, and leader of the community in Sri Lanka He Contributed to Muslims' Education and Social Development. As well as he was president of the 'All Ceylon Muslim League.

⁴ He is the Uncontested 1st Parliamentarian of Sri Lanka by the 1st Parliamentary Election in 1947 and 1st Speaker of the Independent of Sri Lanka as well as He is the Creator of the Baithul Mal Fund in Sri Lanka.

⁵ He served as Minister of Education for two terms (10 years). Schools in Sri Lanka were Nationalized during his term of Office and Jaffna University also was established during his tenure.

⁶ He was a pioneer Researcher in Islamic Literacy (more than 2000 Books) and the First Professor at the Faculty of Tamil Literature at Madurai Kamaraja University (South India)

⁷ He was a great donor in Sri Lanka and the Founder of Jamia Naleemiya, a Higher educational institute for Islamic Studies and the Arabic language in Beruwela, the Establisher of Iqra Technical College, and the Founder of the Islamic Renaissance Movement in Sri Lanka. Arafath Careem & Ashker Aroos, Jamiah Naleemiah: Concept and Emergence, (Beruwala: Naleemiah Bureau of Islamic Publications, 2023).

⁸ Founder of a Political Party for Muslims for the first time to confirm the identity of Muslims in Sri Lanka. Southeastern University and Oluvil Port were created on his philosophy.

1.3. Islamic Educational Institutions

The establishment of Arab-Islamic educational institutions (*Madrasa*) in Sri Lanka followed the nature of the establishment of Islamic institutions in Arab and Islamic countries based on *Masjids* since the Prophet (PBUH)'s time. The '*Makky Madrasa*' in the city of Galle was the first Islamic Institution in the history of Sri Lankan Islamic Institutions¹, it was established in 1870 AD by two Scholars named 'Ahmed Saleh al-Yamanī' and 'Abu Bakr Maskin al-Qāhri,' and it was followed by '*al-Bari Madrasa*' in 1884 AD in the city of Weligama by a Scholar named 'Mawelevi Labby' and it was dominated by *Šūfi* doctrines. The Institutions subsequently began to arise in the south of the island at a period when there was no indication of any Islamic *Da'wah* organizations' activities. Then the rich people throughout the island were engaged in constructing Islamic Institutions, and by the grace of Allah (SWT), there were several *Madrasahs* established in each major city like Puttalam, Weligama, Maharagama, Muthur, and several other important cities in the nation.

In the late 20th century these educational institutions were subjected to the supervision of the country's government, and subsequently, the prominent *Madrasahs* according to the country law were officially registered in the Department of Islamic Affairs and Culture in Sri Lanka. The following are some of the *Madrasahs* listed in chronological order.²

No	Madrasah/Jamiah	Established Year	Place
01	Al-Bari Institute	1884	Weligama
02	Al-Qasimiya Arabic College	1884	Puttalam
03	Al-Bahja Al-Ibrahimiya	1892	Galle
04	Gafooriya Arabic College	1935	Maharagama
05	East Arabic College	1954	Attalchchenai
06	Arabic Institute of Falah	1955	Katankudi
07	Nadwathul Ulama Arabic College	1956	Muthur -5
08	Sayyidat Muslimat Arabic College	1959	Kaleliya

¹ Community Association of Professionals, *A study on Contemporary Madrasah Education System in Sri Lanka*, (Colombo: 2020), p.7, All Ceylon Jamiyyathul Ulama, <https://acju.lk/news-ta/acju-news-ta/1673-2019-06-12> 05.04.2024.

² Department of Sri Lankan Examination, *Rules, and Regulations for al-A'alim Examination* (Colombo: Department of Sri Lankan Examination, 2013), p.38.

09	Deniya Arabic Institute	1963	Panadura
10	Rahmaniya Arabic Institute	1971	Akurana
11	Rahmaniya Arabic Centre	1971	Puttalam
12	Arabic College for Preaching of Islam	1973	Sammanthurai
13	Naleemiah Instiute of Islamic Studies	1973	Beruwala
14	Siddeqiya Ladies College	1976	Katankudi
15	Zahriya Arabic College	1976	Hemmathagama
16	Anwar Al-Uloom Arabic College	1978	Macola
17	Dar Al-Tawheed Salfiya Centre	1980	Parkahadeniya
18	Manar Al-Huda Institute	1981	Derumpola
19	Al-Ihsaniya Arabic College	1988	Colombo

In addition, these *Madrasas*, which were founded later after them, played in the past and still play a great role from the beginning until now in preserving the religious faith of Muslims, raising them on the principles of Islam, purifying them, and conveying the message of Islam to all people. When the topic of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka is brought up The *Madrasas*' significance to Sri Lankan Muslims' religious affairs and activities won't be overlooked or discounted.¹

1.4. Islamic *Da'wah* Organizations (IDO)

The primary reformist DOs in Sri Lanka are the *Tablighi Jamaat*², *Jamaat Islami*³, and *Thawheed Jamaat*⁴, which are based in Pakistan, India, and Saudi Arabia, respectively, and impacted the nation around the 1950s. These IDOs are currently functional IDOs, which follow in detail in the next pages. Later in the 1980s, *Jamaat Salamah*⁵ was established on the

¹ M.S.A. Barie, *The Role of Arabic Madrasa (Institution) in the Social-Cultural Renaissance of the Sri Lankan Muslims*, (An Unpublished Thesis, University of Peradeniya), (2001), p 40-45.

² This was established in Sri Lanka in 1953 with the objective of involving Muslims in religious rituals, particularly in regular daily prayers.

³ It was officially established in Sri Lanka in 1954 with the objective of Islamization of the Muslim community in all its socio-cultural aspects.

⁴ It was called *Jam 'iyyat 'Ansāri al-Sunnah al-Muhammadiyyah* and was founded in 1947 in Sri Lanka.

⁵ It was established in Sri Lanka in 1990 in the name of Dar al-Arqam with the objective of the Brotherhood movement. However, these four organizations do have not any political activities in the country.

island, based on the ideas of Egypt's *Ikhwan Muslimeen*. It is crucial to emphasize here that these IDOs have no political ambitions and are primarily concerned with social welfare and the spiritual upliftment of the people. Their contributions to the modern history of Islamic discourse are undeniable and unforgettable.

At the same time, there are lots of other organizations¹ continuing their contributions to keep the Muslim community educated and religious until now. Some of them are All Ceylon Jamiyathul Ulama (ACJU), the Young Muslim Men's Association (YMMA), the Islamic Renaissance Movement (IRM), the Muslim Council of Sri Lanka (MCSL), and the National Shooraa Council (NSC), are considered comparatively most important organizations in Sri Lanka. The following table shows the Islamic groups and organizations that worked in the past and some of them are working at present on the island of Sri Lanka.

Traditional Groups	Da'wah Organizations	Social Organizations
Ṣūfīs Orders – Thariqas <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qadiriyyah • Shazuliyyah • Rifaiyyah • Jistiyyah • Naqshabandiyyah • Nabawiyyah/Musthafawiyyah • Alaviyya – Thakkiyas	(a) Tablighi Jamaat (b) Jamaat Islami (c) Thawheed Jamaat <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • JASM (Jamathul Ansari Sunnathul Muslimeen) • NTJ (National Tawheed Jamat) • SLTJ (Srilanka Tawheed Jamat) • Dharus Salaf • Dharul Adhar • ACTJ (All Ceylon Thawheed Jamath) • Ithihad Ahlul Tawhid (d) Jamathus Salama	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • SHABAB • IIRO (International Islamic Relief Organization) • IRO (Islamic Research Organization) • CIS (Centre for Islamic Studies) • Hira Foundation • NIDA Foundation • Discovery Islam • MFCD (Muslim Foundation for Culture and Development) • Mishkath Research Institute

¹ Mohamed Faslan, *Fracturing Community intra-group relations among the Muslims of Sri Lanka*. P:13-20, M.I.M. Jazeel, Islam and Muslim Youth Movements in Sri Lanka, 7th international symposium 2017- SEUSL.

2. An Introduction to Institutionalized Islamic Discourse in Contemporary Sri Lanka

From the time of the Prophet (p.b.u.h) to the present, Islamic discourse has undergone several stages, with responsibilities completed individually and collectively, until today, it is seen as more collective than individual. Hence, in Sri Lanka, Islamic discourse has been implemented as a collective work of various IDOs. Although several collective works are related to Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka, this study primarily focused on three *Da'wah* organizations, namely *Tabligh Jamaat*, *Jamaati-Islami*, and *Jamaati-Tawheed*, to explore and analyze their efforts toward Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka. The three compelling arguments for selecting the aforementioned *Da'wah* organizations can be articulated. Firstly, the influence of these organizations on the socio-cultural norms of Sri Lankan Muslims is notably profound. Additionally, they have been instrumental in enhancing religious knowledge, ethnic identity, and cultural cohesion among the community.¹ The second reason is that they have a long historical background in Islamic discourse. The third reason is the prevailing Islamophobic propaganda against Islamic activism along with the "Ester Attack" in the year 2019 that happened² in Sri Lanka, which directed concern of the state and other communities towards the activities of these organizations and intensified investigation against active organizations.

2.1. *Tabligh Jama'at*

Tabligh Jama'at is an Islamic reformist organization established by Moulana Muhammad Ilyas Khandhlawi³ (1885-1944) targeting reforming Muslims during the late 1920s in India. It carries out its activities by inviting Muslims to mosques, especially aiming to reform the common Muslim people in their daily rituals and practices. Meanwhile, *Tabligh Jama'at* is working on the idea that every Muslim, irrespective of education or religious knowledge could make the *Da'wah* and would

¹ M.A. Nuhman, *Understanding Sri Lankan Muslim Identity*, (Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies, 2004).

² A.R.M. Imthiyaz, "The Easter Sunday Bombings and the Crisis Facing Sri Lanka's Muslims", *Journal of Asian and African Studies*. 2020, Vol. 55(1) 3-16.

³ M.K. Masud, *Travellers in Faith: Studies of Tablighi Jama'at as a transnational Islamic Movement for Faith renewal*, (Leiden: Brill, 2000), Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, *Life and Mission of Moulana Mohammed Ilyas*, translated from the Urdu by Mohammed Aasif Kidwi, (Lucknow: Academy of Islamic Research and Publication, 1979).

engage in reforming activities. Furthermore, this organization grew after its leader Moulana Ilyas, under the leadership of his son and successor Moulana Muhammad Yousuf, and spread globally out of India in Asia, Africa, and Arab countries.¹ Behind this backdrop, *Tabligh Jama'at* entered into Srilanka.

The inception of *Tabligh Jama'at* in Sri Lanka originated between 1951 and 1953. According to the records, initially, it was founded either in Colombo or Kandy by some Indian traders. Another narrative says that it was founded in Colombo and was warmly welcomed in Kandy. In 1953, Dawood Moulana from Mehwar in North India brought a few volunteers for *Tablighi* work in Colombo². It is important to note that the early members of the *Tabligh Jama'at* were Indian Muslims. Moulana Kaleel al-Rahman, Haji Mohammed Ali, and Haji Meera Mohideen led the organization during the time 1953 and 1956. according to the decision taken as a full-time Amir M.T. Mohamed Haniffa (1907-1982) was appointed, he was known well as Periya Ameer Sahib.³ Today this organization has grown in all parts of the country and is considered the biggest Islamic religious organization in Sri Lanka.

The goals of *Tabligh Jama'at* in Sri Lanka primarily are twofold. The first is to bring back Islam into the lives of Muslims as it was during the Prophetic period when 'pure Islam' was practiced. So, members of *Tabligh Jama'at* strictly try to follow the Prophet (PBUH) and his companions in all practices such as even in dressing, growing beards, using *Miswāk*, and so on. The second is self-purification. While the water itself is pure, stagnant water is dirty. Pure water rushes to purify itself, not to purify anyone else, but to purify themselves. For this, the members of *Tabligh Jama'at* embark on a path of *Jama'at*.⁴

The basic principles or essential components of *Tabligh Jama'at* in Sri Lanka are generally called 'the six numbers' which are known as the following: article of Faith, compulsory praying five times a day, seeking knowledge and remembering Allah, respecting other Muslims, sincerity of purpose, and finally sparing time for the organization. Furthermore, Sri

¹ S.Mayaram, *Hindu and Islamic Transnational Religious Movements*. Economic and Political Weekly, 39 (1), p.84.

² S.M. Moosa, *Ilankayil Islamiya Iyakkangal: Our Vettumuham (Islamic Movements in Sri Lanka)*, (Maruthamuni: al-Manar Publication Bureau, 2000), p.28.

³ Musammil, M.S.M. *Ilangay Tablig Jama't Tanda Periya Ameer Sahib (Periya Ameer Sahib of Sri Lankan Tabligh Jama'at)*, (Colombo: al-Siraj Publication, 2005).

⁴ Farah Mihar. "The pursuit of piety and the quest for separatism: The politicization of Islam in Sri Lanka," (Ph.D. dissertation, SOAS, University of London, 2015), p.153.

Lankan *Tabligh Jama'at* suggests to its members some good deeds to be implemented. Its activities and work move around these things. They are such as seeking consensus the morning after the *Subah* prayer and the evening after the *Maghrib* prayer, reciting some religious texts approved by the organization such as '*Tha'līm*', or *Hayātus Sahāba* or '*Riyād al-Salihīn*', inviting people to the mosque, and dedicating a few days every month for its work.¹

The most important approach of *Tabligh Jama'at* in Sri Lanka is to invite Muslims to the mosque which is considered the best way to get people into pure Islam. Especially, they arrange a gathering every Thursday night to explain and remind religious guidance and to emphasize the brotherhood between them. It's called '*Jumma Rathiri*'. Another approach is to travel to various villages in the path of Allah to call people to the mosque. This travel is inherently linked to the organization. As a result, the members of *Tabligh Jama'at* bear the organization's ideology wherever they go and taste the experience of self-satisfaction in the path of Islam. This approach contributed in the past to the growth of this organization and engagement with all kinds of people in society. This is one of the primary reasons for *Tabligh Jama'at* being the largest organization in Sri Lanka.²

The socioeconomic role of *Tabligh Jama'at* comparatively with other organizations is less than others. The members are involved in social harmony and charitable works, but they are not conducted under the organization's name. Meanwhile, this organization, like other organizations inside of the country, doesn't have any political identity or any involvement in mainstream politics at all. However, it is undeniable that the contribution of *Tabligh Jama'at* to relate Muslims with Islamic identity especially with mosques at the grassroots level throughout the last seven decades.

2.2. Jama'ati-Islami

Jama'ati-Islami is a reformist organization founded in 1941 by Moulana Seyyid Abul A'la al-Mawdudi (1903-1979) in the Indian subcontinent. He was living at the end of the colonial era of Britain in India. The background for establishing this organization was the formation of Islamic

¹ S.M. Moosa, *Ilankayil Islamiya Iyakkangal: Our Vettumuham (Islamic Movements in Sri Lanka)*, p. 26.

² Farah Mihlar. "The pursuit of piety and the quest for separatism: The politicization of Islam in Sri Lanka," p.173.

cadres to lead the Islamic nation by taking over the political leadership and reforming Islamic society following *Sharīa* rulings. After the deviation of Pakistan from India Mawdudi was a leader in Pakistan until he died in 1979. For India, Moulana Abul Lais Islahi Nadwi led *Jama 'ati-Islami* of Hind from 1948. Even though both of them have been registered as an independent party according to their constitutions. There are no links or connections between them too.¹

The organization of *Jama 'ati-Islami* in Sri Lanka officially started in 1954 among the Indian Muslim traders familiar with Mawdudi's thoughts and literature. They used to conduct religious classes and distribute books to Muslims of Sri Lanka. The preacher and well-known orator M.A.C. Jaylanee visited Sri Lanka in 1951 from Kayalpattanam, in Tamil Nadu to introduce the first Tamil translation of the Quran.² The Indian Muslim traders requested him to stay here and form a team of Sri Lankan *Jama 'ati-Islami*. He agreed and was appointed the first Amir of the Organization in 1954.³

From the inception of *Jama 'ati-Islami* in Sri Lanka They interacted in educational endeavors to reshape the Muslim mind holistically that Islam is a way of life guiding familial, social, economic, and political aspects of life. They conducted Quran classes and training programs, and published a monthly Islamic magazine called 'Arul Jozi' and 'Valihatti'. As a result, this organization was in particular welcomed and attracted by educated Muslims from schools and universities. In 1980 the student organization of *Jama 'ati-Islami* known as '*Jammiyat Talabatul Islamiyyah*' - Sri Lanka Islamic Students' Movement was started. It must be noted that the role of this student movement in guiding Muslim students at schools and universities within the framework of Islamic ethics and moral behaviors is not only undeniable but a remarkable endeavor too. The ladies' wing of *Jama 'ati-Islami* in Sri Lanka is called '*Talibat*' which is the most activist part of the organization. It has been working since 1980 all over the country independently even though ladies' classes were conducted before. In addition, now they have membership in the Majlis, general committee (*Majlisul 'Aam*), and high authority committee

¹ Farah Mihar. "The pursuit of piety and the quest for separatism: The politicization of Islam in Sri Lanka," p.178.

² J. Hartung, *A System of Life: Mawdudi and the Ideologisation of Islam*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), p.303.

³ Souvenir of Sri Lanka Jama'athe Islami – 70th Commemoration, (Colombo: Islamic Book House, 2024), p. 8.

(*Shūra*) of *Jama'ati-Islami*.¹

Sri Lankan *Jama'ati-Islami* aims to introduce Islam not just as a religion but as a complete code of life according to the Srilankan minority and pluralistic context. In doing this Sri Lankan *Jama'ati-Islami* differentiated itself from other organizations by introducing the 'moderate path' which focuses on this world and hereafter. Since the dawn of history, Sri Lanka has seen the split of communities and groups based on race, religion, and language. In contrast, the Islamic Organization seeks to develop bridges across Muslims and other communities as well. Therefore, since the 2000s Sri Lankan *Jama'ati-Islami* has been working under five themes: Humanitarian interest, we are Srilankan, Conservation of natural wealth, Good governance and democracy, and ethical and moral-based media. After the Easter-attack tragedy, they have added the aims mentioned above teamwork and cooperation with others.²

The most important approaches to spreading the ideology of Sri Lankan *Jama'ati-Islami* could be defined in three folds: first conducting weekly, and monthly religious classes under various names such as *Usrah*, *Imārah*, at circles, and public programs. Furthermore, they have been running educational religious institutions in the part of the island such as Islahiyyah at Madempe, Ladies Islahiyya at Putalam, Aysha Siddeqa at Mawanella, Fatimatuz Zahra at Ottamavadi, and so on. The second is to publish books and magazines. Until the Easter Sunday tragedy in 2019, there were numerous magazines published in multiple languages such as 'Alhasanath', 'Engal Thesam', 'Aharam' for kids in Tamil, 'Trend' magazine in English, and 'Probodaya' in Sinhala. However, all these kinds of publications have been stopped due to the tragedy faced after the Easter Sunday attack and lastly, they have published a quarter magazine of 'Vizumiyam' in Tamil since 2023³. The third approach to fostering the ideology of Sri Lankan *Jama'ati-Islami* is to engage in socio-economic works and services such as charitable funds for orphans and needy people, loan systems, relief work, co-existence projects, and so on.⁴

¹ Souvenir of Sri Lanka Jama'athe Islami – 70th Commemoration, (Colombo: Islamic Book House, 2024), p. 7-16.

² Souvenir of Sri Lanka Jama'athe Islami – 70th Commemoration, (Colombo: Islamic Book House, 2024), p. 66.

³ The co-researcher was appointed as sub-editor for the first issue of Vizumiyam 2023.

⁴ Souvenir of Sri Lanka Jama'athe Islami – 70th Commemoration, (Colombo: Islamic Book House, 2024)

2.3. *Tawheed Jama'at*

The organization of *Tawheed Jama'at* is an ideology that belongs to the reformist thoughts of scholar Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab (1703-1792) who lived in Saudi Arabia. He was calling the people to remove the practices deemed to be '*Shirk*' and '*Bid'ah*' in the Islamic world and inviting them in the line what was done during the time of the Prophet (PBUH) and his successors. After that, Prince Muhammad bin Saud allied with him to spread this ideology, which led to the establishment of the first Saudi state, which controlled the Arabian Peninsula and parts of Iraq, the Levant, and Yemen.¹ The followers of *Tawheed Jama'at* called themselves '*Salafi*' which indicates them as followers of the *Salaf*- First generation of Islam who implemented pure Islam.

Currently, in Sri Lanka, *Tawheed Jama'at* represents the number of Islamic groups and individuals' works. Although they didn't function as one unified organization until today, they commenced with their ideology, aims, objectives, and approach. Against this backdrop, the origin of *Tawheed Jama'at* in Sri Lanka could be traced to Sheikh Abdul Hameed Bakri who studied in Saudi Arabia. After returning to Sri Lanka, he founded the '*Jamiyyatu Ansari Sunnatul Muhammadiyyah*' (JASM) in 1947 in his village Pargahadeniya at Kurunagala.² Some other Srilankan scholars of the same ideology, such as Abdul Wahab Alim Shah from Passiyala, Mohamed Alim Shah from Puttalam, and Umar Hazarat, started to spread the same ideology all over the country. Even though, this organization took a long time to take hold among the people for reasons that are because it began in the villages and not in the capital and it was challenging mainstream Islam of *Śūfīsm* which had been dominated in Sri Lanka at that time.³

From the inception and formation of *Tawheed Jama'at*, They spread their thoughts and ideologies in various ways. Considering the national voice of the *Tawheed* organization and the insufficiency of calling for statements, sermons, and teachings, in 1955 Bakri began a monthly newspaper called '*Unmay Uzayam*'. In 1970 onwards Nisaar Kuwaththi formed the '*All Ceylon Tawhid Jama'at*' (ACTJ) in the capital of Sri

¹ Farah Mihar. "The pursuit of piety and the quest for separatism: The politicization of Islam in Sri Lanka," p.178.

² S.M. Moosa, *Ilankayil Islamiya Iyakkangal: Our Vettumuham* (Islamic Movements in Sri Lanka), p. 41.

³ Farah Mihar. "The pursuit of piety and the quest for separatism: The politicization of Islam in Sri Lanka," p.182.

Lanka- Colombo. Academically, another remarkable step of *Tawheed Jama'at* was to establish the Institute of 'Darul Tawhid Assalafiyyah' which was founded in 1980 by Abu Bakkar Siddeeq who was one of the students of Bakri and completed his studies in Saudi Arabia.¹ From the beginning to the date, it is regrettable that this organization has been dispersed into multiple groups so it cannot be united under one umbrella body.

The theologies of *Tawheed Jama'at*, are as follows: "a particular understanding of *Tawhīd* (Oneness of God), making sure unbelief is fought, especially *Shirk* or drawing partners to Allah (SWT), accepting the *Quran* and *Sunnah* based on the consensus that the first four Caliphs are the only authoritative source of Islam, Ridding society of *Bid'a* and strict interpretation of *Quran* and *Sunnah* is sufficient to guide Muslims."² However, despite the Srilankan *Tawheed Jama'at*, carries these theologies within its aims and objectives, it is much more concerned with eliminating *Shirk* such as praying at the tombs of saints, wearing charms, talismans, and types of witchcraft or faith healing, as well as eradicating *Bid'ah* such as recitation of *Mawlid*, marking the birth anniversary of Prophet (PBUH), generally celebrating birth and mourning death from the Islamic community.³

Regarding the approaches of *Tawheed Jama'at*, of Sri Lanka, they follow clearly in their orientation their aims and objectives of eliminating *Shirk* and eradicating *Bid'ah* from the Muslim society. For that, they use harsh language in their approaches to writing and arguments. As well as they propagate the teachings of Islam in the name of two types of classes such as Arabic language and *Quran* classes all over the country independently. Due to zero tolerance maintained with others, they establish a mosque wherever they start their activities and try to spread their ideologies which are believed pure Islam. Their lack of huarache and national structure inside them and the independence to declare whatever they considered to be true Islam led them to emerge and inceptions of several internal religious groups among them.

¹ S.M. Moosa, *Ilankayil Islamiya Iyakkangal: Our Vettumuham (Islamic Movements in Sri Lanka)*, p. 41-55.

² B. Haykel, *The Global Salafism: Islam's new religious movement*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009), p. 36-37.

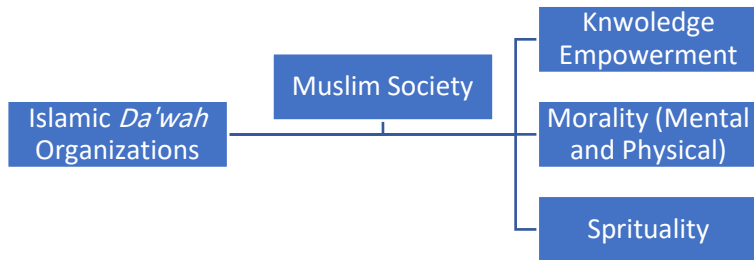
³ S.M. Moosa, *Ilankayil Islamiya Iyakkangal: Our Vettumuham (Islamic Movements in Sri Lanka)*, p. 50-51.

Analytical Conclusion

Sri Lanka, despite being a Muslim minority country, showcases a distinctive Islamic religious discourse shaped by various global Dawah organizations and movements. This discourse is influenced by the historical context of Islamic revivalism, the dynamics of minority status, and the internal pluralism within the Muslim community. Muslims of Sri Lanka, a scattered minority, are undertaking different ways to defend their religious identity. In order to prepare Muslims for a proper understanding of religion and to use their knowledge to provide religious leadership that can lead them to promote sustainable, peaceful social and religious coexistence, one of the goals of holistic and comprehensive religious education is to understand contemporary realities.¹ Islamic scholars and individuals, Islamic Educational Institutions, and Islamic *Da'wah* organizations have contributed significantly to this cause throughout history. The current Srilankan *Da'wah* organizations of *Tabligh Jamaat*, *Jamaati-Islami*, and *Jamaati-Tawheed* have been active in the nation for more than a half-century and are among the most reputable. They have never worked against this country, the people, or the country's laws. It is worth noting that they have been involved in religious activities among Sri Lankan Muslims and social service work nationwide. They have neither political agency nor ideas of religious conversion. However, the article suggests establishing a National *Da'wah* Forum² as mentioned by NSC that should be formed catering to the general interest of the Muslim society, comprising all IDOs working in Sri Lanka, to promote mutual understanding and open discussions between them. Through this, as far as possible, the gaps and misunderstandings between the IDOs should be bridged. As well as coordinated leadership structure for all the people should be created to keep the Muslim community in order. From the analysis, Dawah organizations can cater to three aspects of Muslim society: spiritual, moral, and knowledge empowerment, as the following figure highlights Islamic Dawah organizations.

¹ Mohamed Hassan Thameem Ushama, Mohamed Zacky, Rishad Najmudeed, Mohamed Ashath, "MUSLIM RELIGIOUS LEADERSHIP EDUCATION IN THE MINORITY CONTEXT: THE ROLE OF NALEEMIAH INSTITUTE OF ISLAMIC STUDIES," *Hamdard Islamicus* XLVI, no. 2 (2022): 29–46.

² National Shooraa Council, *Guidance and Mechanisms for the Coordinated Engagement of Social Reformist Institutions*, (Colombo: NSC, 2020), p. 8.



In conclusion, this paper therefore records the history of Islamic discourse in Sri Lanka and demonstrates the positive participation of modern Islamic *Da'wah* organizations in Sri Lanka among Muslims. The research observes two concerns: a constructive criticism of the Islamic discourse that has been carried out by Sri Lankan *Da'wah* organizations and a critical examination of the contributions these organizations have made to the nation and society

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