

# Journal of Kerala Studies

Vol. IV

December, 1977

Part IV

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## JOURNAL OF KERALA STUDIES

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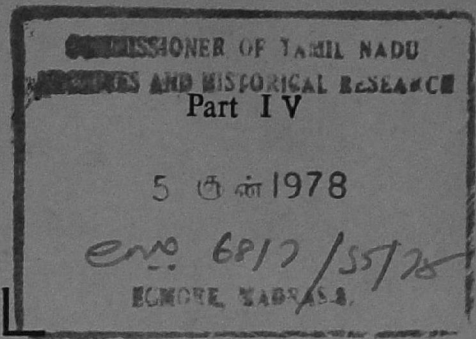
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# JOURNAL of KERALA STUDIES

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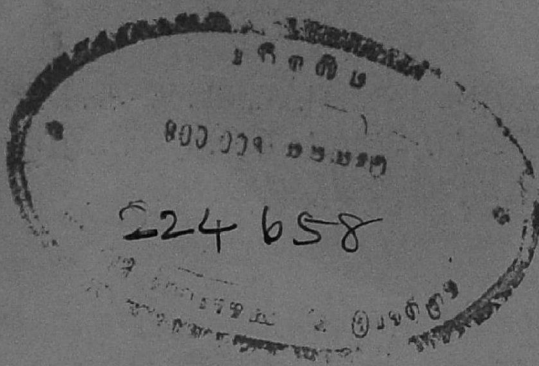
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# **The Pre-History of Kerala**

BY

P. RAJENDRAN

Until 1974 no Palaeolithic tools had been reported from Kerala. The writer's discovery of the first Palaeolithic tools from different parts of Palghat District (north Kerala) in April 1974 laid the foundation for the Palaeolithic studies of Kerala. Subsequent work in various parts of north Kerala established beyond doubt that Pre-historic man of the Lower and Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic periods had inhabited this part of India.

Palaeolithic sites are rare in Kerala. The tools comprise core or pebble choppers, scrapers and flakes, and handaxes and cleavers are conspicuous by their absence.

The Mesolithic culture is well represented here, as in other parts of India. The tools are comparable to the Teri industries of Tinneveli District, Tamilnadu.

In this paper an attempt has been made to evaluate the data so far collected for Prehistoric studies of Kerala.

## *Introduction*

The discovery of the first Palaeolith from Pallavaram in 1863 by Robert Bruce Foote and his subsequent work in different parts of Tamilnadu, Karnataka, Andhra and Gujarat had brought to light the rich Prehistoric evidence of India. With de Terra's systematic and scientific work in Kashmir, Punjab, Narmada and Tamilnadu Prehistoric and environmental studies took a great leap forward. Later work by different people in various parts of India had resulted in plotting a large number of Stone Age sites on the Prehistoric map of India. From north Kerala, Todd had reported a quartz industry from Chevayur near Calicut showing a total range of microlithic tools that closely resembled the collections from the Mysore plateau (Allchin, Fig. 25. Nos. 1-10). Many Megaliths had been reported from Kerala after the first discovery of it by Babington (1823). But no Palaeolithic sites had been reported from Kerala until 1974 when the writer first discovered various types



of stone Age tools from different parts of Palghat District in north Kerala.

Kerala is situated in the south-west coast of India between  $8^{\circ} 18' - 30''$  and  $12^{\circ} 47' - 49''$  north latitudes and between  $74^{\circ} 51' - 57''$  and  $77^{\circ} 24' - 47''$  east longitudes. It is flanked by the Western Ghats on the east and on western side is bounded by the Arabian sea. The land is elongated in shape with an irregular width ranging from a minimum of 11 kms to a maximum width of 124 kms east-west and has a coast line of over 560 kms from north to south with an area of 38585 sq. km (Govt. of Kerala, 1974).

### *Physiography*

Physiographically Kerala can be divided into three natural regions: viz, Lowland, Midland and Highland, and these divisions form almost parallel belts from N-S across the State (Kerala in Maps, 1964). The Bhāratapuḷa basin, however, presents a different appearance. The coastal tract of Kerala is a low-lying plain with successive stretches of sandbars, back-waters or *Kāyals* and marshes. Sea cliffs are seen between Quilon and Cape Comorin in the South and between Cannanore and Manjeswar in the north. Fossilized sand dunes are absent on the Kerala coast. The Midland region with hills and valleys presents an undulating tract of leterite surfaces cut by numerous rivers. The Highland regions comprise the foot hills and mountains with dense evergreen forests.

### *Geology*

The three principal types of geological formations in Kerala are: (i) Archean Crystalline complex, (ii) The Warkallis of Tertiary Age and (iii) recent deposits generally found along the coastal areas (census of India, 1961). The Tertiaries and recent sediments of Kerala rest directly upon the Archean Crystalline complex consisting of Khondalities, leptynites, charnockites and micahorn blende gneisses. The Tertiary formations mainly include the Quilon and the Warkalli Beds. Recent work on the Warkallis shows that possibly part of these formations belong to the pleistocene.

### *Drainage*

With the mountain ranges all along the eastern border precipitating heavy rains, the state has good number of rivers originating in the Ghats. Except Kabani, Bhavani and Chinnar which flow towards the east, the remaining fortyone rivers flow towards the west into the Arabian sea. Generally one or two terraces are observed

in the middle and lower reaches of the rivers (Plate. I). No river takes a straight east-west course. They deviate north-west or south-west at different levels and many of them first empty into the backwaters, where there are outlets to the sea. This is one of the important geomorphological features of the Kerala coast. Whether the backwaters were formed as a result of tectonic or enstatic changes requires further investigations.

The Periyar with a length of about 244 kms (152 miles) is the longest river of Kerala (Govt. of Kerala, 1974). The Bhāratapūṭa comes second with a length of 220 kms (136 miles). Some of the rivers are navigable when they are fully flooded. The discharge of many of the rivers is drastically decreased during summer.

Kerala receives the benefit of both the south-west (May to August) and north-east (October to December) monsoons but it is heaviest during the former. According to the isohyetal map of the State, the average annual rainfall of the State is 3085 mm. The area adjacent to the Palghat Gap experiences the lowest rainfall in the State. The State enjoys an equable climate with a temperate variance of 69° F. to 90° F.

### *The Palghat Gap*

This is the most conspicuous geomorphological feature in the Western Ghats and lies approximately with in 10° 35' and 10° 50' N, and long 76° 30' and 76° 55' E. The gap makes a sort of deep wedge through the high scarped Ghats and is about 66.65km (22.7 miles), wide in the east along the long 76° 50' E. In this respect it is the widest opening in the entire Western Ghats. The base of the Gap lies C. 310 m (1000 ft.) above from mean sea level and it rises to the maximum height of 1300 ft. further east. The catchment areas of the Bhāratapūṭa and some of its tributaries lie in the Gap region. The main rivers have an average gradient of 5.64m/km (21.97 ft/mile) shows the character of a mature -river (Joshi and Rajendran, 1976).

The writer's field-observations of the Gap area do not support the views expressed by some authors that this feature might have been a west flowing river bed of the Tertiary period. There are no remnants of marine action in this or adjacent areas to lend credence to the hypothesis that the Gap formed due to sea erosion. The writer infact feels that the Gap might possibly have been formed during the Tertiary period due to tectonic activities (subsidence in the higher land).

Its geomorphic situation is of vital importance providing a natural passage for easy communication between the coastal areas and the inland plateau region. It is quite possible that the Palghat Gap had played similar role in the Prehistoric past. In this context I have chosen north Kerala, area adjacent to the Palghat Gap, for detailed Prehistoric investigations.

### *Tool Industries*

The writer's fieldwork was carried out in three seasons during the year 1974, 1975-76 and 1977. For the first time Stone Age evidences was brought to light from different parts of Malappuram and Palghat Districts. Preliminary survey in 1974 had yielded the first Palaeolithic tools from Kāññirapuḷa and Malampuḷa (Rajendran, 1975). More work in the following season yielded a good number of tools from the above mentioned sites in addition to other discoveries from Tenkara and Shornur (Joshi and Rajendran, 1976). In view of their importance extensive explorations were carried out in 1977 covering the whole of Palghat and parts of Malappuram and Coimbatore Districts, resulting in the discovery of more Palaeolithic and Mesolithic sites.

Artifact assemblages were discovered from the following sites: Nilambūr, Paṇḍikāḍ, Cellūr, Shornur, Maṅkara, Pari, Podippara, Cerakalpaḍi, Tenkara, Kāññirapuḷa, Malampuḷa, Walayar and Vaḍakkaipalaiyam. Microlithic tools on quartz had been reported earlier from Cevayūr near Calicut (Todd). The tools comprise only surface collections and the principal raw material used is quartz. This is locally available in the form of rolled river pebbles or as veins in the Archean rocks. A few tools are made on gneiss and Chert. All the Stone Age sites lie above the 150 ft. contour.

The Cellūr collection found on a primary laterite surface while all other mesolithic sites are situated on the terrace or valley laterites. Implementiferous gravel at Maṅkara lies below the sub-recent 3 metre alluvial terrace. Collections from Kāññirapuḷa, Tenkara, Paṇḍikāḍ, and a few from Nilambur are made from the gravels in the river bed. From Nilambur and Kāññirapuḷa tools were also collected from the higher (8 to 10 metres) erosional terrace.

Palaeolithic collections include choppers, scrapers, borers, flakes, cores, and a proto-handaxe (Figs 1 and 2). Mesolithic tools comprise borers, burins, blades, lunates, blade-flakes, backed blades, points, scrapers, flakes fluted and irregular cores (Figs. 3 and 4). Along with these collections fine unifacial and bifacial pebble choppers, scrapers and



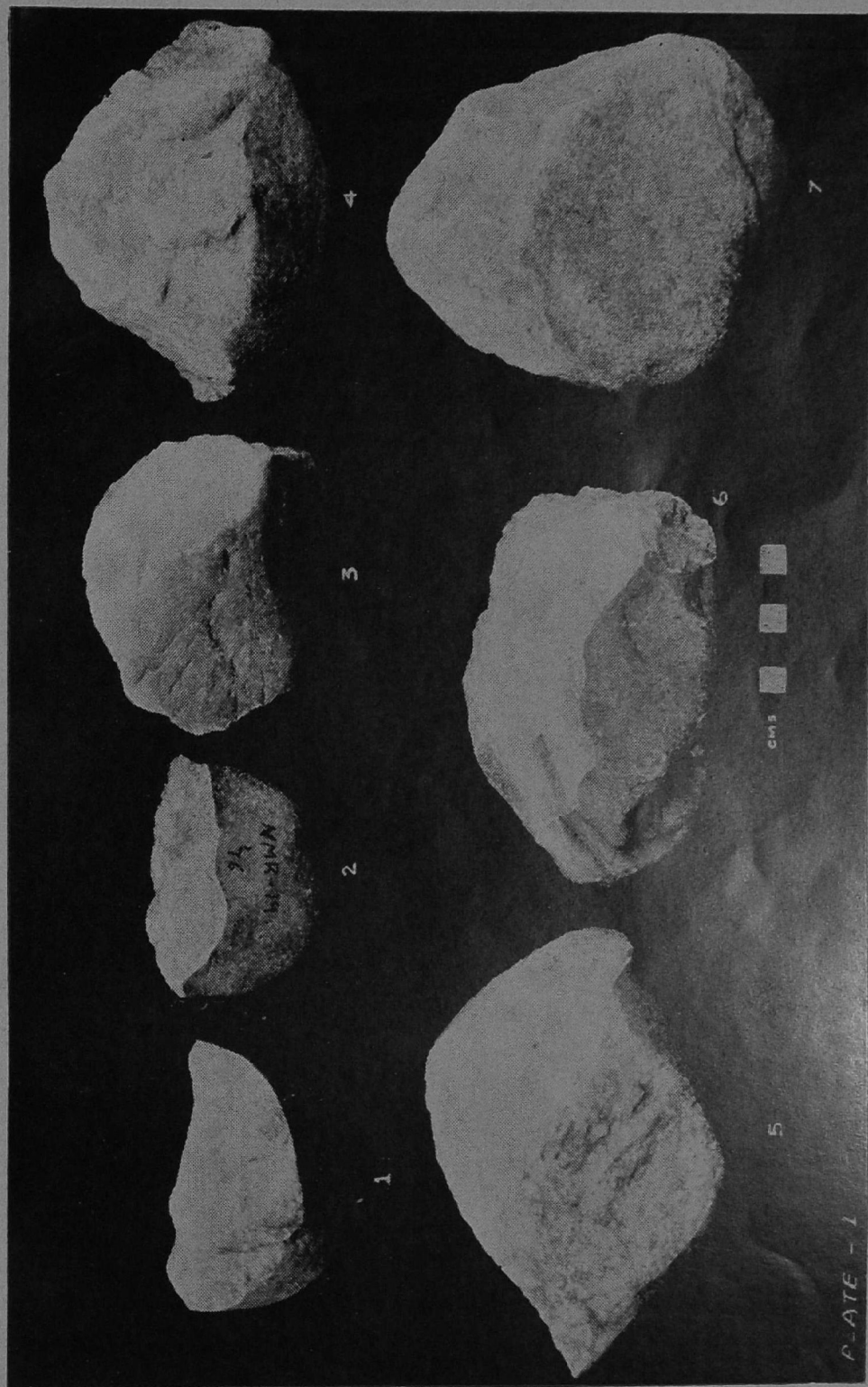


Plate 1. Nos. 1 - 7 The Prehistory of Kerala



Plate 2. Nos. 1-8: Prehistory of Kerala



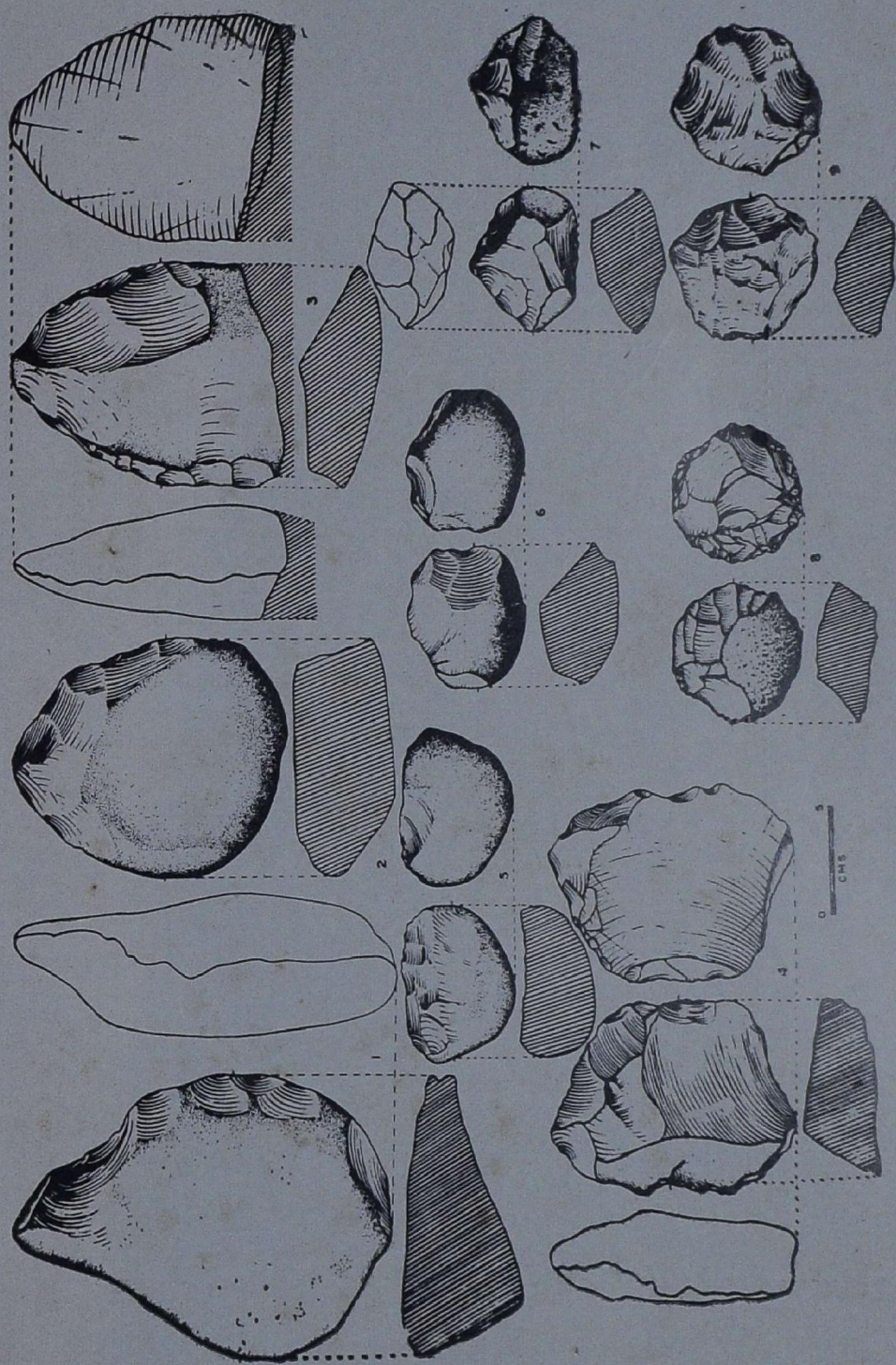


Fig. 1. Nos. 1-4; Nos. 5-9 The Prehistory of Kerala





Fig. 2. Nos. 1-18 The Prehistory of Kerala



നൾ = 1000	ന = 100	ന = 10	ന = 1
റ = 2	റ = 3	റ = 4	റ = 5
ന = 6	റ = 7	റ = 8	റ = 9
റ = $\frac{3}{4}$	റ = $\frac{1}{2}$	റ = $\frac{1}{4}$	റ = $\frac{1}{8}$
സ = $\frac{1}{10}$	റ = $\frac{1}{16}$	റ = $\frac{1}{20}$	റ = $\frac{1}{40}$
ര = $\frac{1}{80}$	റ = $\frac{1}{160}$	റ = $\frac{1}{320}$	3 3 3 3 = നൻനൻനൻ

flakes of medium size are also found from Malampūla and Poḍippāra which may be a degenerate, late Upper Palaeolithic blade industry, ascribable to the early Mesolithic period.

From Walayar, Malampūla, Poḍippāra and Cellūr sites along with the limited percentage of finished tools a large number of unfinished artifacts, cores, chips and waste materials were also collected which proved that these were infact factory sites where the tools were prepared by the Prehistoric man.

Stone Age tools from Kerala show the exclusive use of locally available quartz as raw material from the Lower Palaeolithic, to the Late Mesolithic. Larger tools were prepared by the stone hammer technique. Mesolithic tools are generally small and all are made on flakes, blades, nodules or small pebbles. Pressure technique, indirect percussion and controlled hammer technique were practiced by Mesolithic man. Back bluntings and minute retouches on small tools are quite remarkable.

### *Discussion*

The Palaeolithic collections from Kerala is dominated by the chopper-chopping pebble tool tradition, comprising large unifacial and byfacial choppers which show limited flakings at their margins and retain areas of cortex. Taking into consideration the size, nature of flaking and tool-types the collections from Nilambur, Teṅkara and Kāññirapuḷa represent late Acheulian or early middle palaeolithic culture. In coastal Maharashtra (Konkan) similar tools have been found, worked on pebbles or blocks of quartzite and some times trap. The Palaeolithic industries there show amorphous characters and the absence of standardized tool types (Guzder, 1975.)

The Mesolithic collections as shown earlier, comprise all types of mycolithic tools made on quartz. Earlier discoveries show that the use of quartz as raw material was common in many other parts of India and Ceylon especially during the mesolithic period (Allchin 1966). Evidences show that quartz had been in use since Lower Palaeolithic (Leaky, 1971). Typologically the mesolithic industries of Kerala are comparable to the Teri industry of the Tinnevely District of Tamilnadu (Zeuner and Allchin, 1956). The latter, however, associated with the Teris, or fossilized sand dunes while in Kerala the Mesolithic industries occur on the lateritic surface. A few choppers and flakes mentioned above from Malampūla and Poḍippāra show the characteristic of the Megananapuram industry of the Teri group and it has been regarded by Zeuner as the earliest in the Teris.



### Conclusion

The discoveries have established the presence of Stone Age man in north Kerala. The cultures typologically belong to the late Acheulian or early Middle Palaeolithic and Mesolithic traditions. The stratigraphic horizon of the industries is yet to be established for the tools have been found on the surfaces. Compared with the Deccan trap region the Palaeolithic sites of Kerala are relatively few and widely scattered. This appears to be the case for the whole of the west coast, south of the Tapti. May be these coastal tracts of India represent areas of comparative isolation during Prehistoric times.

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## Kerala in Classical Writings

BY

J. R. SINNATAMPY

In this article I have endeavoured to trace references direct or indirect in the classical writings from about the 5th century B.C. to about the 2nd century A.D. which may throw some light on the early history of Kerala.

The earliest direct reference to Kerala would appear to be made by Horace in his work, Odes, (65 B.C.-8B.C.) This has been pointed out by Samuel Livingstone in his work "The Sinhalese of Ceylon and the Aryan Theory". I am quoting below his reference to this matter as well as other matters pertaining to the name Serendib by which Sri Lanka (Ceylon) has been known to the Arabs. This work by Livingstone is a compilation of letters written by the author to his son. The extract which is of much interest is "there must have been intercourse between Dravidian India and Dravidian Ceylon in ancient times and must have been so intimate that people from Ceylon settled down in Malabar and are called even today by the name Thiyas (தீயர்), islanders, in some places and by the name Īlavars (ஈழவர்) people of Īlam in other places. People who came to Ceylon from Malabar or via Malavar, as the Moorish traders, would have naturally called Ceylon Serendib, Tamil Serendivu (சேரன்டீவு), the island of the Cēras. The Cēra kingdom, comprising at that time the present Travancore, Cochin, the land bordering the Western Ghats in the North and even the area up to Cape Comorin in the South, was at the zenith of its power for a very long time, even after the arrival of the so-called Arab merchants, who, by the way, were not Arab-speaking people, but Tamil-speaking people converted to Islam during their sojourns in Arabia and the Persian Gulf for purposes of trade. The Cēras were a sea-faring nation and commanded the Arabian, and the Red Seas. Even the Romans felt their power during the time of Augustus Caesar, and this fact is referred to by the Roman poet, Horace in the following lines in Ode Book I, No.XII, which you would have read while at College:-

Ille seu Parthos Latio imminentis  
egerit justo domitos triumpho

sive subjectos Orientis orae  
 Seras et Indos  
 to minor latum reget aequus orbem'

Wether the Parthian, treatening Rome,  
 His eagles scatter to the wind,  
 Or follow to their eastern home  
 Cathay (Seras) and Ind,  
 Thy second let him rule below;

(Translation by Connington)

In this cuntext it is of interest to note that the Greek English Lexicon (Liddell & Scott, p 1384) refers to the Seres as an Indian people from, whom the ancients got the first silk (Strabo, 516,70)

No wonder that at least western and southern coasts of Ceylon must have been under their suzeranity, and no wonder the so-called Arab's who came to Ceylon passing Malabar, called the Island Serendib (சேரன்டீவு), the Island of the Cēras, which is not an Arabic word but a word of Tamil language which they themselves spoke, for they were clearly the direct descendants of the Dravidian sailors of old, to whom Pundit Nehru has paid high tributes in his Glimpses of World History while commenting on the advanced position South India occupied in the ancient world in regard to trade with the colonisation of other lands. The real Arabs were never a sea-faring race. The term, 'Arab' was used for the first time by the Portuguese, when they came to Ceylon in the middle of the 16th century. They naturally mistook these Dravidian sailors for Arabs, in view of the religion they professed, but without any consideration for the language they spoke. As I have already told you, these Dravidian sailors embraced Islam during their sojourns in Arabia, where they went for purposes of trade. That they were Dravidians is indicated not only by their language, but also by their social customs, such as, for example, marriages in which they followed the Dravidian practice of tying the Thali and giving dowry to the bride etc.

The referance to the Arabs calling Sri Lenka, Serendib (Island of the Cēras), is of interest as Varthema as late as 1506 has described the people in Sri Lanka as much like unto (people of) Calecut, (Calicut). This is not surprising as Tambraparni another name of Sri Lanka is also derived from Tambraparni on the opposite coast (India) and in Ptolemy's time referred to as Sali, obviously derived from the name of



the famous port and emporium Saliur also on the opposite coast and described as an emporium in Ptolemy's Geography of India.<sup>1</sup>

The author has also pointed out in footnote at page 13 that annotators have confused Seras with a Chinese tribe, apparently Seres in Serica indicated by Ptolemy in his geography on the northeast boundary of the Himalayas.

Pliny too seems to have contributed to this confusion and which though even Vincent seems to have doubted by him. In his work "The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea" he says "I have more than once noticed the Rajah, who, as Pliny informs us attended the embassy from the king of Ceylon to Claudius and who asserted that his father visited the Seres, I once thought that this Rajah went by sea; but on closer inspection of the passage, it is plain he went by land from Bengal across the mountain called Emodi. Still we have upon the whole, a proof, that through the intervention of different nations, a communication was open from the Red Sea, to the country of the Seres"<sup>2</sup>

The Seres of China is really a reference to the silk country of China reached by travellers by land through Central Asia. Seres which really refers to Serica of China in Ptolemy's Geography has been confused by Pliny with the Seras of the classical writers who actually refer to Kerala. It is manifestly clear that the traders of Ceylon could not have traded directly with the Seres peoples so far away beyond the Himalayas.

The following reference to Yule's observation quoted by Mr Crindle in his work on "Ancient India" according to Ptolemy is of great interest in this context, "China for nearly 1000 years has been known to the nations of Inner Asia, and to those whose acquaintance with it was got by that channel, under the name of Khitai, Khata, or Cathay, e. g. the Russians still call it Khitai. The pair of names, Khitai and Machin or Cathay and China, is analogous to the other pair Seres and Sinai. Seres was the name of the great nation in the far east as known by land, Sinai as known by Sea; and they were often supposed to be diverse just as Cathay and China were after-wards."<sup>3</sup>

Filliozat has also pointed out that Sera of Pliny (VI. XXIV, 4-8), mistaken by him as peoples of Central Asia were actually the Cerar

1 S. Livingstone, "The Sinhalese of Ceylon" and the "Aryan Theory" pp. 12-14.

J. R. Sinnatamby *Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 7.

2 William Vincent, *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, Vol. 2, 1805, p. 436.

3 McCrindle, *Ancient India according to Ptolemy* p. 9, f.n. 6.

(Tamil for "peoples of Kerala"). He has also pointed out that some information has reached Italy through Tamil, as early as, the 1st century A. D.<sup>4</sup>

It is relevant to mention in this context that the fact that a Dravidian people were settled in South India, is about the 6th century B. C. at least, has been authentically established by Rabin in a paper read by him at the International Seminar on Tamil Research at Madras in 1968. He has pointed out in reference to Tamil words in Hebrew Bible, that "The linguistic evidence points on the whole to contact with Dravidian or even more specially, Tamil speakers on the coast of South India.... The Western Asian names for Indian products here discussed would show Dravidian occupation of the sea coast to have taken place at least before the beginning of the 6th century for which Biblical evidence is generally accepted by Bible scholars as genuinely contemporary. If we accept Solomon's expedition, and especially if we believe the Songs of Songs" to represent substantially early condition, the evidence for Dravidians in South India is advanced as far as the tenth century B. C....."<sup>5</sup>

Some towns in Kerala are indicated in the Peutinger Tabel, a map prepared in the first century B. C. by Agrippa, on the orders of Emperor Augustus. This map embodies the geography of the then known world from England to Sri Lanka. This map was engraved on marble and erected near the Roman Forum. This means that Kerala was known to the citizens of Rome nearly 2000 years ago.<sup>6</sup>

Kanakasabhai has pointed out that Karoura of Ptolemy, the royal seat of the Kerabothras, is Karuvai of Vanchi the ruins of which are at Tirukarur, 28 miles east of north of Cochin. This is about the 1st century A. D. to which date Ptolemy's Geography is assigned.<sup>7</sup>

It would appear that Kerala was at an early period ruled by the Pandians. Wilson who was Boden Professor of Sanskrit, has pointed out in a footnote in his article on the Pandians "The author of Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, particularises Neloynnda, or Nelliceram, Paralia, Malabar or Travancore, and Comari, Cape Comorin, as under the king Pandion, Dr. Vincent conjectures, that the king of Madura had extended his power from the eastern to the western side of the

4 *Journal Asiatique*, (Vol. CCLXII, 1947, p. 130.)

5 *Proceedings of International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies*, Vol. 1, 1968

6 J. R. Sinnatamby, *Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography*, pp. 67-68.

7 V. Kanakasabhai, *Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago*, p. 20.

peninsula and was master of Malabar when the fleets from Malabar first visited the coast (Vol. II, 401).

He also thinks it likely that the power of Pandion had been superseded in Malabar between the age of the Periplus and Ptolemy: for Ptolemy reckons Aii next to Limurike on the South, and takes on notice of Pandion till he is past Cape Cornorin (*ibid*), The conjecture derives very strong support from the traditions of these countries. It may be supposed that the embassies sent by Pandion to Augustus, as noticed by classical authorities and which there is no reason to call in question arose out of the ambitious extension of the territories of the Pandya prince: two occurrences of this nature are noticed one the 18th year after the death of Julius Caesar, which reached Augustus at Tarracona, the other six years afterwards, when that prince was at Samos.”<sup>8</sup>

This appears to receive some support from Caldwell in his work “Comparative Grammar of Dravidian Languages” where he had pointed out that the word ‘West’ for both the peoples of Malayalam and Tamil Nadu is Melku meaning upwards. That people of Malayalam should also use the same word would indicate they came from Tamil Nadu. He has drawn the same inference from the word Kirraku for east. His actual comments are “The descent of Malayalam from Tamil may be illustrated by the word it uses to denote east. This is Kirraku, meaning beneath, down words, a word which corresponds to that which is used to denote west, viz. melku, above upwards both of which corresponds to that which is used to denote west, viz. melku, above upwards both of which words necessarily originated not in the western coast but in the Tamil country or the country on the eastern side of the ghauts.... The configuration of the Malayalam country.... is directly the reverse of this.... The people by whom Malayalam is spoken must originally have been a colony of Tamilians.....”<sup>9</sup>

There are good reasons to assume that a people lived in the Eastern Mediterranean at the time of Herodotus, c 500 B. C., who had customs and observed social distinctions similar to the Dravidians (presumably including the people of Kerala) of South India and which customs and social distinctions prevail among the Dravidians in some form or other to this day. What is of particular interest is that a similar people appear to have lived in the Eastern Mediterranean area and South India in

8 H.H. Wilson, “Historical Sketch of the Kingdom of Pandya, *Modern Journal* Vol. 6, 1837, pp. 176-177.

9 Caldwell, *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pp. 19-20, 1961 edition.



about the same time, about 500 B. C., or even earlier, as it has to be noted as pointed out by Rabin referred to earlier in this article, articles of commerce from South India were traded in Western Asia in about 600 B. C. Scholars are generally, agreed that the Dravidians of India came to India from the eastern Mediterranean and in about 500 B. C. they appear to have, as pointed out above, occupied territories in South India and the Eastern Mediterranean area at the same time. Could they not have been colonies of Dravidian traders?

What I have mentioned above is clearly stressed by Herodotus in his work where he says "whether the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians their notions about trade, like so many others I cannot say for certain. I have remarked that the Thracians, Scyths, the Persians, Lydians, and almost all other barbarians hold the citizens who practice trades and their children in less repute than the rest, while they esteem as noble as those who kept aloof from handicrafts and especially honour such as are given wholly to war. These ideas prevail throughout the whole of Greece."

And in respect of a people called Lycians or Termilae he says "They have however, one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother's and not the father's name. Ask a Lycian who he is and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line. Moreover, if a free woman marry a man who is a slave, their children are full citizens, but if a free man marry a foreigner or live with a concubine, even though he be the first person in the state, the children forfeit all the rights of citizenship."

From the above it could be concluded that a people existed in the Eastern Mediterranean who had social customs, similar to the customs of the Dravidians of today and also a matriarchal form of government which also prevailed among the Dravidians and which I believe still obtains in some form or other among some Dravidians to this day.

That this has been so, ethnologically and anthropologically in Eastern Mediterranean areas, at an ancient period of time, and even prior to the Indo—Aryan era, has been accepted by recognised scholars.<sup>10</sup>

Ptolemy's geography (C. 100 A. D.), also would appear to throw some light on the prevalence of Buddhism in South India (Kerala). This can be inferred from the name of the city shown as Semne which falls

10 J. R. Sinnatamby, "Comments on Slavery in Sri Lanka" *JRASC*, New Series, Vol. 18, 1974, pp. 23-24.

in Kerala of which McCrindle has pointed out "The Sanskrit name for Buddhist Ascetics was Sramana, in Tamil Samana and as we find this is rendered as Semnoi by Clemens Alexandrius, we may infer that Semne was a town inhabited by Buddhists having perhaps a Buddhist temple of noted Sanctity."<sup>11</sup>

Kanagasabhai has identified this city with Smbai.<sup>12</sup> I am not sure if any Buddhist edifices exist here. Probably investigations may confirm that this city was a centre of Buddhism. It is relevant to point out in this connection that Tamil Buddhist kings ruled at Madura and as observed by B. C. Law South India was a centre of Pali Buddhism. The famous Buddhist missionaries in Sri Lanka (Ceylon) were also Tamilians.<sup>13</sup>

It is of interest to note in this context that there is an area in Sri Lanka also falling in Hindu country known as Semnoi (Semni in Latin) where even today we find Buddhist edifices.<sup>14</sup>

There is also a reference of much significance by Heradotus that does not appear to have received the notice it should have, as it gives reasonable grounds to assume that Pharoahs have actually visited the shores of western coast of India and Northern Sri Lanka, presumably including Kerala. By this I refer to the observation made by Herodotus in his work where in reference to Sesostris a king of Egypt he says "Passing over these monarchs, therefore, I shall speak of the king who reigned next, whose name was Sesostris. He, the priests said, first of all proceeded in a fleet of ships of war from the Arabian Gulf along the shores of the Erythrean Sea, subduing the nations as he went, until he finally reached a sea which could not be navigated by reason of the shoals. Hence he returned to Egypt....."

Herodotus has also pointed out that Necos also built a fleet of triremes for the navigation of the Erythrean Sea and that the dry docks in which they lay were still visible.<sup>15</sup>

Chatterji, *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. 1, 1965, p. 161.

Chatterji *Tamil Culture*, Vol. 8, 1959, pp. 301, 309, 310

Horodotus (I, 173 ; II, 167) Edited by Hutchins, Published by Benton.

11 McCrindle, *op. cit.*, p. 52

12 V. Kanakasabhai, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

13 Dutt, *Budhist Monks and Monasteries of India*  
B.C. Law. *South India as a Centre of Pali Buddhism*  
Dharmaratan Theoo, *Buddhism in South India*  
Geigar, *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*

14 J. R. Sinnatamby, *op. cit.*,

15 Herodotus ((I, 102, 159) published by William Benton, edited by Hutchins

The reference to a shallow Sea is of interest, as the Manner Gulf between South India and North West of Ceylon where lie the Pearl fisheries is a shallow sea and of which Ribeiro in his book on Ceylon says "From Cape Comorin the coast called the "coast of Fishery" runs inland making a gulf between Ceilao and the mainland..... Here it not possible to sail to the coast of Choromandel except by two very narrow channels . . . . . through each of which only a small sumaca can make its way and that too when the sea is high"<sup>16</sup>

Lahovary has also pointed out that Hornell thought, that the legendary kingdom of Punt of the Egyptians was the Tamil country (Pandi) Pandya and that for the Greeks the Red Sea or Erythraea Talassa did not end at Aden but reached Indian Coasts and that is why Sir Mortimer Wheeler sees an unitary aspect in the coastal civilizations of the Indian Ocean, and a certain cultural community of Arabia, East Africa and India since very early times. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

The confusion of Red Sea with the Arabian Gulf by modern geographers, which would appear to have obscured the great significance to historians of the Red Sea as known to the ancients has been due to a mistranslation of the Hebrew text of the Bible pertaining to the Red Sea. That the Arabian Gulf, which according to Ptolemy's Geography is the Red Sea of today, came to be called Red Sea is due to a mistake in the translation adopted for the Hebrew words. "Yam Suph" in the New Testament.

According to Keller<sup>18</sup> the correct translation is "Red Sea" and refers to the northern section of Red Sea of today. He says the Hebrew words "Yam Suph" are sometimes translated as the "Red Sea" is frequently mentioned. . . . As the name "Red Sea" now read as "Red Sea" actually applied only to the northern section of the Red Sea today, it is clear that the Red Sea of today was not known as such in ancient times. This confirms Ptolemy's Geography where this area is referred to as the Arabian Gulf.

That the "Red Sea" should actually be rendered as the "Sea of Reeds" is being taken into consideration by scholars in the latest translations of the Bible.<sup>19</sup>

16 Ribeiro, *Ceylon* p. 1.

17 Lahovary, *Dravidian Origins and the Wets*, p. 30.

18 Keller, *Bible as History* p. 126.

19 David Wharton "Latest in Bibles" *The Readers Digest*, p. 52,



## **"The Experience of Kerala Temple Architecture"**

BY

**Ronald M. Bernier**

### *Setting*

Kerala state is in many ways a place apart, outside of the mainstream of the cultural and historical development of India as a whole. Its architecture has attracted some passing attention, mainly for its supposed connection to the temples of Nepal and the Far East, but this is the least important of considerations. The temple art of Kerala comforts the art historian with glimpses of basic plans and symbolic forms that are ancient and institutionalized throughout South Asia, but the art also surprises and sometimes confounds with creations that are entirely indigenous. As a combination of the shared and the unique, Kerala temple art is a unified, tradition from early medieval times forward, that stands on its own merits.

International exchange has been constant in Kerala, "land of the coconuts," wedged as it is for its 360-mile length between the Arabian Sea and the mountains of the Western Ghats. The Portuguese, French, Dutch, British, Arabs, and Chinese all came in trade and/or conquest, even as Kerala remained relatively isolated from interior India. The mountain wall of the Western Ghats is broken only at the 20-mile wide Palghat Gap, an opening utilized by the Romans for trade in the 1st century A. D. and facilitating invasions of the Malabar Coast in the 18th century by Carnatic commanders like Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan.<sup>1</sup> Between these events the break allowed for perculating contacts with the powerful dynasties of central and southern India, but neither the visitors from inland regions nor those who came by sea, including representatives of the British East India company, caused revolutionary change in the arts of Kerala.<sup>2</sup>

1 H. Gopalankutty, "Influence of Geography on Kerala History--The Palghat Gap: A Case Study," *Souvenir-Thirty-seventh Indian History Congress*, Calicut, 1976, p. 32.

2 Raja Ravi Varma, the most famous painter of Kerala, presents an adoption of European techniques that are unusual within Kerala arts,

An early historical reference to Kerala (Keralaputra) is found in an edict of Ashoka dated c. 270 B. C.<sup>3</sup> Legend has it that St. Thomas the Apostle arrived in the 1st century A. D.<sup>4</sup> The Jews of Cochin, surviving only as a very small colony since the foundation of Israel drew most of their number away in 1947, trace their arrival to the coming of King Solomon's merchant fleet in about 973 B. C.<sup>5</sup> Famous individuals include the great Hindu philosopher Shankaracharya who was born at Kaladi, six miles from Alwaye, in about 805 A. D. He was followed by Ma Huan who came from China to Cochin and Calicut in 1412 A. D. the Persian Ambassador, Adbur Razzak, who came to Calicut in 1443, and Vasco Da Gama, who prayed with his men in a Hindu temple, which he mistook for a church after his landing at Kappakadavu on May 21, 1498.<sup>6</sup> The Portuguese were able to follow Vasco da Gama and establish commercial supremacy, aided by the Rajas of Quilon and Purakkad in opposition to local Zamorin powers, and to hold that dominance on the Kerala Coast and beyond for 150 years. The Inquisition was held during this period, with Kerala receiving many Hindu immigrants from more harshly oppressed areas of the northern coast. By this time the medieval Kerala style in art was already well developed.

### *Monuments*

Many outsiders have remarked upon the exotic appearance of the "pagoda" temples of Kerala, buildings having single or multiple roofs of very large size and walls made of wood or stone that are often lavishly carved as well as painted with dazzling murals. The temples present a building tradition that is born of climatic setting (the steeply sloping roofs are rain resistant on temples just as they are on houses and palaces), of domestic building patterns the methods and materials are the same), of multiplicity of gods and their sacred stories,<sup>7</sup> and of local love of theatre.

Among the major periods of Kerala history, the Kulasekhara Dynasty (800-1100 A. D.) is most important for the diffusion and full development of temple design. With its capital at Tiruvanchikulan (Mahodayapuram) this power reigned throughout the formative time of Malayalam language and literature and saw the triumphant expansion

3 A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1967, p. 47.

4 Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1970, p. 226.

5 S. S. Koder, *History of the Jews of Kerala*, Cochin, 1974, p. 3.

6 Menon, p. 204.

7 The monuments under discussion are all Hindu today, but study of their plans and foundations suggests possible Buddhist and even Jain origins,



Hinduism and the *bhakti* movement of intense personal devotion to the incarnations or "family" of Viṣṇu and Śiva.<sup>8</sup> The age was marked by the rapid establishment of temple complexes under Brahmin guidance in all areas of Kerala. Elaborate in their many parts and meaningful ornament, the structures exhibit regional variations and, to differing degrees, the influences of powerful kingdoms beyond the borders of Kerala. But all are interrelated in terms of materials, function, organization of plan, and design. Most of the monuments studied for this report were established between the 10th and 14th centuries, none bears the signature of artist or architect, and all are distinct in important ways from contemporary trends in temple design elsewhere in India,

### Style

The classic temple of Kerala, called *ambalam* or *kṣetram*, is like the Nepalese pagoda in having steeply shoping roofs that make a dramatic vertical statement and present an active, staccato silhouette. Rich decorative detail is subordinate to the impression of pure geometry in both. The temple of Vaikom, for example, dominates its coconut palm environment in Kerala by its absolute simplicity. Yet the low walls beneath its eaves are a riot of painted color, last repaired in 1539. They present twenty paintings with forty divine figures. And even though the height of the roof may be four or more times that of that *tala* or wall that supports it, such a structure rarely tops the trees around it. In this, the temple is again like the thatched or tiled houses of any village, with their tremendous roof sizes and deep overhangs. Temple roof are traditionally set apart by being covered with copper sheeting that is put down in flat, shingle-like pieces. But especially since the 19th century and the founding of the Basel Mission, baked clay tiles have come to cover almost every kind of building in Kerala, including some temples.<sup>9</sup> The tiles are of rectangular interlocking type, or flatter round type that are popularly called "Dutch" tiles.<sup>10</sup> Wooden struts are often placed as braces beneath the overhanging roofs, as in Nepal, and no roof is complete until it is capped by at least one *kalasa*, a consecrated pot-form that is normally encased in copper, and a *stupi* or pointed pinnacle.

8 Also to be especially noted are the deities Subramanya, Kṛṣṇa, Śasta, Bhagavati,

Clay tile was used in medieveal times, but probably only on floors.

10 Such tiles may be seen as part of the Mattancherry palace complex in Cochin,

### Organization.

Even though the roofs are very large and quite high, the overall emphasis of the complex temple design is horizontal rather than vertical. This is due to the enclosure of considerable land area by the compound, to the presence of multiple walls and low cloisters having their own low roofs, and to the axis orientation of buildings. Alignment is made up of porches, pavilions, platforms for offering and prayer, subsidiary shrines, and the temple proper with its *śṛīkōvil* building that encloses the *garbha griha*, "womb house," and the major symbol or image of the god.

A visitor to a large temple like the famous Kṛṣṇa shrine of Guruvayur in Trichur District, moves through a progression of spaces that is rather like that experienced by the devotee who seeks the inner shrine of a Buddhist monastery or *bahāl* in Nepal.<sup>11</sup> But there is none of the powerful verticality of freestanding Nepalese temples that are like arrows atop high ladders—with roofs as steps toward enlightenment.<sup>12</sup> The worshipper in Kerala is drawn to the centre but not upward;<sup>13</sup> his circumambulatory route is not a spiral one.<sup>14</sup> He remains at earth level.

The rectangular and horizontal organization of temple grouping, with cloistered walls opening into open courtyards of much space, may be compared to the plan of the classic *catusālā*, four-sided house, and to early monasteries having the same plan. As dwelling type, this design survives today among the Nairs of Kerala, as in the 200-year-old building belonging to the family of Mr. and Mrs. Shivasankaran Nair in Kottayam. Carved wood is abundantly part of Kerala treatment, especially when a family shrine is built into the building. Carving takes the design of floral motifs, running geometrical borders, and sometimes anthropomorphic deities. All of these patterns are found in elaborate multiplication as part of temple art.

The gable is a structural and decorative element shared by house and temple. It projects from the sides of the temple roof or, most often, appears at the front or a pent-roof ends of the sacred stru-

11 A scale model of the Guruvayur is located in the sculpture gallery of the Trivandrum Museum. The Nepalese *bahal* is well represented by Hiranya Varma Mahavihara (Kva Bahal) in Patan.

12 The five-roof temple of Nyatapola in Bhaktapur, dated 1708 A. D., well illustrates this Nepalese design.

13 The elevation of the *garbha griha* and its image is not high above the ground.

14 Comparison might be made to the temples of Khajuraho or even to the great *stupa* at Sanchi,



cture. In domestic art it is normally pierced for ventilation and may have ornamental elements, while in temple art the gable is filled with multiple columns, representations of attendant gods, or repeated shrine forms. Both kinds of buildings rest on plainer stone foundations—laterite for houses and granite for temples. Either kind of structure is likely to have a bathing tank nearby, but this is strictly functional.

The color of both the traditional house and the temple is fairly subdued, consisting mainly of earth tones.<sup>15</sup> The outer *prakāra* or wall of a temple may be plastered and painted white, or its naturally deep brown laterite may be given only vertical white stripes all along its rectangular boundary. Inner walls, including those of the cloister, may also be of laterite or they may be made of latticed wood. Of special note are *dīpa maḍham* walls covered with hundreds of oil lamps to present a shimmering night display at festival time. Even inside the inner courtyard color is fairly subdued, with grey pavement of granite and whitewashed walls; but brilliant polychrome may be applied to the carved ceilings of the *maṇḍapa* porches, to wood carvings on the screens and roof brackets of the *śrī kōvil*, and to murals upon the *śrī kōvil* walls.

The innermost courtyard and sacred space is surrounded by an open cloister with platforms for the use of Brahmins, and by various rooms, including kitchen and storage areas with special furniture, palanquins to carry sacred images at festival times, musical instruments that are played daily to attend worship, and brass lamps. At the center of the court stands the *śrī kōvil*—round, square, rectangular, oval, or apsidal—with the portion from plinth to spire termed the *vimāna*. This *sanctum sanctorum* is approached by way of various porches that stand before its entrance, which usually faces east. Attendant Shrines may be placed around it almost any where within the court. The extra structures may be independent or they may be joined to each other by means of roofed passages.

Found on the floor of the paved area are small stone images of prostrate devotees, stone blocks as symbols of the *sapta mātṛika* (seven mother goddesses), an *pranala* drainage spout that carries ablutions outside from the *varimarga* channel inside the *garbha griha*. This is a drain that takes sacred liquid out of the inner room so that it may drip into a shallow depression that leads across the courtyard and is open

15 Mention should be made of the modern taste for wildly contrasting colors for the walls of traditional and cemented houses in Kerala, especially in the north, and of the preference for ice blue that is evident in houses belonging to Muslims of Malappuram and adjacent districts.

to worshippers desiring to take the blessed substance. At some Śiva temples this exterior drain is not to be crossed, causing the circling devotee to walk back to his starting place rather than complete a full circumambulation around the *śrī kōvil*. The liquid channel is respected as but one lifeline of a totally active environment. The Kerala temple complex is not a palace or a jewelbox; it is "livable," human in scale, native, and a comfortable home for familiar gods.

Kerala temple compounds are elaborate in that they hold many sacred symbols, such as ritual trees and snakestones,<sup>16</sup> and associated buildings such as *kūṭṭambalam* theatres are many.<sup>17</sup> But progressional organization and open construction of modest size makes the temples as understandable as they are beautiful.

16 A. Sreedhara Menon discusses the sacred Banyan tree as related to indigenous beliefs of pre-historic Kerala, with snake stones, interpreted as *nāgār*, being a similar survival,

17 An excellent source for study of theatre architecture is *The Temple Theatre of Kerala: Its History and Description* by Clifford Reis Jones, 1967, a doctoral dissertation written at the University of Pennsylvania.



## Vasuki Sayana — A rare motif

BY

VIJAYARAGHAVAN NAYAR

The efflorescence of the Ajanta art radiated its art impulse to many centres in South India, namely, to Badami, during the regime of Chalukyas; from Badami,<sup>1</sup> it travelled eastward to Panamalai,<sup>2</sup> during the Pallavas; swept down to Sittanvasal<sup>3</sup> during the Pandyas. Kerala, was not irresponsive to these classical forms, which crossed the ghats from Sittanvasal to Tirunandikara.<sup>4</sup> In the eighth and ninth centuries, the Cēra<sup>5</sup> art could recover the grace of Ajanta figuration, perhaps, even more successfully than the Pallavas or the Pandyas. For about seven centuries, there seems to be a void in the art of painting, as nothing has been brought to the light of history. The murals of Ettumanoor<sup>6</sup> and Mattancherry,<sup>7</sup> are reported to belong to the sixteenth century or later.

After the advent of the Europeans, Kerala was exposed to Western influence, resulting in cross fertilisation of ideas and techniques. The artists of Kerala evolved a new style, which can be seen in Mattancherry palace. But the indigenous style, uninfluenced by the "brush and palette" of the West and heavily influenced by the Vijayanagar<sup>8</sup> and Nayak styles flourished in the land of Kerala, side by side. Examples can be cited from Mattancherry palace itself; and the temple complex

1 C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian Painting*, (N. Delhi). p. 62. Fig. 9 and Karl Khandalawala, *Development of style in Indian Painting* (Bombay), p. 47

2 C. Sivaramamurti, *Ibid.*, p. 71 Fig. 26 and Karl Khandalawala, *Ibid.*, p. 34.

3 C. Sivaramamurti, *Ibid.*, p. 73 fig. 28.

4 Tirunandikkara was part of Travancore till 1956.

5 Krishna Chaitanya, *A History of Indian Painting—the mural tradition*, (New Delhi) p. 82.

6 C. Sivaramamurti, *Nataraja, art and thought*. (New Delhi), p. 286 and Stella Kramarisch, Cousens and Vasudeva Poduval, *The art and crafts of Kerala* (Trivandrum) pp. 163, 178.

7 M.R. Dattan : Chapter on 'Paintings of Kerala' p. 36; *History of Kerala*. Vol. II (Ernakulam) Ed. P.S. Vedayadhan ; H Sarkar, *Monuments of Kerala* (New Delhi) p. 68.

S. Kramarisch & others : *Ibid.* p. 163.

8 C. Sivaramamurti, *South Indian painting* pp. 103-104.

of Vatakkunathan, Trichur; Tiruvanchikulam temple, Cranganore, both in Trichur District and Trippavallur temple, of Palghat District, The painting that, we are going to discuss, is from the Trippavallur temple.

Trippavallur temple is located about 2 k.m. east of Alatur H. Q. of Alatur Taiuk, Palghat Dist.. On the banks of the river Gayatri, sprawls the temple complex, which consists of four shrines dedicated to Siva, Krishna, Narasimha and Sasta, proclaiming the eclectic nature of the ruler and the ruled, of the land. The orientation of the temple is towards east, where the river Gayatri meanders and flows northwards. Exhibiting different architectural styles like the square and circular plans, its walls are decorated with paintings, while there are bracket figures in wood and terra-cotta, the temple complex is a veritable treasure-house for the students of art and culture. Two large murals are seen on the Western Wall of the *Nālambalam*. One, on the extreme north, represents astronomical details about the whole universe, and, the other a religious painting, which is our study.

Depicted there is a god, in 'Sayana' or reclining posture, and attended by a number of gods, goddesses and sages, it occupies an area of 250 cm × 170 cm. The devotees worship the god as *Sēshasāyi* Vishnu. As it is the privilege of Vishnu<sup>9</sup> image alone to be represented in 'Sayana' (reclining) form, in addition to the *Stānaka* and *Āsana* forms, the *Sayanamūrti* is passed on as Vishnu reclining on *Sēsha*. Curiously enough this *sayana mūrti* does not have any of the usual attributes of Vishnu like *Sankhu*, *Chakra*, or *Gada* nor is seen Brahma, who used to be shown emerging from lotus, which emanates from the navel of Vishnu. (See photo No. 1) Besides, the gods in waiting are, Vishnu, Brahma, Nandi, Ganesa and Muruka, the most important among the gods. This painting is, therefore, a puzzle to the students of art, as there are no *Mādhyama ślōkas* found in any of the accepted texts describing a god, other than Vishnu, in the *Sayana* posture. Fortunately, there is an inscription, which helps solve the problem of identification. The artist has given the title as *Vāsuki Sayanam*. The inscription is in Verse, in the Malayalam script, as follows:—

“Kailasōpari Kādra (veya) Sayanam  
Kārunya Vārām nidhim  
Karpūra sphatika Sundara tanu (m)  
Kātyāyanī lālitham  
Gangā Shanmugha Nandi Nāga vadsanā

Brahmādi Samsēvitam  
 Dhyāyēd Bhaktaparāyanam  
 Bhava Bhaya dhvamsam Satyam Sivam Sundaram”

*Translation:*

“One should meditate upon Lord Siva, (the auspicious one) who is (also) Real and Beautiful, who has for his bed, the son of Kadru (i.e. the lord of serpents, Vāsuki) on the top of the Kailāsa mountain. He is the ocean of compassion, is as fair as camphor crystals; who is fondled by Pārvasī and waited upon by Ganga, Shanmugha, Nandi (the Divine bull) Gaṇēsa, (the elephant faced god) Lord Brahma and other deities (like lords Vishnu, Indra etc.); devoted to his devotees, he destroys the fear of mundane<sup>10</sup> life”.

According to the *Dhyāna* sloka, the *Sayanamūrti*, is Siva, reclining on the serpent Vāsuki, hence the artist has christened it as *Vāsuki Sayanam*. The painter has sought to convey through his canvas, the ideas and conceptions though, much older than his plastic art, and to which he brought his gifts of vision and plastic concept. Besides, he has given titles wherever necessary so as to drive home his point (see photograph I & II) The goddess on the extreme right is Ganga. On the lap of Ganga is Siva's head, while on the lap of Parvati, are his feet. Siva wears a crown, very much akin to the ‘*Kathakali Kirita*’. The crescent is conspicuous at the top of crown. His eyes are wide open, under the elongated eye-brows, looking at the lotus flower, which is held in his left hand. His ‘third eye’ on the forehead, is closed. His right hand is extended, across the serpentine bed, almost to the foreground. His *Kundalas* large circular ear ornaments, conform to the *Kathakali* dance. His “*Pancha gacha* dress” extends from navel to his feet. His torso end feet adhere to a formula with no pretensions to the observance of anatomical exactitudes.

Parvati wears a crown, whereas Ganga does not, but both of them wear blouse and saree. They have all kinds of ornaments in profusion. Most prominent among the attendants are Vishnu, Brahma, Narada, Indra and Nandi. Vishnu is shown with “*Anjali*” mudra, with his frontal hands, while his rear hands, hold *chakra* and *Sankhu*, in the right and left respectively. The “*Pundarika*” of Vishnu cannot be missed. His *Makuta* and *Kundalas* also show consanguinity with the *Katha kali* dance. The three-headed Brahma is depicted with folded hands, while his rear hands hold rosary and *jalapātra*. He wears no

10 I am grateful to Dr. Vani, M.A., Ph.D., of the New Law College, Bombay 16, for helping me in translating the sloka.



crown, but has '*Jatāmakuta*' and *Rudrāksha*. His bearded, "*Yagnōpavītam*' are prominently seen. Another god who is in-waiting is, Indra, with folded hands. Although he has the same type of crown as Vishnu and Siva, he is dressed like a king, the flouring garments, full of folds and frills. The peculiar feature of representing Indra is, that, a number of eyes are shown through out his body. It is an open secret, that,<sup>11</sup> he has been the root cause of many a love-episode, tradition never profanes him; but, here, he is depicted as "*Ahalya-jāra*". It may be attributed to the sense of humour of the artist, who made this character to have the effect of '*risē*,' while all other characters are sober, deeply engrossed in worship. Nandikeswara is at his master's feet, with folded hands. His portrayal shows greater influence of the *Kathakali* dance, in as much as, he is shown as "*Vella thadi*" (white-bearded type). All the other gods have crowns, the sages have "*jatamakuta*." The "four *Sanakādi* sages" are shown as eternal infants, with only loin cloths. The *Ganas* have distorted faces. Is it due to weathering or intended to be so? In conformity with their characteristics, they can be delienated as having distorted forms. If so, distortion is also justified. On the fore-ground, is shown a Squat Ganesa while Shanmungha (having only one face) sports with a bull. An entirely different world is morrored, hitherto unknown to the art world, through this painting.

On the extreme right, a sage is shown reading a text, as though, expounding the philosophy of "*Siva Sayanam*". The sage might be a symbolic representation of the artist's preceptor about whom, there is a reference, *inter-alia*, in the inscription, in prose, seen on the right top of the painting. It reads as follows :—

"All these paintings are executed by *Vasu* of *Kāvaśśery*,<sup>12</sup> a disciple of '*Mahayogi* of *Tirunilayi Guha*', in the year 928 (Malayalam Era—) 1753 AD and dedicated to please the main deity of "*Trippu*",<sup>13</sup>

11 Indra's son Jayanta tried his hand on *Sita*, See Sarga 66 Sundarkandam, Valmiki Ramayanam.

12 *Kāvaśśery* Village, is situated, one KM west of Alatur, H.Q. of Taluk. The village has since become famous through the Alatur inscriptions. See. N.G. Unnithan ; Relics of Jainism in Alatur *Journal of Indian History* XLIV.II Aug 1966. (Trivandrum) pp. 537-43—and K.G. Krishnan : '*Trikkunavāyil -Kōttam* and the inscriptions from Alatur'—*Journal of Kerla Stuidies*. Vol. I Sl No. 1 July 1973. p. 5.

13 '*Trippu*' refers to Trippavallur. The records refer only as Trippavallur & not "*Trippu*," The artist must have coined the word. I am grateful to Sri (Late) C Madhava Menon, for allowing me to see the records and giving me permission to take photographs.







for the benefit of the people. I crave pardon, in case, any defects are found." This is an important document to us, in as much as, it gives the name of the painter, a reference to his preceptor and the date of execution. It has to be specially noted that the artists of yore, never advertised their names for publicity, except under special circumstances. In this case, Vasu, of Trippavallur, has a special mission to propagate a new theme of '*Vāsuki Sayana*' taught to him by his *Guru*. This theme of *Vāsuki Sayana* is a rarity, and found rarer in other media than painting, has perhaps few parallels in the state, much less outside the state. We have come across one specimen, from the Vatakkunathan temple, Trichur. In the *Nandi Mandapa*, there are two large murals representing a *Nātya mūrti* and a *Sayanamūrti*, on the eastern and northern walls respectively. They are the largest paintings in the temple complex, as they cover an area of 250 CM x 200 CM and 450 CM x 250 CM respectively, second<sup>14</sup> only to the paintings of Krishnapuram palace, in the State of Kerala. Both the paintings are weathered and identification, therefore, is a task. The *Natya murti* is in a better state, than the *Sayanamūrti*. The *Sayana mūrti*, has been identified as *Sēsha Sāyi*.<sup>15</sup> But there are certain clues, which lead to startling results, which run counter to the identification as *Sēsha Sāyi*. First of all, the deity has only two hands, without any weapons like Chakra or gada. Conspicuously absent is Brahma, emerging from the lotus, which used to emanate from the navel of Vishnu. Besides, a long blue neck of a bird, with a beak is seen. It can be identified as Pea-cock, the vehicle of Shanmugha. He belongs to the *saivite* family and certainly not to the *Vaishnavite* family. Never there is a case reported anywhere, of either a painting or a sculpture, of *Sēshasāyi*, in which Shanmugha with his vehicle is present. This painting, therefore, cannot be of *Sēshasāyi*, in the light of the above evidences. The *Sayanamūrti* can be identified as Siva, reclining on *Vāsuki*. Two goddesses, sitting one at the head and the other at the feet are visible, so are the extended hoods of the large serpent. They can be identified as Ganga, Parvati and Vasuki, respectively. Other details cannot be given due to the decayed condition of the painting.

Whether Trippavallur copied Trichur, or vice versa,, is a moot question. Both the temples are Siva temples, accommodating other deities, and both exhibit architectural plans of square and circular bases. Beyond these, there are no further points to link these complexes.

14 S. Kramarisch & others, *The arts and crafts of Kerala* p. 170.

15 C. Sivaramamurti, *Nataraja, art & thought* p. 289.

What is more intriguing is that, these art centres are 30 KM away, and one does not come across in any of the fanes in between, this motif.

Was it due to the narrow chauvinism of Siva cult that this motif, showing supremacy of Siva has emerged? While probing into the philosophical background, it is clear, that it cannot be a sudden emergence, either in Trippavallur or in Trichur, as, the seeds can be seen in the earlier paintings of the land, showing supremacy of Siva over Vishnu. Mattancherry palace has a painting, representing *Sēsha*<sup>16</sup> *Sāyi* i.e. Vishnu, as the *Sayanamūrti*. His right hand is shown extended down across the bed of Sessa, performing *Pooja* on a Siva linga. Does it now show clearly the supremacy of Siva? The tradition handed down from Mahabalipuram<sup>17</sup> or as is seen today in Sreerangam, is that Vishnu's right hand is shown either as a support to his head or simply extended down across the serpentine bed. As against the tradition of Tamilnadu in representing *Sēsha Sāyi*, the concept of supremacy of Siva over Vishnu, is germane in the Mattancherry palace itself. Another mural found at the shrine of Rama, in the Vatakkunathan complex, representing *Sēsha Sāyi*, has the same motif, i.e. Vishnu's right hand is shown performing the *linga pooja*. The famous mural of *Sēsha Sāyi* at Guruvayoor would have confirmed, in situ, had it not been destroyed in an accidental fire. But the replacement, the sculptural representation has kept all the details of the painting in tact, including 'the performance of Siva pooja' inspite of the fact, it was executed by a Tamil *Sthapati*. This unique feature of '*linga pooja*' by *Sēsha sāyi*, has been accepted and continues to be a part of cultural tradition in Kerala. The rationale behind these paintings i.e. the supremacy of Siva over Vishnu, is logically extended and expanded in the form of *Vāsuki Sayana* of Siva and unto Him the rest of the trio gave audience, along with others.

Siva supremacy over others, as conceived and executed by the Kerala painters, cannot be localised fermentation. "A *Viswaroopa* form of Siva is also known and there are some miniatures illustrating this theme, known in some Pahari schools of painting like Kangra. Here *Padmanabha Vishnu* is depicted on the stomach of *Viswaroopa* Siva, the sun and the moon on the chest, and several others *devas* above *Jata*. The innumerable hands, faces and legs suggest *Sahasrapadākshīrōruthava*."<sup>18</sup> These parallel movements in the extreme north of Kangra

16 Panel No. 14 of the Mattancherry palace.

17 C. Sivaramamurti, "Mahabalipuram" (New Delhi) Photo plate V.

18 C. Sivaramamurti, "*Satarudriya*" Text and commentary, (New Delhi) p. 5.

valley and in the extreme south, in Kerala, are as enigmatic, as the affinity, in the wooden slanting roofs of Nepal in the north with that of Kerala temples.

Reference has already been made in respect of the preceptor, 'Mahayogi of Tirunilai' about whom some details have been gathered. In this temple complex between the two paintings there are inscriptions<sup>19</sup> in prose, in the Malayalam script. The Mahayogi has been referred to as one who is a resident of Benaras. It can, therefore, be inferred that the sage is associated with Tirunilai, 4 KM. south of Palghat and the sage must have had his initiation into the order of *Sanyasins*, from Benaras. Further enquiries in this regard have led me to get interesting details about him from Sri Sivaramakrishnan,<sup>20</sup> a resident in Bombay. One of his great grand uncles, renounced worldly life and attained "*Jeevan-mukta hood*" about some two hundred years ago. He composed this *Dhyāna sloka* and taught to his disciples, while he spent some time, at Tirunilai. Among the disciples were, some of his nephews, who preserved it as their ancestral property.

The style of this painting deserves attention. Vasu had designed a large canvas, to depict a theme, encompassing the whole universe. The colours, used are familiar, as the palette is limited, i.e. red, brown, blue and black, all of them are indigenous and vegetable-mix colours. Although Trippavallur is only 50 KM. away from Trichur, where the artist,<sup>21</sup> Kannan used bright colours in the Sankaranarayana shrine, in Vattakkunathan temple complex, Trichur, the artist Vasu knew nothing about it. Kannan's superior technique<sup>22</sup> is equally unknown to him, in spite of the fact, that Vasu painted 23 years later. It is astonishing to note that, a short span of 25 years, made all the differences so as cut off completely from a rich tradition. The lines of *Vasuki sayana*, are not ure, often blunt, refuse to merge with colour. Equally unbalanced are the volume and mass. The figures are uniformly uncouth, 'have travelled miles away from the classical forms of Tirunandikara'.

19 The study of those inscriptions, is beyond the scope of this essay.

20 It was an accident that Sri Sivaramakrishnan participated in a *Bhajan* at 18/615, Subhash Nagar, Chembur, where he sang this *dhyāna sloka*. I am grateful to him for giving me further information about Mahayogi and showing me a photograph of '*Vasuki Sayanam*' painted by his father, late Parameswara Iyer.

21 Kannan, the Nayar disciple of Neha Nambudiri, executed the painting on 23-9-71. See, H. Sarkar, *Monuments of Kerala* p. 67.

22 S. Paramasivam : 'An investigation into the method of the mural paintings, Cochin and Travancore' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*. Vol. VII 1939 (June), (Bangalore) pp. 18-25.



The diction is, as loose as the texture itself. The crowns, *jatāmakuta* and *kundalas*, exhibit, strong influence of the terspichorean art forms of Kerala. The costumes, ornaments and coiffure, provide pictorial commentary of the social life. The dress is part of the ethos of an age and contributes to one's understanding of it. The surfeit of ornaments and embellishments do not add to the quality of painting, in fact, the decorative tendency manifests itself to the detriment of plastic qualities as in the case of<sup>23</sup> Madura Nayaks. Like the Vijayanagar style, another feature to be noted is, the use of textile pattern to dominate a colour scheme. "The device, though unusual, harmonises, well with the tableau — like composition and the feeling that the figures are derived from a stage art of mime."<sup>24</sup> A new trial has been blazed forth, by the introduction of the sage, through whose exposition, the whole illustration takes place. This innovation, has added to the aspect of perspective, which elevates this painting to be worthy of consideration among the art connoisseurs. However, as a last vestige, of the art tradition painting, *Vāsuki Sayana*, of Trippavallur has a unique place, however small it might be in the great cultural heritage of Kerala, representing a novel theme, which deserves to be called a 'rare-motif'.

23 Karl Khandalawala, *Indian Sculptures*, (Bombay) p. 35.

24 Karl Khandalawala, *Development of style in Indian Painting*, p. 53.

## Socio-Political and Religious Life of Christians in Ancient and Medieval Kerala

BY

C. V. CHERIYAN

Kerala has been the home of different religions from time immemorial and is one of the oldest centres of Christianity in the world. Tradition has it that Apostle St. Thomas preached the Gospel of Christ in Kerala. Christianity developed here as an indigenous religion, not as an alien religion imposed upon a people by superior physical force. People from all sections of society embraced the new religion, attracted by the simple teachings of Christ as expounded by Apostle Thomas and those who followed in the apostolic foot-prints. Under the fostering care of the local princes and with the friendship and tolerance extended by the Hindu brethren, it developed as an essentially Indian religion in all respects except in matters of faith and forms of worship. This Church preserved the faith handed down from the days of Apostle St. Thomas without being defiled by the heresies that plagued the Churches elsewhere. The Christian Church in Kerala developed also as an essentially independent Church without hierarchical or juridical subjection to any foreign Church. This independence and the simplicity of faith lasted until this Church came into contact with the Portuguese missionaries who arrived in Kerala after the epoch-making discovery of a sea-route from Europe to India by Vasco de Gama in A. D. 1498. On the eve of the arrival of the Portuguese, Christian society in Kerala presented the picture of a community that was Christian in religion, Syro-oriental in worship and Indian in culture.

### *Socio-Political Life*

When the Portuguese landed at Calicut, Christians had already spread over the whole land and were known as *Nazranis*. Their social status, according to the Portuguese accounts of the XVIth Century, was the same as that of the Brahmins. The Nayers who constituted the second estate of the realm and who occupied the second place in the caste hierarchy of Hindus, according to these accounts, held the Christians in high esteem and deemed it an honour to be addressed as brothers by the Christians. Also the Christians, in order to preserve their nobility, would not touch the inferior castes, and would, while going along the road, shout to the people from afar to make way for

them and they had the right to kill any person who crossed their path.<sup>1</sup> The high caste Hindus believed that the touch of the *Nazrani* was sufficient to purify articles defiled by the touch of the low-caste people. Several castes of artisans served the Christians and the Christians, in turn, afforded protection to these castes. There were *Chavers* who even courted death to defend the rights of Christians and of their Churches. A *Chaver* would even attack Kings to protect the interests of his master. He would obey his master in everything except in the matter of conversion to Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

The Christians were a highly cultivated people. They observed elaborate rules of etiquette. For example, they would not sit in the presence of their elders and priests until being asked to do so, and would not stand up without permission once seated. The eldest and most respected among them only would participate in the discussions in their assemblies. When parents spoke to the children and teachers to the pupils, the youngsters held their left hand before their mouths as a sign of respect.<sup>3</sup>

Christians in Kerala distinguished themselves in such professions as agriculture, trade and military service. They cleared forests and drained marshy places to cultivate paddy, coconut trees etc. They were proprietors of pepper and masters of the public weighing office in Quilon in the middle of the XIVth Century. They were the finest soldiers in the whole of Kerala. Consequently, the greater the number of Christians a prince had in his armies, the more he was respected by his neighbours. Hindu Kings constructed churches for Christians and endowed them with tax-free lands in order to secure their military services. Many served the Kings as ministers and councillors.<sup>4</sup>

They enjoyed great privileges which had been given to them since the days of Thomas Cana "for the time that the sun and moon shall last." They alone could ride on elephants—a privilege reserved for the princess of the royal blood, and they alone could sit in the presence of

1 La Croze, *Historia de Christianisme des Indes*, pp. 95-96, cited in George Moraes, *A History of Christianity in India* (Bombay, 1964), p. 175.

2 Raulin F., *Historiae Ecclesiae, Malabaricae Cum Synodo Diamperitana*, (Romae, 1745), p. 511; Vincenzo Maria di S. Caterina da Siena, II. *Viaggio Alle Indie Orientali*, (Roma, 1672) cited in Fr. Placid Podipara, *The Thomas Christians* (Bombay, 1970), p. 83.

3 Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

4 Podipara, *op. cit.*, p. 83.



the King, a privilege permitted only to ambassadors. When the king of Parur, on the opposite side of the Cranganore River, tried to admit Nayars into the latter privilege some time during the XVth Century, the Christians declared war on the king in protest and the king was compelled to restore *status quo ante*. All their civil cases were decided by the intervention of the bishop or archdeacon; only criminal cases had to be taken to kings. However, in a certain locality in Quilon and another in Cranganore, even criminal cases were judged by their own judges who could inflict capital punishments also in these localities.<sup>5</sup>

Their dress was similar to that of other people in Kerala. At home men wore a simple and modest garments. But on ceremonial occasions they dressed themselves to the knees with a silk cloth which was often of very costly fabric, but were uncovered from waist upwards. Men used to puncture the lobes of their ears to wear ornaments. Except for those who remained celibate and those who had gone on a pilgrimage on the tomb of St. Thomas in Mylapore, all kept their hair long tied up into a bundle into which was inserted a metal cross which distinguished them as Christians from their neighbours of the same social status. The modesty of the Kerala Christian-women was proverbial. They wore a loose jacket, which covered the hands and the body to the waist, and a long piece of cloth reaching to the ankles was tied round the waist with a fan-like appendage at the back, in a manner peculiar to them alone. When going to the church or visiting priests they would cover themselves with a long veil that left only their faces uncovered. They had several varieties of ornaments. They bored the lobes of their ears and enlarged the holes by filling coils into them.<sup>6</sup>

The food of the Christians was frugal consisting of boiled rice and vegetable curries. They never ate pork and only rarely ate beef. Alcoholic drinks were considered unbecoming to their high social status. A new born babe was fed with powdered gold mixed with honey immediately after its birth. When it was eleven months old, it was given boiled rice to eat. Grown up boys and girls did not go out together. It was the responsibility of parents to select the partners in marriage for their sons and daughters. The maternal uncle's part in this was important. The father was supreme in the family. Men and women would not sit and eat together and husbands and wives did not

5 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

constitute an exception to this. Wives would not speak to their husbands addressing by their names. Daughters would not be made heirs to family property. One without male issue would adopt as his heir a male related to him in the male line. Christians had their own quarter in the towns and villages where they dwelt and thus they were left free to develop their own customs and manners. They cultivated charity and treated even their own slaves with love and kindness.<sup>7</sup>

### *Religious Life*

The Kerala Christians were a highly religious minded people. They had received their faith from St. Thomas and remained in it very firm. They understood the mystery of the Most Holy Trinity, Incarnation and the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar. They professed all the articles of the Nicean Creed, the equality of the Divine persons and the two natures and one person of Christ. They practised all the seven canonical sacraments. The liturgical language of the Christians was East Syriac, also called Chaldean. From this it may be inferred that close relations existed between Christianity in Kerala and the Churches in the Persian Empire. Edessa in Persia was a famous liturgical centre and its liturgical traditions passed over to Seleucia-Ctesiphon and from Seleucia-Ctesiphon, these traditions had an easy passage to Kerala.

It is a fact that the Church in Kerala had close hierarchical and liturgical relations with the Churches of Seleucia and Tigris. But the Christians of Kerala were not an integral part of any of the Churches in the Persian Empire as they were not the products of the missionary labours of the Persian Churches. Occasionally this Church was headed by bishops sent out by the Patriarch of Seleucia and the chief ecclesiastical head of the Kerala Church was called the Metropolitana of All India or Metropolitan Indiarum.<sup>8</sup> Though he was sent out by the East Syrian Patriarch, he enjoyed autonomous status and some times he was referred to as Patriarch.<sup>9</sup> Father Campri S.J. who was in Kerala for several years testified in A.D. 1607 that "according to the information gathered from several Chaldean books and from well-known facts that the bishopric of *Serra* (Kerala) was always an archbishopric, and the most ancient in the whole of India. Its Archbishops and prelates were always called "the Archbishop Metropolitan of the whole

7 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

8 *Ibid.*, p. 69.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 39.

of Hendo (India) and of its confines.”<sup>10</sup> Vatican Syriac Codex 22 written in A.D. 1301 at Cranganore by a Kerala Christian speaks of Mar Jacob, a prelate of the Christians of Kerala, as the Metropolitan Bishop of the See<sup>11</sup> of St. Thomas and of the whole Churches of the Christians of India.” The Bishops sent out by the Patriarch were content with the mere exercise of nominal authority. The effective government of the church of Kerala was in the hands of local prelates known as Archdeacons. The title of the Archdeacon was “The Archdeacon of all India.” The Archdeacon was called *Giathikkukarthavian* (one responsible for the community). The Archdeacons were also the social and political leaders of the Christian community in Kerala. The Pakalomattom family, believed to have been baptized by the Apostle St. Thomas, claims to have a number of Archdeacons.<sup>12</sup>

The administration of the local churches was carried on by the assembly of the parishioners consisting of all adult males and local priests. The assembly looked after the temporalities and the whole Church life of the community. The assembly decided cases of public scandal and inflicted punishments which some times amounted to excommunication. Those excommunicated were denied the sacraments. The children of the excommunicated would not be baptized. Representatives of several Churches assembled together to decide on matters affecting these churches. Things of a general character affecting the whole Church were taken up for decision by the assembly of representatives of all the Churches.<sup>13</sup>

The ecclesiastical headquarters of the Christians of Kerala were Cranganore and Quilon. These two places were the most important Christian centres, Cranganore probably from the very beginning and Quilon after VIII/IX century. After sometime Cranganore lost its importance and its place was taken by Angamaly. However, it has to be noted that even after the rise of Angamaly, Christians used to speak and write of their families as connected with Cranganore or Quilon.

As places of public worship, churches played an important part in the life of the Christians in Kerala during this period. Churches in pre-Portuguese period externally looked like Hindu pagodas with the

10 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

11 It is significant that the expression “see of St. Thomas” was in vogue even during the Pre-Portuguese epoch in the history of Christianity in Kerala. For details see, *Ibid.*, p. 70.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 95-96.

13 *Ibid.*, p. 97.



difference that the churches carried a cross on the roof. There was also a cross in front of the church in the open air. The interior of the Churches resembled that of the Seleucian Churches. The inside of the Church was rectangular hall divided into the sanctuary, choir and the nave. The sanctuary was a little raised above the choir and the choir, in turn, was a little raised above the nave. The roof of the sanctuary was also a little raised above that of the nave. The lamps, the umbrellas and other paraphernalia of the Churches resembled those of the Hindu pagodas. The Churches had separate doors for men and women. The porches at the doors of the churches served for keeping the arms of men during religious services.

From the account of the cultural and religious life of Christians of Kerala during Pre-Portuguese period given above, it is evident that their life was strikingly similar to that of their Hindu brethren. Their customs and manners, life and culture conformed to the general pattern evolved in the land where they lived. Hence, Christianity in Kerala developed as an essentially Indian religion while the votaries of that religion zealously guarded the fundamentals of their faith as the most treasured of their possessions.

# Social Differential and Caste Formation in South-Western India

*A case Study of matrilineal Nayars, Izhavas and Kurichiyas*

BY  
K. MAHADEVAN

## I. Introduction

Kerala is a land of diverse communities. In the midst of the diversity of culture and creeds there is certain amount of commonness in the composite culture of Kerala. The matrilineal social system is a common dominant characteristic found among a score of caste and religious groups through the length and breadth of Kerala and also south Kanara. Prominent among the matrilineal communities with respect to their size of population and unique features are the Nayars, the Izhavas and the Kurichiyas, one of the tribes of Wynad. This does not mean that other matrilineal groups are insignificant or not comparable. These communities are taken up for comparison because extensive ethnographic data are available mostly on the Nayars and the Izhavas and partly on the Kurichiyas. Data available on other matrilineal groups are very negligible. In the light of available literature and the personal observation of this author among these three communities during the last one decade, an attempt is made here to identify the common features of these groups which may stimulate further thinking for future comparative studies on the sociology of Kerala and promote programmes of *Social Integration* at least among similar communities of the Kerala State and also in other parts of the country.

Though the Code of Manu upholds only four Varna groups in the Hindu Society—Brahmin, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra—the 1901 Census Report lists 3000 castes and sub-castes all over India; Kerala alone has about 578 castes and sub-castes. Manu's was an attempt to fit various *jātis* into four-celled frame or model. Today in certain parts of our country while the caste boundaries of a few related sub-castes are disappearing, division of castes and sub-castes continue unabatedly

in certain other regions. Therefore, it is probable that many castes which are socially proximate might have a common origin at some stage of the evolution of Indian Society.

The matrilineal system of Kerala is well-known to most students of Sociology and Social Anthropology. There are about twenty castes and seven tribals who follow matrilineal system all over Kerala (Puthenkalam, 1977: pp. 18-19). Among them the Nayars, Izhavas and Kurichiyas are the major groups; the former is a forward and the Izhavas a backward caste and the Kurichiyas a tribal community according to the administrative classification. Nayar matriliney and social structure have been empirically studied by a number of Social Anthropologists and Sociologists (A. Aiyappan, 1932; K. E. Gough, 1951; M. S. A. Rao, 1957; K. R. Unni, 1958; J. Mencher; and J. Puthenkalam, 1977). Today Sociological and ethnographic literature on Nayars is abundantly available compared to that on the Izhavas and the Kurichiyas because the former happen to be accessible easily to the researchers, many fragmentary information about them are already available is a variety of writings as early as from 1540 (Barbosa, D. 1540). Further they were the administrators and centre of power during the last few centuries in Kerala. Information about Izhavas too is available substantially from the pioneering and exhaustive works of Dr. A. Aiyappan (1944 and 1965) but about the Kurichiyas only very little published material is available. However, Kurichiyas were studied as early as in 1930 by Dr. A. Aiyappan and again extensively by him during the recent past (1966) and also by this author during the same year.

Comparable features of the social life of these communities are many. However, only a few major areas are considered here for comparison. They are: (a) the name, (b) caste status and occupation, (c) matriliney, (d) marriage, (e) gods and goddesses. But no attempt is made to discuss the areas of kinship, habits, customs, value system, biological features, blood group and so on. The omission of this nature is due to the paucity of data, time and space. The close similarity of features of these communities has already been referred to by Dr. A. Aiyappan (1976) while discussing about the religion of Kurichiyas. He wrote "the Kurichiyas consider themselves equal in status to the Nayars, yet they tap palm wine which is at present the diacritical occupation of an inferior caste, the Izhavas (A. Aiyappan, 1944) who are now untouchable to both the Nayars and Kurichiyas. The social distance between the Nayars and Izhavas has been growing over the centuries, the initial impulse having come in all likelihood through the



intervention of the Brahmins." He further states "the Kurichiyas, in my view, represent an ancient section of Kerala society from which the matrilineal northern Nairs and the Tiyyas (Izhavas) branched off."

## II. *Habitat and Ethnography*

In the caste hierarchy of Kerala, Nayars have higher position compared to the Izhavas and Kurichiyas. The Kurichiya dress, language, general culture, matriliney, the joint-family system and the strict authority of the maternal uncle over the joint family point towards their claim that they are equal to the Nayars. However, they do not take water or food from non-Wynad Nayars; the Nayars observe touch pollution with them. The Izhavas too have most of the features mentioned above in common with the Nayars and Kurichiyas, but with the Izhavas, Kurichiyas observe touch and distance pollution. This may be because Izhavas settled down in Wynad only during the recent past. While the Kurichiyas are found exclusively in the Wynad Plateau, Nayars and Izhavas/Tiyyas are found all over Kerala. A few Kurichiyas are also found near Tellicherry in Cannanore district. As the ethnographic characteristics of Nayars and Izhavas are wellknown, no attempt is made here to describe them. Since the Kurichiyas are not widely known, a brief description about them may be appropriate here.

The Kurichiyas numbering about 17,000 (according to 1971 census) are one of the several tribal communities of Kerala inhabiting the Wynad Plateau. There are two sections of Kurichiyas, the Kurichiya proper of Wynad and the 'Kunnam Kurichiyas' inhabiting the Western Ghat hills bordering on the Tellicherry taluk of Cannanore district. The Kurichiyas are matrilineal following the north Malabar type of Matriliney with virilocal marriage. Even today their matrilineal system is fully intact without any change. The whole community is divided into two 'moieties' each with several exogamous lineages (*kulam*). Each 'kulam' has several segmental lineage (*taṛavāḍs*) with an average of 15-20 members in each household. There are Kurichiya *taṛavāḍs* with one hundred members or more in a single household in south Wynad. They claim to be Hindus, though most of their gods and goddesses are not Hindu deities.

The Kurichiyas are over conscious of pollution—both touch and distance—with the rest of the caste people. However, they do not have distance pollution with Brahmins and Nayars. They do have both touch and distance pollution with all other caste groups including

Izhavas. In case they get polluted by other people they enter their house (*Mirram*) only after a thorough immersion in water. Their consciousness of pollution has made them isolated in Wynad and forced them to remain economically backward and exploited. Till the recent past they have not encouraged their children to go to schools for fear of pollution.

From the earliest-known times, the Kurichiyas have been tapping palm wine from the Cariyota (Malabar Sago) palm which is the diacritical profession of the Izhavas, one of the polluting castes in the plains. The Tiyyas or Izhavas of the plains alone do toddy tapping in central and north Kerala. The point to be considered here is whether it is likely that under the compulsion of circumstances in Wynad, the Kurichiyas took up the profession of tapping palm. If it was a low level profession, the Kurichiyas who are over conscious of their status and purity would not have taken up this profession, even though it is for their own consumption. This reveals that when they migrated to Wynad from the plains, possibly prior to 8th century A. D. and definitely before the arrival of Brahmins into Kerala when toddy tapping was not considered a low level profession. The low status was assigned to this profession probably only after the arrival of the Brahmins who introduced a variety of pollution taboos and ascribed low and high status in many areas of Kerala economy. Historians report that the Chera Kings and their councillors including some Brahmin poets and scholars drank palm wine and they attributed no taboo to toddy drinking. Our attitudes towards toddy-making and toddy-drinking have undergone modifications over the centuries.

### III. *Genesis of Caste Names*

The diversity of caste name among these three similar matrilineal groups is a major riddle. Let us, therefore, examine how their present names came into being :

#### (A) **The Nayars**

The term Nayar originated from the word 'nayakan' which means leader in the fields of administration and war. This assumption fully agrees with the type of traditional jobs that they have been doing in the past. However certain writers attribute other explanations for the origin of the term Nayar. It is suggested that because they worship 'Nagam' (snake) they got the name Nayar. Another point of view is that the Nayars are supposed to be the ancestors of 'Nagas' of Assam and Nayories' of Gujarat and so on. These arguments cannot stand

the test of logic as it is difficult for such a large community to migrate to a distant place in Kerala in the remote past either from Assam or Gujarat, not to speak of other social and biological factors involved in this argument.

A discussion on the origin of the sub-caste names of Nayers is equally relevant in this context. Though there are ever so many sub-castes within the Nayar community the prominent and broad groups among them are: (1) Kiriyaathil Nayar, (2) Illakkar or Illathu Nayar, (3) Swaroopam, (4) Idacheri Nayar and (5) service castes like (a) Vilakkithala Nayar (barber), (b) Veluthedathu Nayar (washerman) and the Nayar who assists in temple functions, birth and death ceremonies (Maran) and so on. A close study of the prefixes of all these Nayars suggests that these terms might have evolved in conformity with the functions that they might have been performing for the society at large. For example, the term 'Illakkar' (Illathu Nayar) in all probability might have been added on to the Nayars who assist the Illams (Namboothiri Brahmin households). Similarly Nayars, who were associated with or assisted various royal and chieftain families got the prefix of "Swaroopakkar" (Swaroopathu Nayar). Likewise Nayars who did other types of activities got similar occupational caste names. The names of the service castes of Nayars, Vilakkithala (Barber), Veluthedath (Washerman) and Idacheri (Cowherd) are a few among them. Under these circumstances it is logical to assume that the term Nayar itself would have evolved from the leadership activities and/or occupation which some of them carried out in various fields referred to earlier. The above arguments can be further supported in the light of other historical evidence. The original name of Nayars according to Tirunelli copper plate grant is 'Pani Utaya-Nayan': perhaps they were doing certain administrative duties connected with the temple. The name Nayar thus reflects only the type of work they have been doing in the past.

### (B) The Izhavas

For the origin of the term 'Izhava' also a number of explanations have been put forward by the people of this community as well as the scholars who studied them. As the word 'Izham' refers to Ceylon, it is believed that the Izhavas might have migrated to Kerala from Ceylon. Since Ceylon is a small territory and the number of Izhavas in Kerala is very large, it is difficult to find support for this argument. Also "Izham" in Tamil means toddy and gold. In the Tamil country also there were people called Izhavas. In the Telugu language also 'Idiga'



connects the toddy tapping community. Idiga is a variant of Izhava. Since the Izhavas in general professed toddy tapping, it is very likely that they got the name Izhavas for the traditional work that they have been doing as in the case of Nayers and sub-castes of Nayers. Now the question arises; If the Izhavas are similar to Nayers in their matrilineal system and Talikettu Kalyanam etc., how is it they do not have a caste suffix or prefix similar to that of the Nayers? Even the Nayers at the lower levels of their sub-caste hierarchy do not have the term Nayar attached to their occupational name. For instance, 'Marar' is a sub-caste of the Nayar caste but a Maran does not possess the suffix of 'Nayar' along with his name, Marar. Like Marars, Izhavas would not have added the term Nayar along with their name since they were also perhaps comparable in status to the 'Marars'. If their profession had a higher rank in the society perhaps they also might have added the suffix of Nayar along with their personal name. Moreover a good number of Izhavas are believed to have embraced Buddhism in the past which later on might have given them a lower position in Kerala society. This argument has the support of Sunithi Kumar Chatterji, who found that castes who embraced Buddhism in West Bengal became more backward in the eyes of caste Hindus during the declining days of Buddhism (oral communication).

### (C) The Kurichiyas

The Kurichiyas call themselves as 'Kari Nayanmar'. The word 'Kari' has the meaning plough. Kurichiyas engage themselves in plough cultivation and hence the name Karinayar. Even among Nayers in Central Kerala, there is a sub-caste called 'Vellaimanayar'; 'Vellaima' means agriculture. These Nayers too got their name 'Vellaima' on account of their occupational specialisation in agriculture.

Now doubt arises as to why Kurichiya caste did not divide into sub-castes like Nayers of the plains. Like Nayers, the Kurichiyas also at one time had set apart four *Kulams* from among them to act as washermen and to perform the ritual roles connected with menstrual purification and so on. However on account of their misbehaviour, members of these four kulams were banished and the Kurichiyas arranged to go without the services of the washermen Kurichiyas. The Kurichiyas settled down in Wynad much before the Brahmins got established in the rest of Kerala. This is evident from the Kurichiya dialect of Malayalam which is a pure form of Dravidian Malayalam with little evidence of the influence of Sanskrit. They did not have the necessity to work for higher castes like Brahmins and Kshatriyas as

these were practically absent in Wynad during early historic times. Hence no sub-caste evolved among Kurichiyas as in the case of other Nayars. Nevertheless Kurichiyas nowadays do some service to the Nayars. The Kurichiyas, of course, associated themselves in war along with the Raja of Kottayam to fight against the British. One of their heroes, Talackal Chandu was the commander of a Kurichiya battalion of the Pazhassi Raja. However, no sub-caste like Swaroopam has been created among them because numerically they were small and more over they did not become professional soldiers, but only peasant militia men. (Among Nayars also sub-caste formation happened only after the arrival of Brahmins and establishment of chieftain or Rajas in various parts of Kerala). Before Brahmins came to Kerala, Nayars might have done all types of functions as soldiers (swaroopathu Nayar), Farmers (Vellaima Nayar) etc. And prior to the formation of sub-caste, the distinction of Kerala people into Kurichiyas, Izhavas and Nayars might have been non-existent. The present day Kurichiya social set up is probably a replica of the Nayar model of the 8th or 9th century or earlier. The present day differences existing between the Nayars and the Izhavas might not have evolved if Nayars and Izhavas were staying isolated like their old counterparts viz., the Kurichiyas.

Another differentiating factor between Nayars on the one side and the Izhavas and Kurichiyas on the other side is the toddy tapping work carried out by the latter two groups alone and not the former. Even today Kurichiyas do not consider tapping toddy as a low level occupation. They believe that toddy is a food item and there cannot be any inferior status for those who prepare a food item like toddy. In fact all Kurichiyas do this work without any feelings of inferiority. Toddy tapping is in fact a religiously sanctioned work for them because their chief god Malakkari asked them to do it. Under these circumstances it is probable that in the plains the Izhavas or Tiyyas got a low status in doing the same work (toddy tapping) only after the differentiation of status crystalised for various occupations after the arrival of Brahmins. Further before their arrival the number and types of occupations professed by Nayars or Izhavas was very few and it is the Brahmins who introduced the concept of taboos, untouchability and status differentiation etc., for various occupations among the people for their convenience. Their superior educational level, higher economic status, sophistication in behaviour on the one hand and on the other the traditional religious belief and the social backwardness of other people in the past made non-Brahmins in general to fall in line with the directions of Brahmins. Thus occupational status and other social

differentiation increased among various groups of people of Kerala after the arrival of Brahmins.

The interaction of prosperous Nayers with Brahmins in social and marital life would have made them to perpetuate the social differentiation on a permanent basis between them and the rest of the Nayers. Thus, in the plains social distance between Nayers and Nayers and between Nayers and Izhavas widened and so also between the Nayers and Kurichiyas in Wynad too.

#### IV. *Matriliny*

The Nayers, Kurichiyas and Izhavas are all matrilineal communities. The major features of matriliney, namely (a) descent, (b) inheritance and (c) succession are common to Nayers and Kurichiyas. Izhavas of south and Tiyyas of north Kerala alone fully agree with all these three aspects of matriliney. However, Izhavas of central Kerala are patrilineal as regards inheritance and succession and as regards descent they are matrilineal and patrilineal. Probably this shows that they were once matrilineal and changed over to patrilineal inheritance and succession later on. Hence it has to be assumed that at certain stage of their social evolution they were also fully matrilineal like their counterparts in South and North Kerala.

Kurichiya matriliney is similar to Nayar and Izhava marumakkathayam of the north Kerala type. While marriage is virilocal among north Malabar matrilineal communities, it is uxorilocal in south Kerala. In their virilocal set up the wife is taken the residence of husband and she is allowed to go back permanently to her maternal *taṛavāḍ* only if husband is dead or divorced by him. As among aristocratic Nayers, Kurichiyas have very large *taṛavāḍ*s (lineages) with even hundred or more members staying together. Both Nayers and Kurichiyas are proud of their *taṛavāḍ*, its size and reputation. All the nephews and nieces of Kurichiyas permanently migrate to the residence of the maternal uncle at the age of five onwards and none of them will stay back in his father's family after the age of nine or ten.

Nayar *taṛavāḍ*s were prosperous and in tact till the early part of this century. This is because most of the Nayers owned land and some of them were local chieftains (Desavazhis) for a very long period of time. Further till the early part of this century no law stood in the way of their traditional life. On the other hand only a very negligible Tiyya families in the Malabar region had the semblance of chieftaincy rights and majority of the Izhavas were landless and poor. Thus Nayers'



better economic position achieved for them a high place in the caste hierarchy as a result of interactions with Brahmins and ruling families made them develop more and more social distance with the Izhavas and Kurichiyas. All these happened because in the past landholding by custom was an exclusive prerogative of the upper classes including the Nayars and a few other aristocratic families. And land was then the only source of income. A low caste person was not competent according to the socio-legal ideas of then Malabar to own 'janmam rights' (Sundara Aiyar). Most of the land in Kerala was owned either by Brahmins or chieftains (Nayars) or other aristocratic caste families. In Wynad too Kurichiyas were generally tenants under the Nayar landlords just like any other low-sub-caste-Nayars working for higher caste Nayars in the plains.

### V. *Gods and Goddesses*

Though all the three communities are predominantly Hindus, they are in different stages of Hinduisation. Nayars have almost fully adopted the Hindu way of life—adopted almost all the gods and goddesses of the Hindu pantheon, and retained only a few indigenous gods and goddesses like Sabarimala Aiyappan, different 'Bhagavathis' (goddesses) known by different names and the worship of snakes. The Izhavas too adopted a good deal of the Hindu way of life and worship many Hindu gods and goddesses, though not completely, Hinduised like Nayars. They worship most gods and goddesses who are being worshipped by Nayars, besides worshipping a few more local gods like 'Muthappan', 'Gulikan' etc. in the Malabar region. However the Kurichiyas are yet to adopt substantially any aspect of the Hindu way of life and leave alone knowing or worshipping many Hindu deities.

The common gods and goddesses to Kurichiyas and Izhavas today are the 'Muthappan' 'Gulikan' (in Malabar), 'Kuttichathan' and 'Bhagavatis'. During the recent past Kurichiyas started worshipping Bhadrakali, Sivan, Vishnu and Murugan who are being worshipped equally by Nayars and Izhavas. As Kurichiyas were isolated and confined to the Wynad area during the last so many centuries and did not have the opportunity to join the Hindu mainstream of life which was introduced by the Brahmins in Kerala, they retained mostly the old forms of religion. No doubt Nayars and Izhavas also professed similar primitive religion like the Kurichiyas before they came into contact with Brahminical rites. *From Kurichiyas through Izhavas to Nayars we find a progressive continuum of Hinduisation of their religion.* Thus we account for the present day differences in their religious life. Since I

am concerned with the linkages between the Izhavas and Kurichiyas and between the Nayars and Kurichiyas it is relevant here to mention about religious linkage between the first two, both Kurichiyas and Izhavas.

The chief god of the Kurichiyas is Malakkari who has got characterised very much like that of north Malabar Tiyyas' god Muthappan; Kurichiyas also worship Muthappan. In Kurichiya myth Malakkari and Muthappan are closely associated. Both are hunter gods and are armed with bows and arrows. They are very much alike in form but differ only in name. Both are kind-hearted gods. Genetically they appear to be the same. The word Malakkari means 'Kari' of the hills. Kari is a very old Dravidian personal name which survives now in backward areas of a personal name of lower caste men in Kerala. The myths of Malakkari gives a clue to the common bond that existed between the Tiyyas and Kurichiyas through the Malakkari-Muthappan axis. This shows that in the distant past there was close affinity between these two groups in the field of religion.

#### *Summary :*

Nayars, Izhavas and Kurichiyas are the three major matrilineal communities in terms of the similarity and complexity of matriliney and the size of population among a little over twenty five matrilineal caste and tribes of Kerala. They have many other characteristics in common. In the distant past, they were in all probability derived from a common stock. In spite of their present variations which occurred after the immigration of the Brahmins into Kerala and Kurichiyas emigrated to Wynad. They retained sufficient similar characteristics to show their common ancestry. A few of them are the following :

1. They got their different names based on the professions they followed. The name Nayar evolved out of the leadership role they had in the society (Nayakan), Izhavas got the name from Isham which means toddy and Kurichiyas or Kari-Nayar means the Nayar whose speciality in Wynad was plough cultivation;

2. Their matrilineal system is almost identical in most respects; major features of matriliney viz., (a) descent, (b) inheritance and (c) succession are common to Nayars, Kurichiyas and Izhavas/Tiyyas of Malabar region with slight difference among the Izhavas of south and central Kerala in the matter of inheritance and succession but not in descent;

3. Marriage patterns—Puberty ceremony, tali rite, pudavakodukal and Polygyny—are common to all of them and such customs existed

even until recent times. Polyandry is reported to have been prevalent among Nayars of South and central Kerala and among Izhavas of central Kerala;

4. In the degree of Hinduization, Nayars attained the highest degree followed by Izhavas and lastly Kurichiyas. Though Nayars fully adopted Hindu ways of life and worshipped most of the Hindu gods and goddesses retaining a few traditional gods like Kuttichattan, Gulikan, Sabarimala Aiyappan and so on. Sabarimala Aiyappan though an indigenous god has now been identified as a god of the Hindu Pantheon. Izhavas too worshipped all the gods that are being worshipped by the Nayars. Between the Izhavas and the Kurichiyas there are a few common gods and goddesses namely Muthappan, Gulikan, Kuttichathan, Bhagavathi etc. All these differential changes in religious belief might have occurred owing to :

- (1) Nayars' close interaction and hypergamous marriage with Brahmins, and
- (2) Relatively less exposure of the Izhavas and least by Kurichiyas to the Hindu way of life and with Brahmins over the years.

The Kurichiyas were fully isolated and far away from the main stream of general life in Kerala as a result of their confinement in the Wynad Plateau which made them retain their traditional social structure without much change. The Izhavas changed very much from the present Kurichiya type of social structure because of their acculturation in the plains in spite of being relegated as an untouchable caste by the Brahmins and later on by the Nayars for their low level profession. Compared to Kurichiyas and Izhavas, Nayars changed very much from the pristine state.

Considering their many similarities in matriliney, religion and social structure one may tentatively suggest that Nayars, Izhavas and Kurichiyas were of the same ethnic group before the arrival of the Brahmins in Kerala. Whatever differences are noticed today are owing to the Brahmin acculturation that took place among the Nayars and the Izhavas and other higher castes and also due to the influence of foreign contact and modernisation. However, more intensive comparative studies among them are required to validate fully the hypotheses postulated above.



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## Portuguese Works of Frs. J. Fenicio and Diogo Goncalves on Malabar (1609-1615)

BY

FR. JOSEPH WICKI, S. J.

*First contacts of Jesuit Fathers with Malabar and Travancore, 1542-1600.* More than forty years had passed since the first Jesuits from Europe reached India by way of Portugal and the Cape of Good Hope. In fact Francis Xavier landed in Goa at the beginnings of May 1542 and in September of the same year began to work with the Christians of the Fishery Coast. In the way there by sea he fitted a short stay at Cochin, the second most important city of Portuguese India, as well as at Quilon. But it was only in 1548-49 that the Fathers settled down permanently in these two ports, where they started colleges for boys, for externs in Cochin, and in Quilon a boarding school for some 30 boys from Travancore and the Fishery Coast. From 1577 the Fathers began to develop closer contact with the so-called Christians of St. Thomas and in this way came also into closer contact with the population in the interior. An important presupposition for successful work with the natives was the learning of the Malabar language, the Dravidian Malayalam. Already before the end of the 16th century the relationship of the Aryan Konkani with European language had been established,<sup>1</sup> as also a much closer relationship between Tamil and Malayalam, which are more or less as comparable as Spanish and Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> It was a welcome help to the Jesuits when Pedro Luis, who came from the neighbourhood of Quilon and was educated at the College of St. Paul in Goa, entered the Order in 1561 and, when he was later ordained a priest, worked above all in Kerala and the Fishery Coast until his death in 1596.<sup>3</sup> It seems that the European Fathers, having no grammar or dictionary, learned the local language only with difficulty, and also were frequently changed. The first who wrote a Malayalam grammar (1569) can be said to Fr. Henrique Henriques,<sup>4</sup> who had already in 1549

1 Fr. Thomas Stephens to Fr. Cl. Acquaviva, General, 1583 *Documenta Indica* XII, ed. Wicki, Rome 1972, p. 825).

2 E. G. *Documenta Indica*, VIII 146 (Fr. H. Henriques, 1569), 172.

3 Wicki, Pedro Luis, Brahmane und erster indischer Jesuit (ca. 1532-1596, in *Neue Zeitschrift der Missionswissenschaft* 6 (1950) 115-126.

4 *Documenta Indica*, VIII 146, 172, 235. See also V 18-19 (first steps of Fr. Henriques for a grammar and a vocabulary Malayalam, 1560-61).

prepared a grammar of the Tamil language,<sup>5</sup> which is still conserved in the National Library in Lisbon, discovered some years ago by the Americans Hein. Nothing more is known of Henriques' Malayâlam grammar, and it was so completely forgotten, that in 1590 Fr. Garcia Garcez (who came in India in 1588) wrote the "first" of the kind.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately this Father already in 1591 went to Macao and later to Japan. Among the Thomas Christians it was above all Frs. Jorge de Castro (from 1577) and Francisco Ros (from 1585), who acquired a good knowledge of Malayâlam. The activity of the Fathers among the Malabars is described in the so-called Annual Letters, which were written in December or January, so as to be sent with the Portuguese fleet from Cochin in January and February to Portugal and hence to Spain and Rome. These letters, as well as the other writings of the Fathers, suggested by Ignatius of Loyola already in 1553,<sup>7</sup> are important for the History of Kerala, for they provide us with chronologically exact, valuable information about country and people, coming from eyewitnesses. These reports for the years 1548 to 1585 are available in the critical edition of *Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu*, printed in Rome. Since these sources were recently published in the original languages, Portuguese, Spanish, Italian and Latin, they are little known in Kerala, and it would be worth while to translate them, at least in part, into English or Malayâlam. In these accounts the Fathers also discuss from time to time the religion of the Indian people: the Hindus, who formed the majority in Kerala, and also the Jews in Upper Cochin, black and white,<sup>8</sup> and their synagogue their,<sup>9</sup> and also Moslems, scattered everywhere, as in Calicut, where they were very influential and carried on many attacks on Portuguese ships and settlements during the whole century; the name "Malabar Hills" in Bombay recalls them until today. There were Moslems in Paravûr, Vizhigam and Chowara.<sup>10</sup>

With the passage of time and the prolonged residence of the Fathers in the country their knowledge grew and by the beginnings of the 17th century some of them wrote works in Portuguese about the country and the people, which were intended chiefly as an introduction and handbook for the newly arrived missionaries. These works must count among the oldest that were composed and have come down to us in Europe, as far

5 *Documenta Indica*, I 584.

6 Archivum Romanum S. J., codex *Goa 14*, f. 3v Fr. Jerome Xavier to Fr. Acquaviva, Cochin January 8, 1590).

7 *Documenta Indica*, III 15-16.

8 *Documenta Indica*, I 375.

9 *Documenta Indica*, III 435 (year 1556).

10 *Documenta Indica*, XIII 37, 180, 789, 790,



as we know. I wish now to discuss two of them, both anonymous. While the first work, called *Book of the Religion of the East Indians*, is ascribed, with a question mark, to the Italian Jesuit James Fenicio, the author of the second, *History* (or better) *Description of Malabar*, is undoubtedly the Portuguese Diogo Gonçalves.

*Contents of the Book of the Religion of the East Indians:* First of all we shall give a list of the contents of the work *Book of the Religion of the East Indians*. We shall then discuss Charpentier's edition and finally deal with the question of the authorship.

There is a written copy of the treatise in the British Museum, London, *Sloane 1820*, an incomplete 17th century copy. The text is easily readable and clearly divided, into eight "Books". Since the aim was to provide the Fathers with a handbook for their activity, lengthy sections are included, to serve as a refutation of the Hindu religion; the volume is thus not only a description of Hinduism, but a controversy with it, an apologia for Christianity or a "Dialogue" with Hinduism.

Books 1, 2 and 5, refer, also directly in their titles, to Malabar and Book 8 can also be included with them. The other books deal in general with Hinduism. There is hardly any mention of the Moslems and Jews.

The first book deals with Creation in 11 chapters. It starts with a not exactly flattering introduction on the Brahmins, the teachers of the people. The earth and the universe revolve in perpetual motion. It arose from the World Egg, which split into two halves and brought forth 14 worlds, bound together by a cord. On the latter claimed Ísvaratâ, who now performed an important role, and is simply designated "Godhead" (chapter 1 and 3). Then follows a description of how the Sivalingam arose, what it means and its use as a necklace. There follow accounts on Satî, the spouse of Ísvara, of the birth of Sun, Moon and stars, of the form of the world and the Earth, of the seven heavens and the seven seas, the fabled mountain range Mahâ-Meru with the 1008 mountains and its enormous extent. The Earth is described as flat, which was contradicted by the round the world voyage of Maghellan's ship Victoria. A section deals also with the seven hells. The first book ends with chapter 11 about the four Yugas or Ages of the world, which are correctly described. The Year of the Gods contains 365 human years. The first book contains also a number of verses, of moderate length, in Malayâlam, of the Malabar poet and dissident Pâkkanâr, to illustrate the descriptions. This book is also of interest

on account of the comparison between the Indian and the European pre-Galilean cosmogony. While the Indians explain the earth-quakes as due to blows with the horn of a bull, the author explains that they are produced by the pressure of the exhalations from the Earth's interior. This book was originally provided with pictures, which are missing from the manuscript today.

The second book with 23 chapters is mainly dedicated to *Īśvara* (Siva), which also makes clear, what was already suggested in the first book, that the main source for the Fathers' account was shivaitic. Mahâ Siva sprang from the Sivalingam, then were born his brothers, Brahmâ and Vishnu. Siva, as also his wife Satî (named also *Parameśvarî*) and their Paradise Kailasa are described in detail. The double sex of Siva is also mentioned, and representations of it are given. Finally the author knows the saying: *sr̥ṣṭiḥ sthitiḥ samhāraḥ* (chap. 1). Chapter 5 teaches us about the 33 million gods and about the *Rākshasas* and *Asuras*, of whom are 66 million. Then the author resumes the theme of *Īśvara*, how he cuts off a head of Brahmâ (chap. 6), cursed the flowers (chap. 7), did penance for cutting of the head (chap. 8) and his behavior after drinking palwine which made him drunk (chap. 11) and his castration by *Īśvara* (chap. 12); his fight with his brother Subrahmanya, whose tooth he knocked out (chap. 13), his Paradise in the sea of sugar (chap. 14). Then follows a chapter about the annual commemoration of the Malabars (*Chaturchârî*) in August, and about various *Ganeśas* (chap. 16). A brief account is given of the birth of Sri Hanuman, in whose honour many temples were built. Here also the author gives the reason, why the female Nairs at that time danced naked in the open (chap. 17). In chapter 18 the birth is briefly announced of *Īśvara*'s third son, called Subrahmanya. The author knows more about Bhadra-kâlî, *Īśvara*'s only daughter, whose birth is announced (chap. 18); she is not, however, the cause of the small pox widespread in India, which owes its origin to a natural cause (chap. 19-20). There was at that time a temple in Bhadra-kâlî's honour in Upper Cranganore, the "Pilgrims" Pagoda (the chief source of income for the king of Cranganore!), and others in Palluruthy and Trichur, called Ammadiri (Holy Mother?), which was plundered by the old king of Cochin, who flourished afterwards and later let himself weighed against gold and pearls (chap. 20). Chapter 21 is also interesting for the proposed remedies for small pox (bloodletting, purges among other "medicines"). Chapter 22 recounts how Bhadra-kâlî's husband was aroused from sleep; this section has local references to Quilon (Queen) and Cranganore (Pilgrims' Pagoda) and comes partly from tales of the

washers' caste (Mainatos). Chapter 23 tries to examine the question why Ísvara had only three sons, who besides were not like him. In the final 24th chapter is reported how Vishnu's wife prepared a great feast, during which her sister Bhadra-kālî was humiliated on account of her clothes, whereupon Ísvara punished fire and Sun through Vîrabhadra and Daksha/Prajâpati.

Book 3 gives an account of Vishnu in 11 chapters. In the first, introductory, his origin is described: he was born from the Sivalingam and is black. He has a head and four hands and rules the world, like the *sṛṣṭiḥ sthitiḥ sambhâraḥ*. The author explains that one of the Rishi's *Srî-Vatsa* feet, before he confessed that Vishnu was the greatest of the gods, fastened on the breast of the god, and the other 100 years on the sea. The wives of the god are named Lakshmi and *Srî Pagodi*, alias *Bhûmi-devî*, the Earth goddess: one must rub the head of the god, the other his feet.

There follow now the nine *Avatâras* or births of Vishnu that have already taken place; the tenth, as *Kalkî*, has still to follow.

The first transformation took place as a shark (*peixe tubarão*) (chap. 3), the second as a tortoise (chap. 4), the third as a boar (chap. 5) whereupon a debate took place, as a result of which the sea is salt: because *Agastya* emptied his bladder (chap. 6); in fact, because God so made it on the third day (ib.). Vishnu took the snake *Vâsuki* and placed it round the seven earths and the seven seas and assigned to 8 personalities, the 8 parts of the earth, the names of which were given in Sanskrit (chap. 6). The fourth transformation followed in the form of a monster: half man, half lion with the story of *Prahâlâda*, the adorer of *Hari-Vishnu* (chap. 7), then as Brahmin, who asked *Mahâ-Bali* for three feet of earth. Here the ceremony is described: the buyer drinks water from the seller's bowl and thus becomes the owner. In chap. 8 we hear why *Venus* is blind in one eye. The *Onam* feast in August and its origin is narrated in chap. 9. Follows the 6th transformation as *Srî Paraśu-Râma*, who killed 44 kings, gave their lands to *Rishis* pushed the sea back twice and built 108 temples from *Gokarnam* to *Cape Comorin*. In chapter 11 the author can state that the Brahmins of Malabar come from the Fishers' caste since they were authorised by *Paraśu-Râma* to hang the line around their neck.

Book 4 begins with the transformation of Vishnu to *Srî Râma*, told in the very well known *Râmâyana*, represented also in the coats of arms and on the walls of the royal places (as, e.g., can still be seen in



Cochin). The author intends to describe it fully. Thus the whole fourth book (12 chapters) and from the fifth to the 15th filled with it; here the Ms breaks off with Sîtâ's fire oath. The continuation is however given by Philip Baldaeus' work, *Malabar and Coromandel* (p. 512 in the German edition of 1672). Then follows the 8th Avâtar Vishnu's as Krishna, who defeated 13 attacks on him. Book 6, chapter 7 continues here and deals with the killing of Kanśa by Krishna, whose further fortunes until his death and that of his sons are described (chap. 14). In chap. 10 the 5 Pândavar appear, and at the end a short section on Satî of Mâdrî is added. In chap. 13 we learn that Arjuna rose to heaven and there stole the *Betel*; hence the people would plant only stolen *Betel*, so that it may grow.

Chapter 13 describes the beginning of the Kali-yuga, in which we now live. It lasts for 1200 god-years, each of which contains 365 of our years. At the present time we are between the 12th and 13th god-years at the beginning of the current year since April 1609 1.720.463 of our days. There remain until the end of the Kali-yuga another 1187 years.

Chapter 17 recounts Dharma Putra's journey through hell to heaven, where however he was not content and wished to be reborn in the Kali-Yuga age. Thus was born Cheram Perumâl, king of Malabar, Bhîma as Kulaśekara Perumâl, and Nakula as Chola Perumâl: all bestowed rich alms and died and went to paradise.

In the author's account of the transmigration of souls one learns that one of the washer-caste (Mainato) by reason of good works became in his new birth nephew of Samorin and is now prince in the pepper kingdom (Vaṭakkumkûr).

Book 7 gives an account of Brahmâ, comparatively brief in 4 chapters: he is the eldest born to Sivalinga and is described in detail, while the author also explains the origin of the castes. Our writer also knows the wives of Brahmâ and the proverb: one should not act like Brahmâ, with reference to his blood guilt. Chapter 2 and 3 deal with the popular Aiyappan, whose birth is recounted in two traditions: once from the thigh or then through the mouth, and hence named Chartava. Aiyappan grew up in the paradise Devalokam and became a great scholar. One time he was compelled to dispute at night with the heavenly spirits by candle light, but as he could not read easily in the darkness, he was defeated. The gods then forced him to drink surâ, palmwine; he then spat on his hand and the spittle turned into surâ and

he drank it, thereby losing caste. Then he reported the occurrence to Ísvara, who asked him if he wished to become the highest of the heavenly gods, whereupon Aiyappan replied: rather bhûtas, which Ísvara granted him. As Nair soldier he entered the service of the Pandya king, but the royal stewards made fun of him and asked why they give him his pay. When the king insisted that he be paid, the stewards nevertheless proved negligent in the matter. When the queen now became ill, the doctors said that three measures of tiger milk were needed to cure her. The stewards advised the king to get Aiyappan to obtain the milk. Thereupon the latter replied, he would bring the tigress milk with her young, but that he could not do the milking, and the stewards agreed with this. When he brought the tigress from her cave and carried the young on his arms, everyone in the palace fled and shut the doors, or climbed up on the trees. Finally he tied the tigress to the entrance of the royal place. The king now paid Aiyappan properly and the hero came to Malabar where the inhabitants built many temples to him, since he healed their maladies; they also offered to him small dogs, horses and arrows. The accounts of Ísvara, Vishnu and Brahmâ end with discussions about natural reason, called Jñâna by the Malabarese.

Book 8 deals in 13 chapters with the Indian worship of the gods, first of all with the temples. The Hindus first fence around the place where they intend to build a temple, plant it with beans and let a cow with ashcoloured hide eat the leaves. The spot where she empties their bowels during the night, is considered to be the place where the godhead, in the form of a lingam for the followers of Ísvara, or a statue with four hands for those of Vishnu, is to be set up. The temple is usually not bigger than a Christian chapel, but, with its surroundings, is now described in detail. Here again come sarcastic expressions of the poet Pâkkanâr, which run through the whole 8th book. In chapter 2 an idea is given of the various offerings, beginning with the god's cook, who prepares his food. Special mention is made here of Tevar near Palur, a region which was then under the king of Calicut. The godhead was held to be helpful for eye and ear troubles. At a time of smallpox epidemic the people build a ship, fitted with sail and rudder, also with a dish of cooked rice, a living cock and a curved sword, the weapon of Bhadra-Kâlî, and a piece of silk and a mirror; the ship is then pushed into the sea without a steersman, and with it the goddess and the sickness. Woe to the place where the ship lands, for with it come the goddess and the sickness. The author had such things taken in St. Andrew's (Arthunkal) and Purakkad and the cook had pork roasted with the wood, and the policeman fought with the goddess's

sword, to the great amazement of the Hindus. The house gods were also known to the writer: he names them *Curichates*; they appear as dogs, apes, deer etc. The Hindus also greatly fear the felling of certain trees; however, the writer had one such, called by him *tarpao*, felled for the building of the church in St. Andrew's without people becoming sick or blind as the Hindus expected. In September an offering is made for their books, which are written on palm leaves and many of them are dirty and eaten by insects. In conclusion there is mentioned in this chapter the rusty sword of Samorin, which had been given to him by the emperor Chera Perumâl, as also the emblems of the rulers of Kerala, where the twigs of Samorin and the king of Cochin have a special place, since the emperor is subject to none. The mark of the twigs as emblems of the rulers of the country is considered absolutely certain.

Chapter 4 informs us fully about the ritual ablutions of the Hindus and the caste laws, as they were then practised in Malabar. The author also explains why Malabar is called Karma Bhûmi; he also knows the proverb: in all their precautions the Malabarese remain "polluted". It is interesting how the remains are removed from the table of Samorin. Chapter 5 deals with the ashes of cowdung, by means of which the Hindus are hallowed and which are also used daily in the life of Samorin. In the various parts of the cow's body various godheads dwell and other holy things (the four laws, Amrita and Thîrta). Bulls and oxen are less revered; the kings of Cochin, Cranganore, Tanur and Cananore are Kshatriyas and descend from a woman and a bull. In short the law Marumakkathayam (inheritance through female line) is explained. The author knows little about those clothed "in air", living in Kanara, Cananore, Mangalore and Basrûr. In chapter 6 the magic stone Salagrama is discussed and also the five Prânas, which were not properly understood by the writer. In chapters 7 to 11 are long accounts of the various fasts of the Hindus: of Ekâdaśî (chap. 7), also Sivarâtrî, in the February (fast of a hunter on a tree, narrated in two different recensions) (chap. 8), then Thiruvattira (fast of the women, without rice, in December, near Christmas: Îsvara killed Kâma-Deva / Cupid) and the fast for the dead (chap. 10), with many other customs connected with death and Srâddhâ. Satî is also described, customary in the kingdom of the Pandyas, on the island of Goa (once) and in Cambay (Gujarath); the "month's" fast in honour of Vishnu, that lasts 40 days for 12 years, whereby one becomes a great Muni. In the 12th chap. we are made acquainted with the wedding of the Hindus: the Brahmins can marry four or five wives, but a female Brahmin only to one Brahmin. Then follow the many ceremonies at the wedding of a



Brahmin, with the thâli (kettu). On a following day live fishes are caught by the newly wed in a cooking pot; if they catch many, they will have many sons, otherwise not. The rest of the castes have no proper wedding. There follow supplementary details about the weddings of princesses, about the poligamy of the Nairs and the marriages of the lower castes. In the 13th and last chapter are discussed the oaths, i.e. the ordeals (putting three fingers in boiling butter; swimming the river between Cochin and Cranganore, where a great crocodile lives; in Kanara taking an object out of a vessel in which are poisonous snakes).

*Time of the writing and author of the work:*

The treatise on the religion of the East Indians is not dated, nor is an author, or at least his seal, to be found anywhere.

For the time of the composition we have nevertheless a concrete indication, for, in book 6, chapter 15, we read of the Kali-Yuga year 1,702,463, that is now current from April 1st 1609.

The writer shows a good knowledge of the Christian scriptures, Old Testament and New Testament, of the Greek philosophers (Aristotle, Plutarch), of the Oriental and Latin church fathers and writers (Lactantius, Tertullian, Augustine, Basil, Thomas Aquinas etc.), and often quotes them in Latin, as also the classics. In addition he brings a great number of Malayâlam words and some proverbs and often quotes shorter or longer passages from Pâkkanâr's Tolário (Dulness). Finally he shows himself to be very familiar with the region from Kanara to Travancore. But only once does he speak of himself in such a way that one can identify him as a person: namely in book 8, chapter 2, when he built the church of St. Andrew's (Arthunkal), he used wood from stranded ships (the place is missing in the printed edition). Who now was the builder of this church before 1609? It was the Italian James Fenizio (alias Finicio), who built a solid church there between 1590 and 1597.<sup>11</sup> He was born in Capua about 1558, entered the Society of Jesus in 1579 and came as a scholastic to India in 1583, where already in 1584 he is called Father. From this year until 1602 he worked in St. Andrew's and then from 1602 to 1619 in Calicut and finally 1619 to 1632 again in St. Andrew's; he died in Cochin in 1632. That the writer was not Portuguese (the work was ascribed by Streit to Barradas<sup>12</sup>), can one conclude from the fact that he never identified

11 G. Schurhammer, The mission work of the Jesuits in Muthedath (alias: Arthunkal) and Porakad in the 16th and 17th centuries, Alleppey 1957, 12.

12 R. Streit, Bibliotheca missionum V, Aachen 1929, p. 214.

himself with them, but wrote "of the Portuguese", of a "Portuguese ship", etc., as the careful reader will notice. Only of Sri Lanka does he say that *we* (Europeans) call it Ceylon. Also the close familiarity with Calicut and the local royal house of Samorin points unmistakably to Fenizio, since he worked there from 1602. It seems to me that the debate about the authorship on the Book of the Religion of the East Indians is thus finally settled.

From Fr. Fenizio we have rather few letters, which, six in number are kept in the Roman Archives of the Society of Jesus in Codices Goa 13 (year 1584), 15 (year 1600), 17 (year 1619) and 18 (years 1621 and 1624). His first letter in 1584<sup>13</sup> already shows his interest in Hinduism and in the Thomas Christians. Already known is his account of his journey to the Todas in Nilgiri Mountains in 1603, which is preserved in the British Museum and published in 1933 by Jarl Charpentier together with the Book on the religion of the East Indians.

*The Edition of the Book on the religion of the East Indians,  
by Charpentier*

This eminent scholar has done good service by publishing this work; he has also, at the suggestion of Fr. Schurhammer, indicated Fenizio as the probable author. He prefaced the edition with a detailed introduction which discusses the knowledge of India before and after Fenizio and showed that Baldaeus' *Afgoderye der Oost-Indische Heydenen* is plagiarised from our work, and correctly. Charpentier in 40 pages of notes has given a first-class commentary on Fenizio, where he has, to be sure, drawn above all on Sanskrit literature and the Tamil language, so that the traditions in Kerala and Malayâlam get short shrift. Charpentier omits also all Christian apologetics which aided the dialogue. As regards Fenizio's views in this regard one might have a different opinion and nowadays no Christian apologist would defend his cause with Fenizio's arguments; thus on account of this abbreviation the work remains mutilated. Very serious too is the fact that Charpentier did not understand the Portuguese language sufficiently and thus many important misreadings have crept in. Thus e.g. near the star it is stated that the Indian Brahmins are philosophers and geologist (instead of theologians)! The numerous Malayâlam texts of Pâkkanâr have so far as I know not yet been deciphered. One should try to translate from the Latin alphabet into Malayâlam. Unfortunately the London text lacks the illustrations with which Fenizio provided his work.

*Fr. Diogo Gonçalves' History of Malabar*

A few year later another Jesuit, (James) Gonçalves, also wrote a work about Malabar. He came from North Portugal and was born about 1561. 1583 he entered the Society of Jesus in his native land. He attempted the voyage to India in 1590 in vain, but did reach Goa in the autumn of 1591. In 1593 he was ordained and from 1597 was active in the Dravidian South. He worked almost 40 years in Malabar and Travancore, and in 1610 was in St. Andrew's as successor to Fenizio. He was twice rector of the College of Quilon, where he died in 1640 almost 80 years old. The only known work of his literary activity is the *Historia of Malavar* (the History, or better, Description, of Malabar), which he completed about 1615 after some 18 years of work in the country, not a very extensive book (about 130 printed pages), which is preserved in the Roman archives of Society of Jesus (codex Goa 58), from which however four sheets about the Thomas Christians are missing, which were cut out at some unknown epoch. Following the title he intends to write about Malabar from Cape Comorin to the port of Bhatkal in North Kanara. The construction of his work shows the same good training as is seen in Fenizio. Although the two works deal with related material, no dependence on the other can be traced and both authors prove themselves to be completely independent writers. Whereas Fenizio's work is a copy, Gonçalves's work is an autograph. He divides his matter into 4 "books"; the first contains 19 chapters, the second 27, the third only 5, the last 17. The first two books describe land, people and religion, while the last two lay the chief weight on the refutation of errors (which Fenizio did from time to time in the various chapters). Looked as a whole, the two works complement each other well. The first five chapters deal with the kings of the country, first Paraśurâma, on whose bidding the sea drew back and the country was called Karma-bhûmi, while the east side is named Jñâna-bhûmi. After the king's death arose the three kingdoms Chera, Chola and Pandya. Cheraman Perumâl rode in a car, drawn by a green horse, to heaven, after he had divided the land among 8 vassals. In the writer's time were still three kingdoms: Travancore, Quilon and the king of the Serra (i.e. of the Mountain). The 8 kingdoms and their boudaries are then named and the number of the Nairs. Chap. 2 deals with the kingdom of Purakkâd, chap. 3 with the kings of Muthedathu (Arthunkal) and Iledathu, chap. 4 the king of Cochin, chap. 5 those of Parur and Mangatty (Alangad); for all of them are given the caste to which they belonged and the number of the Nairs at their disposal. Chap. 6-10 discuss the marriages, as they are customary with the different castes, which are each named. Chap. 11 explains how adoption into the royal



family takes places when the succession fails. Chap. 12 describes the origin of the castes, which Cheraman Perumâl introduced and thus also the law of untouchability, with the results in social life. In chap. 13 we learn that the kings are absolute rulers and that the Kuruppus and Pillais have particular privileges, and through the Adhikaris execute justice and exact the taxes. The Hindu temples have the right of asylum and their staff is free from taxes (chap. 13). Chap. 14 gives us an idea of the various taxes, and chap. 15 describes government by the people, Yôgam. Chaps. 16-17 discuss the dignities and precedences which the Brahmins have by birth or are guaranteed by the king, together with the associated ceremonial. Special attention is given to the Brahmins' sacred string and the entanglements that thereby arose between the kings of Cochin and Travancore. A very valuable chapter (chap. 18) deals fully with the exercise of justice in Kerala at the beginning of the 17th century, about little is to be learned e.g. from Nagam Aiya or Velu Pillai. The following 19th chapter informs us about science among the people of Malabar, who had then, it is true, no universities, but had a good knowledge of astronomy, although with mythological notions in the explanation. They have also a good knowledge of mathematics and the upper classes can almost all write, and many from the lower castes; it is done on *olas*, i.e. on palmleaves, which last more than a hundred years. They have a number of letters unknown to Europeans and thus are difficult to pronounce and more difficult to write. Their language is called Malayâli and is related to Tamil, both of which are methodical and with a rich vocabulary, with differentiated structure and fine expressions, to be used according to the quality of the persons concerned. In their writing they use no accents, fullstops, commas or question marks, since as they have other modes of expression, such as for questions, where they add a vowel at the end. Sanskrit is widespread over all India, like Latin in Europe and has 51 written letters, while the ordinary spoken has only 18. Sanskrit has his own vocabulary and also his own script; religion is written in this language. In conclusion Gonçalves praises the artisanship, in which the Malabar people excel, through the liveliness of their intellect and the fact that they are learning when young. In each place there is almost always a master in weapon handicraft, who gives instruction in the use of guns, swords, shield, lance, crossbow and arrow, of which they are very proud, not only the Nairs, but also the lower castes.

Book 2 with its 27 chapters is the most detailed and deals principally with the religion of the people. First introductory about Brahmâ, Vishnu and Siva, who stands indeed in the last place, but is the greatest

god. The individual gods are now described, as also the paradises and the seas. About Vishnu it is said that he has still twice to come. With Brahmâ one learns also the names of the four Vedas. Chapter 2 describes the Saivas, chap. 3 the Vishnuites, each with his speciality (Lingam, less drastically described than by Fenizio; the prayer Asthaksharam : Sivarâtri, in February; paradises and hells; the four ages or Yugas). Chap. 4 shows the ways to redemption in Hinduism, and the following chapter is devoted to the Thîrtams, the sacred bathing places; the most important of these in Travancore are named, as also the Ganges in Bengal, more than 3.000 km distant; a king of Cochin, Râma Varma, died on the pilgrimage to it. Also the Mahâmakham feast, which is held every 12 years in the Kingdom of Samorin, was known to the author, as well as the legends connected with it.

Chapters 6-8 give us a picture of the most famous temples in Travancore, beginning with Rectora (Raja-Thura or Trivandrum), the legendary origin of which is recounted. The Vishnu temple is about three km from the sea and abounds with gold and precious stones. Because the gold (of the roof) was gradually stolen, it was removed about 150 years ago and replaced with copper. Many kings and individuals entrust their wealth to the temple for greater security. The neighbourhood of the temple counts some 1.000 families, who provide about 500 armed men, who, together with others from the country can quick swell to 2.000. The writer believes that the temples were erected about the time of Christ! In the second place is described the temple in Thiruvattar, which is older than that of Trivandrum, but not so rich, because about 50 years ago, the Nâyak (of Madurai) destroyed it. The origin of this Vishnu temple is also handed down by tradition like that of the temple at Cape Comorin, which is dedicated to Kumârî and is also connected with Vishnu. Chap. 10 is concerned with the giant from Ceylon, Râvana, who was killed by Srî Râma (Vishnu). This was also the place to say a word about the origin and importance of the temple Râmesvaram. In chap. 10 we learn the position of the Brahmins in Malabar, especially of the Nampimar, whose sacred prayers, the Gâyatrî and Âpohishthamayo, is transcribed into Sanskrit (in Latin letters), although Gonçalves could not learn its meaning. In Chapter 11 are described the Onam and Bharani feasts, the former in August in honour of Vishnu. originally only in Cochin, the latter in March in Cranganore Bharani-Kâvu against smallpox; then come the annual feasts of the individual temples. Chapters 12-14 give information about the burial, first of the Brahmins, then of the

kings and the people, finally of the Thirunampimar or Sanyâsis, whose life style is described in detail. It is mentioned to their credit that sodomy and widow burning are not practised in Malabar, but the latter is practised by the Vadakar (chap. 15) and is described in particular. Chapters 16-18 deal with sacrifices to the demons, as to Bhadra-Kâlî, known as Kâlî, the goddess who causes sickness and is mollified by offerings of goats and cocks, also to the spirit Bhûtam, to whom also goats and cocks are offered, finally to the female demon Sakti, otherwise Virûpa. There are numerous wizards and superstitious notions, and also fatalistic convictions; thus the fate of each one is written in the stars already by birth: *Thalayil ezhuthu*. The author counts numberless events that influence the action or inaction of the Hindus. Chapter 20 gives us an idea of the calendar with the 7 days of the weeks, with the days of the month and the 12 months, the names of which are given.

In chap. 21 we learn that Gonçalves did not succeed in finding out how the inhabitants of Malabar reckon the months and that some assert that they allot only 361 days to the year, which could be a great error. Chapters 22 and 23 provide us with welcome information about some of the cities and rivers in Malabar, also about the fertility of the land. Malabar is ruled by three wealthy men, to whom the young are connected by adoption or relationship and all are protected by the Amoks. There are no large cities, for the people live scattered among the palm groves and fields. There are many trees of all kinds, pepper trees etc., many cattle of all kinds, Teak trees, spice, lack, cinnamon (not as good as that in Ceylon), sandalwood, tamarinds, etc. There is also much iron in the country, precious stones, like cats' eyes, palms, rice, yams, cotton in Travancore, many fish in the sea and in the rivers; naturally the coconuts are also esteemed with their many uses. Chapter 23 gives a description of the cities of Travancore: Kalkulam 2-3 Portuguese miles (6-12 km) from the coast, made into a fortress by Kulaśekhara Perumâl (1592-1609), ordinarily the seat of the Mahârâjas, who left Travancore, lying in the plain and constantly threatened by the Nâyak of Madurai. Kalkulam contains some 4,000 families; the state treasury is however stored in other places, namely in Thirunanthikkara and Kakkachal. Kôttâr is an unfortified but flourishing city, where many merchants (Chattis), weavers and all kind of artisans live, including Thomas Christians and Moslems. It delivers yearly 40,000 panams as tax to the king, is however evacuated when there is war with the Nâyak of Madurai. Here there is a church, called after St. Francis Xavier, to which many extraordinary graces are due (even today this church is still one of the most important in the world dedicated to Xavier). Near



Kôttâr, on the way to Cape Comorin, is Suchîndram, not very big, but renowned on account of its temple, which is very rich, although not so rich as that of Trivandrum. Famous is the flag-staff, Koðimaram, near the entrance to the temple, all covered with beaten gold, that was stolen by the Vatakar, so far as they reach it from the elephants. Remarkable is also the seven story tower, the lowest story of which is marble, the others brick, decorated with many figures. The place contains about 3,000 families, mostly farmers, Yogîs, Brahmins and shopowners. Kôttâr contains about 4,000 families, but hardly any warriors. In Travancore there are no cities on the sea nor ports, only small inlets, as in Vizhinjam and Kolachel, also Kadyapattanam, where much rice is sold. In Thengapattanam much copra is produced; the place is inhabited by Moslems. In some villages Christians are settled, others have also Moslems, like Paravur, Vizhinjam and Chowara.

Chapter 24 gives us valuable information about the two ruling families in Quilon and the Queen of Kuntara, also about the channal from Quilon to Cochin with all the many Chumkams or customs posts. Since Gonçaves lived for years in this neighbourhood, his statements are particularly valuable as those of an eye or ear-witness. Chapters 25 and 26 describe the legendary accounts about Hiranya-kaṣipu and Shurpagan. The 27th and last chapter of this book deals briefly with the origin of the Thomas Christians, called by the Hindus Nazarani Mapillamar, and estimated by Gonçaves to number about 2,00,000; they live in 72 parishes scattered from Palur to Cape Comorin. The chief places are Angamale, Kaduthuruthy, Udayamperûr and Parur near Cranganore. They are merchants, farmers, owners of palm trees and soldiers, but not artisans, who belong to the lower castes. They have old privileges, written down on *olas*. The Christians are called Trisaykkal in Travancore. Unfortunately the section of the MS, describing why Cheram Perumâl gave an alms to the church of Thevalakkara is now missing.

The third part of the first book gives the differences, which according to Gonçaves' opinion, exist between Malabarian and Christian morals; they refer in the five chapters to marriage (where some errors are essential and others not essential); to life suicide); to justice (punishment of innocent relations); to social life (untouchability) and to property of others. The last book deals with the errors of the Malabarians (although chapter 11 is missing) and shows the true religion is the law in God.

The two Jesuit authors Fenizio and Diogo Gonçaves are important sources for Kerala around the turn of the 16th and the beginning of the

17th century. They lived many years in Malabar and Travancore, learned thoroughly the language of the country, studied the religion and the customs of the people, tried also to learn and to understand the origin of their traditions, and to express their knowledge in a simple and pleasing form. Since both wrote in Portuguese, their works have remained almost unknown in India. Thus it would be well worth while to translate the essential parts into English or also into Malayâlam, and to provide a commentary, dealing above all with the language of the country and native customs, and less with Sanskrit and Tamil, and transcribing the many Malayâlam quotations from Pâkkanâr as literary document in their own script. As regards Fenizio a preliminary condition would be a new complete Portuguese edition. It would however be no easy task to prepare one.

# Dutch Impact on Kerala Society and Culture

BY

M. O. KOSHY

The discovery of a new Oceanic-passage to the East inaugurated the commercial activities of European nations in India.<sup>1</sup> With the landing of Vasco da Gama on the shores of Calicut on May 20, 1498,<sup>2</sup> the Portuguese became the first to enter the field.<sup>3</sup> This contact between the East and the West led to the encounter between the Hindu society and the Western society.<sup>4</sup> The Portuguese power and influence lasted on the soil of Kerala for over one hundred and fifty years.<sup>5</sup> The contact with the Portuguese did influence the whole life of Kerala, altering her course of history.<sup>6</sup> The Dutch watched on with jealousy the Portuguese maritime monopoly of trade in the East.<sup>7</sup> The decline of the Portuguese power stimulated the Dutch to attack and conquer their possessions in the East.<sup>8</sup> After the conquests of the East Indies and Ceylon, the Dutch turned their attention towards the coast of Kerala.<sup>9</sup> They captured Cochin on 9th January<sup>10</sup> and Cannanore on 13th February 1663 A.D.<sup>11</sup> At the time of the Dutch conquest of Kerala, the rulers of Travancore, Cochin, Calicut and Colasteri (Kolattiri) were the four great Kings who ruled paramount over others.<sup>12</sup> The Dutch established peace with Travancore.<sup>13</sup> The Rajah of Cochin

1 T. I. Poonen, *Anglo-Dutch Relations in India proper*, (The earliest phase 1602-27) *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 9.

2 W. W. Hunter, *A History of British India*, Vol. I., p. 88.

3 T. I. Poonen, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

4 Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. 8, p. 199.

5 K. M. Panikkar, *A History of Kerala, 1498-1801*, p. 177.

6 *Ibid.*, pp. 177-185.

7 K. M. Panikkar *Malabar and the Dutch*, p. 1.

8 Abbe Raynal, *A History of Settlements and Trade in the East and West Indies*, p. 352.

9 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch* pp. 2-3.

10 *A translation of a Record—Grandhavari*, p. 7. For the details of the siege and surrender of Cochin—Vide: Churchill, *A Collection of Voyages*, Vol. III, pp. 570-71. J. B. Tavernier *The Six Voyages of John Baptista Tavernier*, p. 89.

11 A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, p. 1.

12 T. I. Poonen, *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar 1603-78*, p. 35.

13 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, pp. 8-9.



was reduced to subjection.<sup>14</sup> The Zamorin of Calicut who was the ally of the Dutch Company became hostile after the conquest of Cochin and the expulsion of the Portuguese.<sup>15</sup> The ruler of Colattiri Kingdom was forced to sue for peace and enter into a treaty with the Dutch.<sup>16</sup> By 1678, the Dutch had the following possessions and settlements on the coast of Kerala. They were Tengapatnam, Quilon, Vrieland, Kayamkulam, Cochin, Palliport, Cranganore, Ponnani, and Cannanore.<sup>17</sup> Thus the Dutch stepped into the shoes of the Portuguese after their expulsion.<sup>18</sup> This brought Kerala into close contact with the Dutch.

### *History*

Of the several settlements the Dutch established in the East Indies, Malabar was not considered to be an advantageous or a place of importance to the Dutch.<sup>19</sup> The destructive wars, rivalry of trade, and maintenance of expensive military establishments drained the resources of the Company.<sup>20</sup> As early as 19th August 1677, the Supreme government at Batavia resolved to reduce the fortifications of Cochin, Cannanore and Cranganore and Coylang. The government also directed the reduction of the number of Company's personnel and expenses of the Company on the coast of Kerala.<sup>21</sup> But the Dutch could not curtail the expenses in view of the wars being waged with the Zamorin.<sup>22</sup> Visschier, the Dutch Chaplain at Cochin held out Malabar as an expensive settlement of the Dutch East India Company since the expenses exceeded the profits obtained from the trade.<sup>23</sup>

In 1739 Van Imhoff, the Governor General of Ceylon came to Cochin to study and report of the Dutch affairs on the coast of Kerala.<sup>24</sup> His hasty decision to enforce balance of power on the coast led to a war with Marthanda Varma, the King of Travancore.<sup>25</sup> The

14 K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *A Short History of Kerala*, p. 107.

15 *Memoir of Van Rheede* (Dutch Records No. 14), p. 14.

16 T. I. Poonen, *A Survey of the Rise of the Dutch Power in Malabar 1603-78*, p. 190.

17 *Ibid.*, pp. 196-9.

18 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, p. 6.

19 J. S. Stavorinus, *Voyages to the East Indies*, Vol. III, p. 233.

20 *Ibid.*

21 *Ibid.*, pp. 234-237.

22 K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, pp. 226-32.

23 J. C. Visscher, *Letters from Malabar*, "trans." Major Herber Drury, p. 38.

24 J. S. Stavorinus, *op. cit.*, Vol. III., p. 240.

25 Francis Day, *The Land of the Perumals*, pp. 130-32.

surrender of the Dutch in the battle of Colachel on 10th August 1741 was a turning point in the history of Kerala.<sup>26</sup> The efforts of the Dutch to defeat Marthanda Varma failed and therefore they decided to come to terms with him.<sup>27</sup> It led to the signing of the Treaty of Mavelikara on 15th August 1753.<sup>28</sup> According to the terms of the treaty, the Dutch gave up all their political powers on the coast of Kerala and threw the native powers at the mercy of the King of Travancore.<sup>29</sup> The Treaty gave a "death blow to the Company's position on the coast."<sup>30</sup>

Taking advantage of the Dutch East India Company's loss of political power on the coast of Kerala and the weakness of the Raja of Cochin, the Zamorin of Calicut invaded their territories.<sup>31</sup> The Dutch Company and the Raja of Cochin failed to arrest the successful progress of the Zamorin's forces into their territories.<sup>32</sup> But at the zenith of victory, the Zamorin concluded peace with them in 1758 on hearing the rumour of an impending design of Hyder Ali on Kerala.<sup>33</sup> In 1766, Hyder Ali invaded Kerala.<sup>34</sup> He conquered the kingdom of the Zamorin and invaded further south.<sup>35</sup> The Dutch could not stop the successful march of Hyder Ali's forces.<sup>36</sup> The conquests of Hyder Ali forced the Dutch to sell Cannanore to Azhi Raja in 1771-72.<sup>37</sup> In 1789, the Dutch sold Cranganore to Travancore on ascertaining the plan of Tippu to invade Kerala.<sup>38</sup> In 1795 the English occupied Cochin.<sup>39</sup> and its capture marked the end of the one hundred and thirty two years of Dutch presence and influence on the coast of Kerala.

### *Administration*

The Dutch organised an elaborate and efficient system of civil and military administration in their settlements. The system of administra-

26 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, pp. 66-71.

27 K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *A Short History of Kerala*, p. 111.

28 P. C. Alexander, *The Dutch in Malabar*, pp. 51-54.

29 *Ibid.*, pp. 133-35.

30 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, p. 54.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 86.

32 P. C. Alexander, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-71.

33 Francis Day, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

34 Galetti A., *op. cit.*, p. 152.

35 *Ibid.*, pp. 132-133.

36 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, p. 100.

37 K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *A Short History of Kerala*, p. 112.

38 P. C. Alexander, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

39 Francis Day, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

tion provoked the admiration of the Directors of the English East India Company. In the early days the English borrowed the Dutch system to strengthen and enlarge their settlements.<sup>40</sup> Stein Van Gollennesse and Adriaan Moens wrote clearly about the different courts and institutions of the Dutch East India Company on the coast of Kerala.<sup>41</sup> They maintained a Court of Justice, a Political Council, a Court of Orphans, a Court of Petty and Matrimonial Affairs, the Ward and Fire Committee, a Church Committee, a Board of Education, a Board of Guardians, an Orphanage, a Hospital and a Leper Asylum.<sup>42</sup> The Chiefs of Settlements presided the Court of Justice and the Political Council. Later the presidency of the Court of Justice was conferred upon the second—in—Council.<sup>43</sup> Adriaan Moens in his Memoirs had given the directions he had given to the Dutch Chiefs in the administration of Justice.<sup>44</sup> He also recommended the training of small Europeans to learn Malayalam so that they could translate evidences involving cases and be helpful to the Company in administrative matters. This shows the importance the Dutch had attached to the administration of justice and other administrative affairs on the coast.<sup>45</sup>

#### *Development of Agriculture, Industry and Trade*

The Dutch encouraged the cultivation of rice and coconut. Better methods of cultivation and improved seeds were introduced by them. They also cultivated indigo. The seedlings were brought from Surat and they were sown in Vendurty, Chetwai, Pappanety, Cranganore and Varopoly.<sup>46</sup>

The Dutch revived many industries. Among the many industries they introduced Salt farming was one of the major industries of Kerala. The Indian rulers began Salt farming following the Dutch initiative. The rulers found the farming highly profitable. Dyeing was another industry supported by the Dutch. They gave the community of dyers many convenience and encouraged their settlement in Kerala.<sup>47</sup>

The Dutch permitted freedom of commerce. Trade and commerce with other countries received great impetus during their rule. The ports

40 A. Galetti, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

41 *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82. Vide; *Ibid.*, pp. 240-248.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 34.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 243.

44 *Ibid.*, pp. 243-247.

45 *Ibid.*, pp. 247-248.

46 K. M. Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, pp. 150-52.

47 *Ibid.*, p. 152.



all over the coast of Kerala especially Cochin, Colachel and Calicut were hummed with activities of trade. The export of coir, cotton goods, jaggery and tamarind increased. Even the Rajah of Travancore and Zamorin of Calicut encouraged and promoted trade.<sup>48</sup>

### Religion

The Markakar new converts to Christianity came under the protection of the Dutch East India Company by the treaty between the Company and the Rajah of Cochin on 20th March 1663. The ninth and tenth articles of the treaty state "that they are under the jurisdiction of the Company" and when they committed crimes they were to be punished only by the Company.<sup>49</sup> The protection thus extended encouraged many to become Christians to evade taxation and to escape the punishment of the King for their crimes. The misuse of privileges made Dutch officials like Adriaan Moens to use discretion when such cases of violation of Christian privileges were reported.<sup>50</sup>

The Dutch on their capture of Cochin in 1663 ordered the Portuguese clergy and the Italian Carmelites to leave the coast of Kerala.<sup>51</sup> Before leaving the coast, Bishop Joseph ordained a Malabar Syrian Parambil Chandy Kattanar as Vicar Apostolic of Kerala with the title of Alexander de Campo.<sup>52</sup> The Dutch tolerated but disliked the Bishop who kept away from them. They forced the clergy to take an oath of paying no allegiance to the King of Portugal. In course of time few of the expelled Carmelites returned and began to serve the Syrian Christians under Bishop Chandy. In 1698 the Senate of Amsterdam cancelled the order of expulsion of 1663.<sup>53</sup> With the progress of years, the Roman Catholics enjoyed the protection of the Dutch. In their letters to Rome, the Roman Padres wrote of the freedom they enjoyed under the Dutch.<sup>54</sup> In 1773 the Bishop of Verapoly sent two priests to the Dutch Governor Adriaan Moens conveying his compliments in the name of His Holiness, the Pope of Rome. They read the letter of the Pope and gave a duplicate copy to Adriaan Moens. In the letter, the Pope mentioned of the pains taken by the Dutch to protect the Christians of the coast. The Pope also directed the Bishop

48 *Ibid.*, p. 150.

49 Treaty entered into between the Dutch and the Rajah of Cochin dated 20th March 1663 A. D. *Ernakulam Archives Document No. 27.*

50 A. Galetti, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

51 V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Vol. II, pp. 186-189.

52 L. W. Brown, *The Indian Christians of St. Thomas*, p. 109.

53 V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.* Vol. II, pp. 186-189.

54 A. Galetti, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

to convey His "feelings of gratitude" to the Dutch.<sup>55</sup> The letter was a proof of the protection enjoyed by the Catholics under the Dutch rule.

The St. Thomas Christians who left the Catholic fold welcomed the rise of the Dutch power on the coast of Kerala.<sup>56</sup> The Dutch permitted the Syrians to keep in correspondence with the Eastern Patriarchates. They could invite Bishops from those Patriarchates who were prepared to travel in Dutch boats.<sup>57</sup> In 1751 the Dutch brought in their vessels two Jacobite Bishops and several other ecclesiastics to Travancore at the request of the Marthoma V, the then ruling Puthencoor Metran.<sup>58</sup> The Dutch demanded 12,000 rupees as their charges for bringing the bishops from Western Asia. When the Marthoma V refused payment, the Dutch threatened to deport the foreign Bishops and the Metran for defaulting payment.<sup>59</sup> The Dutch placed the matter before Marthanda Varma, the King of Travancore. Marthanda Varma intervened in behalf of the Dutch, and forced the Metran to pay the money. Finally a sum of no less than 12,000 was paid.<sup>60</sup> Though the hopes of the Syrian Christians were raised at the time of the Dutch conquest of Cochin, their dreams were shattered to pieces with the passage of time. As the primary concern of the Dutch was trade, they did not bother of the condition of the Syrian Christians.<sup>61</sup> The lack of interest of the Dutch in protecting the interests of the Syrian Christians exposed them to the persecution of the Roman Catholics and the Indian rulers. The danger loomed large when the King of Travancore conquered their country.<sup>62</sup>

The Dutch followed a policy of religious toleration. They unhappily witnessed the children of Dutch Portuguese marriages becoming Roman Catholics. They could not do anything to convert the Catholics to the reformed faith without knowing Portuguese. During the rule of the Dutch Governor Adriaan Moens, he trained an Indian

55 Letter from the Pope to the Bishop of Areopolis Vicar Apostolic of Malabar dated 23rd July 1772. Quoted by A. Galetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-23.

56 L. W. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

57 C. P. Mathew, M. M. Thomas, *The Indian Churches of St. Thomas*, p. 38.

58 L. P. Brown, *op. cit.*, p. 120. Vide; P. Cherian, *The Malabar Syrians and the Church Missionary Society 1816-1840*, pp. 52-53.

59 Z. M. Paret, *Malankara Nazranikal*, Vol. III, pp. 15-171.

60 V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 207-208.

61 Letter of Col. Munro to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, published in extenso as Appendix VIII to the Twentieth Report of the Church Missionary Society pp. 333 to 340 of the proceedings of the Church Missionary Society for 1819-1820. Quoted in P. Cherian, *op. cit.*, p. 366.

62 C. P. Mathew, M. M. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

priest for missionary work. As the priest proved to be unsuitable even after training, he became a school master.<sup>63</sup>

### *Humanitarian Work*

The Dutch maintained Leper Asylums at Palliport<sup>64</sup> and Baypin.<sup>65</sup> Palliport was the capital of the Leper Asylum.<sup>66</sup> When the contagious disease was rapidly spreading among the natives during the rule of Adriaan Moens, he introduced annual medical inspection. Lepresy was detected at the early stage and the lepers were segregated and treated for the disease. Soon Cochin became free of such infested persons.<sup>67</sup> The Leper house at Baypin was maintained by a special fund and its functions were supervised by special trustees. But during the time of C. L. Snelt 1769—1771, the predecessor of Adriaan Moens, the management was placed under the supervision of the Deacons. The change of management gave the leper house a good and careful supervision than before.<sup>68</sup>

There was an orphanage maintained at the expense of the Board of Deacons. Children of Europeans who were protestants were only admitted in the institution.<sup>69</sup> Strict instructions were given to train the children properly in the protestant faith.<sup>70</sup> Quite unfortunately the orphanage was not thrown open to the natives.

### *Language*

The contact of Malayalam with foreign languages enriched her vocabulary. Dr. Vellayani Arjunan, in his book *Gaveshana Mekhala* has mentioned that the Portuguese, French, Dutch, Greek, Latin and Syriac words have been borrowed due to the contact. However, he had not mentioned of the nature of the impact of Dutch words on Malayalam. He wrote that much research had not been done in this connection.<sup>71</sup> Only a scholar proficient in Medieval Dutch and Malayalam can identify those words.

63 A. Galetti, *op. cit.*, pp. 171-79.

64 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

66 *Ibid.*, p. 82.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 242.

68 *Ibid.*

69 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

70 *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

71 Vellayani Arjunan, *Gaveshana Mekhala*, p. 96.



### Malayalam Prose

The treaties and the letters transacted between the Dutch and the Indian princes throw much light upon the Malayalam prose of the time. The true extracts from the Perumpadappu Grandhavari give us the style observed during the seventeenth and eighteenth century Malayalam prose.<sup>72</sup>

### Scientific Research

The Dutch contact with Kerala became memorable with the publication of a monumental work "*Hortus Malabaricus*."<sup>73</sup> The work was the first attempt at scientific research compiled at the direction of Van Rhee-de,<sup>74</sup> the Commander of Cochin 1673—'77. Van Rhee-de was assisted by three Konkani Brahmins—Ranga Bhat-ter, Appu Bhat-ter and Vinayaga Bhat-ter and an Ehazava Vaidyan Itty Achuthan.<sup>75</sup> Indian and Europeans were employed to search for medicinal plants. They collected and took fresh specimens of plants to Cochin where the Carmelite Mathoens sketched them. There is no difficulty to identify the different species due to the accuracy of his drawings.<sup>76</sup> The names of plants are mentioned in Latin, Portuguese, Nagari, Malayalam and Arabic.<sup>77</sup> It reveals the world the medical wealth of Kerala in its plants and drugs.

### Printing

The *Hortus Malabaricus* is also famous for the first printing of Malayalam. The book containing twelve volumes was printed in Amsterdam.<sup>78</sup> It begins with the introductions of the three Konkani Brahmins, Itty Achuthan and Emmanuel Karnoi Roy. The three Konkani Brahmins used Konkani Nagara lipi; Itty Achuthan used Vattezhuthu lipi; and Emmanuel Karnoi Roy used Malayalam lipi.<sup>79</sup> Thus Malayalam was first printed not anywhere in Kerala but in Amsterdam.

### Eustace D'Lanoy's Contribution

The contribution of Eustace D'Lanoy, a Fleming is interesting for the observation of students of Kerala history. He came to Kerala

72 Quoted by K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *Kochirajyacharithram*, Vol. II, p. 105.

73 K. M. Parikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch* p. 164.

74 K. V. Krishna Ayyar, *A Short History of Kerala*, p. 112.

75 Edamaruku, T. C. Joseph, *Kerala Samskaram*, p. 548.

76 Rev. T. Whitehouse, *Some Historical Notices of Cochin*, p. 22.

77 Edamaruku, T. C. Joseph, *op. cit.*, p. 547.

78 Govinda pillai, *Malayala Bhashacharithram*, p. 219.

79 Edamaruku T. C. Joseph, *op. cit.*, pp. 547-552.

in the service of the Dutch East India Company. At the time of the surrender of the Dutch in the battle of Colachel on 10th August 1741, D'Lanoy and Duyvenschot were captured by Marthanda Varma, the King of Travancore along with other Europeans.<sup>80</sup> They accepted employment under Marthanda Varma and served him with distinction. They reorganised the army of Travancore and modelled it on European footing. D'Lannoy, was given the charge of the construction of forts and the organisation of Magazines and arsenals. The efficient performance of the regiment under the command of D'Lannoy in the expeditions and the expansion of the territories were of high value to Marthanda Varma. So the King made D'Lannoy a Captain. D'Lannoy is popularly known in Travancore as 'Valia Kappithan' (Great Captain).<sup>81</sup> The famous 'Travancore Lines' which checked Hyder Ali and Tippu were the joint work of D'Lannoy and Palawa Soobba Iyer.<sup>82</sup> D'Lannoy died on 1st June 1777 at the age of sixty two.<sup>83</sup>

### *Historical Contributions*

The most noteworthy Dutch contribution to Kerala society and culture was their interest in writing the different aspects of Kerala history and culture. The narrations of Linschoten, Nieuhoff Baldeus, and Stavorinus are important sources of information for the writing of Kerala history. Besides these, the Dutch East India Company directed their Commandeurs at Cochin to write memorandams for the guidance and information of their successors. Adriaan Moens the great Dutch Governor wrote a memorandum for the information of his superiors also. Further the preservation of other records under the headings such as "Resolutions", "Letters from Batavia", and "Translations of letters from Native princess" will also be useful for the students and historians of Kerala history. These valuable records came into the possession of the British at the time of the Dutch surrender of Cochin in 1795. For sometime these records were preserved there and later they were transferred to Calicut. In 1891, these records were sent to

80 A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Rise of Travancore*, p. 42.

81 P. Shungoonny Menon, *A History of Travancore*, pp. 136-37.

82 V. Nagam Aiya, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 381.

83 The epitaph of D' Lanoy at Udayagiri reads :

"Stop Wayfarer! Here lieth Eustace Benedict de Lannoy, who as the general—in chief of the troops of Travancore, was in command and during about 37 years served the King with the utmost fidelity. By the might of his arms and the fear (of his name) he subjected to his (the King's) sway all the Kingdoms from Kayangulam to Cochin. He lived 62 years and 5 months and died on the 1st of June (of the year) 1777. May he rest in peace! "

(*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. VI, Part I, p. 53),

Madras. The Madras Records Office (now re-named Tamilnadu Archives) catalogued them properly and they are available for ready reference.<sup>84</sup> Some of these records are in brittle condition and few are illegible now. All these records form valuable sources of information for the writing of Kerala history of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

### *Conclusion*

The one hundred and thirty two years of Dutch contact with Kerala had commendable impact on the different aspects of the Kerala society and culture. The main aim of the Dutch being lucrative commerce, they attached much importance to its developments. They showed much interest in the progress of agriculture and industries in Kerala which proved beneficial to them. Necessarily, the people of Kerala were the beneficiaries of the great strides brought about in the field of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce under the Dutch patronage.

The colossal expenditure the Dutch had to incur for the maintenance of military establishments forced them to curtail expenditure on many of their social welfare activities. Nevertheless the great interest evinced by the Dutch in social welfare schemes deserves special mention. The initiative and interest taken by the Dutch Commander Van Rhee de to compile a work on the plants and herbs of the coast was another praiseworthy contribution in the field of scientific research. The work bears ample testimony to the medical and botanical knowledge of the physicians of Kerala at that time.

The Dutch did not commit atrocities to maintain their power on the coast unlike their predecessors, the Portuguese. They were shrewd and farsighted diplomats. They were very tolerant towards other religious sects and they strictly kept away from forcible conversion of people of other religions to Christianity. In short, the one hundred and thirty two years of Dutch sway over Kerala had a very benign and healthy influence on the people of Kerala. It is also to be noted that the history of the Dutch settlements in Kerala is free from rancor and bitterness.



## Dr. Chempakaraman Pillai

BY

V. SANKARAN NAIR

The first world war gave an unprecedented opportunity for the freedom fighters of India to compel the British Government to grant more and more reforms. The objective of the Home Rule Movement under the leadership of Mrs. Annie Besant and B. C. Tilak was the attainment of self-government at the earliest. The participants of the Home Rule Movement moved heaven and earth to have the war-cry of Tilak. "Swarāj is my birth-right and I will have it" carried out. This was a definite departure from the policy of the Moderates led by G.K. Gokhale, Pherotzshah Mehta and S. P. Sinha who were satisfied with piecemeal reforms through petitioning. Though the cry for Swarāj was a definite departure from the policy of the moderates it was far short of 'the Pūrna Swarāj' demanded by Mahatma Gandhi, who entered the arena of Indian politics at the end of the first world war. Mrs. Besant who worked for Dominion status for India was satisfied with the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms. Her methods of agitation were constitutional. To a large extent the emergence of Gandhian era in Indian politics marked the beginning of direct action. While such experiments were taking place under the leadership of the Congress, a section of Indian patriots who believed in the power of the 'Bomb' also was working in India and abroad to liberate the country from the clutches of British Imperialism, at the earliest.

Dr. Chempakaraman Pillai was one among those selfless revolutionaries who laid down their lives for the freedom of the land. Independent India in general and Kerala, the birthland of this revolutionary, in particular perpetuate his memories with due regard and reverence.

South Travancore which now forms a part of the Tamilnad was blessed with giving birth to heroes like Iravikkutṭi Pillai and Dewan Veluttambi. This tradition found another fulfilment in the birth of Chempakarāman.

Born on September, 1891, he had his primary education in Trivandrum. Young Chempakarāman Pillai was a pet student of his teacher O. M. Ceṟiyan, in Government English High School, Trivandrum.

According to him he was bright in English and History but poor in Mathematics.<sup>1</sup> Though financially weak he was smart in activities. English education as well as his close association with men of politics made the young boy alert in matters of national movement. This interest he had to conceal in his sleeves in the early days from his father who was a police constable.

The partition of Bengal in 1905 proved to be a definite call to the student community of Bengal and other provinces of India to boycott the educational institutions. This was well received by the students of Travancore. Pillai, who was studying in Fifth Form at the Mahārāja's High School, Trivandrum could no more conceal his patriotic feelings. The rebel in him found an outlet in this incident and he boycotted the school and "began to organise the students and conduct anti-British propaganda and call on the peasants not to pay taxes."<sup>2</sup>

In the face of suppression of anti-partition movement by internments and transportations, the young patriot, who soon came to the notice of the British intelligence, found at a loss to pursue his patriotic activities. It was at this time, a wealthy Briton who worked for the "emancipation of India from his greedy countrymen,"<sup>3</sup> came forward with a helping hand. He was Sir Walter Strickland "a baronet severely critical of England's imperialist policies, who renounced his citizenship after the war."<sup>4</sup> He took young Chempakaraman abroad and brought him up as his protegee. Thus "the bud of his patriotism blossomed on the soil of Germany whither the current of destiny took him in his impressionable youth."<sup>5</sup>

The boy started his European voyage in 1906 and reached Colombo touching Tuticorin. It is believed that he stayed there in exile for a couple of years.<sup>6</sup> In 1908 from Colombo he proceeded to Italy in a Germanship. He joined the Belist School of languages and began to study Italian language. Next he joined the University of Berlin from where he took doctorate both in Political Science and Economics. Also he studied Engineering and became proficient in it. His knowledge of

1 Article by O. M. Cherian, *Malayala Manorama Weekly*, 31 March 1956.

2 P. K. K. Menon, *The History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Vol. II, Regional Records Survey Committee, Kerala State, Trivandrum, p. 39.

3 Home, Pol. (B), June 1912, Proc. No. 39, Para 4.

4 Emily C. Brown, *Har Dayal Hindu Revolutionary and Rationalist*. The University of Arizona Press, Tucson, Arizona, 1975, p. 180.

5 P. K. K. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

6 K. Kochukrishnan Nadar, *Doctor Chempakaraman Pillai*, Deshabhimani Publishing House, Kanjiramkulam, Nellikakuzhi (P.O.), p. 10.

the European languages including German and French facilitated his activities there.

Like all revolutionaries Dr. Pillai believed in liberating India through an armed uprising. Germany and other European countries during this period, had hosted a number of like-minded Indian revolutionaries who wished to liberate India by any means. They included Har Dayal, V. D. Savarkar, S. R. Rana, Shyamaji KrishnaVarma, Vīrāndranāth Chattopādhyā, Ajith Singh, Muhammad Barakatullā, Bhagwan Singh. Rajā Mahēndrapratāp and Dr. Prabhākar. Chempakarāman Pillai joined their company in order to achieve their cherished goal, viz., the freedom of the country. The International Pro-India Committee and its mouthpiece the *Pro-India* news paper which he started at Zurich were attempts in this direction.

The objective of the pro-India Committee. "was to explain the political conditions in India to the public, especially to the press, and to put at their disposal all ethnographic, historic, economic, psychologic, sociologic documents and facts which are of a nature to secure knowledge of the soul of the past and of the possibilities of the development of India'. It was also intended to promote the unification of all the peoples and races of India into a strong entity and to start an intensive social and cultural reform of all spheres of living,"<sup>7</sup> Through the columns of *Pro-India*, Dr. Pillai combated the anti-India attitude and propaganda of the British Government.

His pro-Indian activities attracted the attention of the Kaiser William II of Germany who had larger schemes in the international politics against the British power. He found in Chempakarāman Pillai a greater ally in his intrigues against British Government in India. Thenceforth Chempakarāman was specially invited to all secret political conferences held in Germany. It seems that Kaiser wanted Dr. Pillai to become the Prime Minister of India, after expelling the English from this country with the help of the German army.<sup>8</sup>

When the first World War broke out Chempakarāman Pillai was still a student at Zurich. He lost no time in placing his services at the disposal of the German Government. Early in September he gave an appraisal on Indian revolutionary movement to the German Consul.

7 P. K. K. Menon, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41.

8 K. Kochukrishnan Nadar, *op. cit.*, p. 19.



He took with him a German translation of an article from the 'Gaelic American' in which it was stated that "10,000 Irishmen in the United States had expressed sympathy with Germany and hoped that the Germans would soon land in Ireland".<sup>9</sup> Also he sought permission to print *Pro-India* and similar literature in many and hoped that the Germany, as permission to print them in Switzerland was terminated.<sup>10</sup>

The German foreign office favourably conceded his views. Suddenly Dr. Pillai left Zurich, for Munich and Berlin in October, to join the intelligence Bureau of the German Foreign Office. It was stated that the German Ministry for Foreign Affairs had entrusted him with a secret mission to Constantinople to organise an uprising in India.<sup>11</sup> But it is doubtful if he ever went there.<sup>12</sup>

In Germany, he was engaged in publishing anti-British literature. In the end of May Chempakaraman Pillai spent a week in Switzerland. There he met Chattopadhyaya and conferred with Shyamaji Krishna Varma. He asked the latter to supply him with a complete set of back numbers of *Indian Sociologist* and was also trying to recover a copy of Savarkar's *Indian war of Independence*, which he had lent out to a friend in Switzerland.<sup>13</sup> Also he arranged to publish original pamphlets attacking British rule in India and reprint old revolutionary literature, including a German translation of W. J. Bryan's pamphlet, *British rule in India*.

Aware of the possibilities of an Indian uprising in the wake of the First World War, the German Government contacted Chempakaraman Pillai and Virēdranāth Chattōpādhyāya. They were assured of German support. As a result an organization, called the 'Indian National Party' came into existence in May 1915.

The work of the Indian National Party did not cease with the production of anti-British literature, preaching sedition to Indian prisoners in Germany and acting as spies among the Indian troops in France. A scheme for a general rising throughout India hatched by German agents was tuned to begin in October.<sup>14</sup> The well-known Bengali revolutionaries, Chandrakanta Chakravarthi and Hemendra

9 Home, Pol. (B), Decr. 1914, Proc. 221, Para 7.

10 *Ibid.*

11 Home, Pol. (B) Decr. 1914, Proc. 228, Para 3.

12 Home, Pol. (B), Aug. 1915, Proc. 554.

13 Home, Pol. (B), July, 1915, Proc. 520, Para 6.

14 Home, Pol. (B), Aug. 1915, Proc., 554.

Kishore Rakshit have been given employment at the German embassy at Washington. Their work is no doubt to arrange for the co-operation of revolutionary Indians in America, who still number some thousands. The German Consul at Shanghai was in general charge of operations in the Far East but the active agencies were in Siam, Java and Persia.<sup>15</sup>

Chempakarāman Pillai was assigned to the Java agency. He was expected to reach Java in August or September 1915, accompanied by 'Douwes Dewkker' a Javanese revolutionary leader who was expelled from the Dutch Indian in 1912 and other members of Indian National Party.<sup>16</sup> It was "planned to begin the uprising with the capture of Andaman Islands and the liberation of political prisoners who were to be placed at the head of the movement."<sup>17</sup>

The whole scheme failed to materialise even after fixing several dates for the outbreak. Finally the plot leaked, resulting in large scale arrests of conspirators both in India and abroad. The powerful C.I.D. net work of the British could pierce the ranks of the conspirators and could switch off their schemes. The collapse of the German plot is depicted as follows: "German conspirators in America, Shanghai's, Manila, and Batavia have failed completely to supply the Indian revolutionaries with arms and ammunition. The Maverick and the Henrys were intended to carry cargoes of arms to Indian waters, but the arrangements miscarried. Large quantities of arms have undoubtedly been collected in Shanghai, but although reports have been received that they were being smuggled thence into India, careful investigation has failed to discover any corroborating evidence. It is I think, safe to say that since the outbreak of the war the Indian revolutionary party has not received any material additions to its arsenal from outside India."<sup>18</sup>

Even while he was a student he used to write and speak to obviate the false impression about India in European countries made by the British mass media. He found an attentive audience for Indian problems in the European countries.

15 *Ibid.*

16 *Ibid.*

17 *Ibid.*

18 Home, Pol. (B), April 1916, Proc. 476, Para 1.

His article entitled "The Fire Feast" which appeared in the June 25th 1912 issue of a paper published at Zurich called *Der Wanderer* "contained references to the parasitical English Government of India, and stated that the English sucked the blood of millions for their own advantage".<sup>19</sup>

On 1st March 1918, he delivered an interesting lecture on British tyranny in India at a well attended meeting in Berlin. Dr. Pillai thoroughly disposed of the sentimental notion that English were the benefactors of India. In support of his views he quoted statistical facts and figures which were most convincing. He showed the increasing impoverishment of the people, and the incredible enrichment of England. The statistics on Education in India before and after British rule was striking. Mr. Pillai then discussed the question often roused today—why has not India risen during the war against her torturers and extortionist rulers? The disappointment, he said had been very great in Germany. But this apparent omission was no puzzle to one acquainted with the facts. In the First place, the Great War came as a surprise and, secondly, very little had been done by Germany to become acquainted with Indian conditions and absolutely nothing to further the Indian movement for freedom. But a people in the state of the Indians requires moral and material support. The work of the Indian nationalist was not easy and had become exceedingly difficult during the War. They should not forget that the country was disarmed. England had deported the Indian soldiers to bleed to death in Flanders. The English had however become convinced that the revolutionary movement was making progress in India. Political crimes were increasing and hundreds of unfortunates had been hanged and thousands imprisoned. But every victim brought new recruits to the struggle for Indian liberty. The speaker challenged the boasters in London and Washington to withdraw English troops from India and then to give free scope to the right of self-determination to the people. Without a liberated India there could be no permanent world peace".<sup>20</sup> He expressed his displeasure on the peace note of His Holiness the Pope in a letter signed by himself to the "Deutsche Tageszeitung" as follows.

"I would not be doing my duty as an Indian Nationalist if I did not tell the German people and the whole world that the last peace note of His Holiness the Pope will undoubtedly rouse the greatest indignation and disappointment among all thinking Indians. More

19 Home, Pol. (B), Aug. 1912, Proc., 28, Para 5.

20 Home, Pol. (B), June 1918, Pro. 493, Para 5.



than 300 millions of people have been suffering from fears under the abominable consequences of British tyranny and oppression. In spite of the artificial methods which England employs to influence and poison public opinion against us, the Indian question will always be a burning one. The Indian Nationalists in spite of powerful obstacles will some day call England to account for the misdeeds and atrocities perpetrated on the unhappy Indian peoples. If Armenia, which compared to India, is only like a drop in the ocean, is according to His Holiness entitled to independence, then India, with her glorious past and most promising future, with her countless millions and old civilization, has a far greater right to make her voice heard in the concert of the peoples. For this goal Indian patriots are working. Though persecuted by their oppressors, imprisoned, banished and executed, their courageous self-sacrificing spirit will contribute towards the final deliverance of their fatherland."<sup>21</sup>

It is pleasant to note that he served as an officer in the German cruiser 'Emden', which had a four months cruise in the Indian ocean ending in its capture by the British navy. During its short mission Emden gave deadly blows to the British navy and was a terror for them.<sup>22</sup> When the captains of the ship surrendered before her captors, Dr. Pillai made a very heroic escape back to Germany in a submarine.

After making his escape from the sinking 'Emden,' Dr. Pillai organised the Indian National Volunteer corps. The members of the corps had distinct uniforms and badges in which the letters I.N.V.<sup>23</sup> was inscribed. This was the result of his efforts to bring together the exiled Indian revolutionaries living in Europe. "Its objective was to persuade the Indian soldiers fighting on the borders of France, through the distribution of pamphlets and secret letters to join the German side and also to conduct anti-British propaganda in Turkey and Persia."<sup>24</sup> In pursuit of this objective he flew in a plane piloted by himself over the camps of Indian soldiers in the European war fields and dropped pamphlets enclosed with currency notes. These pamphlets were concrete proofs to show his quality of statesmanship. The message was a stirring call to his countrymen irrespective of religion, to rise in the most opportune time offered by the First World War, to break the chains of bondage. He appealed to his countrymen to stop fighting for

21 *Continental Times*, 12 Sept. 1917.

22 For more details please refer K. Kochukrishnan Nadar, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-32,

23 Abbreviation of the name Indian National Volunteer Corps.

24 P. K. K. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

the British. He appealed to them either to return home and fight the war of Indian independence or join the ranks of "Indian National Volunteer corps" and fight the British from abroad.<sup>25</sup>

The first Provisional Government of Free India was formed at Kabul on 1st December 1915. Dr. Pillai was its Foreign Minister. Messrs. Mahendra Pratap and Mohamed Barkatulla were its President and Prime Minister respectively. Though Kabul was made its headquarters the directions to the government were mainly given from Germany. This Provisional Government was formed with the main intention of working for the independence of India. This was in pursuance of the resolution already passed for complete Independence of India in a conference of "Indian National Committee" at Berlin in 1915.<sup>26</sup>

The Provisional Government decided to support Germany and Turkey in the First World War to weaken the British war machinery. The Provisional Government also solemnly resolved to organise an armed revolution to win India's Freedom. Their grand plan was to "block the Suez canal, crush the British navy, enter India with the help of the German army and effect the transfer to the Provisional Government of India from Kabul to Delhi."<sup>27</sup> This plan was wrecked by the defeat of Germany at the hands of the Allies.

The First World War was concluded on the basis of the fourteen points issued by President Wilson. Dr. Pillai raised the lone protest by putting forth eight point counter proposals to avoid bloodshed in future. It was a unique document of its kind which demanded the British to quit India and transfer complete power to India. The eight point counter declaration ran as follows.<sup>28</sup>

1. England must withdraw all their troops from India.
2. All administrative posts which are now enjoyed by Britishers must be given to Indians.
3. Those Britishers who want to remain in India have to reveal faithfulness to India.

25 A full text of the rousing call to his country men issued from Berlin on 31 July 1915 can be had from *Ibid.*

26 P. K. B. Nair, *Vismarikkappetta Viplavakari*, Mangalodayam (Pvt) Limited, Trichur, 1967, p. 44.

27 P. K. K. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

28 *Pro-India*, 16 Oct. 1919.

4. The form of Government in order to avoid anarchy in the country must remain as it is still a piece treaty is signed under observation of para 2.

5. After a reasonable time after the peace treaty is signed the Indian people will determine a new form of government through a national assembly.

6. India must be entitled to depute their representatives to the future peace conference and to represent a free nation in the League of Nations.

7. The French and the Portuguese must leave their possessions in India.

8. The integrity and self-determination of India must be recognised."

The importance of this declaration that he made on behalf of his countrymen lies in the fact it was made three decades before the actual winning of the Indian Independence. These concrete suggestions reveal the revolutionary and statesman in Dr. Pillai, who had nothing but the complete independence of India in his vision.

His next attempt was to muster the support of the liberal forces of the world,<sup>29</sup> by the formation of the "League of the oppressed people" in collaboration with the American author Edwin Emerson in the year 1919. This was an attempt to unify the oppressed against the imperialist oppressors led by the British. In short, it was beginning of the global war against the imperialism. With this Dr. Pillai became an internationalist

In order to establish its branches throughout the world Dr. Pillai visited many places in the Far East, South East, Middle East, South Africa and America. His working knowledge in twelve languages helped him on all these occasions.

The "Orient Club" which he founded in 1920, in association with Talak Pasha, the grand vizier of Turkey during the First World War, was to champion the cause of the Negro community in the United States of America. He took the question of their independence to President Wilson. Though he personally agreed with the concept, he pleaded his inability, for the Americans were opposed to it.<sup>30</sup> His

<sup>29</sup> *The Hindu*, 16 Sept. 1966.

<sup>30</sup> K. Kochukrishnan Nadar, *op. cit.*, p. 46.



attempts to build public opinion in America in favour of the emancipation of Negroes could earn him only the wrath of the Americans. The American Government ordered for his arrest.<sup>31</sup> But Mr. Pillai left America to South Africa in disguise. In South Africa he met Gandhiji and also some African leaders with whom he conversed on political matters.

Since his debut in Indian politics from the early school days the British intelligence was pursuing him very closely. He would have been arrested in India but for his timely escape with Sir Walter Strickland. Then the British had to put their net wider but Dr. Pillai proved himself that he was not a small fly to be caught in their net. The British intelligence tried to weaken his morale by censuring and delaying his letters either sent by him or addressed to him. To some extent they succeeded in bringing disharmony in the relationship between Sir Walter Strickland and his protege which culminated in a cliff. Their attempt did not stop with that. They priced Rs. one lakh for his head. It is also said that the British set the notorious Mata Hari to entice him. But Dr. Pillai converted the champer into his own informant.

In recognition of his war services the German Government decided to offer him high compensations. With all humility he declined the offer on the ground that he collaborated with the German Government not for Germany but for his 'fatherland'. The German Government in return honoured him as the unofficial Ambassador of India in Germany. In the post world war period he spent his days in Berlin in that status.

The first exhibition of Swadēśhi goods (India) at an European trade fair was organised by Dr. Pillai. This was at the Leipzig International Fair in 1924. In recognition of his service to the expansion of Indo-German trade, the Federation of Indian Chamber of Commerce and Industries at Bombay, appointed him as their representative in Berlin. Establishment of Indo-European Commercial offices in the European continent and mixed chambers of commerce in the large countries of the world were the dual targets of Dr. Pillai for which he worked with great zeal.<sup>32</sup> German industries made use of his service as a brilliant Engineer.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 47.

32 P. K. K. Menon, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

His hectic activities in the name of Indian independence took away large part of his time and he hardly found time to visit his native land or to lead a married life. The letters that he sent home to his relatives revealed his intense desire to visit his native country. But events proved otherwise. He was destined to live his adopted country until his death. The changes that made havoc in the political and economic structure of Germany after its debacle in the first world war never discouraged him when all his old associates turned their back to Germany and transferred their allegiance to Russia and communism, Dr. Pillai decided to remain in Germany even in its days of adversity and work for the realisation of his scheme, the liberation of India.

"As far as Germany was concerned, he tolerated more the autocratic monarchical Government than the new Government."<sup>33</sup> With the help of count von Reventlow he joined the ranks of the Pan-German Nationalist Party, the greatest honour that a non-white-man could aspire to get in Germany. Dr. Pillai was a staunch nationalist. He was not in favour of approaching problems from a social or economic angle.

An examination of the autobiographies of Sardar K. M. Panikkar and Jawaharlal Nehru will reveal that the Indian residents in Germany at the time of their visit to that country was divided into two camps. Of these the communist camp was much strong. Virendranath Chattōpādhyāya and A. C. Nārāyanan Nambiar were the stalwarts of the Communist camp. Leaders of the other camp were Dr. Pillai, Barkatullah and Rāja Mahēndra Pratāp.

Panikkar depicts the attitude of the German Government towards the two camps as follows.<sup>34</sup> During the war Germans made use of the both the camps. Yet they leaned more towards Dr. Pillai. According to Sardar Panikkar, Chattōpādhyāya was popular among Communist and Socialists and Dr. Pillai among business men and conservatives,

Dr. Pillai's meeting with Nētāji can be said to be the finest hour in his life. For it was Netaji who proved to be the political successor of his ideas and theories. Netaji met Dr. Pillai at Vienna in 1933. The crux of the idea that he communicated to Sabhas Bōse was that the formation of an Indian National Army outside India was essential to win independence.<sup>35</sup> Dr. Pillai arrived at this conclusion after taking into account the political situation predominant during that period.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>34</sup> K. M. Panikkar, *Auto-biography* (Mal) Vol. I, Mangalodayam Pvt. Ltd., Trichur, pp. 145-146.

<sup>35</sup> Article by P. K. Parameswaran Nair, *Malayala Rajyam*, Illustrated Weekly, 10 Nov. 1966.

Also he asked Netaji to make contact with all revolutionary parties in Asia and to start work for a revolutionary organization to wage war against British Imperialism. In the event of another war, Dr. Pillai explained, this prior preparation will make it easy for India to declare the final war against the British. His ideas of a final war found expression through Nētāji who founded Azad Hind Government and the Azad Hind Fouj during the Second World War which had a very important role in the last phase of the struggle for Indian freedom. Both Bose and Pillai firmly believed that only through an armed revolution, India could attain independence. On many matters they had unity in thinking. But Dr. Pillai did not live to translate his ideas into practice during the Second World War.

In 1933 Dr. Pillai, accidentally met Smt. Lakshmi Bāi at Berlin and resolved to marry her. Born in Manipuri Smt. Lekshmi Bai spent her early days in Calcutta. She was a protege of a Russian lady and through her Lekshmi Bai came to Berlin. Their marriage was solemnised in the presence of Purushottam Das Thakurdas.

The rise of the Nazis was a great threat to the Germany based Indian revolutionary movement. In Imperialist motives the Nazis even outwitted the British. In the early days of the Nazi ascendancy Dr. Pillai was able to maintain the balance by winning their respects. But since 1930 the wind began to change adversely. He came to know that they would not get any German help in their future activities. From his childhood he was courageous and bowed before no odds. He foiled all attempts of the British to trap him. But he received a fatal blow of his life from the Nazis in a way he never expected. When his courageous attitudes towards Indian problems won him the sympathy of the Kaiser, such an attitude earned him only the displeasure of the Nazis. The Nazis who had only the motives of extra territorialism had failed to appreciate and give respect to the aspirations of patriotism of the Indian revolutionaries who sought asylum in the German soil to execute their revolutionary programme. That was why in a statement, Hitler ridiculed the struggle for Indian independence and declared that Indians were not fit for self-government.<sup>36</sup> This put to shame the Indian nationalists living in Germany. Dr. Pillai rose to the occasion and blunt reply to the statement. That was a severe blow to Hitler. Though he corrected himself in public his men reacted to the event in secret.



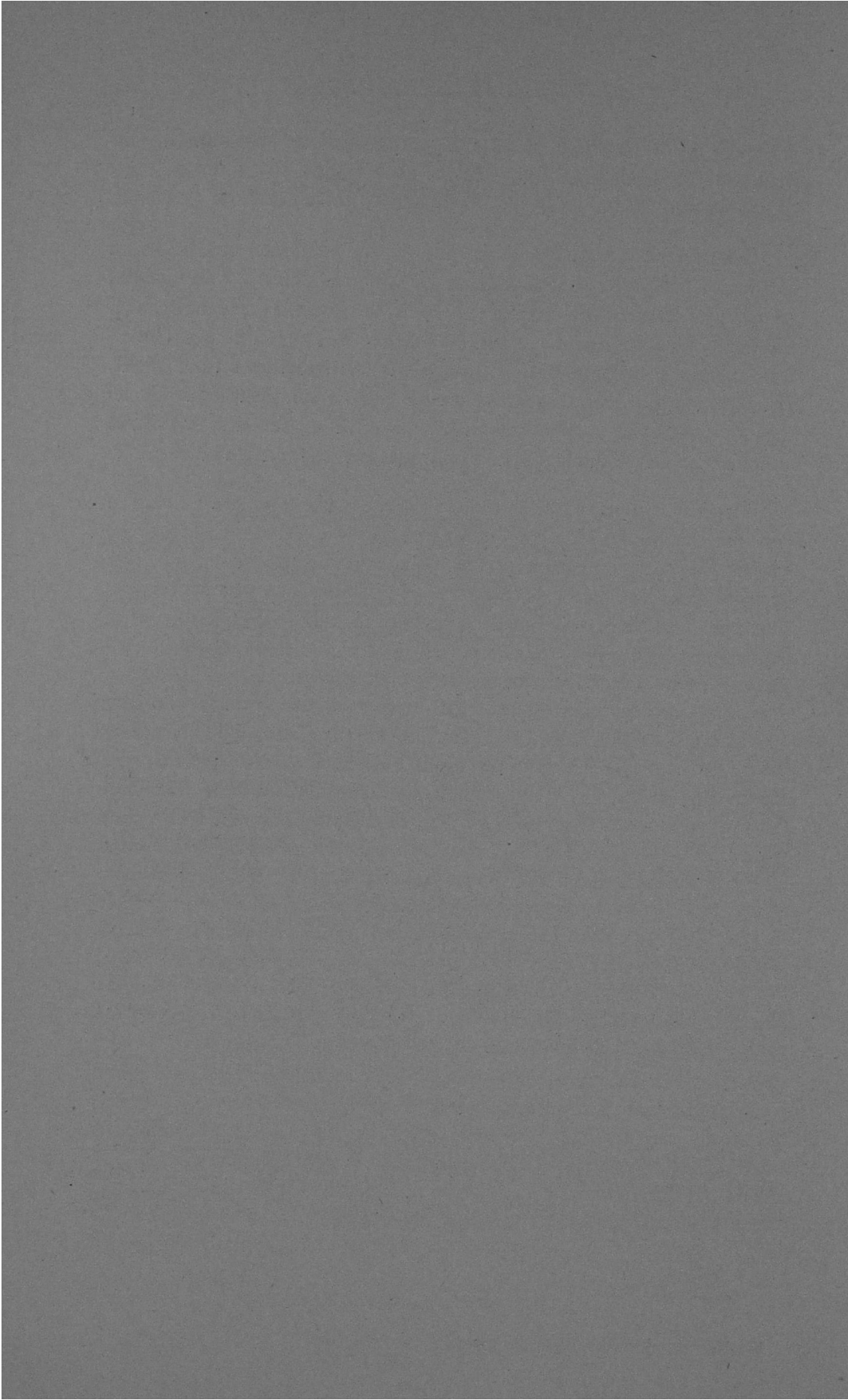
As a result Dr Pillai became a victim of slow poisoning. This weakened his health and he became bed-ridden.<sup>37</sup> Along with his spouse he went to Italy for treatment and to some extent he recovered.

When he was away in Italy, the Nazis auctioned his assets in Germany which were sold as junk, to pay off his debts. This includes his precious art collection and scientific instruments. Heart-broken, he rushed to Germany and sought the help of the authorities but it was of no avail. Nazis did not stop with that. Later during night, Dr. Pillai, was severely beaten on the high road. Subsequently he was admitted in a nursing home in Berlin. But he failed to withstand and succumbed to these psychological and physical onslaughts.

Destiny was very cruel to Mrs. Pillai. The premature death of her husband on 26 May 1934, made her the heroine of the mission to witness the "consummation of the vow her husband had taken that he would one day return to the land of his birth in a powerful battleship flying the flag of India's republic." This was performed in September 1966 when the ashes of this indomitable revolutionary was carried to his native land by I. N. S. Delhi.

A proper estimate on Dr. Pillai is bound to be incomplete, for a large number of source materials pertaining to his life, mission and works are still in the repositories of other countries. Ever since he left India, he dedicated his life for the freedom of the mother country. From Germany the novel ideas and radical programmes of Dr. Pillai reverberated throughout the world. He was an unofficial ambassador of India and Europe. As a scholar, a journalist, a leader of the oppressed peoples of the world, a radical believing in revolutionary methods to win India's freedom, he remained matchless, a patriot extraordinary. Though he failed to realise his dream in his life time, the legacy of revolutionary methods left by him was adopted and led to its fulfilment by his successors.

37 Kamala Mankekar, *Sunday Standard*, 16 Feby. 1964.



# The Agrarian Relations of Kerala

BY

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Before we enter into the subject proper it is pertinent here to give the salient features of the system of land ownership and agrarian relation in Kerala. Unlike in any other part of the country the rulers or Kings of Kerala had no right over the landed property held by the individuals.<sup>1</sup> As a result of this, land revenue was unknown to the people of Kerala. The early English enquirers who made attempts to study the ancient agrarian system in this part of the country made very confusing and contradictory reports. The fact was that many of them failed to understand the system prevailed in Kerala. Some of them equated the system with that of the European Feudalism. Thus they misconstrued the whole agrarian relations.

From the very early days of the history of this country the land was owned by those who actually cultivated the land.<sup>2</sup> The *Janmi* system was a later origin.<sup>3</sup> There was no authority to check the ryots from ploughing and cultivating the land they held. Unrestricted, they enjoyed the fruits of their labour. The excess produce were exchanged for other useful commodities on barter. As the population was small and the cultivable land was proportionately large it was not difficult to obtain foodgrains for those who were not engaged in agriculture. Afterwards this system of ownership of property became a matter of great hazard to the holders of the property. There were frequent skirmishes and encounters between the feudal chieftains and *Naduvālis*. Thus anarchy created insecurity in the country. The cultivators bore the brunt of it, because when there were wars, the lands had to be left fallow and even if the grains were ripe the recalcitrant people would not allow them to harvest it. Therefore the cultivation of land had to be neglected.

During this period of turmoil the society of Kerala was passing through a great transformation. With the advent of the Aryan influence the casteless society that had been prevalent from time immemorial grad-

1 Vide Thackeray's Report, September 8, 1807, p. 3. Major Warden—*Report of the Malabar Tenancy*, 1815, p. 122.

2 *Report of the Malabar Tenancy Committee* 1939, Vol. I, p. 12.

3 *Malabar Special Commissioners Report*, 1881.



ually disappeared. In its place evolved a society with distinct categorisation of different stratas. The introduction of the caste system had great impact on the agrarian relations of Kerala. In the caste hierarchy the *Nambudiris* were held in high esteem as priests and divines. All kinds of privileges and rights were given to them by virtue of their caste position.<sup>4</sup> They were supposed to be holy, their pronouncements divine and properties sacrosanct.<sup>5</sup> Side by side with this development there occurred the inevitable establishment of big shrines and temples with the *Nambudiri* priests as trustees or custodians. The temple properties were also considered sacred. Just like any encroachment on the properties of Brahmins was considered a heinous crime, the violation of temple property was also deemed to be blasphemy. The property belonging to the rulers were also spared on account of their armed strength. When the properties of Brahmins and temples had been considered sacrosanct and had been proved safe even in turbulent times, the poor cultivators thought it better to dedicate their lands to a *Nambudiri* Brahmin or to a temple thus escaping from the clutches of the marauders. In the *Report on Malabar Tenancy* this aspect is clearly brought out. It reads "In the turbulent times of old, the *Kanakkar* must have acknowledged allegiance for his own safety to some Raja, *Naduvāḷi* or *Dēsavāḷi Devasthanam* (God) or *Namboodiri* brahmin (visible God) and *Jenm* must have originated in that way and must have meant only a sort of overlordship and not the absolute right to the soil. This appears to be clear from the fact that all the lands originally belonged in *Jenm* to the Rajas, *Devasthanam* and *Namboodiris*".<sup>6</sup> The dedication of their property to a Brahmin or to a temple or to a Raja did not mean in those days any overlordship or legal ownership over them. It was only an imposed or artificially created nominal overlordship. This was practised by the agriculturists themselves for safeguarding their own interests and saving themselves from the thieves and miscreants of the society who always robbed them off their harvest when it was ripe. At the same time the agriculturists were prepared to give a share of their produce as present to that Raja, *Jenmi* or temple as the case may be. The persons who enjoyed this overlordship also accepted the term most willingly because they received without any labour a share of the produce of that land dedicated to them. Thus the system of landlordism or *Jenmisambra-dāyam* came into vogue in Kerala through the willing obedience of the cultivators themselves. This shows the distinctive contrast of the system

4 Buchanan, Vol. II. p. 360.

5 *Travancore Census Report*. 1871, p. 191.

6 *Report*, 1939, *op. cit.*, para 41, p. 12.

prevailed in Kerala with the one that existed in other parts of India<sup>7</sup> where the king who was the owner of all lands divided them among his nobles or Zamindars. In Kerala the Zamindari system originated in a reverse process as stated above. This can be further substantiated from the history of Marthanda Varma, the 'Maker of Modern Travancore', who after his numerous wars and annexations dedicated the whole country to Sri Padmanabha the royal deity of Travancore. He solemnly submitted his sword, and prostrated before the idol and took an oath that the whole country and the exchequer belonged to Him and the Raja would only be vicegerent of the deity. He was afterwards called the 'Padmanabhadasan' (servant of Sri Padmanabha). All historians agree that this dedication of his country to the deity by king Marthanda Varma was a wise step that checked the turbulent tendencies of the vanquished princes and feudal chieftains of his country. Afterwards there was a no instance of any attempt to sabotage the system of government in Travancore by any group of rebels.<sup>8</sup> It was the belief that the revolt against the king who was the representative of Padmanabhaswami is a revolt against God. At the same time the kingly power was not in any way affected by this dedication. On the other hand it enhanced his power and prestige. Similarly the poor cultivators who wanted security over their life and property submitted their titles of lands before a divine *Nambudiri* or a temple and considered himself as cultivating his lands in the name of that divine Brahmin or the temple. Just like offerings were made to the deity by the Maharaja, the agriculturists also gave presents to their overlords. Thus the whole land came under three distinct divisions viz., *Brahmaswam* (the land of Brahmins), *Devaswom* (the land of temples) and *Cherikkal* land (which was appertained by the Rajas for their own maintenance). Buchanan in the year 1800 states that in Kerala, *Jenmis* were *Namhoodiri* Brahmins and the appellation '*Jenmi*' was used only for the *Namboodiris*.<sup>9</sup>

By practice the presents given to *Nambudiris*, temples and Rajas became one third of the produce. From the remaining, one-third was taken by the possessor of land (*Kanakar*) and the rest kept for the expense of cultivation. This was the system prevailing in Kerala during the whole of medieval period when certain changes were introduced by the Mysorean conquerors. The major change introduced by them was the imposition of land tax. It actually did not affect the agrarian relations that was prevalent in the country. The Mysoreans

7 Buchanan. Vol. II, p. 360.

8 P. Sankunnu Menon, *History of Travancore*, p. 122.

9 Buchanan, Vol. II, p. 367.

made land surveys and introduced land tax.<sup>10</sup> This tax was imposed on the share of the *Jemies* or landlords i.e., *Jenmies* who received one-third of the gross produce were required to pay a part of it as land revenue. The Malabar joint Commissioners assessed the system thus "the method or Arshad Beg Khan supposes that one *para* of seed sown will in a medium produce in each year comes to 10 *paras* wherefrom 5½ will go to the cultivator and 4½ remained to be divided between the landholder and the Government. On the share of the landholder and the Government viz., 4½ *paras*, 1½ went to the landlord and 3 to the Government."<sup>11</sup> Thus the agrarian reforms introduced by the Mysoreans had never been a burden to the actual possessors of land or to the tillers. But the *Jenmis* took offence of this reform and sold out their rights over the land to the *Kanamdars* or *Pattamdars* and left from Malabar to Travancore. In the proceedings of the Malabar Commissioners it is recorded "in what year did the *Jenmakar* run away?" Answer "in 964 M. E. (1788-89 A.D.), all the *Jenmakars* ran away and as to their not attending on Arshed Beg Khan's time the cause was that in this country the principal *Janmakars* and *Nambudiri* Brahmins who did not or do not come into the *Cutcherry*.<sup>12</sup>"

Farmer, one of the members of the Malabar Commission was informed in the year 1792 when making enquiries on the land tenures that the produce was divided in equal shares between (a) the farmer by whom Farmer meant the *Kanamdar*, i.e., the protector, (b) the actual cultivator, and (c) the *Jenmi* whom Farmer assumed to be the landlord.<sup>13</sup> These three classes were in the habit of dividing the net produce of the soil equally among themselves. But the early English enquirers were misled by the terms *Jenmam* and *Kanam* and therefore they considered the system equivalent to the European feudalism. Thus Major Walker in his report on the land tenures of Malabar made it clear in 1801 that "in no country in the world is the nature of this species of property better understood than in Malabar nor its rights so tenaciously maintained. . . . *Janmakars* possessed the entire rights to the soil and no earthly authority can with justice deprive him of his property."<sup>14</sup> This made them believe that the *Jenmam* right was inalienable and

10 Minute of Governor General Sir John Shore on Joint Commissioners Report, 1792-93. para 15, pp. 9-10.

11 Foreign Miscellaneous S. No. 55, para 25, p. 141.

12 Ibid., S. No. 56, part I, p. 150.

13 See Voucher 39 to the Joint Commissioners Report, of 25th February 1793.

14 Major Walker, Report, p. 180. Also see *Report on Revenue Affairs of Malabar and Canara* by William Thackaray, p. 3.



the *Kanamdars* or actual possessors of land held their property at the will and pleasure of the *Jenmis*. This was the root cause for the agrarian discontentment in Malabar. In his attempt to prove that the early English writers on the agrarian relations of Malabar misconstrued the whole system W. Logan the Special Commissioner in his *Report on Malabar land Tenure* brought out innumerable documentary evidence. He wrote that when the *Jenmis* left Malabar the Mappillas purchased their *Kanam* rights. Logan argues "had *Jenmam* meant in those days, as it does now, the *Jenmis* of the soil and had *Kanam* meant a mere lease liable to cancelment in every 12 years, as it does now the Mappillas it may be shrewdly guessed would not have made such indifferent bargains. But the fact was that a *Kanakaran* had in the old days as stable a right in his *Kanam* holding as a *Jenmi* had in his. Down to the present day he can divide and sell the holding but the *Jenmis*' power of ouster every 12th year has almost completely neutralised the value of this privilege."<sup>15</sup>

This misconception of the terms *Kanam* and *Jenmam* left the entire agrarian relations of Malabar in confusion. The landlords who fled from Malabar returned when it was ceded to the English in 1792. They were reinstated in their ancient possessions with absolute authority as landlords by the English as they had done in the case of vanquished Rajas of Malabar. The situation is fairly assessed by Logan in his Special Commissioner's Report. He writes, "the Bombay authorities and afterwards the Madras authorities recognised the *Jenmi* as absolute owner of his holding and therefore free to take as big a share of the produce of the soil, as he could screw out of the classes beneath him."<sup>16</sup> The *Kanakars* who were the actual possessors of the soil did not reconcile with the changed set up. They felt that it was a tyrannical imposition over their birth rights. The *Jenmis* at the same time exercised the rights over the land and the tenants in full vigour which they obtained from the English. The net result of this change in the agrarian set up is well-explained by W. Logan, in the following words. "The grant of freedom to a community thus organised, meant a freedom of the strong to oppress the weak; the freedom for the newly created proprietor to take an ever-increasing portion of the share of the net produce left over after paying the government dues. What wonder then, that the drones in the hive have prospered and grown fat or the working bees have become famished and lean."<sup>17</sup> It was in South Malabar

15 *Special Commissioner's Report*, para 67.

16 *Ibid.*, para 70.

17 Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. I, p. 683.

where the agrarian settlement was made by the Mysoreans directly with the *Kanamdars* that the agrarian discontentment took its fierce shape. Thus in 1792 there were armed resistance against the burdensome levy made by the *Jenmis*. The peasants when they felt that they were being deprived of their land and belonging organised themselves into gangs for fighting against the *Jenmis* and also against the English who installed the *Jenmies* over them. Thus the nature of the agrarian revolts in Malabar took the shape of not only a fight against the suppression of *Jenmis* but also one against the established government of the Company. It started in 1792 itself the year when the settlement was made. It was only after severe military operations and open battles that the English somewhat succeeded in keeping law and order in the country. History records 83 revolts from 1792 to 1921-22. Some of them were severe engagements that threatened even the very existence of the English government in Malabar. The Company's Government took serious concern of these developments only after 1836 when there was a severe revolt of the Mappilla peasants against the English. It started with the provocative murder of a big landlord of South Malabar. Even in 1818 they had constituted a Commission to enquire into the grievances of poor tenants. Greame who was the Special Commissioner, submitted his report in 1822 in which he followed strictly the contentions of his predecessors giving inalienable right to the *Jenmis* and providing all governmental help to carry out their claims over the properties.<sup>18</sup> Thus it was oppressive in character and did not redress the grievances of the poor peasants. Logan commenting on this report says, "it had the effect of setting all classes by the ears and the Mappilla tenants being more independent than Hindu tenants, organised the outrages which have since given them such an evil name and so much misery on the country generally."<sup>19</sup> In 1852 Strange was appointed as a Special Commission. His Report entitled *Relations of Landlords and Tenants in Malabar* was submitted on September 25, 1852. Strange examined the circumstances of 31 revolts before this period and came to the conclusion that only 7 cases were related to the agrarian disputes.<sup>20</sup> All others were aimed at sabotaging the Government. Therefore he suggested repressive measures. According to the recommendations of Strange a series of laws were enacted by the Madras Government. They are called Mappilla Outrages Acts.<sup>21</sup>

18 Vide *Report on the Land Tenures of Malabar 1822* by Greame.

19 *Special Commissioner's Report*, para 70.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

21 Vide Mappilla Outrages Acts XX, XXIII, XXIV.

These Acts empowered the Government to confiscate the properties of the rebels, to exact collective fines from the localities where outrages took place and demand sureties of the suspects or deport them to any place. These measures did not cure the disease. They only exasperated the poor peasants and made them desperate. As a result Connolly the Collector of Malabar was murdered on September 11, 1855 by a band of Mappilla rebels.<sup>22</sup> The important aspects that have to be born in mind are that the peasants had to fight not only the powerful *Jenmis* but also the forces of the Government that were let loose against them. Even then the rebels continued their fight intermittently with renewed vigour and enthusiasm.

In 1857 a revolt occurred in south Malabar in connection with the eviction of a tenant by a *Jenmi*. This was synchronised with the famous Indian Revolt of 1857. Therefore the Company's Government in Malabar was very vigilant. Accordingly a lot of people were required to furnish security for their future behaviour. It is seen from the records that a number of peasants were deported from Malabar to Andamans in the same year. In 1858 three leading Mappilla *Kanakars* were deported from Valluvanad to Andamans.<sup>23</sup> Similarly in 1860 and '64 a number of people were convicted and Cherpulassery in Valluvanad Amsom was collectively fined.<sup>24</sup> In 1865 another revolt took place in Nenmeni Amsom of Valluvanad Taluk. Next scene of revolt was Paral in the same Taluk. In the fight eight rebels were killed and many were wounded. A good number of suspects were deported to Andamans and Botany Bay in Australia. In 1873 an organised attempt was made by the aggrieved Mappilla peasants of Kolathur against the local *Jenmis* and the English Government. Many people died and a lot of them were deported.<sup>25</sup> In the years 1877 and 1879 similar instances of armed revolts took place in Paral.<sup>26</sup> Another major revolt took place in Melathur in the year 1880. It started with the murder of a local *Jenmi*.<sup>27</sup> All the rebels were shot dead after an open battle. Confiscation, of properties, deportation of relatives of rebels and suspects continued uninterruptedly.<sup>28</sup> Trikkalur Revolt that occurred in the year 1884 was suppressed only after a continuous military engagement for a whole day and night. Pandikkat, Malappuram and Kilmuri were other places that witnessed

22 Logan, Vol. I, p. 576.

23 Logan, Vol. I, p. 577.

24 *Special Commissioner's Report*, 1881, para 297.

25 *Ibid.*, para 290.

26 *Report*, Valluvanad II Class Magistrate, June, 24, 1879.

27 Order October 1880, No. 25000—R. Davidson Chief Secretary.

28 *Ibid.*, No. 108.



peasant revolts in the same year. Kilmuri amsom was alone made liable for a collective fine of Rs. 15,000/- At Pandikkad 32 rebels were shot dead. Hundreds of rebels were deported from Malappuram and other affected areas. A search for arms was carried out in these areas. As a result 17,295 arms of which no less than 7503 fire arms of different kinds were confiscated.<sup>29</sup> Another area of revolt was Ponnani where 17 rebels died fighting against the army. The amsom was fined for Rs. 33,688. In May 24, 1894 the Mappilla peasants of Mannarghat revolted after killing a Namboodiri *Jenmi*.<sup>30</sup> The fight that ensued resulted in the complete route of the rebels. H. Barlet the District Collector in his letter to the Chief Secretary enumerates the names of 31 dead.<sup>31</sup> Wandur became another scene of an appalling tragedy in the year 1896 where a great revolt took place. After the battle 99 dead bodies of the rebels were recovered.<sup>32</sup> A. M. Winter Bothem Member, Board of Revenue in an enclosure to his letter to the Chief Secretary gives the names of persons dead in this revolt.<sup>33</sup> Fawcett, the Superintendent of Police in his report gives a detailed history of the events from 1894 to 1898 where in a number of out breaks took in various places of Valluvanad, Palghat and Ponnani Taluks. In his statement he gives a list of 336 persons who were charged with criminal conspiracy and treason and the sentences pronounced on them. It also gives the names of villages where these rebels belonged.<sup>34</sup> Again in the years 1915 and 1919 the organised gangs of Mappilla peasants defied the Government and took up arms. In the former revolt the Collector was ambushed on his way from Karuvarankundu at Pattikkad and narrowly escaped with his life.<sup>35</sup> It was in 1921-22 that the Mappilla peasants attempted their final trial with the *Jemis* and the English which is renowned in history as the Mappilla Rebellion of 1921-22.

The root cause was agrarian discontentment. The Manjeri and Ottappalam conference of All India Congress gave great impetus to the agrarian movements in Malabar.<sup>36</sup> The southern portion of Malabar was volcanic in nature due to agrarian discontentment at the time when the Khilafat injustice was preached into the ears of the poor and

29 Logan, Vol. I, p. 592.

30 G. O. No. 502, Judicial Deptt. dt. March 11, 1896.

31 May 24, 1894, No. 1267 Judicial.

32 No. 1567, Judicial Sept., 10, 1896.

33 *Ibid.*, List A.

34 No. 819, Judicial May 22, 1898.

35 C. A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, p. 55.

36 Tottenham—*Malabar Rebellion*, 1921, p. 10.

illiterate Mappila peasants of Malabar. Thus the immediate cause of the 1921 revolt was political,<sup>37</sup> but the deep-rooted one was agrarian.<sup>38</sup> It is out of place here to describe the causes, courses and consequences of this great event in our history. For more than an year and a half the whole of south Malabar was under the rebel government. According to government account itself more than ten thousand were killed and double the number were transported from their native place.<sup>39</sup> The actual number of people dead and deported was much larger than the official account. In short more than one-third of the total Mappilla population of south Malabar was eliminated by the English.

A question may naturally arise why the Mappilla peasants alone revolted when there were a lot of poor Hindu peasants having the same grievances. A number of tenancy reports reveal the reasons for the same. The landlordism in Kerala was strictly adhered to the caste rules. *Namboodiris* were not only divines but also *Jenmis*. The pre-eminence of *Namboodiri* in the Malayali society emerged from the fuedal system combined with the theocratical super-status. The poor Hindu peasant was an untouchable who could stand only 24 feet away from the *Namboodiri Jenmi*. He was pre-distined to obey the caste Hindus and to submit before them. The rigid caste rules and its observance made the Hindu peasants servile. He was condemned as bearing even atmospheric pollution. Those who suffered the caste injustice also considered it as predestined and the defiance of the caste rules blasphemy. The poor Hindu population thus willingly submitted before the *Jenmis*. At the same time the Mappilla peasants who were not under any caste obligation were not prepared to suffer injustice.

However the great Rebellion of 1921 made the authorities realise the imminent necessity of land reform in the country. In the year 1927 a Tenancy Committee was constituted for reforming the agrarian system in Malabar. Similar Committees were appointed in the erstwhile Cochin and Travancore States. A very strong peasant movement in Cochin demanding tenancy rights etc. was organised in 1930. The governments of these places were compelled to introduce land reforms giving tenancy right to the peasants and restricting illegal evictions by the *Jenmis*. In 1939 another Tenancy Committee was instituted in Malabar. Report of the Agrarian problem enquiry Committee of Cochin was published in 1949.

37 K. Madhavan Nair, *Evidence—Kerala and Congress* by A. K. Pillai, pp. 437–38.

38 *Ibid.*, pp. 420–28.

39 E. K. Koyati Moulavi, — Malabar Revolt.

After the formation of Kerala in 1956, the first ministry itself started the work of the land legislation. Now the whole system had been changed thanks to the result of legislative measures. The concept of *Jenmi* remains only in the vague memory of the vanishing generation. The feudal structure is completely broken though the feudal concepts and beliefs still linger in the thoughts and deeds of many people.



# ISLAM IN KERALA

BY

A. P. IBRAHIM KUNJU

The fact that Western India, particularly the Kerala coast, was known to the Arabs long before the rise of Islam in Arabia is now widely accepted. The tradition regarding early Indo-Arab commerce is contained in the Bible. In the *Genesis* it is related that Arab merchants "came from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery and balm and myrrh, going to carry it down to Egypt." (Ch. 37, 25). The Queen of Sheba presented Solomon with "Camels that bore spices and gold in abundance, and precious stones". (Chronicles, II, 9-1). The Arabs were actively engaged in the carrying trade of the Western coast of India as early as the 2nd century B. C. Writing of the Gerrhaeans and Sabaeans of the South Arabian Coast, *Agatharchidos* (c. 113 B. C.) mentioned that they had monopolised "all the commerce that passes between Asia and Europe."<sup>1</sup> It is true that when the Roman Empire was established, this carrying trade passed into the hands of the Romans, but a considerable part of the trade was still carried on by the Arabs. Of *Mouza* (modern *mukha* in Yemen) *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (c. 50 A. D.) wrote that "it trades with the marts beyond the straits on the opposite coast (Eritrea and Somalia) and also with Barugaza (Bharukkaca-Broach)".<sup>2</sup> Abu Zayd, the Arab Traveller of the ninth century A. D. mentions that "the Arabs of Umman take the carpenter's tool-box with them and go to the place where the coconut trees grow in abundance. First they cut down the tree and leave it to dry. When it is dry they cut it into planks. They weave ropes of the coir. With this rope they tie the planks together and make of them a vessel. They make its mast from the same wood. The sails are made of fibre. When the boat is ready, they take a cargo of coconuts and sail for 'Umman.' They make huge profits in this trade."<sup>3</sup>

From the above, it is evident that the Arabs had close commercial relations with West Indian ports, and the spices specially attracted them to the Kerala Coast. Colonies of Arabs must have existed in the

1 Quoted by G. F. Hourani, *Arabian Seafaring in the Indian Ocean*, p. 21.

2 J.W. McCrindle, *The Commerce and Navigation of the Erythraean sea*, p. 79.

3 Langles and Reinaud (Ed.), *Silsilat ut-Tawārīkh*, Vol. II, p. 131.

port towns of Kerala for purposes of trade. Therefore it stands to reason to suppose that soon after the rise of Islam in Arabia it reached the Kerala Coast with the Arab merchants. It is also reasonable to believe that in the first flush of enthusiasm, they tried to spread the new religion in Kerala also, as they had done elsewhere,

The local tradition regarding the origin of Islam in Kerala is contained in the *Kēraḷōlpatti*.<sup>4</sup> It states that Cēramān Perumāḷ, the last Perumāḷ ruler of Kerala, believed in Islam, partitioned the empire and went to Makkah. There he visited the Prophet and was converted. On his return journey, he died and was buried on the Arabian Coast. According to another tradition, it was in commemoration of the partitioning of the Kingdom that the *Kollam Era* was started in 824-25 A. D.<sup>4</sup> The earliest recorded version of tradition is found in the accounts of Duarte Barbosa and Barros, the Official Historians of Portugal. Barbosa (c. 1515 A.D.) concluded his narrative thus: He (Cēramān Perumāḷ) went in their (The Moors') company to the House of Meca, and there he died, or as it seems probable on the way thither; for the Malabares never more heard any tidings of him. Before he started, this King divided his Kingdom among his kinsfolk into several portions as it yet is, for, before that time all Malabar was one Kingdom".<sup>5</sup> Barros gives a similar account. "Sarama Pereimal, which King was so powerful that in memory of his name, they used to make a reckoning of the period of his reign... making it the starting point of an era... In his time the Arabs, now converted to the seat of Mohammad began to trade with India... When they were settled in the country, this king Sarama Pereimal became a Moor, and showed them great favour.... Then they persuaded him that for his salvation he ought to end his life at the house of Mecha. He agreed... and determined to make a partition of his state among his nearest kindred."<sup>6</sup>

This account is in conformity with the traditional account of the introduction of Islam in Malabar as narrated by Shaykh Zaynuddin, the author of the celebrated work, *Tuhfat ul Majāhidīn*.

But there are serious chronological and other discrepancies in the traditional accounts, which make it difficult to accept these. But at the same time it must be admitted that it is difficult to discard so persistent a tradition current in the sixteenth and seventeenth centur-

4 *Kēraḷōlpatti* (Gundert's Edition, pp. 67-8.

5 *Book of Durate Barbosa* Vol. II, pp. 2-4.

6 *Decada*, I, Bk. IX, Ch. 3, f. 180 (b),

ies (as recorded by the Portuguese and Dutch Sources). The argument that this tradition was not known to medieval Muslim travellers is only begging the question. The oft-quoted words of *Sulayman, the Merchant*, that "I know not there is anyone of either nation (Chinese and Indian) that has embraced Islam or speaks Arabic" is suspect. As Yule has stated "from the vagueness of this accounts (it is clear that) author's knowledge of India was slight and inaccurate."<sup>7</sup> Further as Nainar pointed out "it will not be useful to establish any theory on the strength of Sulayman's statement, for the exact date and the name of the narrator of this remark in the account of Sulayman, are not known to us so far."<sup>8</sup>

Therefore it is necessary to settle the question of the date of the introduction of Islam into Kerala. The different traditions regarding this event are:

- 1 During the life-time of the prophet (i.e., between 622- and 632 A.D.)
- 2 During the eighth century
- 3 During the ninth century

The tradition that Islam spread in Kerala during the life time of the Prophet is probable. As has been pointed out the Arab-sailors and merchants, who were trading with Kerala at that time must have been the first converts to Islam. Therefore, it stands to reason to believe that Islam spread in Kerala along with its introduction in Arabia. But to believe that a Perumāḷ of Kerala believed in Islam, went to Arabia, met the prophet and was converted at his hands, is a different matter. As minute details of the prophet's life and activities had been recorded meticulously, if a well-known King, as that of Kerala, had visited the Prophet, it would not have escaped mention in the vast Hadith literature.

The second tradition is that the conversion of the Perumal took place in the 8th century A.D. An inscription found on a Muslim tomb-stone at Pantalāyini Kollam read: "Ali Ibn Udthorman was obliged to leave this world for ever to the one which is ever-lasting, and which receives the spirits of all, in the year 166 of Hejira (782 A.D.), so called after Muhammad the Prophet left for Medina".<sup>9</sup>

7 Yule and Cordier, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. I, p. 126.

8 S. M. H. Nainar, *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of South India*, p.108 note.

9 W. Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. I, pp. 195-6.



The dating of this inscription was questioned by Dr. Burgess, in whose opinion, from the character of the writing, it could not be earlier than the 14th century.<sup>10</sup> However it is possible, as Logan surmised that the tombstone was erected at a later date to commemorate the traditional burial place of the Arabian pioneer. The existence of a group of similar tombstones at Pantalāyini Kollam pre-supposes the existence of a settled colony of Muslim residents at that place. One important factor in favour of the 8th century origin of Islam in Kerala is the tradition of Muslim settlements in Ceylon prior to 710 A. D. It was reported that the widows and children of some Muslim Merchants who had died in Ceylon, were repatriated by the king of Ceylon to their native country. The ship carrying them was attacked by the pirates of Debal off the coast of Sind. The appeal of Hajjāj Ibn Yūsuf, the Umayyad Governor of Iraq, to punish the culprits, met with failure, whereupon Hajjāj sent his commander Muhammad Ibn Qāsim, to conquer Sind (712 A. D.),<sup>11</sup> If this account is true, it goes to prove the existence of colonies of Muslim merchants in Kerala, in the neighbourhood of Ceylon early as the beginning of the eighth century A. D. This gives added credibility to the story of Muslim colonies in the port-towns of the Kerala coast, which were more frequented by foreign merchants in those days.

The immigration of the Navāyats in the 8th century A. D. to the Canara coast further strengthens the possibility of the establishment of Muslim colonies on the Kerala coast also. "The Nawayats emigrated from their native home owing to the tyranny of Hajjaj Ibn-Yusuf and reached the coast of Hind by sea. They settled in the region of Konkan in the territory of the Maharatas."<sup>12</sup>

The presence of some powerful Muslim groups in the country, which were able to exert influence in the Government of the country, is proved by the Tarisāppalli Copper Plates (849 A. D.). The very fact that the copper plates are also attested by some Muslims, probably merchants, goes to prove their influence in the political set-up of the country, which naturally pre-supposes their long contact with the country.

Shaykh Zaynuddīn, writing towards the close of the 16th century on the first appearance of Islam in Kerala, also supports this view. He observed "As for the exact date there is no certain in-

10 *Ibid.*, Preface, p. ix.

11 Balādhurī, *Futūhul Buldan* (Quoted in Elliot & Dowson, *History of India as told by its own Historians*, vol. I, p. 118.

12 Burhan ibn Hasan, *Tuzak-i-Walājāhi* (Tr. S. M. H. Nainar), p. 65

formation with us, most probably it must have been two hundred years after the Hijrah of the Prophet, (i.e., 9 th-century A. D.)".<sup>13</sup>

The question that now arises is whether the advent of Islam in Kerala was related to the conversion and emigration of a *Perumāl* ruler of Kerala. It is possible that a King of Kerala was converted and emigrated to Arabia. In fact, Ibn Battūta, who had travelled widely in Kerala during 1345-47 A. D. had recorded the tradition of a King of Kōttayam, called *Kuwayl*, having accepted Islam.<sup>14</sup> But the pertinent questions are whether the *Perumāl* prior to his emigration to Arabia, had partitioned his Kingdom, and whether the Kollam Ēra was instituted in commemoration of that event. That the partition of the Kingdom could not have taken place in the year 824-25 A. D., the year of starting of the Kollam Era, as united Kingdom flourished in Kerala from 800-1122 A. D. ,

But there is no necessity to discard the Cēramān legend as "an anachronism". As M.G.S. Narayanan has pointed out, "there is no reason to reject the tradition that the last Chera king embraced Islam. (His name was Ramā) and went to Mecca since it finds a place not only in Muslim chronicles, but also in Hindu Brahminical Chronicles like the Keralolpatti, which need to be expected to concoct such a tale, which in no way enhances the prestige or interest of the Brahmin or Hindu population."<sup>15</sup>

If we are to associate the tradition of the division of Kerala into several principalities, with the conversion and emigration of the last *Perumāl*, it would have happened only by the beginning of the 12th century A. D. This surmise gains support from two circumstances: (i) the inscription in the Maḍāyī Mosque, which is dated 518 Hijrah (1124 A. D.) and (2) the tradition relating to the last *Perumāl*'s army designated as *Onnu Kuṛe Āyiram* (One thousand Soldiers less one). The last *Perumāl*, Rāma Kulaśēkhara, is believed to have disappeared under strange circumstances, in 1122 A.D. which prevented the nomination of another leader. The fact that the old Maḍāyī Mosque was built in 1124 A. D., only two years after the disappearance of the *Perumāl*, makes his conversion and emigration to Arabia certain.

13 *Tuhfat-ul-Nujāhidu* (S. M. H. Nainar's Translation) i p. 39

14 H. A. R. Gibb (Tr.), *Ibn Battuta, Travels in Asja and Africa*, (Broadway Travellers Series), p. 234

15 'Political and Social Conditions of Kerala under the Kulasekhara Empire' (unpublished Ph. D. Thesis, Kerala University, 1972),

*Spread of Islam in Kerala*

As the Arabs had extensive commercial relations with Kerala, even before the rise of Islam in Arabia, it pre-supposes the spread of Islam in Kerala as soon as it spread in Arabia. The Arab Muslim traders, therefore, must have been the first missionaries to spread the tenets of Islam in Kerala.

According to tradition, the Perumāl, who had accepted Islam and emigrated to Arabia died there. Before his death, he had enjoined upon his companions to proceed to Malabar and propagate the teachings of Islam there. Accordingly the group composed of Sharaf Ibn Mālik, his uterine brother, Mālik Ibn Dīnār, his brother's son, Mālik Ibn Habib and others, landed at Koḍunṇallūr. Its chieftain, on receipt of the letter of the Perumāl, granted them permission to build mosques and convert people. These companions travelled all along the coast of Kerala, and built mosques, from Quilon in the South to Barkūr in the north. "This is the tale of the first appearance of Islam in the land of Malibar," concludes Zaynuddīn. It is probable that these early missionaries, who spread the Islamic tenets in Kerala were Persian Muslims, as their names indicate. The *Rihlat ul-Mulūk* specifically mentions that these missionaries came from Basra.

Zaynuddīn thus describes the rapid growth of Islam in Kerala: "Allah, glory be to Him and exalted be He, made the faith of Islam in most of the inhabited regions of the earth. Allah has been gracious to the people of Malibar in Hind in making them accept the faith of Islam spontaneously, and willingly, and not of fear or compulsion.... Islam took root and its adherents increased in number".<sup>16</sup>

The inhabitants of Kerala accepted the new faith "by degrees" and the number of Muslims steadily increased by immigration, inter-marriage and proselytisation. Traders from different quarters began to flock to the port-towns of Kerala and several new inland and coastal centres like Eḷimala, Paḷayaṇṇāḍi, Eḍakkāḍ, Cemmaloḍ, Bāliyapaṭṭam, Nādāpu-arm, Tikkoḍi, Kāppāḍ, Tanur, Tirūraṇṇāḍi. Ponnāni, Paṇavaṇṇa, Veliyankōḍ, and Vaipin Pallippuram, came into existence. "The Muslim and their trade prospered because of the regard shown to them by the rulers and their troops were all unbelievers."<sup>17</sup>

At the same time those rulers who supported the Muslims, themselves benefited by the expansion of trade, which brought prosperity to

16 *Op. cit.*, 12

17 *Ibid.*, p. 51



the country. As Zaynuddīn testified: "The (Malabar) Rulers have respect and regard for the Muslims because the increase in the number of cities was due to them. Hence the rulers enable the Muslims in the observation of their Friday prayers and celebration of Id. . . . As a result of such kindly treatment the Muslim merchants of olden days used to come in large numbers".<sup>18</sup> It is selfevident from the existence of several inland Muslim settlements that missionary activity of some kind was responsible for their origin and development. Ibn Battūta, who had spent the best part of 1345-47 in Kerala, found several prosperous Muslim settlements in the different parts of Northern and Central Kerala, patronised by their respective rulers, on account of their "need of the meachants". He found that "Muslims are most highly honoured amongst them (the Hindus), except that . . . they do not eat with them or allow them into their houses".<sup>19</sup>

Abdur Razzāq, who visited, Calicut in 1443, as the Ambassador of the Persian Emperor Shah Rukh to the Zamorin, noticed a prosperous Community of Muslims, following the Shāfi'i School in Calicut and they had two *Jamā'at* mosques in the city. He reported that the Muslims "manifest luxury in every particular".<sup>20</sup>

The most important factor in the growth of Muslim influence in Kerala was the support given by the Zamorin to the Muslims in his Kingdom. This was mainly due to two factors: one, the great prosperity which the Muslim traders brought to the country by their trading activities, and two, the support which these traders gave him in fulfilling his political ambitions. According to tradition, it was the Kōḷikkōḍ Kōya, who recommended to the Zamorin the conquest of Vaḷluvanāḍ, so that he could acquire the protectorship of the Māmānkam festival at Tirunāvāy. It was with the financial and probably with the military support provided by the Muslims that the Zamorin was able to extend his sway over Valluvanāḍ. It is related that as a reward for his help, the Kōḷikkōḍ Kōya was allowed to stand "on the left side of the Zamorin on the Vākayur Platform on the last day of the (Māmānkam) festival".<sup>21</sup>

Another event that greatly increased the influence of the community in North Malabar was the establishment of the Aṛakkal Svarūpam of Cannanore. By the 12th century A. D., the influence of the Āli Rājas

18 *Ibid.*, pp. 51-2

19 H. A. R. Gibb. *op. cit.* p. 232

20 R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 17

21 The Mackenzie Manuscripts (Quoted by K. V. Krishna Iyer, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, p. 104

of Arakkal had increased so much that the Kōlattiris were induced to seek their help by bestowing the Laccadive Islands on them.<sup>22</sup> The power and prestige of the family had increased so much that "had the Portuguese not taken over the city (Cannanore)", Tom Pires believed that "it would have fallen to Mohamed Ali and the Moors."<sup>23</sup>

The support of the Kerala rulers encouraged large scale conversion to Islam. People of lower castes, who were suffering from the cruel effects of the Hindu caste-system, came forward in large numbers to embrace the new religion. As Gaspar Correa observed: "No one of the Nayars ever turned Moor; only the lower people turned Moors.... By becoming Moors they could go wherever they liked and eat as they pleased. When they became Moors, the Moors gave them clothes and robes, with which they clothed themselves."<sup>24</sup> The lower caste Hindus were attracted to Islam not only by the social upgradation it guaranteed but also by the better economic prospects opened to them by conversion.

The Portuguese on their arrival at Calicut found the entire trade, internal as well as foreign, of the country in the hands of the Moors (Arab and Native Muslims). They soon realised that their design to monopolise the foreign trade of the country in spices could not be accomplished without removing the competition of the Moors. Therefore they made cruel war upon them and the coastal towns where they predominated. As the Zamorin opposed this wanton aggression and trade monopoly, the Portuguese ravaged his country and tried to destroy his commercial prosperity. This was between the Portuguese and Zamorin, supported by the Muslims, lasted for a century and more. In this war, the Kuññāli Marakkārs of Kōṭṭakkal distinguished themselves, as the admirals of the Zamorin. They organised a system of sea guerilla, which put the Portuguese on the defensive. As a result Portuguese commerce and shipping were seriously threatened. The threat posed to Portuguese shipping and trade, persuaded them to strike a bargain with the Zamorin to destroy the Marakkārs. The Zamorin who was disenchanted with the recent activities of the Marakkārs joined hands with the Portuguese to fight them. The fall of Kuññāli IV and the destruction of his headquarters, Kōṭṭakkal, did not however benefit either the Portuguese or the Zamorin. As Pyrard de Laval observed: "Yet did the Portuguese afterwards pay dearly for his head; for the Malabar in revenge put to death all the Portuguese they could lay hands on"<sup>25</sup>

22 Gundert, *Keralolpatti*, p. 124.

23 Armando Cortesao (Ed.) *Tom Pires' Suma Oriental* Vol. I, p. 77.

24 Stanley, Henry (Ed.) *The Three Voyages of Vascoda Gama*, p. 155.

25 *Voyage to the East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 246.

The Zamorin also could not long sustain the friendship with the Portuguese, for they broke all their engagements when it switched them, and he had now no capable admirals to meet the treachery of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese monopoly of Kerala trade tolled the death-knell of the prosperity of the Muslims as traders. The Arab merchants had left the coast early, being unable to withstand the inhuman cruelty shown by the Portuguese. The native Muslim traders had been reduced to great misery, except a few, who could cling to the internal trade of the country. With the wanting of Portuguese commerce on the coast due to the advent of rival European Companies, like the Dutch, the English and the French, a number of trading houses, like those of Covvakkāran Mūsa of Tellicherry, Pōkku Mūsa of Viññānam, etc. rose into prominence.

Islam had progressed in other parts of Kerala as well. According to tradition, one of the mosques created by Mālik Ibn Dīnār and his companions was at Southern Kollam (Quilon). The Muslim trading community there had acquired such prominence in the political set-up of the country that they were cited as witnesses to the Tarisāppalli Copper Plate grant made by Ayyan Aṭikal Tiruvṭikal, Governor of Vēṇāḍ (849 A. D.).<sup>26</sup> The importance of the Muslim Community in course of time increased as the cavalry wing of the King was chiefly manned by them. The consideration which the Travancore Royal family showed to them was amply reciprocated by the Muslims. When *Mukilan*, "a petty Sirdar under the Mogul Emperor", invaded the southern parts of Travancore, it was a party of Muslims in the employ of the royal family, who interceded on behalf of the Rāṇi and prevented the spoliation of the Sri Padmanābhasvāmī Temple, the seat of the tutelary deity of the royal family.<sup>27</sup>

Another incident that throws light on the influence of the Muslim merchants in the country was the Ārriṇṇal incident (15th April, 1721 A. D.). The captain of the English fort at Anjengo and his companies, who went to Ārriṇṇal to make the annual presents were slaughtered in cold blood by the "treachery of the Pullays and Kari-kars". The cause of this outbreak was reportedly the insult shown to a Muslim merchant by the linguist's mistress during a reception held at

26 M. G. S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, App. N; C. P. Winckworth, 'Note on the Pahlavi Signatures to the Quilon Copper Plates,' (*Kerala Society Papers*, Series 6, p. 323).

27 P. Shungoony Merton, *A History of Travancore*, p. 102.



Anjengo.<sup>28</sup> In support of the Muslim merchant, the local chieftains, attacked the Factors and killed them. Later a hostile mob of natives blockaded the Anjengo fort, which was raised only on the arrival of reinforcements from Tellicherry.

The loss of trade due to Portuguese interference had broken the economic prosperity of the Muslims of Kerala. The shift in the policy of the Zamorin, which the Muslims believed was responsible for their economic ruin, strained their long-standing cordial relations. Muslims soon began to complain of oppression from their rulers, which was unheard of in the preceding centuries. M.M.D.L.T., the author of *The History of Hyder Shah*, reported that "the Mopilas in their distress, hastened to send deputies to Hyder, to inform him of the catastrophe and implore his protection." The Joint Commissioners in their Report (1792-3) also mentioned several instances of bloody murders committed by the Nayar Janmies and landed gentry on the Muslims.<sup>29</sup>

It was one of the reasons which prompted Haider to decide upon the conquest of Malabar coast. In the course of the invasion, the Māppilas generally acted in concert with the invaders. They supported the invading armies by acting as efficient scouts and providing a large body of irregulars. This native support greatly facilitated the Mysorean conquest of the country. During the invasion, large number of Hindu Janmies fled the country, either after disposing of their estates for what was their worth of leaving them altogether. The Māppilas occupied such estates and continued to enjoy them until such time when the British captured Malabar from the hands of Tipu Sutan. The Hindu janmies now returned and laid claim to their former estates. Not only did the Māppilās lose their interests in the lands, but the Brahmin and the Nayar janmies also began a systematic oppression of their Mappiḷa Kuḍiyāns. In this oppression, the newly constituted British courts supported the janmies. There was resistance to oppression, which resulted in constant struggles. One of the earlier functions of the British administration in Malabar was therefore to keep peace between the two contending parties. Such janmi-Kuḍiyān struggles of the nineteenth century had overtones of communal conflict, and these struggles came to be characterised as Māppila outbreaks?

28 Biddulph, John, *The Pirates of Malabar*, pp. 282-3.

29 Joint Commissioners' Report, Para 281.

# Macaulay and Christianity in Kerala

BY

B. SOBHANAN

Kerala is well known for its just and fair treatment to all religions. Early travellers have nothing but compliments for the religious toleration of Kerala. The Hindu, the Muslims, the Christians and the Jews enjoyed equal protection, friendship and the sympathy of the local government even long before the establishment of the political and commercial relations with the European nations. Of all the native states in India, Kerala had the largest Christian population. The history of Christianity in Kerala is traced back to the arrival of St. Thomas, the apostle of Christ in 52 A.D. The Christians before the arrival of the Portuguese belonged to the Syriac Rite. Later on, owing to the positive encouragement of the Portuguese the Latin Order became the most predominant Christian denomination in the State.

During the time of Col. Macaulay, the Political Resident of Travancore and Cochin (1800-1810), the Syrians and the Latins constituted two major Christian communities. Col. Macaulay, who secured the establishment of British paramountcy upon Travancore and Cochin did little for the promotion and protection of Christian faith. Further he hindered the religious harmony and prosperity prevailed in that part of India for the last several centuries. But Col. Macaulay, in tune with his reprehensible political dealings, pursued an unwarrantable and overbearing conduct in the religious field as well. From the very beginning he was guided by a partisan and sectarian spirit. He was a vehement champion of the Syrian order and a formidable opponent of the Latins. The ecclesiastical head of the Syrians in Malabar venerated him like a divine agency. In one of his letters he had stated that "According to the saying of St. Paul the apostle—" tho we be absent in body we are present in the spirit—I therefore entreat that you may have the goodness to continue towards me your kind protection. May the Almighty advance and preserve you until you attain knowledge and wisdom equal to Solomon with the health and fullness of years of Isaac."<sup>1</sup>

1 Pol. Cons., Vol. 22 F. 571. Translation of a letter to Col. Macaulay from the Mar Dyonisius (Mar Thoma) Metropolitan of the Syrian Church on the coast of the Malabar subordinate to Mar Ignatius Patriarch of Antioch, 11 April 1806.

Col. Macaulay was easily moved by the eulogistic works of the Bishop. Throughout his administration in Travancore he remained as a well-wisher and supporter of the Syrian Christians. He wrote the Bishop: "when I last had the honor of a personal interview with you, I communicated to you in the name of the British Government, my desire to support and maintain the rights and privileges fairly appertaining to the Church and Christians subject to Ecclesiastical jurisdiction vested in you by the nomination of the Patriarch of Antioch. I request that you may be pleased to inform me if you feel satisfied with the degree of protection which has been extended towards you and also whether of late you have any reason to complain of oppression or violence towards your clergy or their flocks either on the part of the Sircar of Cochin or of Travancore."<sup>2</sup>

Mar Dyonisius, the Metropolitan of the Syrian Church made the maximum use of this favourable change in his character. He prepared a list of sixty eight churches. Among the sixty eight churches thirteen churches were under the Latin hierarchy.<sup>3</sup> He wished to get control of that churches. On 20th May 1807 Col. Macaulay issued a regulation for the Churches. It contained a list a churches belonging to each diocese.<sup>4</sup> The list was prepared according to the wishes of the Metropolitan of the Syrian churches.

The partisan spirit of Col. Macaulay adversely affected the Latin Catholics in Malabar. The arbitrary reforms of the Resident were greatly resented by the Bishop and Archbishop of Cochin and Cranganore respectively. According Fr. Thomas de Noronha, the Bishop of Cochin, most of the Churches in Travancore and Cochin, were built under the patronage of the Portuguese. Now more than 50 Churches were usurped by the Bishopric of Verapoly. They were usurped and governed either by force or intrigue.<sup>5</sup> Further the Bishop wrote the Madras Government that he heard "on all sides that the Resident has not received any instructions concerning the Superior ecclesiastics."<sup>6</sup> It was true that it was an unauthorised and unwarrentable encroachment on the part of Col. Macaulay. According to Col. Macaulay "the Resident at Travancore since the conclusion of the treaty of 1805 is the regular and

2 *Ibid.*, F. 572.

3 Foreign Political Consultations Proceedings, 2 March 1808, Ff. 179-180.

4 *Ibid.*, 13 February 1809, Ff. 582-3.

5 *Ibid.*, F. 561.

6 *Ibid.*, F. 577.



established channel through whom those subjects may be heard and adjusted appears to be by far the greatest public benefit."<sup>7</sup>

Macaulay continued to be overbearing and haughty towards spiritual heads of Latin denomination. Sometimes he exercised his authority through his nephew Dr. Macaulay. Without the knowledge of responsible persons Dr. Macaulay assumed the authority of the acting Resident and dictated verbal orders to the Bishop of Cochin for the transfer of Churches even through his butler.<sup>8</sup> When his domination became unbearable the Bishop of Cochin wrote to the Madras Government: "you will naturally Sir, demand the reasons for the conduct of the Resident, the persons assumes in this part of the country the title of the Protector of religion and its ministers a title which he perfectly fulfils with regard to the priests and Christians of Verapoly."<sup>9</sup>

Again, at the zenith of the oppression on 8th July 1807 the Bishop requested Lord Bentinck: "Do me justice my lord, I can bear it no longer. You the love of God deliver me from the tyrannical oppression of this Resident. Worn out a stranger in a barbarous country without support or protection without either the will or the means to cope with so powerful a man who either by fair means or by force is all powerful here."<sup>10</sup> On 15 January 1808 he wrote to the Supreme Government. "I meddle not, my Lord, but with my own affairs; I even relinquish those which are capable of furnishing occasion for trouble, oppression and persecution. From what calamity therefore does not happen, that Col. Macaulay will not let me' rest in peace! I have entreated Government a thousand times; I once more entreat your Lordship, most humbly and most earnestly, for the love of God, to be pleased to issue special orders that I might be enabled to direct the Christians of this diocese who are willing to return to it, without experiencing the obstacles which are constantly imposed by the Resident."<sup>11</sup>

The Bishop gave a list of Churches of which had already been usurped by the Syrian fathers of Verapoly and some 6 churches Repolim, Agamale, Papunate, Angeicaimal, Chovare and Maliatur were occupied by Col. Macaulay in favour of Bishop of Verapoly.

7 *Ibid.*, Proc., 21 March 1808, F. 161.

8 *Ibid.*, Proc., 13 February, 1809, F. 579.

9 *Ibid.*, F. 580.

10 *Ibid.*, F. 591.

11 *Ibid.*, 21 March 1808, Ff. 192-3,

The believers in most of the usurped churches expressed their determination to live under the see of Cochin.<sup>12</sup> The Christians of Anjengo submitted several petitions to A. W. Handley, the Commercial Resident at Anjengo for the restoration of their Church under the Bishop of Cochin.

In one of the petitions they observed that "the undersigned petitioners understanding that you are pleased to refer the grievances respecting our Church affairs to Government we humbly beg leave to declare our firm and entire good will to remain under the Ecclesiastical jurisdiction of our legitimate pastor the Acting Bishop or the Most Rev. Padre Governor of the Bishoprick of Cochin, for reasons not only that we were destitute of all spiritual aid, while under the jurisdiction of Verapoly since a few years ago but also because we have instances that Padres of Verapoly do anything against the Christians merely to please the Political Resident in Travancore, who pretends to have also authority over our Church of Anjengo when she is, as well as your petitioners entirely independent from his inspection or power."<sup>13</sup> The Commercial Resident granted the request of the people after referring the matter to the spiritual heads of Verapoly and Cochin and to Bombay Government. But Most Rev. Pe Raymond the Bishop of Verapoly stoutly opposed it. He said it seems to me injustice so heavy that knowing myself the noble prerogatives of your respected person it lends me doubt of the truth; I rather suspect till now that such novelties are the more villany of some daring persons, I therefore wish to be soon informed of all and request justice."<sup>14</sup> But it had no effect. On 18th September, 1807 the Bombay Government communicated the decision of the Court of Directors "if the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Anjengo remain confirmed on their preference to the Padre nominated by the Bishop of Cochin, there appears no objection to his being continued in that station."<sup>15</sup>

The Christians of Māmpalli represented before the Travancore Government, their desire to live under the Bishop of Cochin. Dewan Vēlu Tampi in his letter to the Bishop of Cochin on 24th February, 1807 stated that "those Churches by right belong to your Diocese, and the Christian inhabitants do represent to us that they are willing to submit themselves to your spiritual maintenance, we therefore wish and desire that you will at sight of this receive the respective churches from

12 *Ibid.*, Ff. 194-5.

13 Anjengo Diary Vol. 1298, F. 176-7,

14 *Ibid.*, Ff. 212-3.

15 *Ibid.*, F. 315,

Mampolin under your jurisdiction and provide them with Padres, so that no more disturbance might not take place in future,"<sup>16</sup> But just one month after the transfer, some servants of Col. Macaulay came to the Bishop's palace with another letter from the Dewan that he was directed by the Colonel to restore the Church of Mampoly to the Vicars of Verapoli.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly the Dewan advised him to quit the Church and hand over the charge to the Vicars of Verapoli.<sup>18</sup> Again according to the Bishop "the Dewan did solely to avoid the boundless range of a man whose vengeance is not to be appeased and before whom everything bends, everything trembles."<sup>19</sup>

The Christians at Cannanâsseri petitioned before the Collector, Civil Magistrate and Bishop of Cochin expressing their desire to come under the spiritual supervision of the Cochin Bishop.<sup>20</sup> In 1808, they also returned to the Bishoprick of Cochin.<sup>21</sup> But "the Church of Cruz at Allepe was also transferred to Verapoly against the will of its Parishioners in the year 1805 without any other motive than to satisfy the wish of the Propagandists."<sup>22</sup>

The interests of the Latin Christians were overlooked and greatly oppressed by the Political Resident, who was supposed to be the true guardian of all the Christian faith. Thus the long established religious harmony and friendship was disturbed by the arbitrary encroachment of the Political Resident against the wishes of the Mahārāja.

Protestant Christianity set its foot in Kerala during this time. On 25th April, 1806 William Tobias Ringeltaube, the founder of the Protestant mission in Travancore started his gospel campaign. He wished to build a church at Mailadi. On third November, 1806 Rev. Dr. Buchanan who was appointed to study the ancient Syrian Churches in Travancore wrote: at Trivandrum I stayed five days with the Maharaja. I asked him for a piece of ground to erect a Christian Church of Mylaudy. He not only promised that my request will be granted, but also said that in a few weeks he goes to Soochundram, when he select the spot to be given. If I hear from him on the subject

16 For. Pol. Cons. Proc., 13 February, 1809, F. 565.

17 *Ibid.*, 21 March 1808, F. 200.

18 *Ibid.*, F. 201.

19 *Ibid.*, 13 February, 1809, F. 591.

20 *Ibid.*, 21 March, 1808, F. 198.

21 Pol. Cons., Vol. 128, F. 1976.

22 *Ibid.*, F. 1975.



I shall at once inform Mr. Ringeltaube."<sup>23</sup> But later it was refused by the Rāja. This change in attitude of the Mahārāja, in all probabilities, might be due to the arrogance of the Resident. Then again Ringeltaube converted some of the Hindus at Mailādi and built a temporary church for them. Construction of the permanent church and large scale conversion took place after 1809 revolt. Thus it seems that Col. Macaulay rendered preciously very little service to Christianity. But on the other hand he embittered the age old religious friendship and sowed the seeds of a bitter religious struggle between the Syrian and the Latin Christians.

23 C.M. Agur, *Church History of Travancore*, p. 514,

## Early English probes in Southern Kerala

BY

N. RAJENDRAN

In the second half of the 17th century, the English East India Company was expanding its commercial activities on the Western coast of India. As spices available from the Malabar Coast were in great demand in Europe, the Directors of the company were pressing their factors at Surat to increase the purchase of these products. But the Portuguese, with whom the English had first signed an agreement in 1635 for the supply of these goods were facing increasing opposition from the Dutch. So, it was necessary to send English ships directly to the Malabar Coast to buy pepper, cardamom and other spices. It was also desirable to establish commercial stations along the coast to facilitate the purchase of these goods. Many of the native rulers south of Cochin were willing to trade with the English as they welcomed competition between European merchants.

The first ruler in this area to invite the English in 1659, was the King of Ambalapuzha or Chempakasseri described in English records as the King of Porakkad.<sup>1</sup> The invitation was not immediately accepted. The idea of sending a ship to Porakkad to procure pepper was discussed at Surat. On the 23rd of September, an exploratory mission led by Walter Travers was sent down to Malabar. He was asked to choose between Quilon, Cochin and Porakkad to settle a factory and to leave an Englishman at the chosen place.<sup>2</sup> A native broker who was familiar with the area was also sent along to assist him. In January 1661, Travers, who was also chief of the factory at Kayal, visited Quilon and other places southwards. He secured an agreement from three rulers of the area for the settlement of an English factory at Quilon.<sup>3</sup> However, the Surat Council seemed to be undecided on the question of the choice of a site for the English factory. In a consult-

1 Parakkad is now a small fishing village about 50 miles south of Cochin. It was the main port of the Kingdom ruled by a Brahmin dynasty.

2 Surat to Travers, 26 September, 1660. *Surat Factory Records*, Vol. 85, p. 206.

3 Grigby to Surat, 7 June 1664. *Ibid.*, Vol. 104, p. 105.

ation held on the 21st of January, 1662, they choose two Englishmen John Harrington and Alexander Grigby to be the factors in the proposed settlement. They were to treat with the King of Porakkad for a monopoly of the pepper grown in his country. They were also asked to make an overture to the king of Quilon along thesaew lines, provided the Dutch did not resist them. They were to reside in "which place you see yield, pepper, more conveni-ence of residence. cheapest goods attainable and best harbour."<sup>4</sup> The Dutch occupation of Quilon in November 1661 foiled English schemes to settle a factory in that place.

The King of Porakkad welcomed the English. He even built a house at his own expense for the residence of the English factors and promised to deliver all the pepper grown in his country to them.<sup>5</sup> However the Porakkad settlement did not have a happy history mainly because of the Dutch success at Cochin and other places along the coast which emphasised their naval and military superiority in the region. They were quite determined to take advantage of the opportunity to establish a monopoly of pepper trade. English ships were not allowed to proceed to Porakkad, which the Dutch described as a dependency of Cochin.<sup>6</sup> In Porakkad, the English factors continued to be nervous about the possibility of a Dutch attack. But the Surat Council insisted that they should not desert the factory.<sup>7</sup> The king of Porakkad, defeated by the Dutch, promised to turn out the English from his territories and to deliver all available pepper to the Dutch. He ordered the English to take away their flag and allowed the Dutch to raise theirs near the English factory.<sup>8</sup> Obviously, the natives who had welcomed the English in the hope that they would support them against the Dutch, had to look out for their own safety. The factors stubbornly held out inspite of the king's order that they should leave Porakkad and inspite of the humiliations inflicted on them by the Dutch.

In an attempt to discover alternate sources for pepper, the Englishmen at Porakkad contacted the ruler Vadakkumkur twice, once through a messenger and once through a letter,<sup>9</sup> They appeased the King's

4 Consultation, 21 January, 1662, *ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 54.

5 East India Company to Surat, 19 March 1662. *Company Letter Book*, Vol. 3, p. 113.

6 Court Minutes of the East India Company 1660-1663, pp. 327 & 364.

7 Surat to Porakkad, 6 December 1662, *Surat Factory Records*, Vol. 85, p. 431.

8 Porakkad to Surat, 19 April 1666, *Ibid.*, Vol. 103, p. 276.

9 Vadakkumkur was a kingdom east of Cochin and north east of Porakkad extending upto the Western Ghats.



courtiers through bribes and secured from Vadakkumkur an ola (Cadjan document) authorising the English to trade in his country.<sup>10</sup> They also renewed their contacts with the queen of Chinganad (Quilon) even though the Dutch were well established in the area.<sup>11</sup> They maintained that if only the English Company had a fort at Quilon. Dutch pride could easily have been 'quelled and abated'.<sup>12</sup> It was only a question of time before the Porakkad settlement met its inevitable fate. The King quite reasonably pointed out that he might lose his Kingdom, if he did not expell the English and advised them to leave since he could not defend them.<sup>13</sup> The outbreak of war between England and Holland in Europe removed all diplomatic constraints for the Dutch who promptly sent a force to Porakkad. On the 1st of July, 1665, the remaining English factor, Grigby was captured and the English goods seized.<sup>14</sup> In spite of renewed plans after the end of the war, the Porakkad factory was never revived.

But the difficulties experienced in the procurement of pepper in Malabar persuaded the English company to renew its efforts in Southern Kerala. In 1669, the idea of settling a factory at Karunagappally, lying between Quilon and Porakkad, was suggested by the English factors at Calicut.<sup>15</sup> The King of that place (Marta Kingdom described by the Dutch as Maruthukulangara) had made overtures to the Dutch on the matter. But the disturbed political conditions in the area discouraged the English.<sup>16</sup> Even so, a messenger was sent to the King in November, 1669, suggesting a treaty granting exclusive trading rights in pepper and assuring protection to the factors and their goods.<sup>17</sup>

After careful consideration, the Surat Council decided to send an expedition led by James Adams to explore the possibility of establishing a factory there. Adams was told not to be frightened by more threats from the Dutch. He reached Karunagappally on the 21st of October

10 Porakkad to Surat. 14 August, 1664, *Ibid.*, Vol. 104, p. 192.

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*

13 Porakkad to Surat, 9 November 1664, *Ibid.*, Vol. 104, p. 197.

14 Grigby to Calicut, 16 July, 1665, *Ibid.*, p. 252.

15 Calicut to Surat. 19 January 1669. *Ibid.*, Vol. 105, p. 103. Karunagapally is described as 'Carnopoly' and its northern neighbour Kayamkulam termed 'Cally Coulom or Calli—Quilon' in English records.

16 Calicut to Surat, 22 July 1669, *Ibid.*, p. 148.

17 Calicut to Surat. 22 November 1669, *Original Correspondence*, Vol. 30, p. 3369.

1671.<sup>18</sup> The King gave him permission to settle a factory and trade freely. On hearing about this, the Dutch chief at Quilon sent some soldiers to the area. The Dutch attacked two servants sent ashore by Adams, attacked his boat and fired upon him and three of his companions. They were allowed to go free after three hours.<sup>19</sup>

In spite of this failure, the project was not abandoned. The difficulty of obtaining supplies of pepper from Calicut and Baliapatam in Malabar induced Gerald Aungier, president of Surat Council to revive the plan. On the 23rd of February 1672, George Bowcher and Thomas Kennon, assisted by a native broker, set out from Calicut. On arrival at Karunagappally, they had to swim ashore as no boat dared to venture near them from the fear of the Dutch. They managed to secure a house. Dutch soldiers were sent from Quilon to oppose them. The English merchants managed to land their goods which were siezed by the Dutch as contraband.<sup>20</sup> As the King of Karunagappally was away at Pathanapuram, a town about 35 miles east of Karunagappally, Bowcher proceeded to that place on the 19th of March. He remonstrated with the king to assert his authority against the Dutch. Exasperated by his failure, Bowcher moved to Quilon where he visited the Dutch factory to make a strong protest. The English party at Karunagapally, under continuous attack, moved to Quilon on receiving assurances of protection from the ruler of that place. Bowcher left for Calicut on the 19th of April. The remainder of the party, on finding the Dutch to be obstructive, left on the 25th, and after being imprisoned by the Dutch and losing their goods, reached Calicut on the 1st of May.<sup>21</sup>

Even these repeated failures did not discourage the English. The Surat Council believed that the attempt had not been pursued with sufficient courage and resolution. In 1675, they considered a proposal to send an expedition backed up by a sufficiently strong force believing that the natives would welcome them. But the plan had to be abandoned because of pre-occupations elsewhere.

18 Calicut to Surat, 15 November 1671. *Surat Factory Records*, Vol. 106, p. 44.

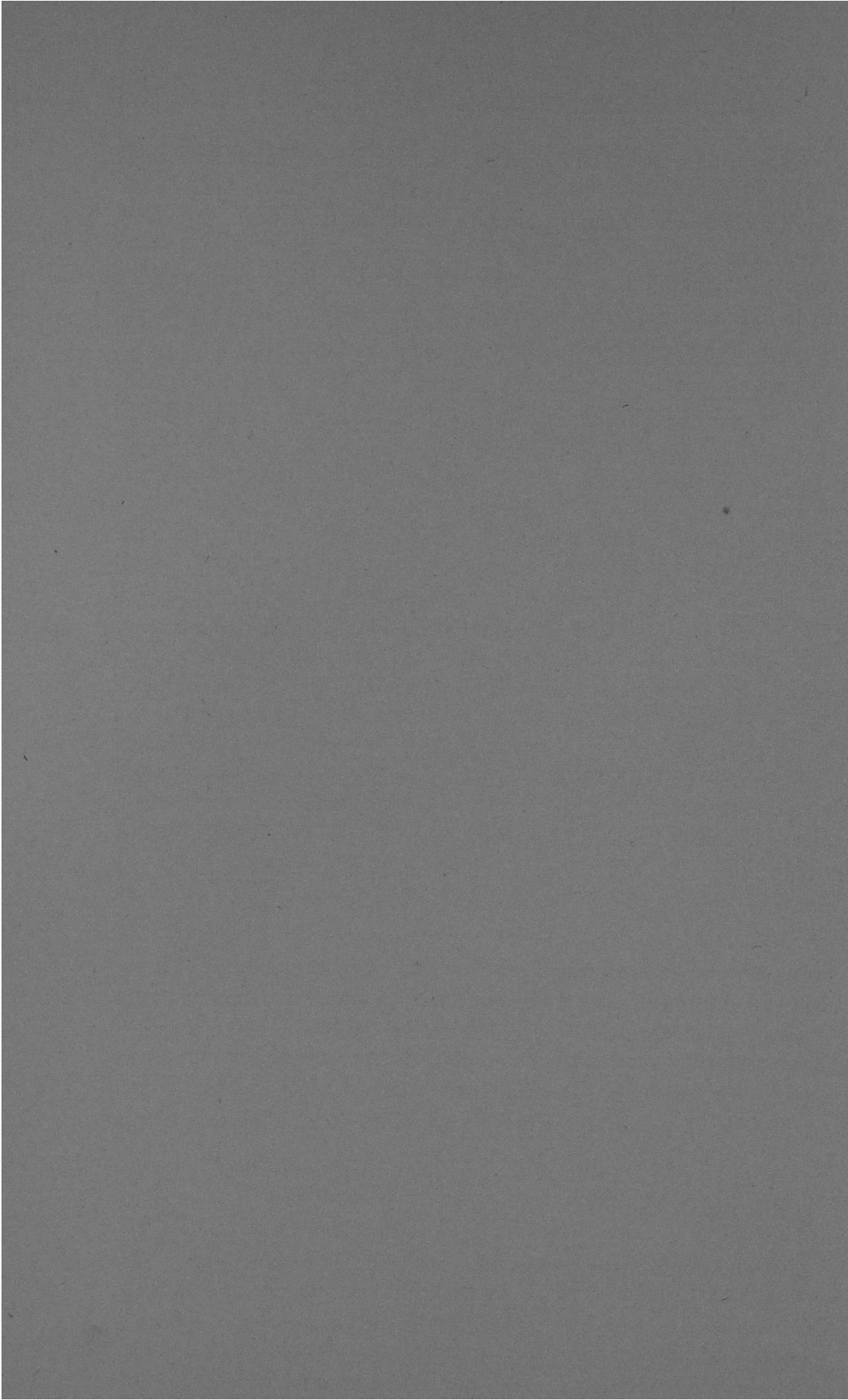
19 *Ibid.*

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

21 See Bowcher's Diary, *Original Correspondence*, p. 3628 and Baliapatam to Surat, 20 May, 1672, *Ibid.*, p. 3641.

The failure of these attempts was mainly due to the obvious superiority of the Dutch position in the area. The native rulers, weak and disunited, were naturally unwilling to offend the Dutch. But these expeditions were not completely fruitless. The English were able to study local conditions so that, when they were in a better position, they could formulate successful plans for the establishment of settlements in the area on a more enduring basis.





## Political Elites in Kerala

BY

G. NARAYANA PILLAI

The Elitist thesis hold the view that there may exist a minority of the group, in any society. Their decisions being wider in scope and dealing with the affairs of the entire group they assume the pattern of political decisions. The political Elite in any society are associated to the responsibility of decision making at large.

"In all societies . . . two classes of people appear — a class that rules and a class that is ruled. The first class, always, the less numerous, performs all political functions, monopolizes power and enjoys the advantages that the power brings whereas the second, the more numerous class is directed and controlled by the first, in a manner that is now more or less legal, now more or less arbitrary and violent, and supplies the first in appearance at least with material means of subsistence and with the instrumentalities that are essential to the vitality of the political organism." (Mosca, 1939, 50). According to Mosca, the key to elite control of the masses lay in its capacity for organization. Elite position comes as a result of its members possessing either in fact or in the estimation of others in society some attribute which is valued in the society. This attribute may be wealth, a concern for public good military prowess or status in a religious hierarchy. Elite control, however, depends on the minority's capacity to wield itself into a cohesive force presenting a common advantage to the other forces in society. Mosca believes that the elite has advantages simply because it is a minority (Mosca, 1939, p. 53).

To C. Wright Mills the elite consists of those whose decisions have major consequences. They are in command of the major hierarchies and institutions of modern organizations (C.W. Mills, 1959, 4). The positions of power are not carved out by the "great men". They are attached to certain roles in the society. The elite is the product of the 'institutional landscape' of the society. Power in modern society is institutionalized. Certain institutions occupy pivotal positions in the society and the upper most ranks in the hierarchy in these institutions constitute the 'strategic command posts of the social structure' (*Ibid.* 4).

The cohesiveness of the elite is in a large part determined by the cohesiveness of the links between the institutional hierarchies.

The core of elitist theory is that there may exist in any society a minority of population which takes the majority decisions in the society. Because these decisions are of such wide scope affecting the most general aspects of the society, they are usually regarded as political decisions even when the minority taking them are not politicians in the usual sense of the term. The elitist argument is not only that the minority makes decisions in the society and the majority obeys but that the dominant minority cannot be controlled, whatever democratic mechanisms are used. No mechanisms for ensuring the accountability of the leaders to the public, no ideology which enshrines the principle of majority can prevent the elite from imposing its supremacy over the rest of society, (S.F. Nadel 1956, 414-24) offers another kind of categorization of elites, viz., the governing elites, the social elites, and the specialized elites. The last two are status groups and their influence on decision making is indirect. On the other hand, the governing elite composing of society's political rulers have a 'decisive pre-eminence' over the other elites. The pre-eminence is derived from its legislative and coercive authority over the entire society. The governing elites may utilize the prestige of the social elites or specialised elites to facilitate acceptance of their policies by obtaining (as for example) the support of the upper class or the intellectuals or the specialised skills of the professional men.

The view of elitism as the concentration of power, wealth and status by one single group or a closely integrated groups is criticised by the pluralists who believe that there is not just one elite but different elites in a pluralistic society. Thus Max Weber speaks of status groups distinguished by their different 'styles of life' (Gerth and Mills 1948, 190) and (Dahl 1961, 64-66) speaks of the political notables, the economic notables and the social notables with hardly any overlap between the different groups. There are other problems also in accepting the theory of single centre power and cohesiveness of interest, which the elitist theory advocates. Modern democracies are characterised by large-scale devolution of power between the organs of government. The role of the pressure groups with which the governing elites are compelled to share their power also invalidates the elitist theory (S. Aaronovitch, 1961, 149; R. Aron, 1950, 1-16 and 126-143; Dahl, 1963, 35-38).

In view of the difficulty of adopting the elitist theory of a pluralistic society, recent writers have abandoned this approach and concentrated on the study of leadership groups. Actually the role of



the elite is leadership par excellence but the word leadership is devoid of the overtones of concentrated power. Further the emphasis of the new approach is not on the use or abuse of power but on the attributes of good leadership of which the proper use of power is only one. The conditions of emergence of the leader / leaders and the role he/they perform(s) are more important in this approach. All groups and organisations within society require leaders for their survival and growth. Leadership defines, initiates and maintains social structure. Kerala has a distinct pattern of political behaviour characterised by the most unstable condition of political stability at the top. This is primarily a defective condition with the Elite composition especially in the mode of retention of the professional motives of the Elites in question. Various factors may be suspected to be operating over this. Among these the mode of development of professionalism is highly relevant, as this is the only one which can restructure the solidarity of the organisation.

This paper attempts to examine the extent of developing professionalism among the politicians in Kerala. Political career being an important indicator of professional development, it has been taken to be the main line of analysis. Important variables here are political party Income, Educational level of Respondents and Community. This study has been carried out on the data collected from 140 State level politicians in Kerala who are or were M.L.As and M.Ps.

### *Political Career*

An element of professionalism noted in our respondents is the length of their political career. Amateur politicians will not stay long in politics because unlike other professions it does not bring a regular return. Nor is there an assured future prospect for most of them. Hence, those who stay on in politics do so with the intention of facing all the risks that it involves. In our study we found that the mean length of political career of our respondents was 20 years; (for communists 21 years, Congress 21.3 years, and for 'others' 19.0 years). Though the difference in the mean lengths political career, as between political parties is not very much, when we examine this in further detail we find that the Communists have the smallest per cent (10). In the case of respondents with longest years of service in politics (26 years and above) we find the position is just reversed with Communists having the largest percentage (73. per cent) and the 'others' the smallest (53.4%). Details are given in table 1.

TABLE I

*Respondent's political party and length of political career*

Length of Political Career	Political Party			Total
	Communist	Congress	Others	
15 years and below	5 (9.7%)	11 (18.9%)	11 (36.55%)	27 (19.5%)
16—25	9 (17.3%)	15 (25.8%)	3 (10.01%)	27 (19.5%)
26 years and above	38 (73.0%)	32 (55.3%)	16 (53.44%)	85 (61.0%)
Total	52	58	30	140

Many a time, one's economic background has been found to be very important among the politicians. In our study we therefore examined the relationship between the income level and the length of political career of the respondents. Table 2 illustrates the relationship.

TABLE II

*Respondents' Income and length of Political Career*

Political Career (Years)	Income			Total
	Low Income (Rs. 750 or less)	Middle Income (Rs. 751-1500)	High Income (Rs. 1501 or more)	
15 or less	11 (27.5%)	13 (20.00%)	3 (8.5%)	27 (19.5%)
16—25	5 (12.5%)	18 (27.7%)	4 (11.4%)	27 (19.5%)
26 or more	24 (60.0%)	34 (52.3%)	28 (80.1%)	56 (61.0%)
Total:	40 (100%)	65 (100%)	35 (100%)	140 (100%)

[Chi—square	14.150	df. 4
critical value 5% —	9.48	
Pearson co-efficient	0.246]	

Here our study shows that respondents coming from high income background have longer political career than those with low or middle income level. It will be seen that 80.1 per cent respondents of the high income group have more than 26 years of political career to their credit. The chi—square test shows significant relationship at 5 per cent and 1 per cent levels of significance in the analysis. We cannot however say that higher income is the result of longer period of political career. None of our respondents admitted that they were getting any material benefit from party work. Indeed all of them denied any pecuniary gain coming out of leadership in their parties. The only source of income is for the members of the cabinet, the state legislature and parliament, all of whom get their salary or sitting fee. The argument that personal income sustains them] in party and that the higher the personal income the better his opportunity for serving a party and for getting leadership positions is more plausible. Two further factors support this argument one is that most of our respondents have some amount of income from sources other than politics (eg. property, occupation, wife's employment, etc.) The other reason is that the incomes reported by respondents are only modest and in no case very high. If politics was used as a means of achieving wealth, this would have been reflected in their income level. We may also state that the income publically declared by the political leaders in Kerala also reveal that it was obtained through means other than politics.

Community differences may have an important part in the emergence of political Elites. as well as in deciding their party affiliations. In order to find out any possible relationship between community and length of service, we have prepared the following table (Table 3)

It will be found that the forward caste Hindus have the longest career in politics followed by the backward caste Hindus. The former have the smallest percentage of members with 15 years or less of political career. The table indicates that the Muslims have comparatively shorter career in politics.

An important feature observed in the analysis of length of political career was that those with long years in the political party were also those with comparatively higher educational level. 75.00 per cent of the respondents with High School education and 54.6 per cent with



graduation and above had a political career of more than 26 years, whereas only 25.0 percent of the middle school educated respondents had this length of political career.

TABLE III

*Respondents' Community and Political Career*

Political Career	Community				Total
	Hindus		Christian	Muslims	
	Forward	Backward			
15 years & below	4 ( 8.5%)	9 (22.50%)	10 (23.80%)	4 (40.0%)	27 (19.5%)
16-25	9 (18.5%)	6 (15.00%)	11 (26.20%)	1 (10.0%)	27 ( 19.5%)
26 years and above	35 (73.0%)	25 (62.50)	21 (50.0%)	5 (50.0%)	86 (60.0%)
Total:	48 (100%)	40 (100%)	42 (100%)	10 (100%)	140 (100%)

TABLE IV

*Education and Length of Political Career*

Political career	Education			Total
	Middle School	High school	Graduate & above	
15 years & above	6 (30.0%)	12 (15.70%)	9 (20.4%)	27 (19.5%)
16-24	9 (45.0%)	7 (9.30%)	11 (25.0%)	27 (19.5%)
26 years & above	5 (25.0%)	57 (75.00)	24 (54.6%)	86 (60.0%)
Total;	20 (100%)	76 (100%)	44 (100%)	140 (100%)

*Conclusion*

In this study analysis has been done mainly concentrating on the extent of professional involvement of our politicians. The main area of interest here was in finding the relation between length of political career to other social variables. It was found that political career of leaders was closely related to the level of education. Those leaders with longer period of service in politics were found to be having comparatively higher level of education; and vice versa. Politicians from Hindu community were found to have longer period of service in politics than Christian and Muslims. Another observation here was the close relation between length of political career and level of income. Those who had high income were found to be in politics for longer period. The relation between political party and political career is more evident. The communist party leaders were found to be having longer career in politics than others. Leaders belonging to 'other' parties (which consist of RSP, Muslim League etc.) were found to be having smallest amount of career in politics. On the whole, it could very well be pointed out that the length of political career of leaders is an important part of Elite function in Kerala.

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# Pottery Techniques in Peasant Kerala

BY

P. R. G. MATHUR

This paper examines the divergent techniques of hand made pottery and wheel made pottery in Kerala and analyses the role of essential traits of pottery, i.e., tools and techniques of contemporary pottery manufacture. I shall examine in this paper how the study of contemporary pottery culture can help us in the understanding of the basic format of Indian civilization.

Part I of the paper examines and analyses the divergent techniques of hand-made pottery. As elsewhere the making of earthenware without the use of potter's wheel is prevalent in Kerala. In Part II the technological aspects of wheel made pottery are described and analysed.

## I

### Hand Made Pottery

#### *Geographical Distribution of the different Techniques*

The various techniques that are followed in hand made pottery are described and analysed under three categories such as modelling done entirely by hand, moulding and coiling. These three important techniques are practised by different pottery castes in the following districts of Kerala.

TABLE — I

#### Distribution of Various Techniques of Hand Made Pottery

<i>Technique</i>	<i>Name of the Caste / Tribe which employ the technique</i>	<i>Name of District</i>
Modelling Technique	Urali Kurumban	Kozhikode, Cannanore
Moulding Technique	Odan	Trichur
	Velan	Ernakulam, Kottayam
	Kumbaran	Palghat, Kozhikode
Coiling Technique	Kumbaran, Anthoor,	Palghat
	Kusavans	
	Kumbaran	Kozhikode

## 1. Modelling Technique

The earthenware is modelled entirely by hand. The clay is scooped out from inside of the lumps of clay and modelled by subsequent beating with a wooden mallet. Making of pottery by scooping of clay from inside and modelling it subsequently is practised only by the Urali Kurumbans of Wynad, a Scheduled Tribe of Kerala.

### *Tools Used*

The Urali Kurumban potters employ the following tools and instruments to model the potteryware :—

(a) *Adipalaka* : It is on the Adipalaka (wooden board), the whole process of manufacturing pots is done. It is 18" × 6".

(b) *Chattunky (mallet)* : Mallets are of two types, one heavy and the other lighter and smaller. The former is employed for preliminary shaping and the latter for the finishing.

(c) *Kallu* : It is a round stone used for pounding the clay.

(d) *Baruky* : This is a wooden stick or a stick of the palmyra tree having the length of 27 inches. It is used to scoop out the clay from the inside of the lump of clay while making comparatively bigger pot.

(d) *Kebalie (bamboo strip)* : This is a long and narrow piece of bamboo used for scooping out the clay from the inner side of the mass while making small pots. It is 8" long.

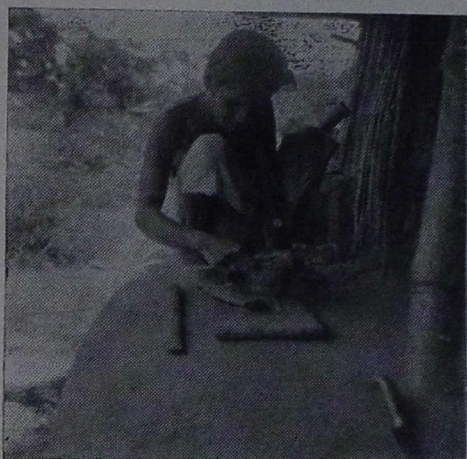
### *Preparation of Clay*

The clay used by the Urali Kurumban potters is dug up from the neighbouring fields, hillocks and river banks. The clay is greyish or whitish (Aiyappan, 1947)<sup>1</sup> in colour and is stored in one corner of their verandah for use in the rainy season. Sufficient water is sprinkled to wet the clay. In case there is an excess of water the mass is kept in the sun to dry a little. The whole mass of clay is then kneaded on a wooden board by hand. During this process, the female potter picks out coarse grains. The wooden board is 15" × 20". The clay is then beaten till it attains the required consistency. No temper is added to the clay while kneading and beating. While beating, small impurities are once again eliminated by hand. The clay is now made into lumps of about the size of the earthenware to be prepared.

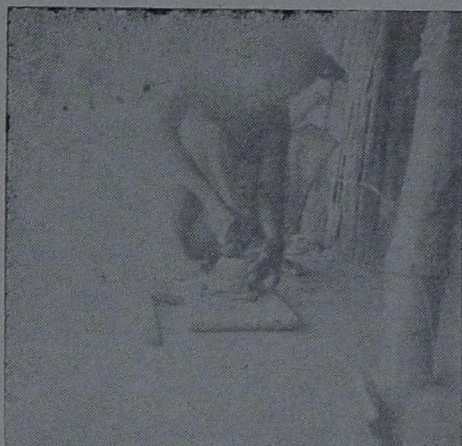
1 Man, 1947, No. 54, A. Aiyappan.



DIFFERENT STAGES OF MODELLING TECHNIQUE (SCOOPING METHOD) EMPLOYED  
BY THE URALIKURUMBANS OF WYNAD.



1.1 Shaving by a bamboo strip



1.2 Scooping



1.3 Scooping



1.4 Scooping

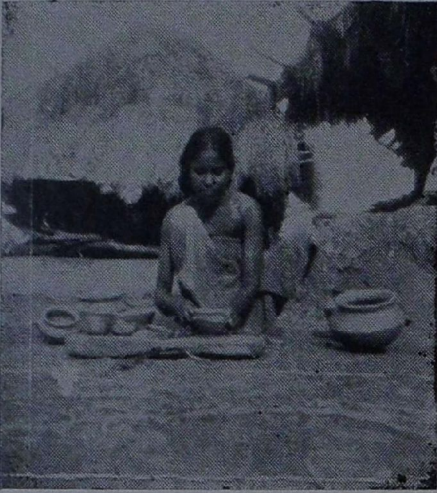


1.5 Beating

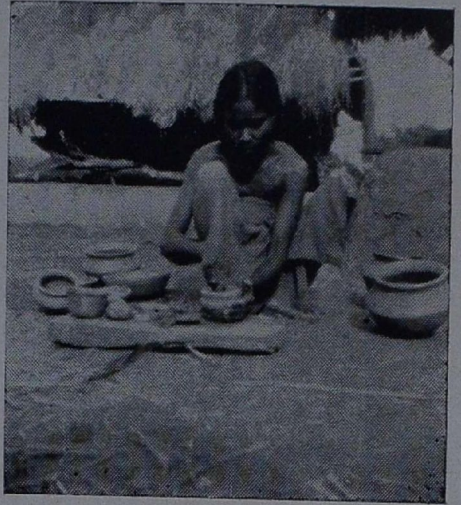


1.6 Beating

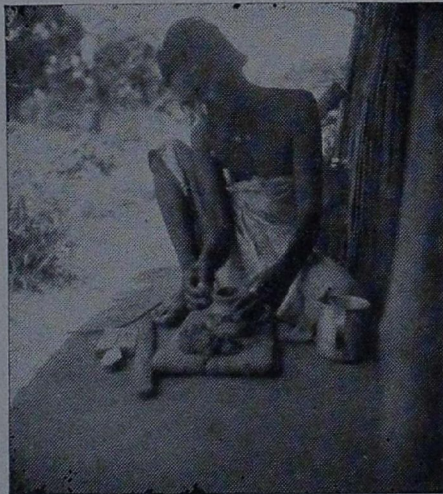




1.7 Beating



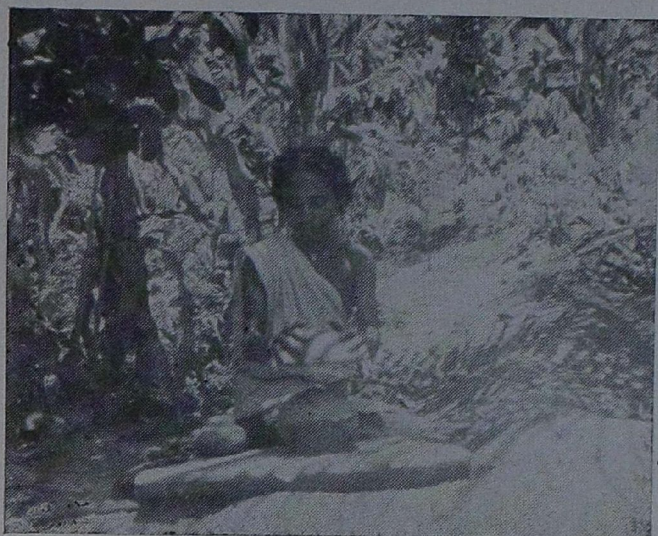
1.8 Beating



1.9 Polishing



DIFFERENT STAGES OF MOULDING TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED BY THE  
ŌDANS OF TRICHUR



2.1 Moulding



2.2 Before super  
imposing the  
two halves



2.3 Super imposing  
the two halves





2.4 Super imposing the two halves

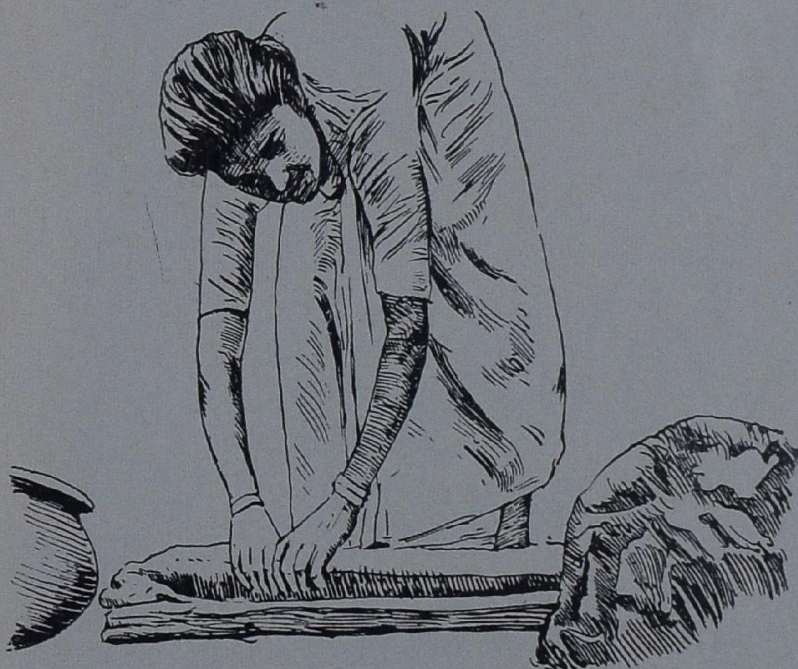


2.5 Forming the rim



HANDMADE POTTERY. DIFFERENT STAGES OF COILING TECHNIQUE EMPLOYED BY  
THE ANTHUR NAIRS OF PALGHAT

3.1 Pressing the clay between the two palms



3.2 Flattening a pancake from the clay





3. 3 Flattening a Pancake from the clay



3. 4 Making a disc from the pancake



3. 5 Preparing the base of a pot





3. 6 Coils are being added



3. 7 Attaching clay roll at the brim of the bowl





3.8 Polishing the  
brim of the  
bowl



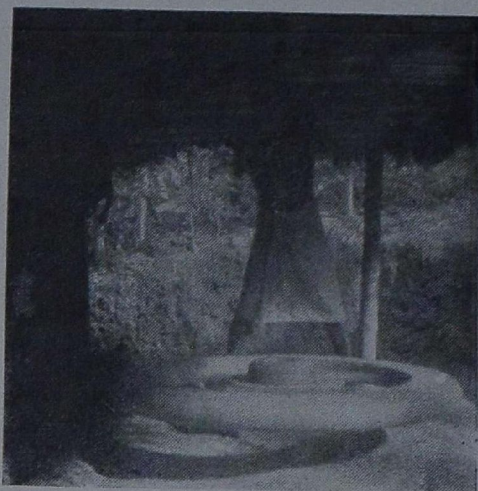
3.9 Polishing



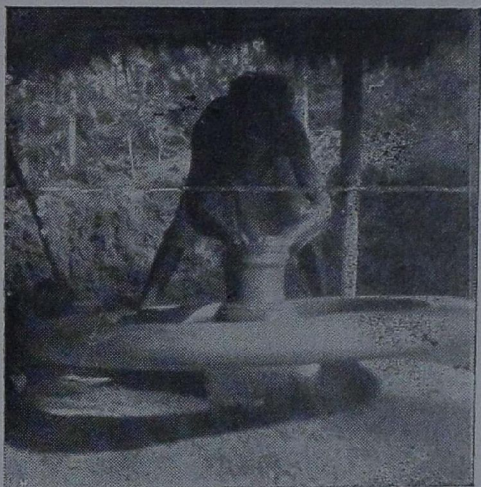
WHEEL MADE POTTERY PIVOTED SPOKED WHEEL PROCESS OF MANUFACTURING  
(TELUGU SPEAKING KUMBARANS OF PALGHAT.)



4. 1 Flinging and centring the clay.



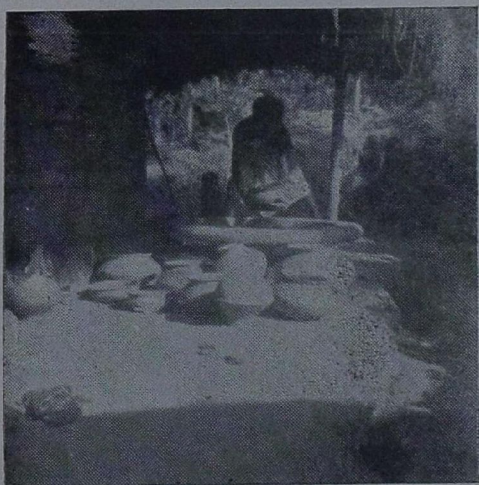
4. 2 Lifting the clay mass



4. 3 Opening of the clay mass



4. 4 Fashioning



4.5 Completing the shaping of the pot.



4.6 Lifting the pot



WHEELMADE POTTERY-SPOKELESS WHEEL-PROCESS OF MANUFACTURING  
(KULALA NAIRS OF CANNANORE)



5.1 Opening up the clay



5.2 Opening up the clay



5.3 Fashioning



5.4 Completing the shaping



5.5 Beating

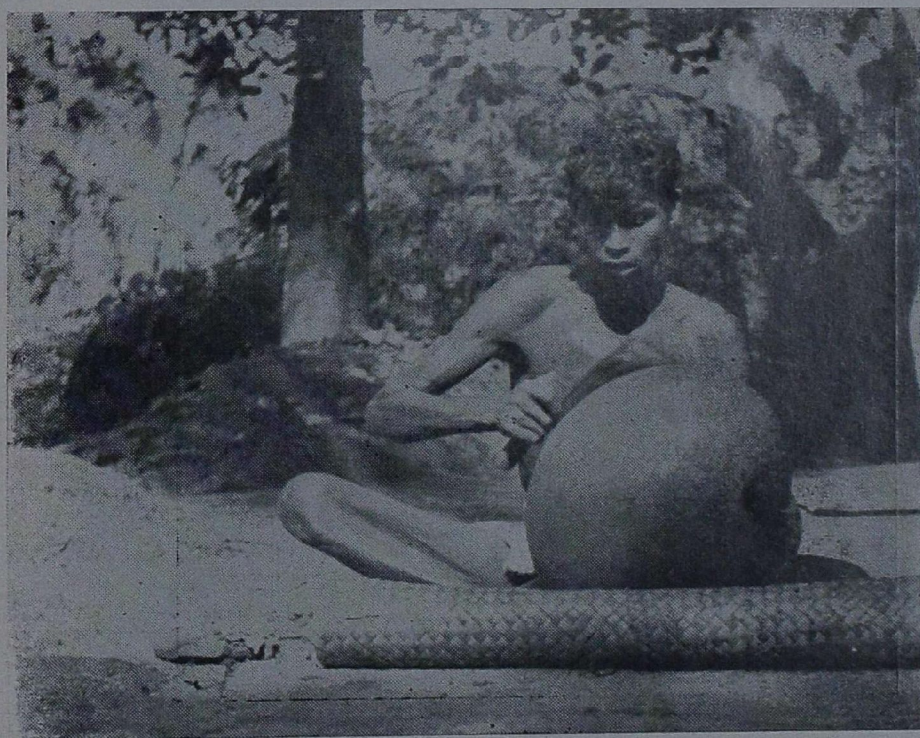


5.6 Beating





6. 1 Anthoor Nair woman polishing a pot



6. 2 Kumbarn beating a pot





6.3 Kumbaran beating pot



6.4 An Odan Woman beating pot





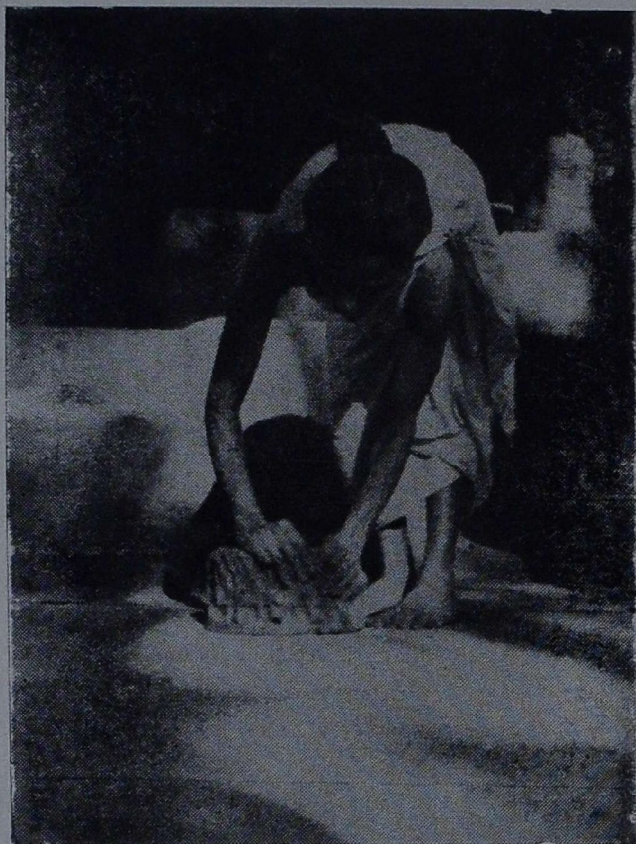
6.5 Arranging pots for firing



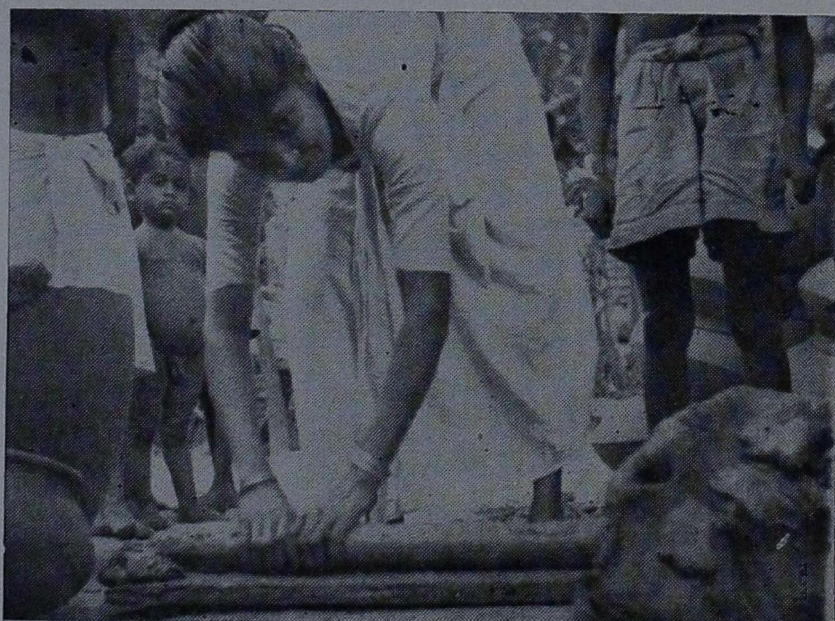
6. 6 Pots ready for sale



HAND MADE POTTERY. DIFFERENT STAGES OF COILING TECHNIQUE  
EMPLOYED BY THE ANTHUR NAIRS OF PALGHAT



7. 1 Pressing the clay between the two palms



7. 2 Flattening a pancake from the clay



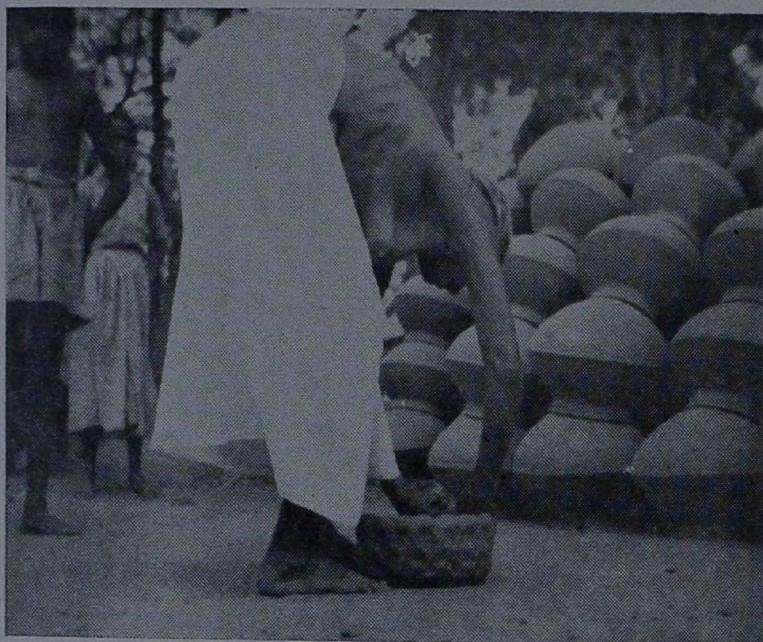


7. 3 Flattening a pancake from the clay



7. 4 Making a disc from the pancake





7. 5 Preparing the base of pot



7. 6 Coils are being added





7. 7 Attaching clay roll  
at the brim of the  
bowl



7. 8 Polishing the brim of the bowl





7.9 Polishing



Pots drying in the Sun



It is worthwhile to mention that no temper is added to the clay. Most probably fine mica flakes of the clay act as temper to avoid the cracking of the pot while drying and firing. No red slip is treated for colouring the pot. It is beyond their skill to make bigger bowls. The Urali Kurumban pot usually have one centemetre thickness.<sup>2</sup>

### *Shaping*

Making pottery exclusively by hand is exclusively a woman's job. She makes her vessels mostly for personal use although she may sell a few in the market.

The entire process of manufacture is done on a wooden board. It is now roughly shaped, by hand and then rounded by hammering with a wooden mallet, about  $6'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}''$ . When the vessel attains its required shape, the rim is cut clear with a bamboo (Kebalie). The neck of the pot is made by scooping out the clay from just below the rim with a bamboo blade. A rough shape of the pot is given to the solid mass of clay. When the neck of the pot is made, the Urali Kurumbi (the woman potter) scoops out the clay from the inside with a thin bamboo strip. The mallet is employed to shape the outer surface of the vessel. Smooth strokes are given very gently and carefully and thus the mouth of the pot is finished.

### *Beating*

The mallet is most essential tool of the Urali Kurumban potter. It is locally called *chattunky*. As has already been stated, it is employed to give a rough shape to the pot prior to finishing. Now the base and inside of the vessel are beaten with the same wooden hammer but with lighter strokes than at first. One of the striking features of the modeling technique in hand-made pottery is that no anvil is used inside the pot while beating.

### *Decoration*

The decoration of the pot is completed before it is laid out in the sun to dry. It is incised generally with a blunt point or with a bamboo strip. As the decoration continues, the upper part of the Urali Kurumban pot is turned in an anti-clockwise direction.

### *Polishing and Drying*

The polishing is done twice before the drying. Firstly, it is done both inside and outside with a quartz pebble (*Menikkakallu*). The

2 *Ibid.*



pot is then kept for a day after moistening with a piece of rag. Then the vessel is polished on the following day with the same quartz pebble but after dipping the latter in water. Water is always kept in a jar nearby. The pot is laid then for the final drying till it is ready for firing. It is either sunned for about a week or kept on the roof of the kitchen (*ekad*), for drying.

### *Kiln and Firing*

There is no special kiln for firing. Dry bamboo splits are placed against one another forming a square just in front of their hut but at the centre of the courtyard. The pots to be baked are arranged on the bamboo strips which are already heaped either in a vertical position or are made to lean one against the other. But only one row of pots, consisting of six to ten, are placed on this layer of fuel. The pots are then covered over with another layer of bamboo. Finally, the top of the so called kiln is covered with straw.

The method of firing seems to differ in northern and southern parts of Wynad. In the North Wynad of Cannanore District the pots are placed in an inverted position as in the Palvelicham settlement, while a leaning position with the pots resting one against another is prevalent in Nenmeni village in South Wynad of Kozhikode District.

The potter lights the fire at the centre of the kiln. The firing in fact lasts only three to four hours. Within this short interval, the pots are fired red hot and left for cooling. After an hour or two, the earthenware are removed for selling. When pots are baked properly, they get a dull brown colour.

## **2. Moulding Technique**

Making pottery by moulding is widely prevalent side by side with the wheel technique in Kerala. In the three districts of Triyandrum, Quilon and Cannanore, the wheel-made technique is exclusively employed for making pottery. But it has been observed that a few Odans (potters of Trichur) of Taniyam and Kizhakkumuri villages and some Velans of Ernakulam particularly in Edappally village, manufacture pots by employing the moulding technique. The moulded pots were formerly prepared solely by female potters. Now a days both men and women manufacture such vessels. However, it can be noted that it is still a woman's task in the districts of Kozhikode, Palghat and Kottayam, while male potters and female potters as well are presently engaged in the preparation of moulded pots in the districts of Trichur and Ernakulam. The potters who manufacture earthenware by the above

method are the Velans of Kottayam and Ernakulam, Odans of Trichur and Kumbarans of Palghat and Kozhikode. The Velans and Odans speak a corrupt form of Tamil, while the Kumbarans are migrant Telugu potters. It is reported that Velans and Odans intermarry with each other.

### Tools Used

*Achu (mould)*: The bottom of inverted pots are used as the moulds. A mould is a thick block of baked pottery with concave hollow shape at the centre to serve as a mould. The potters keep a stock of *achu* of various sizes which serve as moulds for pots of different sizes.

*Marapalaka (wooden board)*: It is wooden board called *marapalaka* that the potter first of all makes pancakes (*tattus*) beating with a round stone. This wooden plank is 12" to 16" x 6".

*Kottuvati (mallet)*: The mallet or *Kottuvati* is akin to that of Urali Potters. For rough beating, a heavy mallet is employed while for the final and lighter strokes, a light one is used.

*Kallu (anvil)*: It is generally a rounded piece of granite with a round base and a handle for the grip. The diameter is about 4".

*Chiratta (coconut shell)*: *Chiratta* (coconut shell and *kakkamkaya* mimosa scanten) are usually used for polishing. But it is found that mussel shell is employed for polishing in the coastal regions.

*Karikathi (kitchen knife)*: It is used for decoration and working the mouth as well. Apart from this, a kind of blunt tool (iron or bamboo) is also used for incising and decoration on this type of pottery.

### Materials Used

*Clay*: There are two types of clay which appear to be common all over Kerala. The first is of a dark grey or dull whitish grey in colour. It is found at the bottom of every village stream bank or of village tank or at certain paddy fields. This type clay is locally called *kalimannu* (potters clay red earth). This clay is widely used all over Kerala. In certain parts of Trichur district, after firing produces a dull colour. No slip is used. The second type of clay is known as *pulimannu* (greyish or white clay). It is light white or greyish in colour. It is available in almost all the districts of Kerala, but is used only in the districts of Palghat and Ernakulam for pottery. It is generally collected from the neighbouring river bank. It is interesting to note that the clay



is dug and carried in boats in the coastal regions while it is carried on the head in the plains and hilly areas. The potters go in group in order to collect the clay.

### *Preparation*

The preparation of clay consists mainly of three processes cleaning, mixing and kneading.

(a) *Cleaning*: The coarse impurities of the clay are usually removed by the following methods.

The clay is dried in the sun for a while and powdered with a wooden hammer and winnowed if there is sufficient wind. Otherwise, the powdered clay is sifted through a sieve.

1. The winnowing is done in the following order. A *muram* (winnowing fan) is used for tossing the clay in the wind. A mat is placed before the potter. The tossing of clay is executed repeatedly and quickly. Consequently the pebbles fall back into the winnowing fan while the fine stuff falls on the mat. This is done for 30 to 40 minutes. The residue, which consists of coarse impurities, is thrown away. The cleaning of clay by the method of winnowing and sifting through the country sieve is widely prevalent in Kerala.

2. The coarse impurities are then removed by the fingers. This method is prevalent among the Telugu speaking Kumbarans of Palghat and Kozhikode side by side with winnowing method. A handful of clay is lifted in a strong breeze and permitted to sift through the fingers of the female potter, the fine particles and dust are blown upon the mat by the wind while the coarser grains fall upon the pile of uncleaned clay. The height to which the hands are lifted vary from three to five feet. The speed of the movement and the rapidity through the fingers, all depend upon the force of the wind.

3. The Odan of Trichur scrape the clay with a kitchen knife to remove the coarse impurities. It is done also either by a bamboo strip or sharp iron tool.

### *Mixing*

The mixing precedes the kneading. It consists of the addition of the temper when the clay is too soft. This is also done only when both ingredients are dry. "As a rule no different variety of clay are added together. Either the temper or the clay may be placed on the mixing surface first, the other ingredient is afterwards added, and the

whole mass is sifted through the fingers until the clay is uniform in colour". It appears that the potters in Kerala have definite idea of proportion. However, the mixing is done skillfully through experience. They judge simply by the colour of the resulting mixture.

The *Kalimannu* and fine sand are mixed in different proportions at different places. But it is found that the *pulimannu* (white or greyish clay) is mixed with the *Kalimannu* (potters clay) and sand in the districts of Palghat and Ernakulam. In the district of Palghat, the proportion of clay and sand is done three to one. In other words, two baskets of *Kalimannu*, one basket of *pulimannu* and one basket of sand are mixed together. This proportion is in vogue only among the Telugu-speaking Kumbarans. In the same district, the Tamil speaking Anthoor Kusavans follow a different ratio. This proportion is of *Kalimannu* to one of sand. They do not mix the *pulimannu* with the other two ingredients. Among the Velans of Ernakulam, it is found that the black clay and yellow clay are mixed in equal proportions. Sand is added with the mixed lump in the proportion of 1:20. In the districts of Kozhikode and Trichur the ratio of clay and sand is 2.\* while it is 4:1 in Kottayam District.

Sand is sifted through the sieve before mixing with clay in order to remove smaller pebbles. When cleaned it is fine cement-like powder.

### *Kneading*

Kneading is usually done on the same mat used for mixing. In case a large quantity of clay is to be treated at a time, a hollow is made at the centre of the lump. Then a large quantity of water is poured into it. When the clay attains the required consistency, water is sprinkled with one hand firstly generously and then sparingly. In the beginning, the entire lump is kneaded until the water has been completely absorbed. When wet, it appears darker in colour. Small lumps are taken out for facility of work. Kneading takes about half an hour. The prepared clay is not kept for more than three days.

### *The Manufacture of Mould-made pots*

A lump of prepared clay is placed on the wooden plank and beaten with a stone hand-beater. Wood ash is sprinkled on the wooden board before the clay is placed on it. The sprinkling of wood ash prevents the clay from sticking to the wooden plank. A *tattu* or flat rounded sheet is thus made by beating. This process of making the *tattu* is locally called as *tattatikkal*. A small quantity of ashes is then spread on the bottom of the inverted pot or *achu* (mould) so that the vessels being



prepared will not stick to the mould. When the *tattu* (a flat rounded sheet) becomes sufficiently thin by beating, it is placed on the mould and gentle strokes are given again with the hand-beater to make it slightly convex. It is beaten smoothly until it is shaped like small inverted convex bowl. It is then removed and kept at one side to dry. This process is called *chattipitikkal*. After polishing, they are kept in the sun for drying, until they are ready for the kiln.

For water jars and bigger pots two halves of same size are essentially required, that is, they are made of two identical convex bowls. For this, a second bowl identical in size with the first is prepared on the mould to form the second half. Both halves are kept in the sun for 30 to 40 minutes for a little drying. Then one is inverted and superimposed on the other, so that the edges coincide. The two halves are joined by smearing clay at the junction. As a matter of fact, a hollow ball of clay is produced without any orifice. A small hole is cut at its centre with an iron kitchen knife, or the centre of the hollow ball is pressed firmly with the thumb of the right hand until a hole about 2" to 2½" is made. A kitchen knife is used for cutting out the mouth in all the districts where moulded pots are made excepting in Ernakulam where it is done by hand.

To put the neck, the potter takes a thin roll of clay and fits it on the edge of the hole. The whole manipulation is done with the right hand, the vessel is rotated anti-clockwise by the left hand. Thus, the rim of the pot is made with a thin roll of clay and is then shaped and flattened with a wet cloth to the required shape between the thumb and finger of the right hand. Again a thin roll of clay is fixed on the pot to form a shoulder and then it is shaped and polished with a wet rag.

### *Drying and Beating*

It has been already mentioned that two identical convex bowls are cemented together when they have been dried in the sun at least for half an hour. After the mouth and rim have been fashioned, the pot is kept for drying in the sun for another half an hour. The pot is then beaten with mallet for ten to fifteen minutes to harden the joint, and for shaping the pot as well. The pot is again kept in a shady place for half an hour to dry. It is further beaten for smoothening the surface. The earthenware is again sun-dried for a day before the polishing. After polishing the pot is placed in the sun to dry.

### *Polishing*

The exterior of the pot is polished with coconut shell in the districts of Palghat and Kozhikode where the moulding technique is employed.

Both *kakkamkaya* (*mimosa scandens*) and quartz pebble are used simultaneously in the districts of Trichur and Ernakulam, while in the districts of Kottayam and Alleppey, only a quartz pebble is employed. Mussel shells are used for polishing in the coastal villages of Kerala. The final polishing is done generally after the treatment of red slip.

### *Slip*

A very thin layer of red slip to the surface of the vessel is applied to produce a smooth texture and uniform colour. The slip is an emulsion of coloured clay in water; it is very little thicker than water, and is applied by means of a small piece of cloth. The treatment after application depends upon the kind of slip used; some slips are merely wiped vigorously with a cloth and in some cases the vessel is polished with fine-grained stones.

### *Preparation of the Slip and its Application*

The red slip is a kind of loose red earth, which is dug either with the hand or stick. The preparation of red slip depends upon the type of pots for which it is intended. For polished cooking vessels the slip is simply a thin solution with water. But sand as temper is added with the red slip when it is prepared for coating redware. The ratio of red slip and sand for mixing is one to one. Fine grains of sand are also mixed with the red slip. They are mixed in water and allowed to dry in cakes. The cakes are broken and mixed with water before smearing on vessels. A sufficient amount of slip is put in water to give an adequate colour. A mop is employed for applying the solution. The mop with which it is applied is a folded cloth about 2" wide and 3½" long. One end of the cloth is held between the thumb and first two fingers of the right hand. This end of the cloth acts as a wide paint brush, which is manipulated with an easy, backward and forward motion, paralalled to the rim. The pots are rotated anti-clockwise while the slip is applied. The application of the red slip takes seven to ten minutes.

The red slip is applied on all moulded pots, in the districts of Palghat, Kozhikode, Ernakulam and Kottayam. It may be noted that no slip is applied on mould-made vessels in the Trichur district.

### *Decoration*

The mould-made pots are adorned in two ways. Firstly, the pots are incised with a bamboo strip or with a sharp iron chisel, the pot being turned anti-clockwise. Secondly, the vessels decorated by light beating



with a stamped mallet. This bears beautiful impressions on pots. The decoration is generally done by women potters.

### 3. Coiling Technique

The coiling technique is the third method employed for the manufacture of pots under the hand-made pottery. It may be worthwhile to describe this process before we describe the firing technique are employed both for coiled pots and mould-made pots as well. In the district of Palghat and Kozhikode the coiling technique is used to manufacture pots side by side with the wheel-made technique and moulding technique. It is used exclusively by the Telugu speaking Kumbarans and Anthoor Kusavans of Palghat. The large storage jars, water jars and very large vases for horticultural purposes are manufactured by the coiling technique.

#### *Making the Pot*

The Telugue speaking Kumbarans of Palghat and Kozhikode and Anthoor Kusavans of Palghat practise this technique for the manufacture of certain pots. But the coiling technique practised by the Telugu speaking Kumbarans is different from those of Anthoor Kusavans. We shall at first discuss the technique employed by the former under the main coiling technique itself.

The clay is prepared by mixing husk and sand with it in the proportion 10:3:3. The cleaning and kneading is done just as for the moulding technique. First of all, the potter flattens a *tattu* (pancake) from the prepared clay by pressing it between the palm. The size of the *tattu* depends upon the size of the pots to be manufactured. The disc is then kept in a shade at the most for a day. It is further moistened with a wet rag. The *tattu*, which is to be the base of pot, has almost the shape of a hollow bowl. This rough hollow mould is then placed inverted on a stand namely *teruka*. The stand is made either of strew and string or of dry leaves of banana tree. It has a hole at the centre but has no importance. The hollow pancake is then kept inverted on the sand. When it is kept inverted on the stand, its convex surface is upwards. This surface is then given smooth strokes with a wooden mallet. During the process of beating, the anvil is kept in the left hand, which is passed through the under surface of the *teruka*. Now the potter does his patting on the surface of the pot keeping the pot on the high. The *teruka* is spun round together with the pot while the latter is given smooth strokes with the wooden mallet. Water is frequently applied with cloth during this operation of shaping or by dipping the tools in water jar.

The pot is removed from the *teruka*. The *teruka* is then placed on a mat. The pot is now an only unfinished bowl. It is placed on the stand or *teruka* in vertical position. Now some clay is taken from the prepared mass and rolled out in a coil on a bench with fingers. This clay roll is attached at the brim of the bowl by pressing it with the fingers. The lower part of the coil is allowed to dry slightly so as to support the additional coils. As many as coils are added as required for the size of the pot. Generally thicker rolls of clay are needed for big pots. The potter walks round the vessel for affixing thick earthen rolls anticlockwise. The pot is beaten with a wooden mallet keeping an anvil in the left hand just below the surface where strokes are given. He walks round the pot while beating in an anticlockwise direction. Both anvil and wooden beater are moistened with a cloth frequently while beating.

The neck of the pot is made with a roll of clay. It is attached on the vessel by pressing with fingers. A wet cloth is kept on the added clay coil, exposing half of the cloth outside and remaining being inside. The neck is shaped and manipulated by holding the wet rag and walking round the pot anticlockwise. The pot is then kept in the sun for drying. Then it is beaten in order to give the final shape to the pot. A rough polish is given by coconut shell for big pot.

A red slip of paste is coated on the pots after the required drying in the sun and shade is over. The coiled pots are decorated by incising technique in the district of Kozhikode. We have been discussing hitherto about the coiling technique practised by the Telugu speaking Kumbarans of Kozhikode. Unlike them the Anthoor Kusavans and a few Telugu speaking Kumbarans of Palghat employ slightly a different coiling technique. The same prepared clay for the wheel-made pottery is used for the manufacture of coiled pots. A coiled pot passes through the following various stages of making before its finishing.

### *Adatallal*

At the very outset kiln ashes or wood ashes are sprinkled on the floor of the courtyard, preferably in a shade. A lump of prepared clay is kept on the sprinkled ashes and it is then flattened into an *ada* (disc) by beating it with the right palm and pressing it with fingers. The process of making the *ada* is called *adatallal*. While my informant Kamakshi took 55 seconds to make a disc, Meenakshi, another woman potter of Tanur village took 45 seconds.



*Tottiadiyidal*

Sand is spread out on the same floor. The prepared disc is then kept on the spread sand. A lump of clay is coiled on a wooden board. The coiled clay is then fixed around the disc by a woman potter walking around the disc anti-clockwise. The fixing of the coiled clay is called *mannidal*. After the *mannidal* the potter raises and shapes the shoulder of the pot with fingers. The woman potter, Kamakshi took 55 seconds for fixing of the coiled clay and its subsequent shaping. Now the first stage of fixing and shaping the coiled clay is over. This first stage of manufacture of the coiled pot is known as *tottiadiyidal*. When this stage is over, it is kept for drying in shade for two to three hours. It is then beaten with the mallet for about six minutes.

It is interesting to note that two to four stages of fixing the coiled clay and subsequent shaping are required for completing the manufacture of coiled pots. However, the number of stages depends upon the size of the pot to be manufactured. It may be noted that a minimum of two stages of fixing the coiled clay around the disc are absolutely essential for ordinary water jars while three to four stages are required for medium and big water pots and storage jars. Every stage of fixing the coiled clay and its beating is followed by drying and subsequent beating.

*Shaping and Beating*

After the first stage of beating, the pot is kept for drying in shade for 30 minutes till it is ready for the second stage. The potter repeats the same technique of fixing, shaping and beating for the second stage as well as for the subsequent stages. For fixing the coiled clay, shaping and beating, the potter moves anti-clockwise around the pot in all the stages. It has been observed among the Anthoor Kusavans of Palghat, while shaping the external surface of the pot, the potter walks round the pot anti-clockwise; but she moves clockwise while the inner surface of the pot is shaped. In case I observed, the first stage of making the coiled pot it was about 11" in height while the three latter stages it was 21" in height. The radius of a big pot was 2'. When the final stage of fixing the coiled clay around the disc is over, it is shaped and kept for drying. The drying now in shade takes only 30 minutes. The last stage of fixing the roll of clay is called *talakettal*. To make the rim of the pot, a roll of coiled clay is fixed on the brim. The woman potter Meenakshi took five minutes for fixing the coiled clay and shaping the rim with fingers. The rim is flattened with a bamboo strip. She took 2 minutes to widen the rim. The rim is then polished with a wet cloth

for  $1\frac{1}{2}$  minutes. Watering is also simultaneously done for a minute. Finally the pot is completely smeared with a wet rag and is carried to the inside of the house from the courtyard by two women potters. The pot is kept in a room for drying for two days at least. Again on the firing day, the pot is kept for drying in the sun for five to six hours before it is removed to the kiln. Kamakshi took  $2\frac{1}{2}$  hours only for the complete shaping of the pot. No red slip is used for the coiled pots among the Anthoor Kusavans of Palghat.

### Kiln and Firing

It consists of four phases, the building of the pit, the arrangement of pots, the burning and removal of the pots. The kiln is generally located behind the potters' house but beneath a thatched hut.

As it has been said already two types of kiln are prevalent :

**Type-1:** It is a circular pit being 2 to 3 ft. deep and 8 to 9 ft. diameter. As the lower end of the kiln, there is a small hole, through which the fire is applied. This kiln is used for firing the moulded pots and coiled pots. Kilns of the type-1 are found in the districts of Trichur, Alleppey and Cannanore.

Let us now examine the process of firing in the type-1 kiln. At the bottom of the pit of the kiln is always left a layer of ashes of former firings about  $3\frac{1}{2}$ " thick. On this is set a layer of coconut husk and above this alternate layers of pots and coconut husks, each successive one of first layers being less in diameter so that the whole pile is shaped like a cone. In the district of Trichur the unbaked pots are placed inverted for firing. The whole cone-shaped pile is covered over first with coconut husk, then straw. The potter sets fire at the oven on the straw at the centre. The fire spreads to the inner side of the kiln and the upper layer as well. Within twelve hours pots are fired and left for cooling. They are then separated.

**Type-2:** Type-2 kiln is used for baking moulded pots, coiled pots and also wheel-made pots. The process of firing wheel-made pots is discussed in a separate paper.

This type of kiln is generally divided into two compartments, the upper and lower. The upper compartment is called locally *choolakuzhi* (the main pit of the kiln at the rear side) where pots are arranged in a heap for firing. The lower compartment is called *atuppu* (fire chamber) where fire wood is placed. The type-2 kiln is prevalent in the districts



of Kozhikode, Palghat, Ernakulam, Kottayam and some parts of Alleppey Districts.

In the districts of Palghat and Kozhikode the very big coiled vessels are placed for firing on the ground row of the kiln, leaning against one another. The pots are placed in other five rows, with their mouths downward in these districts. In the Districts of Ernakulam, pots on the ground level are arranged while leaning against one another and in other five rows are placed in vertical position. The pots are placed inverted in all the rows in the district of Kottayam. In every successive row, firewood is placed as fuel. The top of the heap is covered with straw and finally it is plastered over with mud.

The *choolakuzhi* (fire chamber) is located at the upper end of the kiln. It is set fire to at this fire chamber at about 5 P.M. The baking of the kiln by feeding fire through the passage of the fire chamber lasts about twelve hours. It must be pointed out here that the lower fire chamber is separated by the upper chamber by an arch made of either bricks or laterite. When baking of the kiln is sufficiently done, the fire is pushed through the passage to the rear side of the kiln where pots are arranged. On the next day evening all pots are burnt red hot. Thus it took 24 hours for baking pots. The smoke out-lets are opened when the potter hears some sort of sputing sound from within the kiln.

## II

### Wheel Made Pottery in Kerala

Though all the significant technological aspects and implications of the process of wheel-made technique used in making pottery could not be adequate illustrated, yet it is hoped that the following details will throw some light on the subject dealt with.

#### *Geographical Distribution*

The potter's wheel form a very popular feature of rural Kerala. They can be formally classified into two types: spoked pivoted wheel and spokeless wheel (saucer shaped wheel). The pivoted spoked wheel is prevalent in the districts of Kozhikode, Palghat, Trichur, Ernakulam and Kottayam. This is employed to manufacture pots by the Telugu speaking Kumbarans of Palghat and Kozhikode, Anthoor Kusavans and Odans of Palghat and Trichur respectively, and Tamil speaking Velans of Ernakulam and Kottayam. The spokeless wheel (saucer shaped wheel) is exclusively distributed in the districts of Cannanore, Quilon and Trivandrum. It is exclusively used for making earthenware

by the Tamil speaking Kerala Nayars of Cannanore in North Kerala and Velans of Quilon and Trivandrum Districts in South Kerala. It is also reported that the both types are used to make pots by the Velans of Alleppey district.

### *Construction of the Spoked Wheel*

Two cross pieces of wooden planks are let into one above the other. One piece of wood has been so fashioned that two short arms extend in opposite directions from a broad flat base. The flat base has been scooped out on one surface. Two such wooden pieces have been fitted with their scooped surface meeting cross-wise, so that the two arms of each of these wooden pieces form two opposite spokes when fitted into the wheel frame. At the centre of the flat base a square hole has been made through both the cross pieces and a block of wood (mula:radius 2.7"  $\times$  2.5" depth) has been fitted into the hole. Mula is made out of a teak wood into a roughly hemi-spherical body with a tank (2"). The tang is introduced into the hole in the flat base of the cross-pieces. At the centre of the hemi-spherical body a solid piece of iron or hard core tamarind wood is driven into the body on its under-surface. This piece of iron or tamarind wood is shaped like the nipple and is known as "mulakannu." About 1" of the "mulakkannu" is exposed underneath to be inserted loosely into a piece of hard stone. This "mula" serves as a pivot resting on socket base. This socketed base is made out of granite in case the "mulakannu" is made of iron. If the latter is of wood (tamarind) the base is either of laterite stone or is a pebble (flint) fixed on an earthen platform.

The body of the spoked wheel is constructed by bending a pair of creepers (*okaravalli*) or bamboo splits (*Mula alaku*) in circular fashion. Only bamboo splits are used for the construction of the rim of the wheel, in the district of Kozhikode in north Kerala. Between the spokes, twigs are woven and tied together with strings. The whole of rim is covered with thick coating of unbaked potter's clay mixed with straw or coconut husk. It is then scrapped with a kitchen knife as to give a uniform shape. The wheel is then kept in a shade for drying.

### *Socket*

Sockets may be categorised into three types :

1. It is a laterite stone in rectangular shape. It is found in the districts of Kottayam, Alleppey and some parts of Trichur and Kozhikode. A hole is made at the centre in which the pivot of the wheel rests while it is spun.



2. The second type is a thick earthen base in rectangular shape. A flint is fixed at the centre of this earthen base. The pivot revolves on it. For smooth oscillation, coconut oil and a piece of cloth are used while revolving the wheel. Thus, the spoked is a solid disc of wood or clay in the under part of wheel the pivot is attached and the socket is provided separately in the ground. This type of wheel is used widely by the Telugu speaking Kumbarans of Palghat and Kozhikode (northern parts of Kozhikode), Tamil speaking Velans of Ernakulam and some Odan potters of Trichur.

3. The third type is made out of a hard stone (granite) with a hole at the centre. This is supplied by the stone mason. This is prevalent only among the Kulala Nayars of Cannanore district and Velans of Quilon and Trivandrum. The diameter of the wheel is generally about 36" to 42". The rim has 6" to 9" in breadth while the spoke has 7" in length. The wheel has about 2 maunds weight.

#### *Construction of the Spokeless Wheel*

Two pieces of granites, coconut husk, pieces of cloth and unbaked potter's clay are the main materials used for the construction of the spokeless wheel (Saucer shaped wheel). The objectionable articles and other coarse impurities of the clay and the coconut husk fibre is mixed with the cleaned clay. They are then processed and kneaded by hand and leg. After the prepared clay is kneaded into a lump to the required size, it is made into a disc (*tattu*) by beating with a wooden mallet or stone beater. The disc is placed inverted on a pile of sand for some time in the sun. It attains the concavity of a saucer, when the disc is removed from the sand pile. The disc now resembles a saucer.

It has already been said that two pieces of granites are employed in the construction of the spokeless wheel (saucer-shaped wheel). One of them is called *ankallu* (male stone). The saucer shaped pancake is fastened on the upper surface of the *Ankallu* with mud paste. Underneath of the *ankallu* a hole is made at the centre, through which peg made of flint or granite is inserted. About 2" of the peg is exposed underneath in contact with the socket. This peg acts as a pivot resting on a socket of granite. The wheel is then coated with an admixture of clay and coconut husk. The exterior of the wheel is scraped with a sharp tool before it is kept in the sun for drying.

The other granite which serves as the socket of the wheel is locally called *penkallu* (female stone). A hole has been made at its centre by scooping out. The pivot of the wheel revolves into this hole while the wheel is spun. Coconut oil is used for smooth spinning.

TABLE—II

## Distribution of various types of Potter's wheel

<i>Type of Wheel</i>	<i>Name of District</i>	<i>Potter's Caste</i>
Spoked Wheel	Kozhikode	Kumbaran
	Palghat	Kumbaran, Anthoor, Kusavans
	Trichur	Odan
	Ernakulam	Velan
	Kottayam	Velan
	Alleppey	Velan
Spokeless Wheel	Cannanore	Kulala Nayar
	Alleppey	Velan
	Quilon	Velan
	Trivandrum	Velan

## Other Tools Used

*Kottupalaka or Kottuvadi (Mallet)*

The *Kottupalaka* is a flat wooden beater. It has a body and a handle. Two types of mallets are widely used in Kerala, one is lighter and the other is heavier. The operating surface of the body of the mallet has rectangular or concave shape. The total length of the body is 9" while that of the handle is 3½". These two types of mallets are used in different stages of beating to attain the intended shape after the removal of pots from the wheel. Apart from these two patting tools, there is a mould mallet having stamped impressions on it. This is employed to decorate pots in the districts of Cannanore and Trichur. Thus the vessels, in these districts, are adorned by beating with mallet too. Normally the potter begins with heavy strokes and then comparatively lighter blow and finally the lightest one to give the final and required shape. Besides some parts of the vessel require the use of one of these two mallets. However for lighter strokes, lighter mallet is usually employed. To be more precise, the two different types of wooden beaters are used at various stages in the making of the pot. The usual method of use is to beat the pot from the outside with the *padle* in one hand (right) and to support the surface of the vessel beaten from the inside with a round anvil held in the left hand.



*Kallu (Anvil)*

It is made of granite. Two types of dabbers are found, one is a small circular granite. The second type has two parts one body and the other is handy for grip. The body has convex shape. Both the types vary in diameter at different places. The former type is generally used for holding in the left hand inside the pot at the part of the pot where blows are given while the latter is exclusively employed to clean the clay as well as to make disc by beating the lump of clay. The cross section of these anvils is invariably found as circular. The general length of each tool is 4"-5".

*Kudam (Water pot)*

It is an earthen pot to keep water. The water pot is kept beside the potter's wheel. The potter moistens his hand and the mallet during the process of manufacturing the pot. Besides the cutting thread, a wiping and watering cloth are kept in this water pot.

*Charadu or Nool (cutting thread)*

A cutting string is generally but not invariably used to remove the pot from the wheel. Sharp tools or bamboo strips are also found to be employed to remove the pots from the wheel. The very big pots are separated with a thick and sharp knife while the small and medium size pots are removed from the wheel with the cutting thread.

*Paya (Mat)*

An old mat of coconut leaves is used for the preparation of the clay. The mixing, cleaning and kneading of the clay are generally done on this mat. It is placed by the side of the wheel, so that the prepared clay is easily transported to the wheel.

*Polishing and Scrapping Tools*

*Chiratta* (coconut shell), *Novunhiotu* (mussel shell), *Minukky Kallu* (quartz pebble), and *Kakkamkaya* (mimosa plandies) are usually used for polishing potterywares in Kerala. The commonest scrapping instrument used is a sharp kitchen knife. It is employed to scrap the shallow stratum of earth from the pot before polishing. Besides it is used to clean the coarse impurities of the clay.

*Uli (The designing Chisel)*

It is a hard tool used for producing adoration on pots. For purposes of ornamentation and drawing lines on unbaked vessels a thin pointed chisel is used. The midrim of the coconut leave and bamboo

splits are also employed for incising. It is done generally when the rough pot is still revolving on the wheel.

### Materials and their Preparation

#### *The Clay:*

The *Kalimannu* (black-clay) is invariably used for the manufacture of pots all over Kerala. It is of dark grey colour, sometimes nearly black found besides the hillocks and village streams, at the bottom of the bank of the village ponds and on the under surface of the paddy fields i.e. a few below it. The *pulimannu* (Yellow clay) is sandy alluvial earth mixed with the *Kalimannu* to get the required consistency only in the districts of Palghat and Ernakulam. It is brought down as a silt by the rivers. It is known as *chuvannamannu* (red clay) in Ernakulam.

A day is set aside for the collection of potter's clay. The potters go generally in groups to collect the clay. The clay is dug and carried on their heads. The female potters assist in bringing the clay. The clay is stored usually in summer in a pit. It is allowed to get sunned in all the districts excepting the coastal districts of Alleppey (particularly in the Talavady village of Kuttanad taluk), where the clay pile is moistened frequently with water. According to the informant, "the sun-dried clay of Kuttanad taluk loses its plasticity easily and becomes useless." A fixed amount is paid to the land owner half-yearly towards the price of the clay they collect.

#### *Cleaning*

The cleaning is the most important process in the preparation of the clay. The sun dried clay is first of all powdered with a wooden hammer. It is then sifted through a country sieve made of bamboo, locally known as *Challata*. The pulverizing of the clay is done invariably before mixing. This is one of the popular methods of cleaning the clay. The other important technique employed to remove the coarse impurities of the clay is the scrapping. After the clay is hammered with a heavy mallet, it is soaked in water. It is then scrapped with a sharp tool or thick kitchen knife.

To add temper, sand is mixed with the clay. Sand of fine texture is generally brought from the neighbouring river bed. It is sifted through the sieve to remove the objectionable articles. The cleaned sand is kept ready for mixing. The sand is the most important ingredient usually mixed with the clay before it is kneaded.



*Mixing*

A definite proportion of sand is mixed with the clay so as to enable the pot to stand the heat of the sun and kiln without breaking. The ratio of sand and clay varies from one place to another and some times in accordance with the type and size of the pots to be turned. The ratio varies from 1:2 to 1:20. Fine sand is mixed with the clay in the ratio of one to four for all common articles in the districts of Trivandrum and Kottayam. The amount of sand is one tenth of the whole mass in the districts of Cannanore, Quilon and Alleppey. In the district of Kozhikode the ratio of clay and sand is two to one. It is interesting to note that the *kalimannu* (black clay) is exclusively used for the manufacture of pots in all the districts mentioned above.

Both the black-clay (*kalimannu*) and yellow clay (*pulimannu*) are mixed together before the sand is added. The ratio of black clay and yellow clay is 2:1 and 1:1 respectively in the districts of Palghat and Ernakulam. The amount of sand is one third of the total clay in the district of Palghat, while in Ernakulam, it is one to twentieth. Anthoor Kusavans (Tamil speaking) of Palghat and Odans (Tamil speaking) of Trichur mix the sand with the clay in the proportion of one to two. In the districts of Trivandrum, Kottayam, Kozhikode, Palghat and Trichur the ratio of mixing the sand with clay varies from one to four to one to two, and where big pots are generally found. In the districts of Quilon, Alleppey and Cannanore, the ratio of sand and clay is one to ten, where small pots are usually found. In the district of Ernakulam, it is one to twentieth.

*Kneading*

Water is added to the mixture of sand and clay. The dough is processed and kneaded with both the feet or hands. Generally the yellow clay (*pulimannu*) is mixed at this stage. The kneading lasts about two hours. The clay is first kneaded with fingers to find the small coarse impurities, which are picked out and thrown away. It is now that the potter changes the consistency of the clay to suit the particular purpose for which it is made. Enough clay is kneaded and prepared at one time for the manufacture of one set of earthenwares.

**The Process of Manufacturing**

The turning of vessel on both spoked wheel and spokeless wheel, in Kerala, passes five main stages: (a) flinging and centering the clay, (b) lifting the clay mass, (c) opening up the clay mass and lifting the

cylinder, (d) fashioning the wall and (d) completing shaping of the pot on the potter's wheel. We shall now analyse the stage of manufacturing the pottery.

(a) *Flinging and Centering the clay*

The central flat of the wheel is moistened at first with a wet rag. It is then wiped off. A lump of prepared potters' clay is flung upon it very carefully and accurately. The clay is then rubbed with hands and wetted with a piece of wet cloth as to avoid friction. The potter turns the spoked wheel with hands first and then with the turning bamboo stick. Holding the lower end of the stick with the left hand and upper with the other hand, the potter gives a few powerful momentums to it and the wheel is thus set spinning so smoothly and steadily and it will indicate no symptom of falling for no less than three minutes. It takes about 45 seconds for spinning the wheel with hands while it takes 10 seconds for spinning it with the bamboo stick, in anticlockwise. The spokeless wheel is spun by a woman in clockwise.

(b) *Lifting the clay mass*

The bamboo stick is thrown aside. The wheel is now spun smoothly. The clay is held with the potter's hands very rigidly and constantly. When the wheel revolves, the potter presses the lump of clay down inflexibly into a short spiral mound by holding the thumb over the top. The palm and base of the thumb are invariably employed for pressing the lump of clay on the wheel. This enables the potter to control over the clay mass. The clay is now raised and lifted into the shape of a cone.

(c) *Opening up the clay cone and lifting the Cylinder*

The clay cone is now brought to a low elevation before its actual opening. The hands are cupped over the domed mass of the clay and its centre is pressed with the lips of the thumb. It may be noted that the wheel is still revolving. The thumbs are now plunged deeper into the clay mass until a hole about an inch is made. When the clay mass is pressed into with the thumb of the right hand, the outside wall is supported by the other hand. The potter then pulls out the hand firmly but not quickly, towards the outside wall, as the wheel turns. Thus the clay cone is opened and the forms gradually hollowed out. During the whole of this process of the opening up the clay cone, the hands of the potter have been moistened in water pot whenever it is desired.

As the wheel revolves, pressure is being given on the opened clay cone by both hands. This enables the potter to raise the opened clay cone into a thick cylinder. Thus, the clay mass is raised into the form of cylinder by moving and shaping with the fingers of the left hand inside the clay mass, the forefinger against the wall, the thumb on the external surface and finally supporting the forefinger and thumb of the other hand. The cylinder with the rough shape of the pot is now revolving on the top of the clay cone. The potter then gives equal thickness to the inner surface of the cylinder as well to its wall by the knuckle of the right forefinger.

(d) *Fashioning the wall*

The cylinder is shaped in accordance with the required design. A bamboo strip or a kitchen knife is used to smoothen the top level of the cylinder. The fashioning of the wall is done by the fingers of the both hands operating simultaneously. The wall is brought to the required pattern by giving continuous pressure to it while shaping. The fashioning or shaping of the cylinder is done with the fingers particularly with the second joint of left forefinger.

(e) *Completing the shaping of pot on the wheel*

The rough pot is revolved on the top of the clay cone. The inner surface of it is cleaned and smoothened with a wet rag, holding it rigidly, while the wheel is spinning. Its external surface is also evened in the same fashion. The lip of the pot is then carefully shaped with the forefinger of the right hand and thumb as well. It is then wetted with slip. Then the potter holds the right thumb supported by the forefinger of the left hand against the rough pot which is already revolving on the wheel. This is how the desired change in thickness of the rim is made. It takes about three minutes for shaping a pot completely on the potter's wheel, until it is removed from the wheel.

The pot is then removed from the wheel with the help of a bamboo strip or a cutting string. The cutting thread is generally kept in the water pot. The pot is set aside for drying in the sun. When the pot is removed, there is a visible hole at its bottom. It is closed subsequently by beating with mallet. During the hole process of manufacturing the pots, the clay is moistened frequently with a cloth. Above all, the hands of the potter are also wetted from time to time.

Both men and women partake in the process of spinning the wheel and shaping the pot. The woman spins the spokeless wheel (saucer



shaped wheel) with hands in anticlockwise while the man shapes the pot. However, it is the man who does the major part of the work in turning the pottery on the spoked wheel.

### Drying and Beating

There is a hole at the bottom of the pot when it is removed from the wheel which is closed by the beating. After removing, the pot is set aside in the sun on a yam leaf in vertical position. It is sun dried for about six hours in summer and ten hours in rainy season. The pot is then beaten with a wooden mallet keeping a round stone anvil with the left hand inside the pot. Now the vessel is conveniently held between the right foot and left thigh. The position of the pot is slightly altered from inside after each blow with the wooden mallet held in the right hand of the potter. The first stage of strokes to close the bottom hole and shape the shoulder of the pot is one of the important and delicate process in pottery technique since the clay is still very plastic and liable to be unknowingly disfigured. To close the hole, the potter beats strongly from above the shoulder to the hole, which is slowly lessened to a new form at the cost of thickness and finally closed. The excess of clay at this place, is then spread by strong beating. This process lasts roughly for three to five minutes.

The pot is left to dry in a shade for three to six hours or for a night. It is again given smooth strokes by the mallet "to fashion the belly and the breast of the pot to the satisfaction of the potter."<sup>3</sup> The heaviest mallet is employed for beating in the initial stages and then in the final stages, light strokes are given with light patting tool. An anvil is kept where the blows are given. The pot is then kept for drying in a wind, but out of the sun for 15 to 30 minutes. It is again beaten for the third time with a light mallet for 2 to 3 minutes as to give a uniform thickness. The beating altogether lasts about 9 minutes. After the decoration and polishing the pots are allowed to dry in the sun until they are ready for the firing.

### Decoration and Polishing

Decoration is found on almost all medium and large earthen wares. The pots are generally decorated by making impressions with finger, nail, bamboo split and chisel, before they are removed from the wheel. The mallet with stamped impressions, is employed to adorn vessels in the districts of Cannanore and Trichur. A piece of cloth is used when finger and nail are used for making impressive like ripple marks on pots.

<sup>3</sup> Kingslay Roll, *Journal of Anth. Institute*, G.B.I., Vol. LXV, 1935.

Coconut shell, quartz pebble, mussel shell and kakkamkaya (gilla, mimosa scandans) are mainly used for polishing the pots. The coconut shell is widely used for polishing pots in the districts of Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore. The inner surface of the pot is polished with a small coconut shell while the other surface with a big one. It is also observed that in the Ernad Taluk of South Kozhikode both *Kakkamkaya* (*Mimosa candens*) and quartz pebble are employed for polishing side by side. Besides they are used in the districts of Trichur, Ernakulam and Trivandrum. The quartz pebble is exclusively used in the districts of Alleppey, Kottayam and Quilon. The mussel shell is found to be employed for polishing pottery in the coastal villages of Kerala.

### *Slip*

The slip is generally prepared with the *Chuvannamannu* (a kind of red earth). The slip is (a liquid chuvannamannu) made into clay paste with water. The slip is applied on sun dried vessels before firing.

The slip is usually applied by women. The slip is applied on sundried earthen pots in Kerala but the two districts of Cannanore and Trichur where the pots receive a dim red colour after the firing even without the application of the red slip. The slipping is done before the final polishing of pots but after the second stage of drying in a shade. After slipping pots are kept again to dry in a shade. Then they are finally polished and set aside for drying in the sun until they are ready for the kiln.

### *The Firing Process*

The sun dried earthen wares are carefully collected in one corner of the living room, verandah or in a shed. When about two hundred to two hundred and fifty of pots are ready for the kiln, they are usually fired. Normally the potters fire more than hundred pots. However, it depends upon the capacity of the kiln as well as the demand of pots in the market. It is found that two hundred fifty to five hundred vessels are burnt at a time in a very good kiln. Three to four families share a common kiln in a potter's settlement.

### *Types of Kiln*

Two types of kiln are generally if not invariable found in Kerala :

*Type-1*: It is a small kiln which consists of a circular pit about 2 to 3 feet deep and about 8 feet diameter. A small firing place is seen at the lower end. At the most five hundred pots can be fired at a time in this

type of kiln. It is distributed in the districts of Alleppey, Cannanore and some parts of Trichur district.

*Type-2*: The second type is totally different from that of the first. It is a big kiln consisting of two chambers, upper and lower. The upper chamber is called *Choolakuzhi* (the pit of the kiln) and the lower one is known as *Atupu* (furnace for heating). Thus, the kiln is divided into two stages by an arch of laterite stones or bricks. The arch is also supported by laterite stones. The depth of the kiln (upper chamber) is  $3\frac{1}{2}'$  while its diameter is ten feet. There is either a thatched or tiled shed over the kiln. Above all an earthen wall having about  $1\frac{1}{2}'$  height is erected around the kiln. In the *Choolakuzhi* (upper chamber), pots are arranged in rows for firing while the lower is used as the fire box for heating the kiln. This type of kiln is in vogue in all the districts of Kerala excepting some places of Cannanore, Trichur and Alleppey, where small circular type kiln without any lower compartment is found to be used for firing. However, both types are generally called as "Chopla" (Kiln).

#### *Arrangement of Pots*

*Type-1*: At the bottom of the small circular kiln (first type) a layer of wood ashes and broken pots of the former firings is left about  $2\frac{1}{2}"$  thick. On this is set a layer of firewood or coconut husk and above this alternative layer of pots and the fuel, each successive one of which reduces in diameter so that the whole pile is shaped like a cone. The pots are placed inverted in all the six rows in the small circular kiln (type-1) of Trichur and Cannanore Districts. In the last and top layer, lids and tiny vessels are arranged while on the ground row, very big pots are placed for firing. Similar type of kiln ( $2\frac{1}{2}'$  deep & 9' diameter) is found in the Kuttanad taluk of Alleppey District, where pots are arranged in the furnace in standing position. The vessels are allowed to touch one another. A free space is left between the ground and the pots. This enables air to circulate round the earthenwares and then make a good dryness. The last row of pots is then covered with straw. It is then covered with mud. There is a small hole at the bottom. This is uniformly found in the districts of Trichur, Alleppey and Cannanore under the type-1. Fire is lighted on the straw and at the fuel of the lower furnace (hole) and it spreads to all the rows of fuel. Within twelve hours the pots are burnt. The kiln is then left to cool. Within another two hours, the pots can be dismantled from the kiln.

*Type-2*: As has been already stated, kiln type-2 has two compartments, the *Choolakuzhi* (upper stage) and *Atupu* (oven—the lower



compartment). Very big pots are usually kept on the ground rows in the Choolakuzhi (the upper compartment or chamber). The pots on the ground row are placed verted while on the rest of the five rows of kiln, they are arranged in vertical position in the district of Palghat unlike Ernakulam where the vessels on the ground layer are kept in standing position. In the districts of Kozhikode, Kottayam, Quilon and Trivandrum, the earthen pots are placed inverted on all six rows, on the every successive row coconut husk or firewood is kept as fuel. Besides sufficient firewood kept in the lower chamber (*Atupu*—the lower fire box). On the whole a cart load of firewood is generally required for a single firing.

The final row of pots is covered with straw and then plastered with mud. The potter then sets the kiln of fire. First, the fire is lighted in the lower chamber (*Atupu*) usually in the evening. Sitting by the side of the fire box (*Atupu*—the lower chamber), for the whole night, the potter feeds the fire, through the hole of the lower chamber (*Atupu*). Thus, the potter keeps on feeding the fire at the *Atupu* over till the following day at 10 a.m. The fire is then pushed to the rear side of the kiln (*Choolakuzhi*—upper chamber) where the pots are placed in a heap, through the passage of the *Atupu*. This passage is constructed by an arch of laterite stones or red bricks. The smoke outlets remain closed until the pots become red heated. The pots will be burnt usually by 5 p.m.

Thy potter opens the smoke outlets and examines whether the pots have actually become red hot. When he finds that the mud smealed on that top of the heap of pots is burnt and broken and hears some fizz or spluttering sound from within the kiln, he opened the smoke outlets. The smoke outlets are now opened. The air enters through these. The fire then spreads throughout the kiln including the top layer of the kiln. As a matter of fact, the fire reaches the piled straw on the top of the burning heap. Besides, the potter spreads the unburnt straw around the top of the heap. Consequently the pots of the top row are also burnt. Now the firing is practically over and the kiln is opened to cool overnight. On the following early morning, the pots are dismantled from the heap.

The whole process of firing lasts for twenty to twentyfour hours in the case of the kiln type-2 while only twelve to fifteen hours in the case of kiln type-1. It takes generally about two hours for arranging the pots in rows in the type-2 while it takes about an hour in the case of the latter type-1. One cartload of fuel is usually required to fire about five

hundred pots. Coconut husk is exclusively used for firing in the districts of Trichur, Alleppey and Cannanore where type-1 kiln is also prevalent. In all other districts where the kiln type-2 is distributed, firewood is invariably used for firing the pottery.

### Conclusions

I have tried to present in the foregoing pages a model of anthropological research which will bring into relief not only the details of technology often required for the interpretation of archaeological materials but also the social systems which organize the tradition of technology and bind the artisan or technicians into a common social order. This will help us to understand not only different forms of culture but also the process by which the various cultures are woven into an organic whole.

With the arrival of factory made and cheap aluminium vessels the Urali Kurumbans of Wynad have left off their traditional occupation of hand-made pot making and have to adopt farm labour for their living.

It is interesting to note that about forty Telugu speaking Kumbaran families have been employed by the local Ezhavas of Badakara in Kozhikode district. The potters are given free housing. According to the informant, most of them migrated from Palghat district and from southern parts of Kozhikode about twentyfive years ago.

The potters work on daily wages and under their Ezhava masters. The latter supplies all pottery materials and tools and implements to the former. It is to be noticed that some Ezhava employers are well versed with the pottery techniques particularly the wheel made. Some Ezhava families of Muttingal village in Badakara, have started firing the pots with the help of potters.

It has been also observed that the iron wheel of the Khadi Board is introduced in the district of Palghat among the Anthoor Kusavans. But only two such wheels are bought by the Potter's Co-operative Society. It is to be noted that the new type of kiln is introduced by the Khadi Board in Housing of Cannanore district among the Tamil speaking Kulala Nayars. This is almost similar to our type-2 kiln.

The potters of Cannanore are called Kulala Nair. According to Saraswathi Baidyanath (1970) "that the word *Kulal* has been mentioned in the Rigveda for the potter class, and we find the word still in vogue in the most ancient settlement of the Aryans." It is interesting to point

out here that the Kulala Nairs never claimed that they are the descendants of their original Brahmin ancestor. The Kulala potters of the northern parts of Kerala claim to be having a superior status as a Sudra Nair in the regional hierarchy. As a matter of fact it is doubtful whether the potters of Cannanore had the ancient settlements of the Aryans.

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## Variations in Household Size in Kerala

BY

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Does the average household size of a country vary along with demographic changes? In Laslett's study (Laslett, 1969) it was found that the proportion of children in the population — which is a resultant of current fertility — is negatively correlated with household size. Modernization, which tends to lower fertility, was found to be uncorrelated with household size in the case of Iran (Paydarfar, 1975). In Japan the average household size showed an increase even when fertility was declining and registered a decrease only when fertility rates touched very low levels (Kono, 1959). Over the past two centuries the household size in the United States was showing a steady decline without any significant fluctuations in correspondence to demographic changes. (Bogue, 1959). Even in the late 1940's and early 1950's when fertility was high in the United States, the average household size continued to decline except for 1954 when the average was slightly high (Glick, 1957). Laslett's study (Laslett, 1969) also showed that household size has remained constant for a long period of time in England without registering any significant increase even during a period when mortality was declining without a compensating decline in fertility.

But in studies where household size was estimated under hypothetical conditions the household size behaves in direct consonance to demographic changes (Brown, 1951; Burch, 1970). The difference arises from the method of estimation of average household size. In empirical situations the average household size is taken as the ratio of population to the number of households while in hypothetical studies the number of households is not an essential denominator. Hence in real situations the number of households becomes an important factor for the analysis of household size.

While population size is determined by fertility and mortality, the number of households is not completely influenced by demographic factors. Formation of new households is a complex process, influenced considerably by prevailing social and economic conditions (Dandeker

& Unde, 1967; Taeuber, 1969). Joint family systems break up more often due to changes in the social value system and kinship patterns or due to inability of old households to support a large number of persons and not necessarily because of demographic pressures from within. Further the economic viability of new households is also a determining factor. Increase in income provides greater sense of security and hence with economic development there is a greater likelihood for the formation of new households. Industrialisation and commercial activity speed up division of labour and promote rural to urban as well as urban to rural migration. This trend promotes the splitting up of households and also tends to limit the size of new households so as to facilitate greater mobility. Consequent to higher economic attainments and improved standards of living the dependent "Other relatives" in households get reduced in number and they tend to form single member households or become members of quasi-households (Carliner, 1975). Also slow economic development can act as a deterrent to the formation of new households. Lack of adequate housing, for example, can prevent splitting up of families. Hesitation on the part of young couples to separate themselves from their parents and the tendency for old parents to live with their children are other instances where lack of economic security slows down the formation of new households and increases the household size. Evidently formation of households is more dependent on economic and social conditions than on demographic factors. But the operative forces that effect a demographic transition appear to operate favourably towards the formation of new households as well. For instance, at that stage of economic development when fertility can be expected to decline, an increase in the number of households can be anticipated. The decline in the rate of growth of population along with the spurt in the number of households results in the reduction of household size.

From the above discussion it emerges that during the course of demographic transition, the three variables, namely, population size, number of households and the average household size exhibit different patterns of change. It is possible to identify the changes with the help of the following equation (Appendix).

$$R = r + s + rs$$

where  $R$  is the rate of growth of population (annual or decennial),  $r$  is the rate of growth of household size and  $s$  is the increase rate of the number of households. Equivalently we have,

$$r = \frac{R - s}{1 + s}$$

This equation states that for a given  $R$ , the relationship between  $r$  and  $s$  is hyperbolic. The values of  $r$  presented in Table I, corres-

TABLE I  
Values of  $r$  Corresponding to selected values of  $R$  and  $s$

$s$	$R$								
	.00	.05	.10	.15	.20	.25	.30	.35	.40
.00	.000	.050	<b>.100</b>	<b>.150</b>	.200	.250	.300	.350	.400
.05	-.048	.000	.048	.095	<b>.143</b>	<b>.191</b>	.239	.286	.333
.10	-.091	-.045	.000	.045	.091	.136	<b>.182</b>	<b>.227</b>	.272
.15	-.130	-.087	-.043	.000	-.043	.087	.130	.174	<b>.217</b>
.20	-.166	-.125	-.083	-.041	.000	.042	.083	<b>.125</b>	.167
.25	-.200	-.160	-.120	-.080	-.040	.000	<b>.040</b>	.080	.120
.30	-.231	-.192	-.154	-.115	-.077	<b>-.038</b>	.000	.038	.077
.35	-.259	-.222	-.185	-.148	<b>-.111</b>	-.074	-.037	.000	.037
.40	-.286	-.250	-.214	<b>-.178</b>	-.143	-.107	-.071	-.035	.000
.45	-.310	-.276	<b>-.241</b>	-.207	-.172	-.138	-.103	-.068	-.034
.50	-.333	<b>-.300</b>	-.267	-.233	-.200	-.167	-.133	-.100	-.067
.55	<b>-.354</b>	-.322	-.290	-.258	-.225	-.193	-.161	-.129	-.097
.60	-.375	-.343	-.312	-.281	-.250	-.218	-.188	-.156	-.125

ponding to a few feasible values of  $R$  and  $s$  makes it easier to decipher the path of the changes in the household size.

During demographic transition,  $R$  increases from near zero values to a maximum and then declines to lower levels again. The number of households, on the other hand can be expected to continuously rise i.e.,  $s$  is an increasing function of time. Under these influences the household size will register an increase until  $R$  reaches a maximum and decreases thereafter. Correspondingly,  $r$  will decrease after reaching a maximum. Further  $r$  will take negative values when  $s$  increases to values greater than  $R$ . (see the bold figures, as an example). Since very low negative values of  $r$  are not meaningful,  $s$  cannot continue to be indefinitely large. In other words, both population size and number of households are likely to follow a logistic pattern (possibly with a time lag) and the average household size will follow a curve which reaches a maximum and then declines to reach a low level at which it stabilises. At this stage the household may be more or less identical to the nuclear family consisting of husband, wife and their young unmarried children.



It is possible to conclude therefore, that a high value of  $r$  when accompanied by low values of  $s$  indicates the early stages of the evolution of households and at later stages of transition low values of  $r$  will be associated with high values of  $s$ .

In this paper the variations in the household size of Kerala are investigated in the light of the above discussion.

## II

The district Handbooks of the 1971 Census of Kerala provide the information on population and number of households for comparable areas\* of 1961 classified according to rural-urban residence. As demographic conditions could differ between urban and rural areas analysis is carried out separately for the two areas.

The average household size of the rural and urban areas of the 10 districts of Kerala for 1961 and 1971 are presented in Table II. It

TABLE II

Average Household size of the Rural and Urban Areas of the Districts of Kerala for 1961 and 1971

	1961		1971	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
Cannanore	5.97	6.78	6.34	6.79
Kozhikode	5.78	6.83	6.08	7.10
Malapuram	5.83	6.70	6.35	6.71
Palghat	5.41	5.56	5.54	5.71
Trichur	5.86	6.26	6.19	6.45
Ernakulam	5.98	6.20	6.10	6.33
Kottayam	5.65	6.37	5.86	6.40
Alleppey	5.61	5.91	5.80	6.17
Quilon	5.70	5.21	5.80	6.35
Trivandrum	5.53	5.76	5.55	6.02

is evident that there is much variation in the household size among the districts. On the average the urban households are larger than rural households and in all cases there has been an increase in the household size by 1971. The household size is found to be higher in the northern districts than in the southern districts. An analysis of variance carried out with the data shows that (Table III) the increase in

the household size between 1961 and 1971 is statistically significant. But the growth rate is not uniform. The districts of Allepey, Quilon and Trivandrum have widened the urban-rural difference by 1971 while the districts of Cannannore, Malappuram, Trichur and Kottayam have narrowed the difference during the period. The other districts have maintained the difference more or less the same. The statistical test

TABLE III  
Analysis of Variance of data of Table II

Source of Variation	Degrees of freedom	Mean sum of squares	F value
Between 1961 & 1971	1	0.3516	42.88**
Between Districts	9	0.3824	46.63**
Between urban-rural	1	2.3475	286.29**
Interaction; Year vs. Dt.	9	0.0043	0.52
Interaction: Year vs. rural/urban	1	0.0172	2.10
Interaction: Dt. vs. rural/urban	9	0.0668	8.15**
Residual	9	0.0082	
Total	39	0.1762	

\*Significant at 5%. \*\*Significant at 1%.

establishes the fact that the households of Kerala are undergoing changes.

It is significant that a large part of the total variation is explained by rural urban differences. This rural urban difference needs careful explanation. In all the districts the urban households are larger than rural households. This is contrary to the usual belief that rural households would be larger due to greater prevalence of joint family system in the rural areas. The higher figures for the urban areas could be explained as due to migration. Rural to urban migration in India has been characteristically male dominated and therefore, if migration is the cause for higher household size in the urban areas then should be significantly greater number of males in the urban areas. Table IV gives the percent of males for the urban and rural areas of the districts of 1971. Apparently there is not much difference between the two areas. An Analysis of variance (Table V) confirms the result. The significant variation is mainly among the districts.

TABLE IV

Percent of Males in the households of the Rural and Urban Areas of the Districts of Kerala, 1971

Districts	Rural	Urban
Cannannore	49.35	49.23
Kozhikode	50.02	49.80
Malappuram	48.84	48.75
Palghat	48.00	49.12
Trichur	48.01	48.34
Ernakulam	50.12	50.41
Kottayam	50.60	50.42
Alleppey	49.26	49.37
Quilon	49.92	50.29
Trivandrum	49.67	49.51

TABLE V

Analysis of Variance of the data of Table IV, after transformation:  
 $x = \text{arc sine square root of the percentages}$

Source of Variation	degrees of freedom	Mean sum of Squares	F Value
Between districts	9	0.3892	14.101**
Between Rural-urban	1	0.0347	1.257
Residual	9	0.0276	
Total	19	0.1993	

The above analysis suggests that the higher average household size of the urban areas should be explained otherwise. As argued earlier, the changes in the number of households have also to be investigated. Table VI gives the values of  $R$ ,  $r$  and  $s$ . The rate of growth of the size of households,  $r$ , is found to be higher in the rural areas than in the urban areas. And  $s$  is higher in the urban areas with the exception of Cannannore, Alleppey and Trivandrum. In Trivandrum, an unusual increase of quasi-households like hostels and lodging houses could be advanced as a reason for the deviation. For Alleppey which has a very



TABLE VI

Growth rates  $R$ ,  $r$  and  $s$  for rural and urban areas of the districts

Districts	Rural				Urban			
	$R$	$r$	$s$	$rs$	$R$	$r$	$s$	$rs$
Cannannore	37.91	6.20	29.86	1.85	7.99	0.15	7.83	0.01
Kozhikode	27.78	5.19	21.48	1.11	47.92	3.95	42.29	0.68
Malappuram	32.07	8.92	21.25	1.90	63.62	0.15	63.38	0.09
Palghat	20.57	2.40	17.74	0.43	43.41	2.70	39.65	1.06
Trichur	25.05	5.63	13.38	1.04	34.54	3.04	30.57	0.93
Ernakulam	17.37	2.01	15.07	0.29	66.01	2.10	62.60	1.31
Kottayam	19.95	3.72	15.65	0.58	28.61	0.47	28.01	0.13
Alleppey	18.13	3.39	14.26	0.48	15.83	4.40	10.95	0.49
Quilon	23.30	1.75	21.17	0.38	31.81	2.42	28.70	0.04
Trivandrum	25.53	0.36	25.07	0.10	27.48	4.51	21.98	6.99

low population growth, no reason is apparent. In the case of Cannannore, the growth rate itself is low but proportionately, the urban  $r$  is lower than the rural  $r$  and urban  $s$  is higher than rural  $s$ . See Table VII where the components  $r$ ,  $s$  and  $rs$  of  $R$  are expressed as percentage to facilitate explanation. On the basis of the conclusions arrived at in Part I, it is immediately clear that, if urban households of Kerala are larger, it is because they are at a later stage of transition. The rural households too are at a stage of transition from where the household size may start declining before long. Considering the very high values of  $R$  in the different districts and the corresponding values of  $r$  and  $s$ , it is possible to state that the households of Kerala would tend to reduce in size in the 10 to 15 years after 1971.

TABLE VII

Districts	Rural			Urban				
	R	r	s	rs	R	r	s	rs
Cannanore	100.00	16.35	78.77	4.88	100.00	1.88	98.00	0.12
Kozhikode	100.00	18.68	77.32	4.00	100.00	8.24	88.25	3.51
Malappuram	100.00	27.81	66.26	5.93	100.00	0.24	99.62	0.14
Palghat	100.00	11.67	86.24	2.09	100.00	6.22	91.34	2.44
Trichur	100.00	22.48	73.37	4.15	100.00	8.80	88.51	2.69
Ernakulam	100.00	11.57	86.76	1.67	100.00	3.18	94.83	1.99
Kottayam	100.00	18.65	78.45	2.90	100.09	1.64	97.90	0.46
Alleppey	100.00	18.70	78.65	2.65	100.00	27.80	69.17	3.03
Quilon	100.00	7.51	90.86	1.63	100.00	7.61	90.22	2.17
Trivandrum	100.00	1.41	98.20	0.39	100.00	16.41	79.99	3.60

# APPENDIX

*Derivation of the Equation:  $R = r + s + rs$*

Let  $R$ ,  $r$ , and  $s$  denote the annual growth rates of population size, household size and number of households respectively. If  $P_0$  and  $P_t$  be the population at time 0 and  $t$ , and  $n_0$  and  $n_t$  the number of households we have

$$\frac{P_t}{h_t} = \frac{P_0 (1 + R)^t}{n_0 (1 + s)^t} \quad (\dots\dots\dots)(A)$$

$$\text{Also } h_t = h_0 (1 + r)^t = \frac{P_0}{n_0} (1 + r)^t \quad \dots\dots\dots(B)$$

From (A) & (B), we have

$$(1 + R)^t = (1 + r)^t (1 + s)^t$$

$$\text{i.e., } R = r + s + rs$$

$$\text{Equivalently, } r = \frac{R - s}{1 + s}$$

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