The Deoband Universe:

What makes an educational movement of Islam?

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Abstract
At a time when the inspiration of Dēobandī thought for purist Islamic groups and radical militants across a number of countries in Asia and Africa has made sensational news after September 11, 2001 it is felt that the forms and objectives, the potential and impotency of the Dēobandī educational movement have to be ascertained and assessed more factually and realistically. The paper is set to explore how the influence of the *dāru'l-ʿulūm*, the Islamic school of higher learning in Deoband, north India, radiates across the countries of South Asia and much beyond. It seeks to understand what are the ingredients of its religious school of thought; how does it function across cultural and political boundaries; and what institutions it has spawned. On the basis of recent field research at the *dāru'l-ʿulūm* Deoband in March 2004 the paper will venture to describe the formal and informal ways of coordination and norm setting, of cooperation and inspiration. It will look at the various forms of interaction, from the Dēobandī madrasa network, to derived Dēobandī institutions, to the ever expanding network of Dēobandī graduates and to the manifestation of their local and translocal influence in other Islamic groups and organisations.

The higher Islamic seminary, the *dāru'l-ʿulūm* of Deoband, was founded in 1866 in North India by Muḥammad Qāsim Nānaotawī (1832-1879) and Rashīd Aḥmad Gangōhī (1829-1905). It was meant to rectify the perceived lack of religious education amongst Muslims of British India as religious scholars feared a loss of identity in the wake of the spread of English-language education and western values in society. After the defeat of the anti-colonial uprising of 1857-58 in which many Muslim princes and scholars participated Islamic institutions faced suspicion of disloyalty and sedition on the part of British rulers. Religious scholars decided to concentrate on the reconstruction of religious knowledge and religiosity and preferred to prove their loyalty to British rule. A more radical section of the seminary's teachers formed after the turn of the century. The new head teacher Mahmud al-Hasan (1851-1921) and scholars like Ḥusain Aḥmad Madanī (1879-1957) and ʿUbaidullāh Sindhī (1872-1944) represented a highly politicised thinking that wanted to challenge British rule which they saw as a major impediment to the profession of true Islam not only in India but in the Islamic world at large. They particularly identified with Ottoman rule and mobilized against its defeat after WW I together with Gandhi in the broad-based but unsuccessful Khilāfat movement.

At the same time the school championed religious discourse in the reformist fashion of *iṣlāḥ* where its founders and generations of students were seeking to spread the true Islam. Their views were characterized by a marked orthodoxy but also by Puritanism and asceticism. Their relations with other Islamic schools of thought, what they called *maslak*, where troubled by controversy. They attacked dissenting views in Islam, particularly the Barēlwīs, representing the culture of the shrine-based Ṣūfī-Islam. Yet most Dēobandī divines were themselves active Ṣūfī shaykhs, following the path, or *ṭarīqa*, were they saw it in consonance with the law and word of God, or *sharīʿa*. Being staunch followers of the Ḥanafī school (*maḏhab*) they were wrongly labelled Wahhābīs with whom

they only shared a certain bent for the radical and puritan interpretation of Islamic tenets. They anxiously marked themselves of from other sects notably the Shīʿa and especially the *Aḥmadīya* which was considered as heterodox. Over time the school became the head seminary of an elaborate network of schools and activities inspired by the thought of the Dēobandī teaching and interpretation of Islam. They introduced religious mass education within their own seminary through the innovative approach of hostel-based study and through a large number of branches and *madāris* across South Asia and beyond.

Their curriculum consists of a normally 8-year course conferring on students the degree of an *ʿālim* or scholar of religion and law, roughly comparable to a graduate degree. It is still based on the *dars-e niẓāmī*, compiled and introduced by Mullā Niẓāmu'ddīn (d. 1748). Students study the Qurʾān, the Prophetic traditions, the principles of the Ḥanafī law school along with a large number of often arcane commentaries written mainly by traditionists. The degree consists of teaching licenses for major works, *sanad*s, not failing to mention the venerable line of succession in which the respective teacher stands. Beside the *manqūlāt*, or transmitted sciences, related to divine sources, the curriculum also includes the *maʿqūlāt*, or rational sciences, comprising subjects such as philosophy, logic and various branches of mathematics representing some form of worldly knowledge of a rather dated variety based on the ancient Greeks. Modern subjects such as English, Geography or History have long been conspicuous by their absence.

The Deoband school exerted its influence through India's independent existence as a learned reference institution of normative and orthodox Islam. Recent developments raised much speculation about the influence of the Dēobandī educational movement and its role in the formation of radical and militant Islamic thought. The reference of the *Ṭalibān* rulers of Afghanistan to their Dēobandī theological moorings contributed to this as much as the active role, which the Pakistan-based religious parties wedded to the Dēobandī school of thought, the two wings of the *Jamʿīyat-e ʿUlamā'-e Islām*, played in the organisation and support of militant religious opposition groups in Afghanistan, the *mujāhidīn*.

These references have created some confusion in the public mind as to the character of the Dēobandī educational movement which cannot simply be equated with militant Islam, although its ideological thrust is marked by strong anti-western radicalism and theological Puritanism. This paper seeks to give an overview of the different institutions and instruments by which the Dēobandī theological interpretation is fostered within the head seminary at Deoband and beyond, concentrating on its role in India.

I will first briefly treat the institutions emerging from the *dāru'l-ʿulūm* itself and then look at those related to and influenced by it.

Historical Dēobandī institutions facilitating Dēobandī networking	
dāru'l-ʿulūm Deoband	1866
Legal Department – *dār al-iftāʾ*	1892
Department of Preaching – *shʿobā-e tablīgh*	1934

Historically Dēobandī thought has been spreading largely through the informal network of graduates and like-minded institutions created by them, through the normative influence of the school's legal department disseminating decisions (*fatāwā*) on compliance with Islamic law (*sharīʿa*), and through its preaching department (*shʿobā-e tablīgh*).

	Number of students (enrolled)[1]	**Number of graduates**[2]
AH 1400 (1978-79)	1822	406
AH 1424 (2002-03)	3504	774
AH 1283-1424		84,731
AH 1283-1414		5,078 (Foreigners)

The numbers symbolising these traditional channels of influence are impressive. The *dāru'l-ʿulūm* is one of the largest religious schools in Asia with 3,504 students enrolled in 2002-03 and 774 graduates for the same year. According to its own data, the school prepared during its existence 84,731 graduates out of which about 9 percent originated from countries other than India. Religious schools following the Dēobandī thought are estimated to number around 2,000 in India and Pakistan each. Also the *fatwā* writing assumed enormous proportions: Between 1911 and 1976 (AH 1329-96) Deoband issued 439,336 decrees serving as a guideline for correct religious practice not only for adherents of the Deoband tradition but also for many orthodox and conservative Muslims of other orientations.[3] Preaching activities had been at their height in the seminary during the twenties and thirties of the last century.[4] The school then joined other Islamic groups to oppose the reclamation efforts of the Hindu reformist sect *Āryā Samāj*. Today there are three full-time employees working in the preaching department of the Deoband school. They visit different parts of India, largely on invitation, to address public religious meetings of local Muslims and explain the fundamentals of the Dēobandī school of thought. Preaching that is disseminating the correct practice of Islam is considered though a basic task of all graduates. It has been infused with new life by more recent additions to the list of departments at the school, but also by the activities of the missionary movement of the *Tablīghī Jamāʿat*. The latter was started in 1926 by a Dēobandī scholar, Muḥammad Ilyās, and is still considered to be a main propagator of Dēobandī reformist thought. While the *Tablīghī Jamāʿat* has a strong presence in the town of Deoband, and also in the environs of the school, it is somewhat less visible on the campus. One should remember that all three institutions – the hostel-based education at the *dāru'l-ʿulūm*, the institutionalised *fatwā*-writing and the departmental coordination of preaching were considered radical innovations in their time, placing the seminary on the edge of modernity in respect of religious instruction and indoctrination.

To correctly assess the role which the Dēobandī educational movement plays today in South Asia and beyond it is important to realise that the way how the Dēobandī universe

[1] *Naqsha-e taʿdād-e ṭalabāʾ-e dāru'l-ʿulūm Deoband – Daftar-e Taʿlīmāt.*
[2] *Daftar-e Taʿlīmāt.*
[3] Sayyid Mahboob Rizvi, *History of the Dār al-ʿUlūm*. Deoband: *Idāra-e Ihtemām* 1980, vol. 2, p. 242.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 243.

presents itself is not so much the historically established mode of operation but the result of a deep-going restructuring and partial modernisation through which the seminary went since 1980 when it celebrated its centenary with much pomp and fanfare.

After 1980 significant changes have taken place which shape the ways the school exerts its influence over other religious schools. In the first place one has to mention the split of the head seminary in 1982 when as a result of family feuds over the control of the seminary affairs a new institution was created – the *dāru'l-ʿulūm waqf*. It represents the outcome of a power struggle between the so-called Madanī faction, led by Maulana Asad Madanī, and the Qāsimī faction, headed by the former rector Qārī Muḥammad Ṭayyib (1897-1983) and related to the founder Nānaotawī. The latter one was defeated and moved out of the historic premises to set up a new institution on *waqf* land, that is, donated lands. While it presents itself to the outside world and to intending students as the legitimate heir to the historical Dēobandī institution it did not succeed in challenging the leadership role of the old school. Where the old school is still seen as the genuine reference institution for normative and orthodox Islam in modern India (and Pakistan), the new school is regarded as a legitimate means to acquire recognised religious education of the same standard as that of the old school. Within the South Asian system of *ʿālim* education a few select *madāris* have the status of a recognised reference school where students from smaller or less important schools in the provinces are sent for their final year to complete graduation. The new school is already considered among these few. Some argue that its theological academic standard may be even higher than that of the old school. The more learned and academically inclined teachers went to the new school when they split, although the old school has now compensated for the loss. In contrast with the old school, the new school also demonstrably desists from political pronouncements. Interviews with its representatives revealed that it *de-facto* recognises the old school as its *mādar-e ʿilmī*[5] and that their differences are not theological but personal. The new school is already an important numerical factor. During the short time of its existence it has been able to attract about 1,500 students, half the number of the old school. Thus their mutual competition more relates to the rapidly expanding private educational market in South Asia where the *madāris* position themselves as the private schools of the mainly rural Muslim underclass and the urban lower middle class.

Since the centenary celebrations and the reorganisation after the split several new departments have come into existence which have enhanced coordination among the schools following the Dēobandī persuasion and strengthened the coherence and thrust of its thought. In this the school responded not only to the crisis situation within the institution symbolised by the split but also to pressures from outside represented by the competition of private secular educational institutions for the minds of India's Muslims and even more important, by the militant campaign of Hindu nationalists against the legitimacy of *madrasa*-based religious education.

[5] Urdu: *alma mater*, also: 'mother of schools,' head school

New Deoband school departments and institutions started after 1982	**Date**
Department of English language and literature[6]	7 February 2002
Computer Department	30 August 1996
Rābita Madāris ʿArabīya (RMA)	25-26 October 1994
Tanẓīm-e Abnāʾ-e Qadīm	1991
Taḥaffuẓ-e Khatm-e Nabuwwat	31 October 1986
Shaykh-ul-Hind Academy[7]	AH 1403 (1982/83)

The Shaykh-ul-Hind Academy and the Department for the Defence of the Finality of the Prophethood of Muḥammad (*Taḥaffuẓ-e Khatm-e Nabuwwat*), created in 1982 and 1986 respectively reflected the trend of the eighties for a pronounced assertion and ideological interpretation of Puritan Sunni Islam. Defending the ideological borders of the true Sunni Islam was a task pursued in Afghanistan by the *mujāhidīn* as much as by radical Sunni groups in Pakistan. Muslims felt under attack in India and religious leaders saw a distinct need for reassertion of their beliefs. Both institutions are considered part of the post-graduate specialisation of *ʿulamā' – takhaṣuṣ*.
The Academy was meant to support academic in-depth studies that produce more sophisticated arguments for the dissemination and defence of the beliefs of the school founders Nānaotawī and Gangōhī. Staff members are also in charge of writing religious and political speeches for the rector, other luminaries and teachers of the school addressing public meetings. Within post-graduate specialisation the academy offers selected graduate students a practice in Islam-related journalism and research. While I was in Deoband, one case attracted public attention where a student[8] was rusticated from the Academy for publishing an article in the local press which he had signed under his official affiliation. In the article he had accepted the need to include worldly subjects in the curriculum of the school. It showed that such debated has penetrated the very heart of the school's ideological institutions and that it seems only a matter of time before such debate becomes more pronounced.

The Finality of Prophethood department *de-facto* heads a separate organisation with branches all over India, South Asia and also in the west. This organisation is a euphemism for a sectarian perspective on Islam battling with perceived enemies that supposedly question the Finality of the Prophethood of Muḥammad, an accusation, first of all thrown at the *Aḥmadīya* for the claims of their founder and subsequent leaders to some degree of prophethood. Enemies are spotted all around. Publications target not only the supposedly heretic *Aḥmadīya*, but also the Shīʿa, the Christians, the Hindus, the Barēlwīs, the Jamāʿat-i Islāmī and the Ahl-i Ḥadīṯ. The movement has also engendered a world body of noted radicalism.[9] Its local chapters particularly in Pakistan make occasionally news by their persecution of *Aḥmadīs*. The Pakistan chapter is notorious for its links with

[6] *Administrative Report* for Shūrā session 30th April-2nd May 2003 (Urdu – computer printout), p. 31.
[7] http://darululoom-deoband.com/urdu/departments/show.php?dept=academy.gif.
[8] Arshad Fayzee – my interviews in Deoband, March 2004.
[9] *ʿĀlamī Majlis Taḥaffuẓ-e Khatm-e Nabuwwat*, 35 Stockwell Green, London, SW9. (http://www.islamicfinder.org/getitWorld.php?id=26201&lang); see their website at http://www.khatme-nubuwwat.org/; also the website of the US branch of the *Irshād-o-Daʿwat*, a pro-Ahl-i Ḥadīṯ organisation, co-sponsoring its international activities: http://www.irshad.org/finality/significance.php.

other sectarian organisations such as *Sipāḥ-e Saḥāba* and *jihādī* groups. The Deoband office focuses on the formulaic reproduction of pamphlets against the groups mentioned. Local chapters enjoy a wide degree of autonomy. But the existence of a global network and their mutual support cannot be denied. The coordinating function of the Indian organisation seems to include also Nepal. The body held camps to train scholars in the rejection of *Aḥmadī* thought across India.[10] As the prevalence of the *Aḥmadīya* in India is miniscule the camps are used to streamline the scholars ideologically.

The Computer and English departments were created after much debate, which in the case of English lasted more than a century. Again, they are part of the post-graduate specialisation course offers – *takhaṣuṣ*. While the number of students benefiting from these services is comparatively small they soon hope to enlarge the number of participants. The two year courses may still contribute to change the profile and outlook of several hundred of graduates within a 4-5 year period. Their reach extends beyond the confines of the seminary as they are connected with new projects aiming at modern post-graduate education for *ʿulamā'* graduates recently started on donations and by private sponsors. The two departments at Deoband have come into existence largely thanks to the intervention and financial assistance of Badruddīn Ajmal, a wealthy perfume merchant from Assam, a *dāru'l-ʿulūm* graduate and *shūrā* member. He also supports other such projects in Assam, in Bombay and Hyderabad.

The *Rābita Madāris ʿArabīya* (RMA), or Organisation of Arabic Schools, represents another significant institutional innovation of the *dāru'l-ʿulūm*. Created in 1994 it came into being in response to increasing pressure on the religious schools. Functioning as a department of the school, its head office registers new Dēobandī *madāris*. After investigating their teaching practices and rules their certificates (*sanad*) will be endorsed. The RMA regularly convenes meetings of rectors and head teachers to discuss new challenges and problems of the curriculum. It started with conferences in 1994. Further all-India meetings of Islamic Arabic schools were held on 12 November 1998 and on 30 April 2002.[11] By and large it serves as a forum to close ranks and to resist demands for more far-going change. At the same time, changes on several matters are being entertained and endorsed on the quiet, mainly concerning computerisation and the use of English. It also serves as a means to prevent substandard religious teaching in the burgeoning market of religious education being offered in the name of the prestigious Dēobandī school of thought. In a way this is branding of their product and protecting its rights in a lucrative and expanding market. The Qāsimī faction school remains excluded. Anẓar Kashmīrī in an interview stressed they are not seeking affiliation as they regard themselves as embodiment of the same *alma mater*. But he pointedly added they would not object if invited meaning that they apparently regard the rift as a painful anomaly.
The RMA represents the most formal effort yet in the history of the Deoband seminary and school of thought to give the networking of the school a distinct organisational shape. This change was rather forced on the Deoband school by circumstances and represented a clear break with earlier tradition where the networking was based more on intermittent interaction between graduates and their newly-founded religious institutions.

[10] Such camps were held once every year in 1988, 1990-95, 1997-98. *Dāru'l-ʿulūm Deoband. Ibid.* 1982, p. 25.
[11] See speeches and documents in my collection – DR.

Not less important for the efficiency of the Deoband educational movement is the level of organisation of its students. Regular student unions had been in existence at the Deoband school in the late colonial period and also in the early times of independence. Their activities were regularly disrupted by prolonged periods of proscription and suppression, particularly when resorting to student strikes. The change of administration in 1982 was used as a pretext for a clampdown on the student union and it has not been allowed since. ʿ*Ulamā'* linked with the school defended this measure with reference to the same state of affairs in state universities such as the Jamia Millia of Delhi where student unions were also prohibited around the same time and have not been allowed since. As the student unions would come and go this had nothing to do with the character of the Deoband school, but with the disruptive nature of student politics.

Currently the student clubs (*ṭalabāʾ kē anjumaneñ*) play a major role in Deoband student life. There are more than 100 in operation at the school. They are meant to facilitate learning and study. Their structure replicates the geographical areas of origin. Others reflect interest in promoting the study of Arabic language and literature (*an-nādī al-adabī*). Office bearers are elected. They prepare wallpapers (*dīwārī parchē*) adorning the walls and trees of the inner courtyards where students learn the basics of religious and one might say ideological journalism. They are written in the vernacular, some in the regional languages of the areas of origin such as Bengali, Tamil, Nepali, but also in Arabic. One of the wallpapers keeps track of school events communicating announcements and news such as the arrival of guests etc. They have their own libraries and hold regular meetings, mostly on Thursdays, where they function as debating societies. While it is free speech which is practiced here to fulfil the duties of a prayer leader addressing a congregation, the subjects are not free to chose but reflect strict doctrinal and ideological concerns. In practice they seem to serve as an influential means to retain control of the brains of the students and sharpen the doctrinal profile of the school.
The clubs seem to be very important for current and future networking of Dēobandī students and graduates. In some cases there are equivalents in the districts from where the students hail where they run local voluntary organisations arranging religious and cultural programmes in the locality.

Peripheral institutions facilitating networking of Dēobandī graduates (selected)	
All India Talimi wa Milli Foundation	2000
Dār al-Qāẓī	1994
Markazī JUH	1992
All India *Milli* Council (AIMC)	1992
Tanẓīm-e Abnāʾ-e Qadīm	1991
Islamic Fiqu Academy	1989
Institute of Objective Studies	1986
Markaz al-Maʿārif	1982
Jamʿīyat-ul-ʿUlamā'-e Hind (*JUH*)	1919

A significant development was the formation of an Old Boys Association, the *Tanẓīm-e Abnāʾ-e Qadīm*, in 1991.[12] Its central office is in Delhi and it has founded two post-graduate training institutes, one for spoken Arabic and one for English. It successfully edits a regular monthly, the *Tarjumān Dāru'l-ʿulūm*, started in 1993 with a worldwide audience of graduates. The journal features debates carefully but decidedly exploring, and sometimes crossing, the limits of the school thinking with regard to the history of the school, the need to review the religious curriculum, the inclusion of worldly subjects, or relations with the west. It is particularly noteworthy that the Association maintains contact with both the old school and the Qāsimī faction in the name of strengthening the Dēobandī school of thought. This Association no doubt contributes to the reconstruction and updating of Dēobandī thinking in the modern era, especially as it is run by a new generation of graduates feeling the need to adapt to changing circumstances.

Among the institutions outside the confines of the seminary connected with the Dēobandī universe one first has to mention the Associations of Religious scholars, the *Jamʿīyat-ul-ʿUlamā'-e Hind* (*JUH*). Created as a joint effort of different interpretations of Islam it veered to a close and almost inseparable connection with the Deoband school over time. It started as part of the overall anti-colonial mobilisation in 1919 and turned into a political party by the time of partition. Under the name of *Jamʿīyat-ul-ʿUlamā'-e-Islām* (*JUI*) it continues political activity in Pakistan today. Its Indian counterpart still known by the old name *JUH* concentrated on religious, educational and cultural activities. After the split of the Deoband school, symbolizing full control of the Madanī faction, the two institutions have moved still closer. Asad Madanī is the veteran President of the *JUH* and the most influential member of the advisory board (*shūrā*) of the Deoband school. His younger son, Maḥmūd Madanī, serves as the General Secretary of the *JUH*. Critics allege that the elder Madanī who was a long-time member of the Rajya Sabha, India's Upper House of Parliament, exploited his connections with the Congress party in the seventies to neutralise resistance to his manipulation of the split. Maḥmūd Madanī who is preparing

[12] Founding constitution. Earlier attempts to create such an organisation by ʿUbaidullāh Sindhī in 1909 did not take root.

himself for the successorship in his father's posts briefly joined the Samajwadi Party. He contested elections unsuccessfully for the Rashtriya Lok Dal in 2004. The *JUH* strives to regain influence in the debate over the political and religious representation of the Muslim community in India. Today the *JUH* runs its own educational, training and relief projects. A dissident faction broke away from the *JUH* creating the Central Association of Religious Scholars, or *Markazī JUH*, in 1992. It reacted to the alleged inactivity of the *JUH* in defence of the religious rights and interests of India's Muslims.

Responding to the acutely felt need for better coordination among Muslims as a minority felt to be under siege, the "Ittehad-e Millat", that is, National Unity Conference convened in 1992 resulting in the creation of the All India Milli (National) Council (AIMC). It has already branches in many Indian states. It also attempted to cut across sectarian lines trying to unite various Sunni factions. Dēobandī scholars play an active, if not the most active part in it, as Maulana Qazi Mujahidul Islam Qasmi (b. 1936) is its Secretary General and Maulana Muḥammad Asrār-ul-Ḥaqq Qāsmī its Asstt. Secy. General. It runs educational and social relief projects. Closely connected with it is the Islamic Fiqu Academy which came into existence in 1989, as it was founded by the same Maulana Qazi Mujahidul Islam. The most recent addition to this group is the All India Talimi wa Milli Foundation, primarily an educational trust promoting religious, general, and technical education with special emphasis on girls' education. It is run by the above-mentioned Dēobandī *ʿālim* Asrār-ul-Ḥaqq. The Institute of Objective Studies (IOS)[13] which was founded in 1986 aspires to a coordinating role. Founded and run with active involvement of the *Jamāʿat-i Islāmī* of India it is the most modern of these institutions. Dēobandī *ʿulamā'* also participate in it. The above-mentioned Mujahidul Islam is a member of the Governing Council of the Institute.[14] He and Dr. Manzur Alam, Chairman of the IOS, are actively involved in the Milli Council. Thus we have a group of projects where leadership positions overlap and a tight network is woven in which reformist scholars play a large role and where representatives of other interpretations of Islam are increasingly involved.

Another group of Dēobandī-related projects point to a more recent trend of modernisation. As mentioned above, some graduates and scholars started training institutes where graduates of traditional *madāris* are given computer-training, lessons in English and modern Arabic. Foremost among them is the *Markaz al-Maʿārif* (Centre of Knowledge).[15] Started in 1982, it gained much momentum in the nineties when it also started English-medium secondary schools with Islamic education included. It is run by the above-mentioned Badruddīn Ajmal. Maulānā Asad Madanī started an English-medium secondary school with religious education on offer in Deoband town. Maulana Anẓar Shāh (Kashmīrī) from the rival *dāru'l-ʿulūm waqf* is running a post-graduate training institute for *ʿulamā'* named *Maʿhad al-Anwar* (Promise of Splendour). Similar projects exist in Hyderabad, Bangalore and Bombay.

[13] www.iosworld.org.
[14] http://ifa-india.org/qazibio1.htm.
[15] www.markazulmaarif.org.

Journals under (reformist/Dēobandī) influence (selected)			
Kirdār-e Jamʿīyat	*Markazī JUH*	Monthly	1994
Millī Ittihād	All India Milli Council	Fortnightly	1993
Tarjumān-e Dāru'l-ʿulūm	*Tanẓīm-e Abnāʾ-e Qadīm*	Monthly	1991
Āʾīna-e Maẓāhiru'l ʿUlūm	*Maẓāhiru'l ʿUlūm* (*waqf*)	Monthly	1991
Journal of Objective Studies	Institute of Objective Studies	Quarterly	1989
Dāru'l-ʿulūm	Deoband Seminary	Monthly	1941
Al-Jamʿīyat	*JUH*	Weekly	1925

A large contribution to the growing consistency of the Dēobandī educational movement is made by journals which have revived debate on doctrinal and practical issues. Here one has to mention the journals issued by the Deoband school, "*Dāru'l-ʿulūm*," and the Old Boys Association, "*Tarjumān-e Dāru'l-ʿulūm"*. Many of the major Dēobandī seminaries, such as the two wings of the famous *Maẓāhiru'l ʿUlūm* from Saharanpur, that also split because of family feuds, have followed suit. The All-India Milli Council started its own fortnightly "*Millī Ittihād*". The *Markazī JUH* publishes the monthly "*Kirdār-e Jamʿīyat*" since 1994. These journals are usually not collected in libraries. Even the Deoband school collection of its own journal shows gaps. This is a field where some fruitful research on discourses and institutions of reformist Islam in South Asia can still be made.

From this brief review the universe of the Dēobandī educational movement is emerging. Over time the seminary has spawned a large number of institutions by which it ensures the radiance of its thought and the consistency of its doctrine. It is noteworthy that this networking has assumed new forms and directions since around 1980. Interaction has become more intense. The school feels prodded to strengthen the defence of its way of teaching, of its worldview. The growing number of graduates is looking for new forms of employment in the Islamic sector. While initiatives of the eighties were more marked by ideological concerns, the emphasis has shifted to development and a review of the *madrasa* teaching system. While the religious scholars are resisting more radical change inside the seminaries, they appear to be ready to accommodate and address burning concerns outside the *madāris* where they promote private secular education when it is combined with a religious atmosphere or religious knowledge. Post-graduate training for the graduates of religious schools is another interesting and promising avenue of reform as it opens access to other sectors of society for employment of the religious elite no longer trapped inside the Islamic sector. At the same time religious scholars seem to strengthen the hold of reformist Islamic thought in the Dēobandī tradition on the vast and interpenetrating network of religious institutions, organisations and projects.

Thus the Dēobandī educational movement appears to be far from stagnant. Whether the pace of change is sufficient to remain relevant to society at large and Muslims in particular only the future can tell.