SOCIAL ORBIT

Annnual Refereed Social Science Journal

ISSN 2395-7719

Volume 5
2019

FAROOK COLLEGE P.O., KOZHIKODE
KERALA-INDIA
www.farookcollege.ac.in

Editor's Note

We live in a momentous period which mark fundamental changes in human life. However, it is hard to prove the multifaceted manifestations of such 'changes' that we experience in our day-to-day life. This reality has prompted the intelligentsia to bring about varied experiments in social science research to identify the multi layered under currents of the transformations of human life on earth in the recent past and still such engagements are at work. However, it is admitted that, the social science research does not get adequate impetus in the society due to various reasons. One should certainly dive into,with scientific temper and methodological accuracy, the depth of human life and behavior to sort out or even to locate the problems which got evolved in the course of time.

Since the social scientists are always concerned about the human behavior, relationship and institutions, their insightful approach and analysis would definitely help to tackle many complex issues which may arise in the society. So, it demands effective and sophisticated social science approach in all aspects of life especially research on both human life and her surroundings. We really wonder why various agencies of the States are reluctant in social science research even in the muddled social scenario of the contemporary world. Obviously, it seems that the dominant market and its selective approach must have a sway over all the state apparatuses. But, in the long run such defensive mechanism would bring about far-reaching consequences in all spheres of life including academia.

Social Orbit is a platform which showcase all those scattered attempts from the academia regarding socially relevant ideas for the better discussions and further embellishments. As the focus of attention is on social science research, the journal is enthusiastic in documenting all the terse attempts with a novel perspective and accurate methodological vigor.The present volume exemplifies the approach of accommodating divergent fields of human activity as reflected in the social science prism. It also demonstrates how far the interdisciplinarity in research delibera-

tions are needed to be self-reflexive in producing new knowledge. Present volume of the journal is a conglomeration of vivid streams of approach from varied areas of social science discipline. It is sure that looking at the events and surroundings with effective tools and appropriate conceptual frame work would certainly produce new knowledge in the field of social science. The present issue of the journal is evident in this regard. Each article in the volume- from intellectual history to epigraphic and architectural manifestations of human endeavors- open up an array of entangled areas to be treated with serious intellectual engagements.

Vol.5, No.1, June 2019 (ISSN 2395-7719) **Social Orbit**

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.09-22

Kanipayyur Shankaran Namboothirippad (1891-1981): An account of a vanishing life *

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Abstract

Kanipayyur Shankaran Namboothirippad might seem to be a rather obscure figure,but that is arguably an effect of the way in which we teach and study the history of our country. We focus on "important" figures like Gandhi and Nehru, and in the study of modern India, importance is determined almost entirely by association with the nationalist movement. There is another problem too. Most of what we study as Indian history focuses on the Indo-Gangetic plain and perhaps Bengal, Punjab and Maharashtra. Why are there no Malayalis? History, though, has a way of correcting what historians write about the past. So, to locate and analyse the life and deeds of Kanippayyur Shankaran Namboothirippad would certainly open up new vistas of debate in the social and intellectual history research.
Keywords: Namboothiri, Social Reform Movement, Caste (Jati), Nairs, Nationalism

What I shall speak about today is part of a larger project on the histories of Kerala written between 1860-1960. It begins with the seemingly curious question: where is Kerala? When one reads existing histories of Kerala, one would imagine the state to be a landlocked space rather like Hungary! The narratives speak only about land, agrarian society, revenue settlements, landlords, tenants, temple holdings and so on. The sea beside which we live doesn't figure in the historical imagination. Think, for instance, about K.N. Panikkar's classic book on the Mappila rebellion: *Against Lord and State.* There is an extensive discussion of land settlement and the frictions that agrarian hierarchies induce between Hindu landlords and Muslim tenants. That the Mappilas of

* This Article is the transcribed and edited version of the Annual Extention lecture delivered by Prof. Dilip.M.Menon at Farook College (Autonomous) Kozhikode

Kerala had intimate connections with the Indian Ocean through trade, religious flows is almost entirely absent as theme. This is the puzzle for me. Why do people who live beside the sea, forget the sea? This is even more curious given that most of us have at least one family member in the Gulf. And the Gulf region is almost like another district of Kerala! Despite this maritime history of Kerala, we have tended to ignore this in our academic work. Arguably this myopia is the result of a very particular upper caste intellectual formation which writes history in terms of the Hindu imagination. If we were to engage with the sea, that would bring in the history of the Mappilas, Jewish people and Syrian Christians as much as that of seafarers and fisher people. Malabar is also a part of the large oceanic world that stretches all the way from Melaka to Aden through to Lisbon, Amsterdam and London. As also the Hadramawt migration from Yemen that has characterized the Indian Ocean for the last 500 years and is increasingly being written about by scholars like Engseng Ho, Mahmood Kooria and Yasser Arafath. So the question where is Kerala, is an important point of departure to understand that Kerala is as much part of the landmass of India as it is part of the Indian Ocean world.

My book takes up several figures who write histories of Kerala, but I do not take up professional historians. When one says that History is what historians write and only historians write history, these are uninteresting propositions that limit our understanding of the historical imaginations in a society. What would it mean to study the historical writings of figures like "Kesari" Balakrishna Pillai (a literary critic), Chattambi Swamikal (a religious leader), K.P. Padmanabha Menon (a lawyer), Kanipayyur Shankaran Namboothirippad (a traditional intellectual). All of these individuals thought about Kerala within larger as also very distinct geographies. For instance, Balakrishna Pillai's essays on the history of Kerala begin with Babylon and Rome. Now this may seem very odd. The way in which we are taught history is firstly, to think in terms of the hermetic spaces of nations. Second, we have created distinctions between swathes of time called ancient, medieval, early modern and modern and we are discouraged from straying temporally. Finally, each of these categories has distinct temporality of a few hundred years. All of these are blinkers that have been put on our mind so we do not raise the question of how far back do we have to go in order to write a history of the present? When Balakrishna Pillai writes in 1930, on the history of Kerala, why does he begin with ancient Rome, a few thousand years earlier: another place, another time? For him the most important

factor of Kerala's existence is that Kerala has always been a part of the oceanic world. He reminds us that early Latin texts, whether of Pliny or Ptolemy, speak about Kerala because of the trade in pepper across the oceans. When the Roman Empire fought wars against Carthage, the vanquished Carthage paid tribute to the Roman Empire in pepper that came from Kerala. This leads Balakrishna Pillai to ask the question in the 1930s in a series of articles that he wrote for the *Mathrubhumi:* is Kerala a chapter in the history of Rome, or is Rome a chapter in the history of Kerala? A sentence like that challenges the conventions of the historical discipline, blasting open space and time, allowing a historian with temerity to think about the world from the standpoint of Kerala.

We have to rebel against a narrowing of the imagination which forces us to think with the dyad of nation and region, rather than transnationally and across time and space. The narrators that I work with are all near contemporaries and each of them write histories which are very expansive. Balakrishna Pillai begins his history of Kerala in Rome in the first century AD. K.P. Padmanabha Menon who wrote a four volume history of Kerala, connects Kerala to the history of Dutch colonialism and settlement, and Kerala enters the ambit of the Netherlands and Amsterdam. The book is a series of scholarly annotations to about thirty letters on Kerala and its customs written by a Dutch priest Jacobus Canter Visscher to his sister in the 17th century. Padmanabha Menon's annotations insert Kerala into the much larger history of European colonialism and its presence on the Malabar Coast. Kanippayyur Shankaran Namboothirippad, for his own reasons, when he writes his histories begins with Central Asia, given the then current historical belief that the brahmins were Aryans who migrated from that region into India. For none of them is Kerala a narrow strip of land, clinging on to the south west coast of India. To talk about Kerala, they bring in larger spaces and longer times. We have to think expansively, and beyond the confines of the post 1947 geography of India, and connect different parts of India to different parts of the world, whether South East Asia, West Asia or Europe. Seema Alavi in her book, *Muslim Cosmopolitanism in the age of Empire*, is centrally concerned with the connections of Kerala with west Asia and Indian Ocean Islam.

What I will speak about today are some of my thoughts on Kanippayyur Shankaran Namboothirippad's autobiography, a curious document that is part ethnography, part social history and part ruminations on life in the Namboothiri community. Is this a history or is this autobiography, and what do these conventional distinctions of genre mean

for our writing? When we write history we have the idea of something called an appropriate source, generally the records of the state archive. I think we need to have a very expansive idea of what sources are and indeed the theme that we choose to write about will determine our selection of a source. It goes without saying that to study the inner life of the colonized, state archives are not of much use. A history which attempts to engage with everyday life whether we are historians, citizens or just as human beings, requires us to be imaginative, innovative and even idiosyncratic! Hopefully, we do not write histories merely because we are academics and that is our profession. Thinking as citizens of India, and as human beings we have a commitment to recover the lives of those around us in the present as well as those who lived in the past. We have to address the fundamental problems our society, the unique qualities of hierarchy, of politics, of the rise of authoritarian tendencies, and as Ambedkar put it, a continuing and elusive search for fraternity. We need to think with film, literature, music; indeed all aspects, and we need to expand the protocols of research other than the conventional reading of colonial postcolonial state archives.

A few preliminary remarks. If one is analysing films one needs to get up to scratch on film theory and an understanding of visual language. If one is reading fiction and autobiography, one has to engage literary theory. Interdisciplinarity is about an understanding that each discipline has its own protocols of enquiry, of verification and of argument. Similarly, if we are studying a figure like Kanippayyur Shankaran Namboothirippad one must read every word that he has written as also situate him in a landscape of his contemporaries as much as contemporary thought. Finally, we also have to diligently explore the references that are woven into the text. What does this person read when they write a text? This suddenly expands the universe beyond the text that we are reading.

II

Kanippayyur Sankaran Namboothirippad, a traditional Brahmin intellectual, writes a very curious autobiography, sometime in the 1960s; four volumes that cover his life till the age of 25. When he writes, he is already an old man, but the entire autobiography covers only the first quarter of his life. This is the puzzle. The other thing is that even though he is writing about his life as a Brahmin intellectual, he is writing into a space where being a Brahmin intellectual become increasingly difficult, even irrelevant. With the rise of non-Brahmin movements from the late 19th century in Tamilnad and reform movements among the Namboothiris

from the 1920s - the Unni Namboothiri movement with its radicals like EMS Namboothirippad and V T Bhattathirippad – the question posed to the community was, "What did it mean to be a Brahmin?" Any act of writing is located within a sense of crisis: there is a sense of instability about one's identity which prompts the question "Who am I?" When Kanipayyur writes, increasingly being a Brahmin is no longer about being ineffable and superior in an emerging landscape which positions a Brahmin as an oppressor. Why does he write only the first part of his life? Is it because what it means to be a Brahmin has lost value and all the markers of his life have been rendered obsolete or controversial? Let us begin with a quotation from his autobiography.

> In the progress of a people what were the troubles and obstacles that they encountered? During which periods did they encounter *ulkarsham* (success) and *apakarsham* (failure)? What were the reasons for this? In each age what were their dress, ornaments, language, beliefs, customs and institutions, and daily rituals? To make succeeding generations understand these and to help them avoid the privations suffered by those who preceded them and to achieve success is the purpose of writing history.

A curious set of themes for an autobiography: the idea of a "people" and their fate; the objects and customs that made up their life; and finally, the idea of a testament for history and the generations to follow. One tends to assume that autobiographies are about interiority: the inner life of a person and its making. Here we have the polarities of success and failure and an idea of progress that is about the troubles and the obstacles that people encounter, and the overcoming of these. Autobiographies are not generally about strategies of success and failure, as in a self-help book. What were the reasons for writing thus? "In each age, what were their dress, ornaments, language, beliefs, customs and institutions and daily rituals?" This is also curious. When you are writing your autobiography why need you concern yourself with the dress, ornaments, language, beliefs of those around you? When one reads a text one has to read very carefully and ask why is this sentence here' why this sequence of sentences, and so forth? When we read a text, we have to read like a detective who evaluates a testimony. One has to be constantly suspicious about the testimony, the evidence, the input before you. We need to ask why is this being said, and what is not being said. When Kanipayyur says that his purpose is to make future generations understand and to help them avoid suffering, he sud-

denly shifts gears and states that is the purpose of writing a history. So in this paragraph while he begins with an idea of autobiography, he ends by seguing into the purpose of writing history. So, is he writing history or is he writing an autobiography? Is the act of writing an autobiography similar to the act of writing history.? When one thinks about Jawaharlal Nehru's *Discovery of India*, and his *Autobiography*, for those who have read both of these it's very curious. The *Discovery of India* is actually very autobiographical, where he is trying to find out "what does it mean for me to be an Indian?" And if one read the *Autobiography* it's very historical, because he is trying to understand the history of the emergence of the nationalist movement. We have to move beyond the confident delineation of terrain: this is autobiography, this is history, this is literature, this is poetry. This interesting paragraph raises the question of what needs to be included in the act of writing an autobiography? Kanippayyur Shankaran Namboothiripaaad would say everything. anthropology, history, even photography as we shall see.

For him the act of autobiography is a supplement to history. Writing in a period when the authority and sanctity of the Brahmin is in question he writes as a Brahmin adding a supplement to contemporary history. Kanippayyur like most of the men of his time was very anti-colonial. From the 1930s onwards we have the rise of Gandhi and mass nationalism. Most Indians who came of age at the time thought of themselves as anti - British. An interesting if you think about it is if you became a nationalist in the 1930s what would you read to understand the history of your country? Most of the available books that were written by the early Orientalists like William Jones and Colebrooke or colonial officials like Elliot and Dowson, Montstuart Elphinstone and Vincent Smith. Gandhi read the Bhagavad Gita for the first time in the English translation by Edwin Arnold, because he did not have the competence to read Sanskrit at the time. Most Indians who became nationalists at a particular point realized their own heritage through reading accounts by colonial officials and the translations from Arabic and Persian. When Kanippayyur began to write and think about his community, he read the colonial ethnography of southern India which thought in terms of the customs and ceremonies of communities. Edgar Thurston's multi-volume *Caste and Tribes of Southern India* had a huge impact on what he wrote; indeed in how he conceived the idea of a Nampoothiri community. In thinking about the customs of his community, Kanippayyur's autobiography is written in the shadow of colonial anthropology.

ചിത്രം നമ്പ് 38.
ചേലപ്പുതപ്പുകൊണ്ട് പുതച്ച അന്തർജ്ജനം.

പൊതുവെ ഗ്രാമക്കാരായ അന്തർജ്ജനങ്ങൾക്ക പ്രത്യേ
കമായിട്ടുള്ളതാണ് മനക്കട. ഈ അന്തർജ്ജനം പിടിച്ചി
യ്യുന്നത് ആ മനക്കടയാകുന്നു. (177-ാംപേജ് നോക്കുക.)

ഇരിഞ്ഞാലക്കുട ഗ്രാമക്കാരായ അന്തർജ്ജനങ്ങളും മറ്റു
പിടിച്ചു പോകുന്ന സമ്പ്രദായം ഇങ്ങിനെയാകുന്നു.
(179-ാംപേജ് നോക്കുക)

40—49 ഇടയ ചിത്രങ്ങൾ 189—191 പേജുകളിൽ

ചിത്രം നമ്പ് 21.
എല്ലാ പണ്ടങ്ങളും അണിഞ്ഞ അന്തർജ്ജനം.

(172-ാംപേജ് നോക്കുക)

ചിത്രം നമ്പ് 22.
പണ്ടങ്ങൾ അണിഞ്ഞ അന്തർജ്ജനം (ആഢ്യൻ)

പണ്ടങ്ങളുടെ കാര്യത്തിൽ ആഢ്യൻ ആസ്യൻ എന്ന
വ്യത്യാസമില്ല. (173-ാംപേജ് നോക്കുക).

In these observations on people, on customs, and on ceremonies there are two things to be noted. One is the question of memory. What does Kanippayyur remember of his life and the life of his community. The second is why does he choose custom, ceremonies, and objects as repositories of individual memory? A traditional Brahmin nationalist anticolonial intellectual writing about his community follows the model of colonial anthropology. Is this something that is ironic? Or is it something we should take for granted? What are the ways of writing about the self other than a narrative of interiority? At one level there is the portrayal of the simplicity of Nampoothiri life – the cotton vestments and the umbrella made of palm leaves which protected them both from the sun as from the public gaze. There is at the same time the display of wealth, the many ornaments the women are wearing in the second illustration. There is a statement about an aesthetic here: the possession of wealth but a performance of simple living. It is a subtle assertion against the naked display of power and wealth, and a remembrance of a time when status was about the universal recognition of an ineffable status, so that no more needed to be said. or shown.

The depictions of Nairs is equally interesting since the Nairs had been through a phase of reform against forms of familial organization like matriliny which had involved Nair families of higher status with the uncertain affections of elder Namboothiri men. The system of *sambandhams* or temporary connections between Namboothiri men and Nair women, the offspring being considered *sudra* and being sent to live with their mothers, had aroused much ire among young Nair men who had begun to gain both an education as well as colonial patriarchal values. Nair women had begun to cover their breasts and there had been a series of agitations in the late 19th century which asserted the right of women of all castes to cover their breasts. It must be remembered that we know this largely through the voices of male reformers who spoke in the language of colonial modernity; the women as Lata Mani has argued were merely the site of reform and their agency was not crucial to the fervour of male outrage. Nair men had begun to resent their social and ideological subordination to Namboothiris and O Chandu Menon's novel *Indulekha* (1892) immortalised these concerns with its modern eponymous heroine, the Anglicized Nair hero, Madhavan, and the effete and lustful Namboothiri character. However, in Kanipayyur's depiction, the Nairs are shown differently, harking back to an earlier dispensation of hierarchy and deference.

The Nair man here is shown in a classic performance of deference in front of a Namboothiri; or as it used to be called *ochaanichu nilkuka.* Kanipayyur observes that, "It goes without saying that those in possession of some resources need servants-both male and female". And by servants he means the lower classes of Nayars. Here is the point of entry into one of the impulses behind the autobiography. In an evolving social situation in which there is the creed of equality he wants to preserve something of a past in which being a Nampoothiri meant lording it over a chain of beings. It preserves a memory in apsic; frozen for all time. The world may have moved on, but in this photograph, the Nair is forever humble and devoted. This photograph by itself is worth an entire chapter. Lets look at another quote.

> The Nambudiris have inexorably (*incincayi*) moved towards the bottom. Trapped in superstition, having lost their intellectual powers and ability to reflect, unable to turn anywhere. They can be compared to caterpillars who have become butterflies. As the former they could feed themselves, defend themselves against their enemies, and propagate. As butterflies they lead a frivolous life. And at the time of their death they exercise neither their mind nor body. In my youth, my community was at such a *samadhidasha* (end-time).

History appears here as a notion of terminal decline. He says the Namboothiris have inexorably "moved towards the bottom". There is the very striking image of the transition to butterflies from caterpillars; a transition to beauty and helplessness. Caterpillars can feed themselves, defend themselves against their enemies, and propagate. As butterflies they lead a merely frivolous life. The butterfly is always a metaphor for a carefree life without the thought of tomorrow. The comparison to Nampoothiris indicates the end time of a community that has lost its place in the world but remains oblivious to decline. "In my youth, my community was at such a *samadhidasha* (end time)." He is talking here about the extreme vulnerability of the Namboothiri community. Writing in the 6th decade of his life, with an apprehension of death around the corner, he is conscious that a way of living associated with his entire community is about to vanish.

Is this autobiography about himself, the Namboothiris, a particular stage in the history of Kerala? Is he writing about the larger history of India and the position of the Brahmin? While we have discussed the historical, anthropological, and visual modes, there is a register of irony that we need to pay attention to. In a surprising move he expresses an extreme scepticism about the very idea of an autobiography. So what does he say here?

> I have no difficulty in writing my life history. In the morning I bathed, had coffee, ate, had a mid morning coffee, ate dinner and slept: this completed the history of a day. The next day's history would consist of changing the date and writing "ditto" for the rest of the days. I am now 68 years of age. For all the days that I have lived, writing "ditto" would suffice for a life history. But I do not have the courage to publish this record. If my friend is prepared to publish this, I shall hand over copyright free of cost.

This is a very interesting observation again. What we have here is a sense of the very absurdity of writing a life. Is he being merely ironic? Or is he drawing a contrast with an earlier way of life which was more suffused with value? When one thinks about the life of a Brahmin, it is Brahmin structured by rituals and prayers and practices that kept the world in place. What he is saying here reflects the degradation or the mundaneness of a modern secular life undergirded by equality. There is the endless repetition of inconsequential acts which do not add value to life or the worth of an individual. It is about the mere sustenance of the body and its hygiene.

The reduction, in his view, of life to the mere rhythms of the everyday is also the result of a particular history. In one view the changes have been cataclysmic: the challenge to caste, the demise of empire and so on. But were these "unthinkable (*acintyam*) and revolutionary (*viplavatmakam*)" changes? What is the stance that an individual should adopt towards history and historical events beyond their control? What would it mean to adopt a dispassionate attitude towards the world? As he says,

> Let us abandon our feelings that we are Nambudiris or *savarna* and think from the standpoint of world citizens-only as a human being. From this elevated standpoint let us see ourselves as French, American or English and think about the changes around us; all of this will appear to be a storm in a teacup. After all what did happen here? We have not had a terrible world war, a massacre of human beings, nor the destruction of essential foodstuffs and commodities. Nor have there been earthquakes, cyclones, floods…smallpox, plagues.

As a conservative modern he normalizes and routinises change, domesticating it to take away its sting. Being a Brahmin has no special status in an age of citizenship and equality: how should he deal with this fundamental crisis in his life? How are we to understand the statements that nothing really has happened; nothing revolutionary has occurred? He goes back to his life: I woke up in the morning, I had my coffee, I had dinner, and repeat ditto, ditto, ditto. That's life. It is not historical. It is not revolutionary. So what did happen? His answer

to this question is amusing. Human beings began to relate to other human beings as being human rather than as animals. This is a revolution if one thinks about the cruelty and pervasiveness of ideas of caste and belief in the lack of value of the life of certain classes of being. Kanipayyur normalises this cataclysm in order to make sense of the impact that this has had on his very existence and sense of identity:

We have begun to recognize one another as humans. That is all, he says. But at the heart of it, and here we come to the second part of this paper, at the heart of it is the fright and the anxiety, that is at the heart of Kanippayyur's autobiography, and drives it. It is the idea of the fragile self. If one thinks about the status of the Brahmin, one assumes a superior self, set apart from others by its purity. However, the self is also governed by an anxiety of a world that has to be made and remade every living hour through rituals and a preservation of purity. Charles Malamoud calls this the cooking of the world. A traditional Brahmin's life is structured by rituals and the performance of prayer and sacrifice. There is a structure of relentless repetition that governs, preserves and circumscribes identity. Identity and a sense of self is made within the horizon of these repetitive rituals. One has to keep doing it, to preserve one's status as the superior caste. One has to keep remaking the world, keep cooking the world. The quotidian has become governed by the mundane rituals of brushing one's teeth, having a bath, taking a coffee and so on. If one looks at the way that Kanippayyur would have actually lived, the following would have been the time table. *Tevaram*: attending to God; *aupasanam*: tending to the never-ending fire; *suryanamaskaram*: sun obeisance; recitation; *svadhyayam:* study; praying at the temple; daily prayers: 4-11, 2-4, 6-9. This is the time table which creates the brahmin self. If one doesn't follow this timetable, then one no longer exists as a Brahmin. It is a very carefully regulated existence. So when he writes this down, he is also reminding us how fragile his self is. If one doesn't engage in this repetition then one's self does not remain superior and ineffable and gets lost within the routine of the everyday. Which is why there is that irony in the earlier formulation of, this is what my life has become now: brushing teeth, having coffee and so on.

The world is a space of pollution. The repetitious time table of ritual, prayer, and sacrifice is imperative because one is in situations where the body and its sense of purity is constantly threatened. Touching others not in a state of purity; touching food that is leftover – *eccil;* touching things that polluted others have touched; a fine line in paranoia and the intrusion of the world and its defilement into one's self. There is

a passage in the autobiography that illustrates marvellously this paranoia of imminent and ever-existent pollution. Let us imagine, he says, that there is food in the kitchen. A Nair or a *sudra* takes food out of the pot, and brings it out of the kitchen. Now the food has become polluted, nobody can eat it. The Nair meanwhile carries the pollution with him, he goes out, meets somebody and touches them. The pollution spreads like an epidemic. The idea of purity is driven by the paranoia of being polluted.

These days nobody is careful, and the pollution is spreading through society. And it spreads in a society without regard for status and its maintenance, so no one is aware of it. This sense of panic of a world gone awry also extends to the new fashion of displaying one's emotions. Just as pollution opens up the body and renders it porous to harm, the overt display of emotions too renders the body porous and fragile. If one follows all the rituals that make a contained, pure body one also has to behave in a particular way: no public display of extreme happiness, sadness, affection or love. Within Namboothiri families, to show affection towards one's wife or children was strange and showed a loss of control. So look at this particular paragraph:

> There was never much show of affection in the family, particularly in public where there would be a performance of being stern. As a man you never smile, you never laugh, and you are constantly grave… To show affection for one's wife and children…Only nayars did it…not us. We are bounded and strong. We would not call our father *achan*. Because that would again mean that you are extending an affection, meaning that your body is leaking affection …

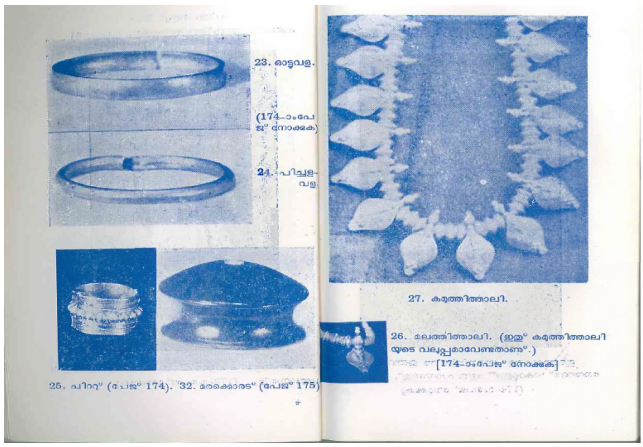
Remember here the image of pollution. And then he tells a story:

> In Olappamana a Nambudiri was ailing and he was being tended to by his children. Once in a while he would regain consciousness. To check whether he was conscious one of his sons called out *accha accha*. In great anger the father replied coldly, "*Entha mone*? [What is it my son?] Everyone felt foolish on hearing this rebuke.

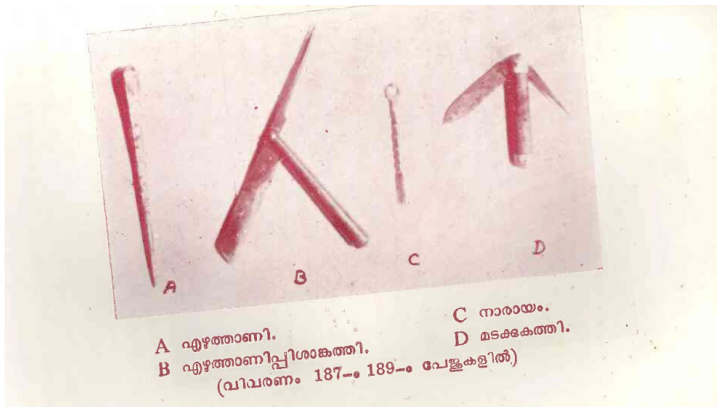
The father was reminding his son: behave yourself. "Why are you getting so emotional?" So this again is a point of entry into another worldview, a worldview in which the body is bounded, and the purity of body depends on not even allowing emotion to escape it. Here, this instance shows you how the very idea of emotion is attended with sarcasm; with scorn; with contempt.

Let us look at another curious theme. In an autobiography what one would expect is incidents from a person's life: birth, nurture, edu-

cation, marriage and so on. What one has instead in Kanippayyur's autobiography is a profusion of objects and descriptions of spaces. The photographs display one object after the other: ornaments, palanquin, rickshaw, writing implements, a water wheel and so on. These objects were what distinguished a brahmin landlord from others: wealth, the possession of land, the knowledge of reading and writing. The big waterwheel which only a *janmi* would have suggests the ownership of large fields needing irrigation. And control over and access to water. So each of these objects is actually an indication of status, rather an indication of a status past. The photographs relegate them to a past time because they mean nothing new for a brahmin without power or status. They have become mere objects. They don't signify anything. Each of these objects is telling one about a life that he has lost. So it's an autobiography not of a life gained, but a life lost. And this is the important thing to remember.




പല്ലക്കു് (വിവരണം 38–ാംപേജിൽ).



Besides the depiction of objects are the description of spaces. Once again, we can ask ourselves, why is there a chapter on buses, one on restaurants and one on cinema halls in an autobiography? Just as the discourse on objects points to objects unmoored from indication of status, the discourse on spaces speaks about the loss of self. When one enters a hotel, one can be just anybody. One sits alongside Muslims and Christians and people of other castes and so on; there is the alarm of an enforced anonymity for those who wish to emphasise their superiority. Being a Brahmin no longer matters just as much as when one travels by bus. One sits in a cinema hall in the dark, within a crowd of anonymous bodies. It becomes very clear that these chapters though not about individual interiority are actually autobiographical. Kanipayyur feels his very self slipping away from him, as Kerala becomes modern.

© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.23-39.

The World of The Middle Class in Colonial Malabar

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Abstract

The cities which grew into prominence in Malabar at the turn of the last century became avenues for a cosmopolitan lifestyle. The introduction and expansion of railways eroded physical and emotional barriers regarding travel and mobility as did the relaxation of caste restrictions. At the work-place and beyond, what can be termed proto-friendships emerged between the natives and the Whites. Under the influence of the latter and the culture they represented, the native attire would get westernised. But whether it was the cities, railways, dress or relations with the Whites, the attitude of the Middle Class was not always consistent. This paper seeks to explore this ambiguous world the Middle Class inhabited in Colonial Malabar.
Keywords: Malabar, Middle Class, Cities, Transport, Dress, Friendships

Introduction

By the turn of the twentieth century, in Malabar, new towns were emerging while the older ones expanded further. So did transport, especially railways, which was to have a huge impact on the lives of the people in the region. As caste restrictions lost their earlier potency and people became more mobile with the advancement in transport, barriers, both spatially as well as at the level of the individual, began to fade. A sense of modesty combined with a cosmopolitan life brought about changes in the attire of the people. Meanwhile, at the work place and beyond, relations with the White ruling class provided moments of antagonism as well as the odd instances of what can be termed proto-friendships. This paper explores this world the middle class inhabited.

The Cities:

By the late nineteenth century, Malabar had its share of towns, though, compared to the metros, they were small ones. In fact, as late as the 1930s, it was observed that, in Malabar, 'there are, to all to intents and purposes, no real towns. Such few towns as there are being

merely collections of bazaars or trading stations; and even these towns consist very largely of isolated houses in more or less extensive grounds of their own'(Hesterlow, 1932: 179). Traditionally, Kerala did not have big cities. This is partly explained by the absence of a strong central political power structure and technological development. Urban forms did develop during the colonial period through a well developed transport network, but due to the absence of a central node which link all towns and contributes to a major share of urban population and urban economic activity, no big cities emerged. As a result, decentralized small towns became the feature of the Kerala landscape with little difference between urban and rural cultural pattern.The emerging social forms have been characterized as rurban or semi-urban(Sreekumar,1988:65).

Of the small towns then that existed in Malabar, the significant ones were Tellicherry and Calicut. Tellicherry, now Thalassery, is twenty one kms south from the present district headquarters, Kannur [formerly, Canannore]. It was established in 1663 by the British for the pepper and cardamom trade and was their first settlement on the Malabar Coast, buttressed by a fort built in 1708. With the end of Mysore rule, and later the defeat and death of Pazhassi Raja, Tellicherry rose into prominence possessing, among other things, the earliest light house in the state, port facilities, and a bridge on to the sea. It soon became a British centre with courts and government offices. Under the circumstances, the town also acquired a cosmopolitan character with Arab, Gujarati, European, and Konkan traders selling their wares. C.H. Kunhappa, who studied in the B.E.M.P School started by the Basel Mission with the help of the Parsees, refers to a 'Satram' near it, where every year 'the Chinese used to come with birds, coloured paper fans, etc. and in their amusing way eat with their small sticks'(Kunhappa,1981:75). Writing in the late nineteenth century, Dunsterville found Tellicherry to be a 'healthy and pretty town built upon a group of well-wooded hills running down to the sea and protected by a natural rocky breakwater with suburbs five square miles…trade consisting largely of the export of coffee, cardamoms and other spices.' (Dunsterville,1898:57). But Calicut, the former capital of the Zamorins, later became the British headquarters in the district and the principal town with a population in 1891 of 66,000, and a density of 4,000 per square mile. In the intellectual history of Tellicherry in the colonial period, names of a few natives stand out, O.Chandu Menon, in particular, who with his novel, *Indulelkha* inaugurated a new era in Malayalam literature. Chandu Menon used a Malayalam, shorn of its Sanskritic trappings, and which was used by the common people, a trend

that continued in the years to come through the works of people like Sanjayan who too hailed from Tellicherry. So did Moorkoth Kumaran, one of the earliest and most prominent short story writers in Malayalam.

Then, there were a couple of foreigners who too contributed to the cultural well-being of the town – Hermann Gundert and Edward Brennen. It was sometime in early 1839 that Gundert, a native of Stuttgart in Germany set sail on a ship heading to the south western coast of India. After several weeks at sea, he reached Tellicherry, and there, at his house given to him by the judge, T.L. Strange, on the slopes of a small hill overlooking the Arabian Sea, he spent the next twenty years with his French wife and children, engaging himself in missionary work. An indirect result of Gundert's work was the impetus he gave to the development of the Malayalam language. In 1847, he started the first Malayalam newspaper, *Rajyasamacharam*, and a few years later, prepared the first lexicon in the Malayalam language. An elder contemporary of Gundert was the Englishman Edward Brennen, who after being shipwrecked on the coast of Tellicherry, spent years as an official at the town's port, and on retirement, before sailing back to England, left behind a small fortune for the native population to build an school which survives to this day in his name.

Apart from the enormous cultural clout Tellicherry possessed during this time, the town also had substantial economic significance. Consequent to the development of Tellicherry as an important centre of English trade, a few native families, notably the Keyis, allying with the foreigners, made considerable wealth. Kozhikode would later on become the capital of the Malabar district, but all along, the cultural impact of the English rule would be most felt in Tellicherry reflected in the earliest cricket Association of the state, and the numerous bakeries which sprang up during the colonial period. Tellicherry had the most and best bakeries – Mambally bakery set up in 1880 being the earliest, and for long, at least until Independence, the most popular. It is said that an Englishman once, on a Christmas eve, came to Mambally Bappu and ordered a Christmas cake. He baked as per the recipe provided, and the bakery never had to look back. Long queues comprising of white women outside the bakery was a common occurrence in those days.

One city to which a lot of Malayalis from Malabar were closely tied during the colonial period was Madras. Ashis Nandy speaks of 'the beckoning magic of the new colonial metropolis' (Nandy,2007:vii). Until the middle of the twentieth century, Madras had remained the capital of a vast presidency comprising most of south India, and attracting multitudes of educated migrants from the distant parts of the region.

Malayalis were no exception to this trend. In 1921, there were an estimated 8,000 Keralites in the city. And, by 1931, the figures had crossed 18,000. A majority of the Malayali migrants were from Malabar which was part of the presidency. One important reason for this migration had been the economic stagnation Malabar experienced during the colonial period. An equally significant factor had been the demise of the *Marumakkathayyam* system, and the resultant partition of *tarawad* lands. As Susan Lewandowski observes, 'as land changes hands, more people became candidates for the rural to urban migration' (Lewandowski,1970:95).

Some like Sanjayan and C. Krishnan, of *Mithavadi* fame, went to Madras for their higher education at institutions like Madras Christian College and Presidency College. Others like C. Sankaran Nair took up residence there while practicing law. Still others like Kesava Menon, the long-time editor of *Mathrubhumi* went there for medical assistance for his ailing wife, after giving up a career in public life in Calicut. Some got very attached to the city, and when the time came to leave it, felt bad. P. Narayanan Nair, who made his mark as a journalist and then as a freedom fighter, for instance, wrote 'while leaving Madras, naturally I felt sad... There were some permanent lodges where law students, and government employees stayed. I was staying in one such lodge. I had been active in the functioning of Malayalee Club and the Kerala Samaj founded by Dr. C.R. Krishna Pillai and others'(Nair,1973:73-74). Madras offered a lot of avenues for a vibrant public life. For instance, Muliyil Krishnan used to go once a week to the Cosmopolitan club to have coffee, while he was at Madras teaching at the Presidency college (Nair,1932:83).

Those who studied in Madras came back to Malabar, and joined the government service as teachers, pleaders, clerks, revenue officials. Those who stayed back maintained close ties with their home and family in Malabar. Apart from the annual visits during vacations, occasions like birth, death and marriage also brought them home. Sometimes, relatives from Malabar came and stayed with their successful kinsmen in Madras.

Madras, in spite of its many attractions to the educated middle classes, like other big cities, invariably had its vices which find a mention in one of Kesari's short stories, '*Madirasi Pithalattam*' where one of its characters get cheated by an acquaintance after being lured into consuming a spurious drink (Nayanar,1956:178-184). In fact, in an interesting article, A.R. Venkatachalapathy examines how in the popular imagination Chennai was perceived as a city of fraudsters out to cheat the gullible (Venkatachalapthy,2006:59-72). Other cities too seemed to share its vices. S.K. Pottekkatt recounts how a fraudster who

befriended him in Bombay cheated him off the little money he had while on his very first visit to the city in 1934 (Pottekkatt,2008:7-18).

The towns in Malabar too had their pitfalls. The *West Coast Spectator* of 11th March, 1916 reported that in Calicut 'brothels are everywhere, while certain localities about town are infested with fallen women to such an extent that it is dangerous to pass through them after night fall' (The *West Coast Spectator*, 1916). But, still, for many amongst the lower castes, as Dilip M. Menon points out, modernity represented in the city was a liberating force. 'If the village is the space of caste and inequality and marked by the static continuance of hierarch', writes Menon, 'the city is the transformative space in which new individuals can be forged as subjects unmarked by subjection.…*Sukumari*, set entirely in the city of Canannore with its fort, army barracks, armoury and camp bazaar, celebrates commerce over the moribund spaces of agriculture...[and] clearly establishes the link between escape from slavery, travel and social mobility' (Menon,2004:500-501).

Cities and towns looked a lot different then. It is hard to imagine living in the second decade of the twenty first century, what the nights would have been like a century earlier. Electricity, for instance, was introduced in Kozhikode only in the 1930s, and even after that, for many years, inside many homes and on the streets, lamps were lit with the aid of kerosene. There was also much less traffic than now. And, for another, public places were dirtier and smellier! Even as late as the 1970s, in the early mornings, in many parts of Malabar including towns, scavengers used to carry night soil from homes in their little trolleys before shifting it to lorries, creating in its wake, an awful stink which would last for quite a while long after the vehicles had left. Kaattumadam Narayanan mentions how this activity used to spoil his breakfast while staying at Lakshmi Vilas lodge in Tali not far from its famous temple during a visit to Calicut (Narayanan,2012:102). Drainage system, meanwhile, was primitive, and the mosquitoes played havoc with the health and lives of the people, a point repeatedly raised by Sanjayan in his writings (Sanjayan,2006). The authorities were not too keen on the upkeep of sanitation. As filth accumulated around the Tali temple pond, and people complained, the colonial administration made it clear that this was not a public domain as the Zamorin, ex-raja of Calicut, did not allow entry to the lower castes(Seluraj,2004:64). A.M.V. Hesterlow, writing at the close of the nineteenth century, observed that there was a problem with hygiene and personal sanitation in Malabar as rubbish and waste accumulated in compounds, soil and water were polluted by

feces, and cases of hookworm, dysentery and diarrhea were the highest in the Presidency (Hesterlow,1932:182). Health and sanitation, however, did improve over time. Mayer, writing a couple of decades later thought that the people of Malabar were cleaner than their counterparts on the eastern coast because of abundant water supply which allowed them to take a bath at least once a day (Mayer,1952:12). Digging a well in Kerala which can provide potable water, as Joan Mencher points out, is not the problem that it is in other parts of India (Mencher,1976:135-171).

Transport

Transport facilities improved during the colonial period. But, like everything else, the growth was painfully slow. Even well into the twentieth century, horse drawn and bullock carts were the mainstay on the roads of Malabar until they were replaced by hand drawn carts. Some bicycles, a few cars owned mostly by doctors, and a handful of buses constituted the other means of transport. That was all that was required in fact since people hardly travelled beyond their immediate towns and villages. P.K.S. Kutty, the cartoonist, remembers that during his childhood at Ottapalam,

> … bus services were in their infancy. Small buses, which would carry about twenty people, used to run on twenty or twenty five mile routes. Carts drawn by bullocks or buffalos were the usual vehicle to go places. Some horse drawn carts too were there. Rickshaws, pulled by men, a common vehicle for locomotion, were used for short distances. A few chaps had their own cycles. The palanquin or the manchal, which four men carried from place to place, continued to be the carriers for affluent people. Ottapalam had a single taxi cab(Kutty,2009:10).

Carts, which remained the chief medium of transport until the end of the nineteenth century, caused much havoc on the narrow roads. The *Kerala Sanchari* of 30th January, 1889 invited the attention of local police 'to the annoyance caused to passengers in transit carts by the reckless and negligent way in which the carts are driven in Canannore, Tellicherry, etc.,.' and went on to add that 'like in Presidency towns, no one should become a driver except when pronounced fit to do so by a competent authority' (*Kerala Sanchari*, 1889:15). By the second decade of the twentieth century, however, motor transport had become common on the streets of Malabar towns. A fledgling motor transport system was not without its pitfalls. According to The *West Coast Spectator* of 26th September, 1916,

> The increasing popularity of motor traction in Malabar calls for the increased attention of the police and magisterial authorities. We are constantly receiving complaints of breakdowns and accidents which

> not only cause serious inconvenience, but result in injured limbs, and though not yet, lives. One does not, surely, like to be stranded in a strange locality in the dead of night by old engines and rickety cars. Stricter supervision by the authorities will be appreciated (The *West Coast Spectator*,1916:1692)

The development in transport was closely linked to the promotion of the commercial interests of the English. Canals like the Conolly canal built in 1871 helped reach commodities from the interior to the port towns on the western coast. In the 1930s, roads got concretized in Malabar. They connected the plantations on the high eastern land like Wynad with Tellicherry and Calicut. The Ponnani – Coimbatore road led to Tamil country. Then, there was a road at the heart of Malabar, from Palghat, through Calicut along the coast to Mangalore.

The railways came into existence here in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first tracks were laid between Madras and Beypore in 1861, which was extended to Calicut some years later in 1888. Over time, the railways got extended through Tellicherry, Canannore and finally upto Mangalore. More than other means of transport, railways best served British commercial interests. Goods from Malabar, including its timber could now reach Madras. The Nilambur railways was, similarly, meant to serve the interests of Nilambur teak plantation as well as the ones in Wynad, and those of the European coastal firms like Pierce Leslie & William Goodacre Co., Volkart Brothers, and Aspinwall & Co. who monopolized the export of plantation products as well as imports for the plantation sector (Balan,2000:35-39).

Meant initially to serve the British military and commercial interests, the railways hardly took care of the needs of the passengers. In the early years of its existence, traveling, especially in the third class compartments, was not a pleasurable experience. As *The West Coast Spectator* of July 26, 1913 commented 'third class traveling in India is certainly not a luxury…Third class compartments on most railways are rickety, ill-ventilated, ill-roofed and ill-lighted'(*The West Coast Spectator,*1913:1201).There were occasions during the rainy season when leaking carriages made it imperative for passengers to travel keeping their umbrellas open (*Kerala Sanchari,*1900:105). The racial discrimination the natives had to undergo while traveling was another handicap. *The West Coast Spectator* of February 12, 1916 reported that,

> While over-crowded compartments and cattle trucks are quite sufficient for the Indian passenger, Eurasians and Europeans, whether loafers or

> the lowest dregs of society…have comfortable compartments, specially reserved, and woe unto the Indian passenger who dares even to peep into the sacred enclosure (*The West Coast Spectator*,1916).

After mentioning how absence of level-crossings resulted in cattle being killed by moving trains, the *West Coast Spectator* of April 15, 1916 concluded that in this country, railway companies act on the principle that India is made for the railways, and not the railways for India (*West Coast Spectator,*1916).

In spite of these limitations, the railways, like elsewhere in India, had a huge impact on Malabar society. It helped in bringing in goods, mail, as well as the latest fashion from among other places, the nearest metropolis, Madras. Its utility was widely acknowledged, and often led to strange demands. For instance, an article in the *Kerala Sanchari* of July 3rd 1901 expressed the 'need for a railway station near Tiruvangad temple, as ladies around that area find it inconvenient to travel to the main station'(*Kerala Sanchari,*1901). The railways seems to have rendered unintended help to undesirable elements. The *Kerala Patrika* of 17 February, 1917 draws attention to 'the facilities afforded by the present timing of the night trains to the thieves of distant places like Walluvanad and Palghat to go to Calicut, commit thefts there and return' and observes that 'a change in the timing of trains is highly desirable' (*Kerala Patrika*,1917). It is said that the railways contributed to the people, even farmers, becoming conscious of the newly introduced clock time. In the school where P. Kunhanandan Nair (who later became more famous as *Thikkodiyan*) was working, once, one of the Union leaders, P.R. Nambiar came. It so happened that the office clock was not functioning. When asked how the school maintained its office timings, the reply was that by depending on the train timing – classes start at 10.15 a.m when the local train passes towards north, and classes get dissolved in the evening when it moves south at 4.15 p.m! (Thikkodiyan,2008:127-28). The railway time would one day become the country's civil time as well, the Indian Standard Time, fixed five and a half hours ahead of the Greenwich Mean Time.

Railways soon became a part of the everyday lives of the people here. Different communities, in fact, tried to mould its growth according to their convenience. In the beginning, the Kozhikode railway station had an opening towards Valiyangadi where Muslim rice merchants had their stores. When upper caste Hindus complained it was inconvenient for their womenfolk to walk through this street, it was relocated. Not all groups had it their way, though. When the Thiyya community leaders requested the government to change the location of

the station as one of their temples lay on its path, the government put down its foot and rejected their demand outright (Seluraj,2015:287-88).

New occupations, improvement in transport facilities, and the influence of modern scientific ideas helped break down several taboos, including those involving travel. Earlier, a Nair woman from North Malabar would not travel south of Kozhapuzha river, nor marry someone belonging to the same caste from across the river. But as a colonial official observed at the beginning of the twentieth century:

> to this rule there is what appears to be an exception, and this exception is now, having some effect, since of late years the world has come in touch with the Malayali who now-a-days goes to the university, studies medicine and law in the Presidency town or even in far off England… the old order changeth everywhere, and now-a-days Malayalis who are in the Government service and obliged to reside far away from Malabar, and a few who have taken up their abode in the Presidency town, have wrenched themselves free of the bonds of custom, and taken with them their wives who are of other clans than theirs" (Fawcett,1915:7).

Moyarath Sankaran gives an instance of the breaking of the Kozhapuzha taboo in his memoirs – 'when Rairu Nambiar who practised a long time as an advocate in the Madras High court took his wife to Madras, the community was angered. But that patriot did not mind'(Sankaran,1965:22). Similarly, when KPS Menon, from Ottapalam, married someone from Kottayam and practiced law there, he nor his wife were ever forgiven for that. But by the next generation, these kinds of cross-regional marriages had become passé. Of Menon's two daughters-in-law, one was from Travancore, while the other came from Malabar (Lewandowski,1970:111).

Sartorial Changes

Until the later part of the nineteenth century, due perhaps to the hot weather, clothing was sparse as far as the people of Kerala were concerned. Thus, in Malabar, as M.G.S. Narayanan comments, there was 'no demand for tailors as the climate did not make a lot of stitching necessary'(Narayanan,1999:16-17). In his study of social changes in colonial Malabar, M.S.A. Rao says that, in the earlier times, clothes were distributed among the *Tarawads* only twice a year, during the two important festivals, Onam and Vishu. They included *konakam* (loin cloth) *mundu* (dhoti) and *Tortu* (towel) for men; *Tuni* (cloth used as underwear), *pudava* (double cloth worn like a dhoti), and *neriyathu* (upper

garment) for women (Rao, 1957:77). Traditionally, even with regard to the limited attire in use, there had been caste restrictions on how to wear them. According to Mayer, formerly all upper castes of both sexes wore a simple white cotton cloth round the waist and reaching to the ankle (*mundu*), and a folded cloth thrown over the shoulder or across the chest. Tiyyans and others were not supposed to wear his clothes below their knees… and were forbidden the shoulder cloth…if they violated these rules, they were beaten up and their houses burnt (Mayer,1952:197).

But, slowly, under the impact of colonial modernity, the region witnessed sartorial changes. In the wake of a recently acquired sexualized subjectivity, with its notions of modesty and nudity, partly helped by the gendered divisions deployed in schools and colleges run by the missionaries and the government, an anglicized middle class took to European style of dress as is indicated in the photos and fiction of the period. For many, western dress was regarded as symbols of Europeanisation and of the economic efficiency and power that were supposed to result therefrom.

Some influential sections in Malabar used more or less fully western dress except for the traditional headgear and the *mundu* in public. One example would be Murkoth Kumaran who, according to his biographer, used golden specs, English twilshirt, black tie, coat, walking stick, shoes and a headgear (Kunhappa,1975:125-26). Mayer describes the compromise the Malayali male made with regard to dress thus: 'the *mundu* is retained and a western shirt worn over it...trousers are certainly not advantageous in the Malabar climate' (Mayer,1952:110-111). There were some like Sanjayan, who, though he used to talk only in English to students while in class and the staffroom, did not like wearing English dress. But then, it was compulsory to wear suit, tie and boots to Malabar Christian College. So, as a kind of compromise, he used to come to college in a suit, but once inside the class room, used to take it off! (Pazhassi,2000:86). P.K.S. Kutty, in his memoirs, recounts how incongruous it looked when some of his teachers at Malabar Christian College in the 1930s amalgamated the western attire with the regional - *mundu* and jacket, and sandalwood paste/ash on the forehead along with ties! (Kutty,2009:46).

Sartorial changes among women were even more significant. Reform movements of the twentieth century had highlighted the low position occupied by women in society which was seen as the sign of a civilization in decline. Of the Nambuthiri women, who remained, like the rest of the women folk in the state, half-naked, it was observed that 'until and unless their status is low and they remain undecorated, Nambuthiri community shall never attain glory…Let us make these

unfortunate women human beings by providing right education, decent clothes, and appropriate ornaments' (Manezhi,1927:714-16). Consequently, improving the position of women became a central part of the reformist agenda. This was to include, among other things, a change in their appearance as well. The ideal was represented by, among others, Ravi Varma, in whose paintings, the heroine is not only modestly covered in a sari but wears a blouse as well (Mitter,1994:206).

Exposure to the outside world, made possible through modern means of transport, opened the eyes of a traditional society to its own drawbacks. As Mayer observed 'there has crept in lately, chiefly amongst those who have traveled, a feeling of shame in respect of this custom of dress (or lack of it!)' (Mayer,1952:198). A dramatic change in traditional attire was the consequence. In the second decade of the twentieth century, it was observed that 'nowadays, all upper-caste women wear bodices, though bare-breasts are not considered immodest for Cherumas. Coloured saris are starting to displace the traditional white cloth…' (Mayer,1952:110-11). The movement calling for changes in attire had to face opposition from the conservatives. Opposition to the sartorial changes, sometimes, came from within the family. For instance, C. Kesavan, in his Autobiography, writes of how when his mother first wore a blouse, she was beaten up by her mother in law, after which she confined the wearing of blouse only in the presence of her husband in the bedroom (Kesavan,2010:72-73). In *Rithumati*, a drama written by M.P. Bhattathirippad, when the heroine, an English educated Brahmin girl wears a blouse for the first time, her old fashioned uncle/ guardian tears it off in anger (Bhattadiripad (Premji),1991:57).

In the southern parts of the state, the lower caste women had to face violent opposition from the upper castes before they gained the rights to cover their breasts. But, comparatively, in Malabar, under direct colonial rule, sartorial changes were smoother. In clothing themselves, the Thiyya women, for instance, in the north of the state did not have to struggle like their lower-caste counterparts in the south. This was partly due to the effect of direct colonial rule in Malabar, and the proximity some Thiyya families enjoyed with the colonizers through marriage and otherwise. This could also be explained by the fact that the Thiyyas, though considered socially inferior, enjoyed numerical superiority and economic independence in many of these areas. Logan refers to Thiyya women from Canannore to Calicut covering their breasts with a cloth thrown over the left shoulder and brought forward under the right arm and tucked in behind or in front (Logan,1989:134.) In the early twentieth century, as is revealed in novels

like *Vasumati* written by Murkoth Kumaran, Thiyya women under Parsi influence, became pioneers in the wearing of sari (Kumaran, 1935:1-2).

Anglo – Indian relations

In the backyard of St. John's Church, located between the Arabian Sea and a British-built fort in Tellicherry, lies the tomb of Edward Brennen, one of those Englishmen of the nineteenth century who, for the work he did for the land, remains much loved by the natives. His association with the town began on a stormy monsoon evening in the early 1850s, when following a ship wreck, he was washed ashore. For the next couple of decades, after that, he worked in different capacities at the port in the quaint little town. He had a lot of friends among the natives, and legend has it that in the evenings, after work, he would move around the town in his horse-drawn carriage, throwing, in the process, coins to the street children who would follow him (Balakrishnan,2002:27). After retirement, Brennen would go back to England, but before that, he would keep aside a big part of his savings for the establishment of a school for native children which functions to this day.

During the long period the English were in the country, they maintained close ties with certain families, especially those engaged in business. One fine example for this was the relationship they had with the Keyis of Tellicherry. The Keyis were a business family originally from Canannore, but in early nineteenth century, shifted their base to Tellicherry. Beginning with pepper trade, they soon delved into other businesses including timber. So rich did they become that sometimes the East India Company depended on them for loans. In return, the Keyis got unstinted support from the English authorities. So confident were the Keyis of this support that they would, with audacity, carry goods through the seas belonging to the Cochin raja without paying taxes. This confidence was not misplaced became clear on more than one occasion including when the English establishment took the side of the Keyis in their dispute with the English planter, Murdoch Brown (Kurup&Esmail,2009:42). By the end of the nineteenth century, the equation had changed somewhat. Once they became the unchallenged power in this region, and the Keyis refused to update themselves in their business activities, the English would have no time for them.

It was at Tellicherry the British first set up their base, but later, Kozhikode was to develop into their headquarters. There, the English mostly stayed in the periphery of the town, at a height, in East and West Hills, very near to their barracks. But they continued to maintain

friendships with the natives, one prominent example being Karunakara Menon. He started his career as a clerk in the English East India Company in 1801, but, before retiring in 1834, had gradually rose in the ranks. He played an important role in the English campaign against Pazhassi, so much so that one of the last requests made by the latter before succumbing to his injuries was that Menon should not approach him so as not to be polluted by someone who lived in close proximity with the English (Jayakumar,2009:34). Menon was quite popular with the English officers, and when Captain Walsh visited Malabar, he spent a few days with Menon at his home in Ramanatukara, in the outskirts of Kozhikode, indulging in, among other things, hunting. Menon continued to be respected by the English authorities even after retirement, and was entrusted with the responsibility of mediating with the raja of Coorg against whom the English went to war in the early nineteenth century.

There were other examples too of what could be described as proto-friendships between the two communities. At the death of Churyayi Kanaran, who went on to become the Deputy Collector of Ponnani, Sir William Robinson, spoke thus:

> In this bereavement – so sore to you all – I too have lost the most esteemed and respected friend I have made in India- a friend of thirty years' standing and known to and respected by friends – especially our mutual departed one Mr. Conolly long before that (*Deepam,*1930:3).

Chandu Menon, the novelist, enjoyed a good rapport with his English superiors which partly was responsible for his promotions, as well as the acquisition of the 'Rai Bahadur' title. He dedicated his second work *Sarada* to the Malabar acting District Collector, Dumergue, who had got his *Indulekha* translated into English, and thereby provided it a wider readership. Both he and E. K. Krishnan were very close to Herbert Wigram, district Judge in South Malabar from 1875 to 1882, and, on the latter's departure from Calicut, arranged for the awarding of a gold ring each to whoever came first in Matriculation and F.A. at Kerala Vidyasala (later Zamorin's College) in his memory (Kumaran,1996:36). But this did not mean that Chandu Menon groveled before the colonizers. One of his biographers cites an instance involving the hot-tempered Davids, the district Judge, while Chandu Menon was a sub-judge. A Marar (a drummer) had gone to court complaining that the temple authorities had paid him less than what ordinarily a drummer would get during a festival. In order to decide on his mettle, Chandu Menon asked him to bring along a drum and show his skills within the courtroom, which he duly did. Needless to say, those in the neighbouring rooms were acutely

disturbed by what was going on. An angry Davids, after a peon sent to restore order failed in his mission, finally came to the spot himself. By then, Chandu Menon had judged that the Marar should be paid at the rate of an expert drummer. Though initially angry, Davids was finally forced to concede that Chandu Menon had been right in the matter, and shook hands with him" (Balakrishnan,1957:32-34). Others were even more forthright. One collector after taking office, as was the custom, met the editors of the local newspapers. On being introduced to Murkoth Kumaran, the editor of *Kerala Sanchari,* which had been critical of British officers, he said 'Mr. Kumaran, my predecessor did not think much of you and your paper', to which Kumaran is said to have retorted "nor did I think much of your predecessor' (Kunhappa,1981:152). Some like the free-spirited Sanjayan quit his government job as a clerk at Calicut Hajoor office within months of joining as he had got tired of saluting higher officials (Pazhassi,2000:48). In the biography of Madhavan Nair, there is a reference to how when he was a lawyer he once walked out of the court when the arrogant District Judge J.C. Stodartt scolded him for being late, and returned only after the latter apologized (Moosathu,1987:43-44). There must have been many other instances where Indians felt humiliated at the workplace – some responding in kind like Madhavan Nair did, others suffering in silence - for, as Sumit Sarkar says 'the office was also the point where the respectable, but struggling, Indian directly faced his predominantly foreign bosses, a situation marked by blatant distinctions in pay scales, racism, and insults which compounded the sense of the servitude of new jobs' (Sarkar,2015:324).

Conclusion

Malabar was forever changed by the impact of colonial modernity. The responses by the locals to the forces of change were, however, not uniform or consistent. While for some, the newly emergent cities opened up avenues of emancipation, others became life-long critics of the vices they gave rise to. Those initially resistant to the railways, once they realized its inevitability, tried to manipulate its growth to the advantage of their communities. The transformation of the native attire to a western style remained an unfinished project, and those caught in between the two, ended up becoming objects of ridicule. The new mileu threw up few instances of proto-friendships between the natives and the ruling classes even as racial tensions, for the most part, simmered underneath. The inconsistencies and contradictions of the Middle class were inevitable in the fractured nature of the modernity colonialism gave rise to in Malabar.

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.40-56

Spatial Trajectory of Land Names In Early Medieval Inscriptions of Kerala

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Abstract

This paper seeks to reveal the intersectionality of spatial production and social labour which made possible the production of productive spaces in the medieval agrarian world in Kerala. The socially mediated and engaged process of creation of various productive landscapes indicate the complex process of the entangled life activities and tenurial relations in which multiple forms of productive spaces were created and social power were entrenched on such spaces in accordance with the institutional control of tenurial hierarchies and rights over productive land spaces.
Keywords: Socio-spatial Relation, tenurial control, lived spaces, wetland, forested spaces, social labour, spatial control and laboring bodies.

This is an attempt to locate the historicity of land names appear in early medieval inscriptions of Kerala. It aims at, however, to reveal the connectivity entangled in geo-environmental domains and socio-spatial relations (Harvey, 1969). The socio-spatial terms appear in early medieval epigraphs show the natural geographical terrain on the one hand and habitation nodes and settlement localities of multiple life activities on the other. This is predominantly related to wetland paddy agriculture and laterite garden lands in addition to forested and mountainous valleys. It also reveals the ways in which the mechanism of institutional control in which the epigraphic documents were produced as part of the internal hierarchy in early medieval Kerala. This also makes sense of a complex spatio- social process in which the formation of different operational spaces related to alluvial and laterite lands were produced. This was, in fact, a complex process of human interaction with the animated and inanimate geo-spatial environ. The survival strategies related to multiple life activities and connectivity to labour process of resource generation are also reflected in the spatial terms appeared in inscriptions. These terms have its own trajectory to a long historical past as the embedded livedity of these spatial significations reveal a processual development of these

terms (Lefebvre,1992). Many a number of terms have antecedence and historicity to early historical past. These spatial categories have multiple meanings and connected histories to a larger historical process in early medieval Kerala. However, the historicity of these inscriptional vocabularies reflect upon the spatial history of early medieval settlements and cultivation spaces that would help us to delineate the spatial process of production of life activities and settlements in river valleys, water laden areas, marshy plains, estuarine terrain ,laterite areas and forested region .

There are two categories that appeared in the socio-spatial relations that manifested in land terms. One is the spatial terms related to natural geographical terrains including the water spaces and water harvesting structures which must have necessary connection to the early historical period. Second is the habitation and operational spaces manifested in number of land terms represented in the donative inscriptions. This was developed as part of the labour process in agriculture operations and also the structural and institutional mechanism of tenurial control developed by the dominating overlords. As far as the natural geographical diversity and its diverse location in the asymmetrical forms of locations are concerned, one can understand that perennial rivers and streams are originating in the mountains and hills, flowing through the hill slopes, connecting different settlements, reached either into backwaters or sea. Elevated terrains and hills are also located in the midland. The Ghats and its valleys, midland and its elevated areas, coastal plains and estuarine areas are important where we find multiple operational spaces like multiple millet zone, multicrop laterite and wetland agriculture that developed since the early historic period. The development and expansion of agriculture practices in midland and the estuarine lands made these places a surplus generating region of multiple economies and varied life activities.

Living Area and Place as Bordered Area

The study of society in relation to the habitat and environment is depended upon the geo-climatic conditions of a particular region, natural resources available, cultural stages and technological knowhow developed in that region . The place has become an important category in this study and place is treated as geographically bordered area. These spaces are being created by the human beings for their material and mental needs. Movement for suitable places in particular area resulted in making of locality as a first living area. The epithets *atimāri* (Narayanan 1972, A-8, 26 and B-24) and *kādēru* (Rao,1992) indicate the existence of shifting cultivation places. *Chirumuthaivēli* (Ramachandran,2007,No.154) is also meant for pastoral common land and the shifting cultivation spaces nearby. *Chiru-*

punaiyil thalai chāththankūru (Ayyar,1924) gives us the sense that cultivation on a punam land and the share called *kūru* of the cultivator called Chāttan.*Punam* means high ground, chiefly high land overrun with under wood and capable of irregular cultivation. *Punanellu* (mountain paddy or hill paddy) *punakrishi* (shifting cultivation), *punakandam* (marked field for punam cultivation) and *punamvāram* (a share of the produce given to the overlord as dues out of *punam* cultivation are cases in point in the practice of shifting cultivation (Gundert,1892). *Ālakkāl punam,kallūrpunam, kīzhpunam, cheriyapunam, puḷivēlippunam, agrashālappunam, mundayilagrashālappunam and nākanārpunam* are shifting cultivation tracts mentioned in the documents located in the midland region (Rao,1992).

The epithet *nākanārpunamum purayidamum* is important as it indicates the process of shifting cultivation practiced by tribal population in the historical past and it had been transformed into a multicultural operation space with compound site called *purayitam* in course of time. Certain *nelvāthilkādu* and *karavayalkādu* (Ayyar,1924) are mentioned to indicate the process that once these lands were shifting cultivation tracts and later it had been transformed into permanent agricultural areas. The term *punamidaikuyavanvayal* (Narayanan 1972,B-24) also reveals the process that *punam* tract might have been transformed into paddy field. *Mutha* means jungle ground brought for the first time under cultivation and *muthapunam* (Gundert, 1892) is old jungle where *tina-varaku* had been practiced in the shifting cultivation mode and the term *Chirumuthaimattamundakam* is meant for the practice of shifting cultivation *Aranjanmuthai, chirumuthai* (Rao,1992) and *mummuthai* (Aiyar, 1924.II) are indications to the practice of shifting cultivation.

Certain *pulaiyanmuthai* deserves attention as it indicates certain Pulayar groups engaged in the practice of shifting cultivation (Rao, 1992). They must have sustained the practice of *punam* cultivation in the midland region (the hill Pulayar who conducted slash and burn cultivation till the last century also attests this. *Elippunam* and *punanilam* reveal that the shifting cultivation practices that continued to remain in fourteenth century also (Aiyar, 1924, 160-61). These epithets denote a process that those shifting cultivators in the mountainous and hill slopes who migrated and started cultivation on the river valleys and reclaimed lands in the estuarine areas. They attributed their operational experiences of *punam* cultivation to the lands they newly found, reclaimed and cultivated. They continued to practice the *punam* cultivation in the elevated areas in the midland region as well. Certain tracts of *punam* cultivation must have been transformed into permanent wetland agriculture areas in the midlands. It was because

of this process that there remained *punam* related epithets attached to the lands for permanent agriculture operation and continuation of these terms thereafter. It is interesting to note that the terms such as *nadukallu* (Ramachandran, 2007, No.77) *kallarai nilam* (Aiyar, 1924,7) and *per-unkallarai* are lands located near megalithic monuments that existed in different areas. These terms must have antiquity to early historical time.

The Lived Experience of Forest Landscape

It is interesting to note that the live experience and habitus of landscapes as spaces of life activities and settlement indicate the way in which these spaces had been developed by the early settlers and continued to exist as operational and habitation spaces. *Kuntram* and *malai* are appeared as general terms in inscriptions to denote the mountains and hills. Elevated landscapes in the midland are also mentioned as *malaipuram* and *venpamalai* (Rao, 1921-35 and 37) We also find references to *kunnu*, *mala* and *kuntram* (Aiyar, 1924,27) to denote elevated areas. There are certain *malaimēlpadakāram*, the *padakāram* land, a piece of land given to individual Brahman households in the Brahman ur, situated on a hill. Similarly we find reference to *venpāyamkuntranjīvitham*, *jivithamis* form of service tenure given to the temple functionaries, located on hill slopes. *Thazhuvankuntram* (Rao, 1992, 7 (L), 47) *malaiyum karaiyum*, *malaiyilkīzh, ālakkādu* and *malai* (Rao, 1992), are terms to indicate the entangled spatial connectivity of hill to the forest and forested space to the hill slops. *Pukazhamalai* and *kuntram* are also used (AdhAram,2006) to denote hill slopes, the long stretches of mountainous terrain that we usually come across in Ghats regions of Kerala. Small hills and elevated areas also have natural geographical specificity located in midland region along with forested areas called *kādu. Kāduis* differentiated from *nādu* and *nādu* is also conceptualized as operational and settlement area whereas we find *kāduas* shifting cultivation region where the hunting –gathering and foraging activities were existed from very early period.

Forested area was represented variously as *kādu, kānal* and *irumpu.* The forested region in the mountains and hills are *kādu* and *irumpu* while coastal vegetation is *kānal*. Pasturelands are known as *itam*.*Kādu* is a term appeared in our epigraphical documents to denote the thick forest as well. A Hill slope forest, forested landscape in the midlands and the shrub vegetations in the coastal region are also mentioned in documents as *kādu*. *Kādu* terms appear to have indicated not only the forested region with its diverse resources related animated and inanimate world. It was also meant for fauna and shrub vegetation in the wet and marshy land.*Kādu* is also meant for to represent the slash and burn cultivation in the forested lands

and foraging activities. It also makes sense of expansion of cultivation in the midland river valleys and estuarine areas where the forested landscape was cleared and productive operational spaces were reclaimed for multiple cultivation activities and settlement nodes like *thara, kuti, pura* etc. *Kādēru* is a land term used to denote this process and certain *vayalkādu* (Rao, 1992, 2 and 3) is mentioned to suggest the process of clearing the forested area to create paddy field or such lands located near forested space were utilized for various purposes. Shrub vegetation in the coastal region can be seen in Kollam inscription and that must have been cleared and cultivation was started. Similarly, the term *kādumkarayum kazhiyum* indicates forested land space, paddy field and cultivable land lying adjacent to saltpan. The epithet *kādumkarayum* also indicates the arable lands near riparian area which were spaces of the multi culture operation. The location of this inscription in a water-laden area also points to the coastal vegetation and its transformation into permanent wetland agrarian tracts. This process had been started from the early historical period and continuation of such practice can be seen in inscriptions (Ramachandran,2007,No.8).

Land terms with prefix *kādu* also indicate the existence of productive spaces near the forest or the formation of such spaces out of forest clearance and slash and burn form of agriculture. A few *kādu* terms such as *mārakādu, cherumarakkādu*, *kayyikkāttu, kākkaikādu* and *chevvakkādu* (Narayanan 1972,A-8) can be cited as cases in point. Certain *puraiyidam* situated to the north of a *kulam* indicated the fact that *purayitam* as homestead had been developed in the settlement cum operational space in the multicrop production areas. *Achchikādu, kakkaikādu* and *chevvakādu* mentioned in Chokkur inscription reveal that forested area was being increasingly used for the creation of cultivation and settlements. Forested land space, vegetated terrain and floral wealth near settlements were considered as a protected ecological niche. This is also located in the multiple floral wealth indicative of the epithet *palāvunkalamili* and *viyaimili* indicating the protected vegetation near settlement spaces of the settler cultivators and the producing groups. Certain chirupalāvinkulamili i.e. the well and the land space covered by jackfruit trees and *valankālmili* (Aiyar,1932,173) meaning protected vegetation with water source. *Mili* is a protected vegetation area in the midlands including the wetland vegetated space. *Kaiyanaikalmili* (Aiyar, 1932, 172) shows certain form of small reservoir near protected vegetation indicating the micro irrigation and water harvesting structure. Certain *miliyapazhanvilankādu* (Rao, 1992,42), a cultivation area covered by shrubbed vegetation is also mentioned to make sense of the locational specificity of settlement and sub-

sistence pattern. It indicates the antiquity of an arable land, probably to early historical period, located near protected vegetated area where early settlement was formed and existed. The epithet *mannnnchēri purayidamumathinukīzhmiliyālum* (Rao, 1992,Pt,III.187), is an epithet indicating the settlement and the diversity of local environs in protected vegetation area near a compound site of settler groups. This reveals the relation that had existed between the forested land space and the settlement area which made the cultivation and settlement specific to each locality.

Nedunkādu and *perumankādu* indicate the prefix called *nedum* and *perum* meaning large and extensive forest landscape in the midland show the relational spatial connection between *kādu* and *nādu* (Poduval, 1938, 43-4). This is more visible when we think of the term *Mukkālizhaikādu* reveals the relation of forest to the adjacent cultivable land space. This reveals the way in which the forested and vegetated land spaces related to the operational spaces which had cricial role in making livelihood forms. This would suggest a process that the floral wealth of forested landscape and the making of productive land spaces contributed for cultivation expansion in both wetland and laterite regions (Narayanan,A-20) resulted in the formation of new settlements. Certain *izhikādu* (Varier, 1990), and *vettikarikkāttupūmi* (Rao, 1992,Pt,I.XV), indicate the process of slash and burn the forest for cultivation in the midland watered swampy areas with the help of permanent labour force called Āl and Atiyār groups and the lands so created. This must have been started in long historical past and continued to exist during the later *Chēra* period. Certain *kulakkādu* the land comprised of well and forested landscape used for cultivation also indicate the process by which the forested area became part of cultivable land space. Certain forested landspaces, *perumanankādu*,*marunkādu* and *perumbulam* (Poduval,1938,41-2) used for productive purpose. Certain *kuzhaikkādu*, *kurandimankādu*, *pirayamankādu* and *kudamanaikādu* are mentioned in Devidevisvaram plates (Aiyar, 1924,No.7) also indicate the same process.

Spatial Meaning of Social Labour and Spatial Control as Dominance

There developed a process in which lands were reclaimed from forested land spaces, vegetation in water laden areas and from estuarine region. Early migrant settlers and settler cultivators or those people who had been brought by the settlers must have cleared such vegetated areas. The utilization of labour activities and the control of laboring bodies of different ethnic groups and communities were made possible by the households of the landholding groups. We also find the process that the domination of *nattutayavars* and the Brahman settlements was de-

veloped over a period of time in which labour realization and tenurial control were actualized in an instituted form. This process is embedded in the spatial and social dialectics reflected in the labour realization process that is also inscribed in number of land terms. The Tiruvalla Copper Plate mentions a number of forest areas that had been cleared for cultivation (Rao, 1920,Part,III). It also mentions certain people associated with these forested area. *Neythattalaimēkkāttu*, may be a forested land space with cultivation located adjacent to riverbank or estuarine area and *punnukādu* points to the wetland vegetation (Aiyar,1929,189-90 and 192-3). *Talaipulam*, *kānjirakkādu* and *araikkādu* suggest the historic past of the term pulam (Poduval,1938,41 and 45) and arable lands near forest *Nelvāthilkādu* and *karavayalkādu* indicate the forested area where paddy was cultivated (Aiyar,1924,No.59) The transition of paddy cultivation from the hilly and mountain region to the elevated area in the midland and then it expanded to the riverine plain can be inferred from the spatial history of these terms. Certain *karikkādu* indicates the process of slash and burn the forested area (Rao, 1992,No.7.D) for cultivation and this land spaces later became a permanent agriculture spaces. *Mērumanaikāttu* might have been a forested space and cultivation began to be started along with formation of settlements (Rao, 1992,No.7.M) *Manaikādu* indicates the clearing of forest for cultivation as well as settlement. *Kōthaiyūr vayilkādu* (Rao, 1992,No.7.K) indicates the clearing of forested area and appropriation of floral wealth in laterite and wet land regions for cultivation and creation of settlements. *Kādumkaraiyumkaraipuraiyidavum* and *kādumkarai* (Aiyar, 1924,77-78) indicate the process which brought the forest under cultivation and formation of a compound site with the laboring groups and the settler cultivators. The term *karaipuraiyidam* also indicates the spread of multi crop cultivation and proliferation of settlements in the laterite areas in the hinterlands. Certain *kāttunilaththupurayidam,puraiyidam* situated near forested land (Rao, 1992,Part.III) indicates the spread of settlements of the settler cultivators in the forested region. *Mannanchēri purayidamumathinukīzhmiliyālum* points to the protected vegetations and a compound site in such settlement areas (Rao, 1992,Part.III).

The spread of paddy cultivation from mountain and hilly region to the midland is very significant process in the spatial transformation in elevated *parambupuratitam* and riverine wetland areas in the midland of Kerala. The epithet *karayum vayalum kādum ulladanga*, the land consisted of *vayal, kara* and *kādu* reveals this transition process. The location of *Kizhumalainādu* was in the forested hilly region and the land term *nelvāthilkādu* suggests that the cultivation of *nel*/paddy in the *kādu* region,

the mountain paddy was cultivated in the mountainous-forested region/ hill slopes. This area was brought under the *Kizhumalainādu* and became part of a *chērikkal* land when the natu formation in this high land region was consolidated under *kīzhumalai nāttudayavar* (Ayyar,1924,181-3). The process of clearing forest for cultivation was continued during the thirteenth and fourteenth century, *kadankādu palakkādu* (Aiyar 1924,145-6) *manankādu* (Poduval,1932,42) *pāthirikkādu* (Adharam,2006) mayakkalkādu and pūthiyarkādu (Aiyar 1924,160-1)are indicative of this process. Pullēlpaduvana (Rao, 1988,42) and perumpullēl (Aiyar 1924,22-65) indicate large grazing lands. The term vēli is also meant for pastoral common lands for grazing. The term stands for the people associated to it or lands lying near grazing lands. Tiruvalla Copper Plate mentions a few such land spaces (Rao, 1992). These spaces were also used for foraging activities and pastoral people might have used these spaces. Grazing lands were also important for agro-pastoral communities and we have kīzhkuzhipāzhchelli and mēlkuzhipāzhchelli (Narayanan,1972,B-24), indicating the pastoral activities in the mid land region. The land terms related to the productive activities and operational process indicate that the socially necessary labour must have been utilized for the production of such lands as part of the development of various subsistence and life activities. The spatial production and social labour are entangled process in which intersectional relation of spatiality of productions life activities and life embedded in spatial process are developed as connected process (Hopkins, 2017). This process must have been structured in various spatial domains as controlling process of spaces by dominating groups. It was developed by tribal chiefs and landholding settlers in the early historic period. the Utayavar of various natus , landed gentry , Brahmanical temples ,Brahman villages and the Chera Perumals in the early medieval times. The spatial dominance was developed as tenurial control and the legal legitimization was developed by the brahmanical powers largely through the support of the political authority. Spatial control and social process indispensably developed in relation to the development of various overlords. Hierarchisation of spaces and social relations were developed in relation to an institutional control of material and cultural resources in terms of political power and cultural domination. Spatial control resulted in the dominance over spaces as distancing practices of enclavisation and exclusion and spatial and social hierarchies were homologous to cultural and power.

Waterscapes and Production of Irrigation Spaces

In early historic period, mountain streams were the main water sources of the people who inhabited on mountain slopes and hills. Chinai

was also a water source in rocky areas. Kuvam and kinar were other sources of water. Chirai was a form of permanent water source and it was constructed by making bund across the water channel In the wetland region, the water sources were known as palanam, poykai and kayam (Ganesh ,2009). Puzha, thōdu, ār and aruvi indicate the natural water channels like river and streams in the documents from ninth century C E onwards. This also indicates riverside and riparian fertile lands were used for cultivation in the midlands. Kulam, kinar, and chirai are the most common water harvesting structures and storing spaces. In cultivable land and settlement area, whether it is in laterite zone or alluvial area, water sources must have played a central role to sustain the cultivation and the vegetation. Hence the habitation and settlement area like kuti, ūr,chēri,mangalam or palli must have been situated near natural water channels or artificial water spaces like kulam, kinar and chirai or other manmade water sources. Kulam and kinar were important water harvesting structures. Chirais are located in the confluence of settlements and agriculture lands. Kulams, kinar and chirai can also be seen near the purayidams, the compound sites of the settler groups and the cultivating communities. Epigraphical materials give us vivid description of waterscapes, water harvesting structures and water sources. Certain temple land is said to have located in between udarār, a small river, and kuttankōlanchira, a tank. (RVRBulletin. IX.I,1973,43). The land situated in between a river and a tank also reveals its importance as a large cultivating area naturally conducive for wetland agriculture. This also indicates that occupation of riparian area and large scale cultivation in water logging lands required arduous labour and technique and knowhow, this was largely developed and sustained by the producing communities and laboring groups. Kulamuruthai and kulamili are related to a purayidam to the north of a kulam or tank reveals the settlement cum operational process developed by the tenant cultivators called kutis (Aiyar, 1932, 72).There are references to mēlkāniyārkulam, kōvankulam, kālanērikulam and kadalumkulam that existed in the southern Kerala (Ramachndran 2007,129-33) as settlement spaces and cultivated lands located near water sources like kulams (Rao, 1988,15-34).

Vāy is used to denote the sluice and puthuvāy indicates newly formed water channel or sluices for cultivation purpose (Poduval,1938,43-5) Kannan Purayan, the udaiyavar of Kālkkarainadu granted the land known as vettikkarikkāttu and Pulaiyar attached to it to Trikkakara Temple shows that the labour process and the production of cultivation spaces is an interrelated activity. The productive lands and the producing groups were represented in the documents as one and the same and the productions of

the productive spaces were made by the primary producers. The land was located west to vāykālchirai and east to idaichchirai (Rao, 1992,161-9) , the two tanks developed for the purpose of tank irrigation. Vāykālchirai indicates vāykāl, a term meant for water channel, sluice, drawing water from tank to the field (Aiyar, 1924, 11-6). This also reveals that despite the abundance of natural water channels, certain forms of manmade irrigation structures were built to facilitate the expansion of agriculture. The labour activities and technic and knowhow were provided largely by the Pulayar under the condition of forced labour force. Certain puzhaimānjāmannu (Aiyar, 1932,71-2) lands near a river and chiraithalai,a land to the side of a tank, are also mentioned to make sense that wetland agriculture must have been developed with the process of water control and certain form of irrigation system in early and early medieval times. We also find reference to karaikādinulla kulamie karai, kadu and kulam indicating the expansion of cultivation operation on an elevated area near forested landscape where a water source called kulam is constructed (Rao, 1992, 176-7) Similarly land situated on a riverside called puzhakarai (Sastri, 1925,334 and Narayanan,1972,C-17), the riverine wetland agriculture that was expanding on the silt deposited river belt along with the formation of new settlements.

Devidevisvaram plates mention certain kulam called pūlaikulam, (Aiyar 1924 No.7) pūmannikulanilam, chenkulamnilam, cultivated lands situated near a kulam, suitable for wet land agriculture. Kulangaraipurayidam, a compound site adjacent to a kulam and kulamadikkunnavanjīvitham, the land set apart for the well diggers indicate the importance given to the wet land agriculture and making of water sources like kulam. This is also meant for well diggers who developed themselves as particular laboring group. Certain chiramēlpurayidam, (Aiyar 1924 No.7), a compound site is located near a tank deserves attention. Mention may be made to kīzhthōdu,chiraikīzh and chadikulam reveal the process of agrarian expansion and creation of water sources. Thōdu (Rao 1992 Part.II.No.7(K) was an important form of water channel and thōttōdu, thōttyoduthōttidai indicating the importance of water channel like small streams in the case of wetland agriculture. Irappuzhai and karppuzhai were small rivers and tributarie. Karppuzhaikari, karpuzhaippallam and karpuzhaippanal (Rao 1992, Tiruvalla Palates) indicate the riparian lands near the tributaries of rivers. Sirumattapuzha (Rao., 1992, III.179-182), āttōdu thōttodu karaiyum (RVRIB Vol.9.Part.I, 51), mēlānjipuzha and thōttippu (Rao,1992, II.No. 7.(K),45-46) are indicative of water channels. Puzha, thōdu, ār and karai are river and streams indicate the water bodies and wet land spaces lying adjacent to water bodies. Painkulam

(Poduval,1938,45), kulam on a land space, also indicates certain habitation space near a field. Kāraikādudaiyārkulam (Rao, 1992, Tiruvalla plates), karaikādu is an agricultural tract where multi crops were cultivated. Therefore, the well in a multi crop land shows the existence of settlement. Certain chiraimēlpuraiyidam and chiraikumēl (Narayanan, 1972, C-2) also indicates this. (Aiyar 1924,No.7) The compound site located near a tank also makes the point that tank was an important water source in the midland area. Tirunelli plate mentions kīzhkāttupozhaichērikkal, chērikkal land adjacent to forest and river (Pillai, 1963) indicating cultivated land on a river mouth located on hilly-forested area. Certain thōlanchirai (Narayanan,1972b) is mentioned and chira is important for both alluvial and laterite agricultural activities and for human habitation. It also shows the existence of habitation sites near a chira or tank. This area is very congenial to the formation of purayidams or compound sites.

Certain puzhakkaraimattam and puzhaimānjāmannu indicating the land situated on a riverside. Aruvi ,a small river, and kuzi is a pit for storing water, are other forms of water sources. Vattachirai, anjanachirai and karpuzhai are water sources mentioned in the documents. Vāzhaippallipōttai is a wet and fertile land space and karpuzhaipallam, land situated near a river and lying in between two elevated region (Rao, 1992, Tiruvallaplates), are fit for wet land agriculture. Certain vuthumarkuzhi (Aiyar,1924,No.7) and thirunīlankuzhi (Narayanan,1972,B-24) are important as kuzhi and pallam are low laying land spaces surrounded by elevated area adjacent to water source. The epithet kādum karaiyum kulamum (Ramachandran, 2007, N0.103) indicate the agriculture operation on an elevated space watered by a kulam. Kulavarai (Rao, 1992, III.no.55) is paddy field near a kulam. Thannīrmukkam is a term denoting to the water source. (Aiyar,1932,69) Munainkadavu,kadavu is ford, lowest crossing point of a stream or river. Chirai is also mentioned in this document. Vanjippuzha is mentioned in a 14thcentury Sattankulangara inscription also indicates cultivation on riverside and riparian fertile lands, which was expanding in thirteenth and fourteenth century.

The term kōdu is a natural landscape meant for land situated between two elevated land spaces. Certain kodu terms are mentioned in Chokkur inscription (Aiyar,1932,No.173) There are references to kodu such as kummankōdu (Rao,1992,III.171-73), marakkōdu, chirukōdu' mundaikkōdu (Poduval,1938,41-2) and kattattikarikkodu (TAG Rao,1992,No.35). Kōdu is denoted here for an elevated land space adjacent to water source. The term kōdu also appeared asvadukikōdu and uthiyankōdu. (Aiyar,1924,No.9) Kollur Matham Plate mentions cer-

tain kōdu. (KVS Aiyar ,1924,No.7), Kodu is thus a term which shows a land space and extent of which is limited by water sources. This can also be applied to mūlai such as pariyādimūlai and nariyādimulai. (Aiyar, 1924,No.7,22-65) Certain kōnam can also be seen in the same document Turuttu /turutti as pantriturutti (Rao,1992,No.38) and ilamthuruththi (Rao,1992,161-69) indicate the reclaimed land spaces from a water-laden area also meant for the spread of wetland agriculture. Tiruvalla Copper Plate mentions certain reclaimed turuttu lands (Rao,1992.Vol. II.Part.III). There are a number of kari lands in the inscriptions of the area, µjāravēlikkari,vattakari kīrankadambanārkari siriyaparyankari, padinjāyiruparayankari ,chēnnanchēnnanārkari. ūrālachēnnankari, ēttikkari, kumarakottakkari govinnanārkari, paravanārkari, indranīlankari, pattiarkari, thirunālganaththārudayakari and nedumkari (Ayyar, 1924 No.55 and part I.6-7 and 34-37, Rao, 1992No.4,No.4(A)and No.9). Tiruvalla Copper Plate mentions a number of kari lands (Rao,1992Vol. II.Part.III) The kari stands for the land spaces reclaimed from the estuarine and water logging areas. It also points to the expansion of agriculture to the estuarine areas and water-laden spaces. The reclaiming process required the utilization of skilled laboures and the invention of water management devices and techniques. The labour demands, the labour realization process and the water management for these purposes were done by the life activities and labour power of the subjugated primary producing groups whose social existence and lived experiences were embedded in epigraphical sources and orally communicated lived histories.

Spatiality of Labour and Labouring Bodies

Parambu as mixed crop cultivation space began to be developed in the laterite areas in the midland because of the proliferation of settlements and clearing of forest in this region. The laterite area in the midlands used for multi crop cultivation is known as parambu. Parambu and purayidams or compound sites in the laterate region also indicate the expansion of multi crops cultivation and spread of settlements in this region. This process was continued after the early historic period and the epigraphical materials pertain to the ninth century C E indicate the development of this process. The terms denoting to the mixed crop lands are parambu like pūyaththu parambu and perumparambu (Rao,1992,II,No.7(K). The appearance of parambus indicates multi crop cultivation and the compound sites; it also presupposes the existence of ūr settlements. Āttūttiparambu and chethidanparambu (Rao 1992,Vol.II Part.III) also indicate the development of mixed crop cultivation. Thottams are mono crop gardens and we have references to thōranathōttam, āndilanthōttam (Naray-

anan, 1972AA-6), idaithōttanilam and punnaithōtam in the documents (Aiyar 1924, No.7). There are other mono crop cultivation spaces like chembakathōttam,pūnthōttam,perunthōttam,māvaliyālthōttam mentioned in Tiruvalla plates (Rao,1992Vol.II.Part.III). Arunkādan thōttam and and vayirāvanar thōttam are mentioned in Tiruvannur and in Kollam inscriptions respectively. Podikkāttuvilai indicates the multi culture operation like pepper (Aiyar 1924,22-65). The monocrop areas and multicrop spaces were produced by variety of labour activities in the production of multicrop produces in the wetland and laterite areas in Kerala. The laboring and cultivating groups were engaged in the production process and labour activities. Those groups who were directly engaged in the labour process were known as primary producers and they were represented in the documents as Āl and Atiyār or Pulayar. The settler cum operational groups in the agriculture production and allied service activates were known as kutis. The laboring bodies endowed with the knowledge, knowhow, technic and the skilled experience of Āl and Atiyār or Pulayar were mainly responsible for the production of productive spaces. The labour and life activities were creative pursuits which could produce socially necessary labour for the sustenance of the whole groups in the society. The kutis were the cultivating groups having the multiple identities in their settlement spaces as operational categories of agrarian production.

Production of Productive Spaces and Space as Property

Water sources like puzha, ār, thōdu, aruvi, chira, kulam, kuzhi etc indicate the availability of water for human habitation and agriculture operations. This water harvesting structures must have been existed in the ūr settlements shows continuous process of cultivation and habitation in these settlements. The terms such as mattam, mannu ,pallam, potta,mūlai, kōnam ,kōdu, kuzhi,vāy, vāykkāl indicate the wetland paddy fields and the water harvesting process and the irrigation activities involved. The terms like man, nilam, arai , vayal , pādam, karai,pottai , odi and kari are appeared in the epigraphical sources from the ninth century onwards indicating the expansion of paddy cultivation area in marshy , estuarine and wet land regions. These lands are located either in reverine riparian and marshy plains or estuarine regions. We find these lands in the midland and coastal / estuarine areas. The productions of these land spaces are important as these land terms indicate the labour process and the technology and the skill involved in the production of these lands but the producing and laboring groups. The kuti settlers and the primary producers called Atiyār /Āl and Pulayar were involved in the production of these lands. These productive spaces

were brought under the control of a tenurial system and producers of these spaces had been subjugated to a number of overlords. As social production of space involved the creation of tangible material wealth, the spatiality of this process indicates socio-spatial subordination of the producers along with productive spaces to the overlord who controlled these spaces.

The terms that we find in the inscriptions either suffix or prefix such as kādu,kara and turuththuetc indicate the forest clearing, reclamation of estuarine lands and water-laden areas. This process would be clearer when we study the terms related to agricultural operations in the mid land and estuarine areas. These terms represent a process by which the forested areas, river valleys, marshy lands, flood plains, silted area and biomass formation in the waterlogged areas in the midlands and estuarine regions were being cleared, harnessed and reclaimed for cultivation. The forest was cleared for permanent agriculture operations for multi crop cultivation. The conjoining together of kādu to the terms denoting lands in these areas and terms signifying the agriculture practices in the flood plains, waterlogged areas and estuarine regions indicate the expansion of agriculture practices. Agriculture expansion in the mid lands and estuarine areas are attested in these terms. It indicates the process by which the forested area and marshy waterlogged wetlands and estuarine regions were increasingly being brought for cultivation.

Grazing lands were also located near the forested areas and was important space for agro-pastoral communities. Lands adjacent to water sources like rivers, streams bunds, canals and estuaries were mostly used for paddy cultivation. However, multi crop cultivation was also practiced in these areas. Water sources like kulam and chira were located near mono - crops and multi -culture lands. Flood plains, riverine and riparian regions, reclaimed lands, elevated areas, foretasted land spaces and shrub vegetation lands were mostly located in midlands and coastal plains. The conglomeration of these land types, both in natural terrains and operational spaces, formed the settlement pattern and production operations specific to the midlands. Existence of vayalor paddy field, thottam and vila (mono-crop garden) lands point to the growth of multiple economies developed side by side. This spatial specificity in the natural geographical region in the midland influenced the operational spaces for agricultural production in laterite and alluvial areas.

The terms appeared in the inscriptions indicate representational events related to lived experiences (Anderson, 2018.4) of the primary producers and the various producing groups show the spatial trajectory of social relations. The asymmetry of socio-spatial power relations were modulated

in both cultural systems and political power. One has to ponder reflexively over to what extent the epigrapical corpus reveal representational practices as a byproduct of an instituted process of meaning making and dominating system. This must have been developed as a representational system of an internal hierarchy that mediated the perceptions of people who had been positioned on multiple layers of socio- spatial categorization. These positionalities were internal to the system of social and cultural hierarchy which determined the lived experiences and everydayness of individuals and groups. Vocabularies of representational practices stood for imageries of socio-spatial categorization and divisions. This process is represented as a spatial event, a kind of geographical event or connected events in inscriptions. What is proposed is a need for geo-historical mode of inquiry that opens up to demystify the existing representational referential system largely followed in the dominant historiography in Kerala that anchored on positivist empirical facts derived for mono-causal explanatory frame.

Spatiality in a particular region is developed in accordance with the given geo-climatic conditions, natural resources, technological development and cultural transformation. Spatiality and social relations were developed within the larger process of socio-spatial matrix as well the mechanism of human adaptation to multiple ecosystems with varied modes of resource use (Gregory and Urry, 1985). This had been developed within the geo-climatic and socio-spatial process. This was evolved in accordance with social ecological consciousness of settler groups. The spatial dominance of a number of overlords was developed in relation to the strategies of struggle adopted by those who engaged in controlling the spaces and those who offered resistance to the domination of spaces (Shotter J, 1993). This is important in analyzing the spatial meaning of struggle and resistance as the spatio-social process of survival and dominance were developed over a period of time. The overlords tried to make control and transform the producing spaces as property imposing tenurial control and subjugating the producing groups and laboring communities. The settlements nodes were to be hierarchised in accordance with the subjugation of the cultivation and laboring groups like kutis and atiyār. The process of hierarchisation of settlement nodes was important as it is an outcome of the subordination of operational cum settlement spaces. The spatial control and social domination got its tenurial structure within the cultural and economic power relations that had been developed as an instituted mechanism of power by the chiefs of the nādus called Nāttutayavars and the Brahman settlements on the one hand and temples and the Perumals on the other.

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.57-73

The Gender Paradigm: Early Malayalam Print and the Women's Question

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Abstract

Since the early 20th century, Kerala has witnessed a thriving print culture seminal in shaping critical political changes and advocating legislative reforms. Yet, as a society, its engagement with gender and the inability to formulate a progressive political language around the same remains a matter of deep concern. Recent protests by conservative Hindu Right groups, amongst others, against women of menstruating age entering the Sabarimala shrine is an illustrative example of the conflict between tradition and law in contemporary Kerala society. Employing print debates on women's education, I will attempt to glean out the threads that have historically shaped the discourse around women and gender in Kerala society. For the woman writer/thinker of the time, entrenched in her caste-class location, a new self which reflected shifting ideologies around tradition, family, conjugality and freedom was an enduring area of concern. I argue how this rhetoric of change posited vital consequences for the restructuring of gender norms and sexuality and consequently feminist praxis.
Key Words: Print Culture, Gender, Self, Tradition, Public Sphere, Women's Education

The correlation between contesting print cultures and identity formation is an enduring area of historical inquiry (Eisenstein, 1982; Johns, 1998; Blackburn and Dalmia, 2004; Venkatachalapathy, 2012; Orsini, 2013). Even as contemporary scholarship reflects the range of this symbiotic relationship, the critical import of such methods for the study of knowledge formations and epistemological conceptualization vis-a-vis marginalised groups need to be further evaluated. *Navodhanam* (Renaissance) refers to the processes of intellectual and socio-political ferment that facilitated the birth of a *modern Self* and an idea of the *Public Sphere* in colonial *Keralam.* Despite gender having been central to the making of 'modern' communities in the region,

it continues to languish under the burden of tradition and customs.[1]

Employing material from some of the prominent women's magazines published in the erstwhile princely states of Travancore and Cochin at the turn of the 20th century, this paper will argue that the hurdles facing feminist interventions in Kerala today owe considerably to the historical conditions under which gender becomes a site of knowledge production in colonial Keralam. Mapping some of the variables of the women's education debate, I trace how popular print helped define the contours of ideal womanhood and in the process related notions of femininity and masculinity. It also dictated permissible avenues of activities for women which was decidedly'a political' and located within the space of the 'domestic'- a binary that has social and political relevance even today.

Women and the Written Word[2]

Colonial Kerala's first women's magazine, albeit run by men, *Keraliya Sugunabodhini* came out of Travancore in 1885 (1062, Mithunam). The first issue carried a statement which explained the paper's position and politics.

> "In Kerala numerous magazines and newspapers are being run smoothly by many great men. However, all of them are being published with Kerala's men in mind. For the knowledge and entertainment of women there are no magazines or newspapers in Kerala. From 1062 *Mithunam* onwards a magazine '*Keraliya Sugunabodhini*' exclusively dedicated to women will be published."[3]

The inaugural editorial statement set numerous precedents,

> We will publish no material related to politics. Philosophy, physiology, entertaining tales, writings that arouse the moral conscience, Womanly Duty, the science of cookery, music, biographies of ideal women, the history of nations, book reviews and such other knowledge enriching topics will be published...We will publish no narrow arguments related to religion."

The first few issues carried an assortment of articles- a pattern which was replicated in later women's magazines and, hence, initiated a trend. There are articles on topics as varied as women's education, chastity, responsibilities of a good wife, parables of a moral nature and a miscellaneous section giving details of the status of women in other parts of the sub continent and sometimes, the world. One of the issues of the magazine also carried a biography of Pandita Ramabai.[4]

Sarda is popularly considered the second women's magazine and was started in November, 1904 from *Tripuinithira* part of erstwhile Cochin. Unlike *Sugunabodhini*, *Sarda* boasted of a strong wo-

men's presence and the editorial reins were in the hands of three women – TC Kalyaniamma, T.Ammukuttyamma and B. Kalyaniamma.[5] The magazine ran intermittently for three stints before closing down. The editorial statement in the second stint is again illustrative[6]

> "This new effort is considered a new beginning…this magazine is priced like the '*Indian Ladies Magazine*' of Madras…as far as the articles go, like before, a critical analysis of political matters *has not been* (emphasis mine) included. This issue onwards *Jyotilakhmi*– a novel by K Narayan Gurukkal, who has changed the face of Malayalam novel writing, has been serialized."[7]

Thus, even during its second innings the magazine dutifully steered away from all matters that were remotely considered 'political'. The *Swadeshabimani* Press from where *Sarda* was being published was also home to other popular magazines like *Keralan, Vidyarthi* and the revolutionary *Swadeshabimani* which published some of the earliest anti government articles of its times. However, none of that radical content made its way into the magazine. Other popular women's include magaizines *Mahila*[8], *Sumangala,Vanithamitram, Sthreesahodiri, Muslimvanitha, Vanitha Kusumam. Vanitha Kusumam* may be regarded as the first women's magazine to openly espouse the cause of woman's freedom. Brought out from Kottayam by V C John, the editor of another daily *Prathidinam*, the magazine declared on its first anniversary,

> "The efforts by '*Kusumam*' towards women's freedom have angered-many traditionalists and many of them have advised us not to pursuet his task now. We have rejected the opinions and suggestions of such people who stand in the way of women's freedom. Since this is a magazine run for women it is the responsibility of '*Kusumam*' to work for the benefit of all women. No matter how many get angry and threaten us we will undertake this responsibility of ours"(Raghavan,2008: 112).

Prominent the matic overlaps included discussions on ideas of woman hood, domesticity and companionate marriages, Indian culture and tradition and its relevance for the present, motherhood, childcare, women's health and book reviews. A "miscellaneous" section was also part of most journals as an effort was made by women to build bonds across the Indian sub continent, and quite often, around the world.

Women's Education

Women's education- its necessity, content and relevance- was central to the debate around reform and women's emancipation. What makes the issue even more pertinent for analysis is the fact that it proved

to be one of the earliest themes, and "one of the rare ones on which a large number of women had a lot to say". Tanika Sarkar elaborates,

> "in sharp and significant contrast to a relative silence on the other major controversies of the 19th century – sati, widow remarriage, Age of Consent – education stimulated substantial responses from them in print, enabling few women to enter the public sphere of debates and arguments in their own right. It was also a field where they were quick to seize the initiative from the hands of male reformers" (Sarkar, 2002: 154).

Often women's education was proposed as an 'end all' solution for addressing an entire spectrum of women's issues from *purdah* and child marriage. Men and women argued that education not only sensitized and enlightened women about their problems but also enabled them to engage and challenge them. While aspects like co-education and syllabus were volatile issues, a crucial aspect that defined the education debate were the terms along which the debate was conducted. Often, supporters used tropes such as domesticity couched in the language of moral and familial improvement in order to make their point. It was also important for women to establish that education was not a threat to the responsibilities of a woman- chief of which was undertaking domestic chores. Himani Banerji points out that often the 'public' use of women's education "lay in its nature as private acquirement." She adds "its ability to meet social needs to create appropriate personalities, familial social relations and households, and offering a moral basis for the everyday life of the *bhadralok* or the gentry, provided the ground for its justification"(Bannerji, 1991: 52).

Scholars have demonstrated how women's education was central to the imagination of those working towards *re-forming* society. For example, Vir Bharat Talwar tells us that early 20th century Hindi literature was laden with images of women who were humiliated and devalued "only because they were uneducated." They saw their lack of education as a major reason for their oppression and humiliation and also opposed oppressive practices like child marriage and *purdah*"on the ground that these were obstacles in the way of education"(Talwar, 2003: 270).

The intensity of the taboo associated with women's education made it impossible for many women to read and write. Superstitions such as educated women would become widows or that they would become immoral were factors that impeded women's learning. The example of Rasundari Debi and her insatiable thirst to study, propelling her to self teach clandestinely, is one such powerful and evocative example.In the

late 19th century, numerous satires were written in Bengali to highlight the perils of educating women. A farce written in 1897,titled *Educate the Woman*, and You are *Digging your Own Grave*, the educated woman becomes an adulteress and eventually kills her husband (Sarkar, 2002:158). The example illustrated the kind of criticisms supporters of women's education had to face on aconsistent basis. Thus, whenever the issue was raised on a publicplatform, it was important to frame the debate along 'acceptable' lines so as to not risk a conservative backlash.

In colonial Keralam, one of the earliest surviving pieces on the topic, simply titled *Women's Education*, was published in Kollam (erstwhileTravancore) based *Chandrika* in 1900. The article by C Krishnan Pillai[9] begins by pointing out how scholarly women were "few in our villages" hence people were not familiar with the efficient functioning of an educated woman and not repelled by the "foolish ways" an uneducated one handled domestic responsibilities. He says,

> "These days, on an average, boys remain with their mother still about the age of 10. The habits acquired in childhood are impossible to do away with age…the nurturing of educated women is crucial for the intellectual growth and good manners of their sons."[10]

The article ends making a suggestion that is rather progressive for its times,

> "…They would acquire good lessons from science, mythology and history, learn of world philosophies and acquaint themselves with the actions of great based on truth and other such virtues. Rather than learn of all this from their educated male counterparts it is best that they read of it on their own and independently and critically analyse knowledge on their own. We are familiar with the stories of educated women like Sakunthala and Seelavathi in ancient India…irrespective of whether or not we choose to believe that these women existed, we have evidence that women education existed during that time…"

The importance of an educated woman to efficiently and properly undertake her responsibilities as a mother and caretaker of her familyis integral to the debate around *woman's education*. *Sarda* also carried an article on women's education in its first issue largely using similar arguments. Again titled '*Women's Education*', the author T. Ammukutty Amma, highlights how education would help promote a family's growth and prosperity by equipping women to take better care of her children.

> "… No matter how much money the family might have, if the children do not have proper health, humility, education and other such good attributes everything else is pointless. Amongst us the responsibility

> of raising children is the chief task of mothers. If the mothers do not have the right kind of knowledge about health and the cause of various illnesses, the children could end up sick, malformed, mentally retarded or short lived...as a child spends its entire childhood with its mother, her habits irrevocably influences the child's character…"[11]

She wraps up the piece by reiterating her argument.

> "…if our children are to become healthy, good natured and scholars women's education is the only way. Not only this, if boys are not educated then the consequence of that ends with the boy but in the case of girls it could last for generations.Hence it can be argued that education is more important for girls than boys and that women's education is in fact an introduction to male education…"

Even though it might seem that both Pillai and Ammukutty Amma are using the same logic – the ability of the woman to become a better-homemaker – there are subtle differences in their argument. One of the major ones was the fact that while Pillai talked exclusively about the boys in the family, Ammukutty Amma chose to refer to'children'. Yet, Pillai's article does offer some progressive suggestions. At a time when the few women who were receiving any form of education were the wives of male reformers and others interested in spreading women's education, the idea that they are asked to read and think about books on their own is a rather bold one. Sarkar points out that "reformist writings constantly exhorted the husband to come forth as the teacher" and "it was done to obliterate the firm association between education and non-conjugality that early women writers carefully underlined the fact that their education had been initiated by their husbands" (Sarkar, 2002: 168). The case of Anandibai Joshi of Maharashtra was one such example as he had taken a keen interest in educating and grooming his wife.

References to India's ancient past and the elevated status women enjoyed then were also intrinsic to the education debate. Articles were often written so as to assert that educated women were not colonial products, and thereby 'foreign', but an integral part of Hindu society. In an article titled *Ways of Learning – New and Old*, the author P. A. Raman Thampi (B.A B.L) devotes a brief paragraph to women's education. In it he says,

> "…We can't say that female education is a recent development. Mothers who are passing their primary and main exam, have mothers and grandmothers who would have atleast learnt lullabies…old women who do not know the early morning hymns must be rare. At least this can be said about the general population. Women born in to decent

families must have learnt the krishnapattu (a form of devotional song) and also learnt to read the Ramayan and the Bhagwad. In those times, those who knew how to read did not really know how to write as there is scant evidence of any woman author."[12]

Similarly, the article in *Sarda* also argues for the presence of educated women in ancient India.

"…However, it would be incorrect to assume that women's education is a new fad as our history and mythology is replete with examples of women scholars and achievers in the field of music and literature. Due to intermittent wars and attacks off oreign kings and mass exodus of people, the field of education has suffered over the years. However, it is safe to assume that it had never been against our culture and textbooks for the specific purpose of teaching women from earlier times are testimonies to this fact…"

Issues like fear of conversion (in the light of Christian prosetylisation work), tradition vs. modern debate, the importance of formulating a proper syllabus etc were also abiding concerns in the articles on women's education. In Travancore and Cochin, where issues of conversion were particularly prominent, magazines attempted to constantly address the problem. In 'Women's Education in Our Country', author Parameshwaran Panikkar, highlights how the Duchess of Westminster's crucial opinions on women's education had been initially overlooked due to misplaced fear of conversion. The article read,

"In 1893 when the Duchess of Westminster visited India one of the first ideas that she had was that Indian girls needed to be educated. Some of the skeptical Indian men requested her to be patient for some more time… they were also worried what a foreign lady's intentions could be and also the consequences for society and the possible harm caused to society due to educating girls. Moreover, the fear that the Christian lady's idea was aimed at converting Hindu girls was also another fear eating away the locals…"[13]

The author also emphasized in no small measure the necessity of ensuring the syllabus taught rose out of the organic needs of a community and region,

"…when the demand for women's education emanates from a region it has to be kept in mind that it resonates with the society's make up and this has to be borne in mind while educating our Hindu girls as well... Based on the collective opinion and for the collective benefit of caste members, which would in turn work for the Hindu system, tenets have to be identified which should become part of women's education...they

are – when a woman becomes a wife and a mother, she has to have the ancient wisdom of looking after her husband and family well…"

Finally, the question of co-education and its desirability was a matter of serious deliberation. In the article 'Man-Woman co-education', R. Easwara Pillai, B.A., discusses in great detail the countless virtues of implement co-education and the ability of the system to make a positive different in the state of women's education in the region.

"Co-education which is going through an experimental stage in India is already past that stage in America and has today become a regular feature there…a lot of people fear that coeducation would lead to deviating from the right path…Education is not masculine or feminine but human. Men are yet to make amends for denying women a lot of human rights in earlier times…won't creating an artificial divide between boys and girls actually lead to more chances for deviating from the right path? Isn't it when authorities at boys' school have no control over the girls and vice versa that the actions of both boys and girls become uncontrolled?"[14]

Combating accusations of encouraging unwanted relationships-between boys and girls, Pillai argues that, "…co-education can only make the atmosphere comparatively purer. The presence of girls will only be enough to keep the vices of boys under check… there might be areas where it is necessary to divide men and women but education is not one." He also stresses on the financial liability of the model considering efforts to promote women's education was turning out to be an economically unfeasible affair for the Indian state due to low attendance rates.

"…Even if the financial aspect is explored, co-education is in fact desirable and necessary. A considerable decrease in numbers can be achieved in the number of schools and teachers…The lag in women's education can also be addressed through this…the fact that university educated women are found in the many states of America is due to the high number of co-education institutions. Such a thing is not to be found in other countries…These are not the times to restrict women… they are capable of and strong to protect their states. All they need is a chance…"

However, not all articles published were in favor of women's education or larger reform. Quite a number of people, often anonymous, highlighted their reservations and ridicule towards, what was perceived to be a blind aping of the west. An illustrative examples an article titled "My!! The Way Women are Going!" by the vaguely named *Vikadan*.

> "When I think of some of the men today my skin starts peeling off in shame. How many of them are following women around, heeding their every whim and command. No wonder these women are acting up so! Shame!! Shame!! Kaliyuga has come. All that our ancestors predicted have come true…If all those who had argued for women's education and claimed it would make the world a heaven were to see the state of affairs now…they would have become saints and gone off to the forest!!"[15]

Location and Caste/Class Subjectivity

Feminist historians like Joan Wallach Scott have established how 'gender' functions as a relational category and hence for it to be used as an 'analytic concept' it must include a notion of politics. Thus, female subjectivity does not originate in a vacuum but from a space where other subjectivities coexist and compete with one another. A person's identity in Travancore and Cochin was circumscribed by determinants like gender, caste and class. Most of the contributors and proprietors of the magazines discussed in the thesis were from uppercaste and class communities. Often they were born into families which were active in the reform and other social movements implying they were exposed to a certain kind of liberal grooming and education. In many cases the women contributors and proprietors of the women's magazines were married to men who had enormous social and cultural capital. Examples include *Swadeshabhimani* Ramakrishna Pillai's wife B Kalyaniamma, one of the editors of *Sarda* and Kadambini Ganguly, one of the first female physicians of South Asia and wife of Brahmo reformer and radical Dwarkanath Ganguly.

As mentioned earlier, most magazines carried a miscellaneous section on women across British India and around the world, thus establishing its national and international credentials. However, this is also the period when social mobilizations around caste and class lines are taking place in Travancore and Cochin. Yet, this richness does not get reflected in the magazines. The issues projected as women centric in most popular magazines tilted heavily towards the upper caste and class background of the discussants of the issue. The exception was of course when a magazine of a particular caste group like the lower caste *Ezhavas* talked about women's issues which would then engage with problems like untouchability and caste pollution[16]. The absences may also be due to the notion that politics was not a suitable topic for women of a particular social location to intervene in.

In an ad for the women's magazine *Lakshmibai*, the magazine description reads, "A Malayalam monthly journal conducted in the interests

of the Ladies of Kerala. It is the cheapest, the most widely circulated and one of the most useful and inspiring Malayalam Magazine in Kerala and the best medium for advertisement." Similarly, an ad for the seminal women's magazine *Mahila* calls it "An illustrated Monthly magazine: Conducted in the interests of the Women of Kerala". Though the magazines professed to speak for all women, in the articles they wrote very rarely did they take up issues of women from other communities and religions. This aspect of women's journalism is also present in other vernacular publications which took up the women's cause due to the fact that the people involved were largely from the same strata and hence the issues they faced were also similar.

A Patch of Uncolonised Space[17]: Gender as Discourse

By the early 20th century, women across British India were actively intervening in some of the critical debates of their times, albeit a large chunk of it specifically dealt with issues of women's oppression and their new social role in a changing political ethos. Magazines were often a way for them to communicate with one another and an avenue to shape a discourse of their own on diverse issues. There was a vast geographical spread to these magazines and their content tells us about women's 'consciousness', their dreams and aspirations and thoughts on how to challenge and change their lives for the better.

The 19th century also saw the genesis of *bourgeoisie domesticity* and the demarcation of gendered familial roles – concerns which get amply reflected in the vernacular women's magazines. Popular themes included discussions on ideas of womanhood, domesticity and companionate marriages, Indian culture and tradition and its relevance for the present, motherhood, childcare, women's health and book reviews.

It is interesting to note that almost all the early women's magazines had 'Bodhini' as part of their title. The first Hindi journal was *Bala Bodhini* set up in 1874 by Bharatendu Harishchandra of Benaras, one of the earliest Bengali women's magazines was the *Balabodhini Patrika* set up in 1863 Calcutta and in Telugu *Satihidabodhini* (1883) was the first women's magazine. Feminist historian J. Devika points out that the very name of the magazine- *Keraleeya Sugunabodhini*- is "indicative of the importance of developing internality in the fashioning of Womanhood" (Devika, 2007: 51).

She highlights how gender took on an unprecedented role in the imagining of a modern Kerala community to be attained through reform. "The qualities one possessed were seen to be strongly determined by the sexual characters of one's body – its maleness or femaleness. Thus, ideally, attaining modern individuality would automatically mean that one would

be inserted into an idealized 'womanly' or 'manly' subjectivity, in the distinct spheres of the domestic and the public" (Devika, 2007: 51). This is a very critical point considering the endemic and pervasive role played by modern institutions of education and popular print in disciplining the female body by "correct training". These two mediums essentially defined natural behaviour for the sexes and thus fed into debates around the shaping of the ideal woman. For example, in a response to a heated debate around the question Is *Sheelavati* the ideal woman? [18] in an early issue of *Sarda*, an ambiguously named writer BG criticised the original author of the article for her opposition to *Sheelavati's* actions. BG elaborated, "there cannot be more than one head in an organisation, whether in the army or family. Nature had determined that woman must govern the house and man the world no one could change that" (Velayudhan, 2002: 90).[19]

In the case of the Indian sub continent, the notion of the perfect Indian woman comprised facets like *Stree dharma*, companionate wife, motherhood, the mitigation of common feminine vices such as jealousy and an embracing of Indian traditions and values. Historian Uma Chakravarti argues in her essay *Whatever Happened to the Vedic Dasi*?, that it was during the 19th century that a construction of a particular kind of past happened which in turn was the "context for the construction of a particular kind of womanhood" (Chakravarti, 2003: 35). Thus, the 'woman', who was, "the subject of there formers' and the orthodox gaze was a de-eroticised creature, occupying as she did a threshold space that was only meant to measure the distance between the past and present"(Geetha, 1999:)[20] Due to these factors, debates around tradition and women were ample in the magazines.[21]

Women as yardsticks or indexes of civilizational progress wasendemic to Orientalist and early colonial literature. From John Stuart Mill, who foregrounded the sorry state of Indian women in his immensely popular *The History of British India* (1817) and *Subjection of Women* (1869) to Katherine Mayo's controversial *Mother India* (1927) the trope of the 'miserable' and 'pathetic' state of the Indian woman was one that enjoyed immense traction.[22] It provided the framework within which orientalist discourse was generated and colonial interventions were moulded. From its inception, the language of reform vis-a-vis women revolved around the idea of woman as mother and moral compass of the *family* and, in the heyday of nationalist fervor, Mother India herself. As historian Samita Sen puts it, "the idealisation of womanhood as the repository of tradition and the construction of the domestic sphere as the proper and rightful domain of women were based on a general valorisation of motherhood: as

the creator and protector of the sanctuary of the home, as the good and chaste wife and the iconic representation of the nation" (Sen, 1993: 235)[23]

The above magazine excerpts illustrate how certain conceptual understandings subtly make their way into the language of women's rights and emancipation. Implicated in the narratives of advocacy and change, were notions of a morally pure, tradition bound woman who could adopt the right dose of modernity without unsettling the fragile familial and community linkages forged on and over her. The articles also demonstrate how the press often operated as a disciplinary institution, realigning socio-political power structures while dictating permissible avenues of activities for women which was largely 'apolitical' and within the *domestic.*

However, it must be reiterated that women were not passive recipients of these complex processes of gendering. A good number of women were editors and regular contributors, enabling early print culture to operate as an effective site of resistance and contestations for countless unknown and forgotten women. Cumulatively, these developments had far reaching consequences for feminist practice in Kerala by informing the epistemological landscape of gender conformity and related notions of ideal womanhood, *femininity* and *masculinity.*

Notes

1. Historians such as K N Panikkar, Dilip Menon and G Arunima have argued how print was crucial for the reconfiguration of a new *self*- moulded as both response and resistance to a hegemonising colonial machinery. In their seminal work *Women's Writing in India*, Susie Tharu and K Lalita observe that the most 'compelling imaginative task'in the fictional works by most of the major women writers of the 1920s-40s was 'the creation of a new resilient self,'where the backdrop was often 'domestic.'
2. Panikkar aptly points out that, "the written word as a cultural factor became increasingly important and influential during the course of the 19th century. The context in which it occurred was the access to print technology and the consequent commodification of 'vernacular' literature.". K. N. Panikkar. 1995. *Culture*, *Ideology, Hegemony,* NewDelhi: Tulika Publishers.
3. Editorial Statement, *Keraleeya Sugunabodhini,* Vol 1, 1894 July – 1895 June.
4. Ramabai was one of the pioneers of women's emancipation and education in British India. For a detailed discussionof her life and times see Uma Chakrvarti, *Rewriting History: The Life and Times of Pandita Ramabai*, Zubaan: NewDelhi, 2015. The reference to Ramabai is also interesting as it shows how early on there was an attempt at forging ties with women

from various parts of the country and the world and thus build a larger sisterhood.

5. In its first run the magazine's manager and owner was K Narayana Menon and it was published from the Bharathi Vilasam press. The magazine was also under the protection of Rani Lakshmibai and Rani Parvathibai of the Travancore royal family while also enjoying the support of Kerala Varma Valiya Koil Thampuran who contributed a short poem onWomen's education for the first issue. The issue also carried an editorial note explaining Sarda's birth and purpose -"Sarda has been started exclusively for the use of women. Our efforts will be directed towards providing women familiar with the Malayalam language simple and easy reading material that would facilitate their progress and also help them inculcate good traits. This magazine is first of its kind in Malayalam. This effort is new to us. Hence, during the initial years there might be certain glitches. Some people might wonder why the editors are from different places. When we were thinking of starting a magazine like this we heard that B Kalyaniamma was trying to start a similar magazine inThiruvananthapuram. T C Kalyaniamma enthusiastically followed it up prompting B Kalyaniamma to also joinenthusiastically…"
6. B Kalyaniamma was married to *Swadeshabimani* K Ramakrishna Pillai who is considered a trail blazer in Malayalam journalism and one of the earliest journalists to actively oppose government positions through the newspapers he edited. Thus, it only seemed natural that when *Sarda* shut down after running for two years, the paper was reinstated by Ramakrishan Pillai and printed from *Thiruvananthapuram* (Travancore). In its first issue during its second stint the magazine carried the editorial statement written by Pillai.
7. Editorial Statement, *Sarda,* 1080 *Vrishchikam* (Malayalam year and month, 1905), Book 1, Issue 1.
8. *Mahila* was one of the most successful and long lasting women's magazines brought out during this time. It was begun by B Bhagirathiamma, wife of Attungal Neelakand Pillai, from Chengannur (in Allepey and part of Travancore) in January 1921 under the patronage of the Junior Maharani of Travancore and ran for almost 20 years. *Mahila* was the only women's journal recommended by the Travancore government for circulation within government schools
9. Pillai was an activist and early reformer of the upper caste *nair* community. He founded a monthly newspaper called the *Samudaya Parishkarini.* His reform work was instrumental in initiating change of customary practices

within the *nair* community.

10. 'Women's Education', *Chandrika*, 1075 Meenam (1900), Book 1, Issue 12.
11. 'Women's Education', *Sarda*, 1080 Vrishchikam (1905), Book 1, Issue 1.
12. Ways of Learning: New and Old', *Chandrika*, 1075 Meenam (1900), Book 1, Issue 12.
13. Women's Education in Our Country', *Maryrani*, 1088 *Dhanu* (1913, Dec-Jan), Book 1, Issue 4, pp.110-115.
14. Man-Woman Co-Education', *Gurunathan,* 1110 *Dhanu* (1935, Dec-Jan) Book 14, Issue 5.
15. *My!! The Way Women are Going!', Vanitha Kusumam*, 1104 *Thulam-Vrishchikam* (1929), Book 2, Issue 6,7,pp.202-204.
16. Magazines like *Mithavadi* was a vocal supporter of the anti slavery and anti caste movements of the time.
17. Janaki Nair's evocative line capturing the essence of what the domestic space metaphorically stood for both the colonisers and the colonised. See, Janaki Nair, "Uncovering the Zenana: Visions of Indian Womanhood in-English women's Writings, 1813-1940", *Journal of Women's History: John* Hopkins Universtiy Press, Volume 2:Number 1 (Spring 1990), pp.8-34.
18. Sheelavati is a mythological character portrayed as the perfect example of a devoted wife. Despite being married to a man inflicted with leprosy, she serves him dutifully and fulfills his every wish.
19. I have relied on Velayudhan's essay for the Sheelavati debate as I was unable to locate this issue of *Sarda.*
20. V Geetha, 'Gender and the Logic of Brahminism: Periyar and the Politics of the Female Body', in (ed.) Kumkum Sangari and Uma Chakravarti, *From Myths to Market: Essays on Gender*, Manohar Publishers: New Delhi, 1999. Also see Lata Mani for early analysis of how the Indian woman's body becomes the site for the tussle between modernity and tradition itself. *Contentious Traditions*
21. Some examples include 'Some Puranic Women', *Mahila* (Unsure Issue); 'Indian and Western Femininity-Morals',pp.478-479, *Swadeshabimani*, 1102 (1926-27), Book 3, Issue 9,10; 'The Deplorable Status of Hindu Women',*Lakshmibai*, 1096 (1921), Book 16, No.7.p.55; 'Our Societal Problems', *Mahila*, 1927, Book 7, No. 1, p.332. The article *Indian and Western Femininity-Morals* which appeared in *Swadeshabimani* was a translation of a speech Swami Vivekananda's gave in America. In the

speech Vivekananda locates the figure of the Mother as the crucial difference between Indian Hindu culture and western culture. "Indians consider the Mother as the ideal woman. It is said that the moment a Hindu hears the word 'woman' the image of the mother appears in his mind. Hindu's God is also amother….However, in western cultures the feminine ideal is the wife. In India, even a commoner believes that the ultimate and complete feminine power lies in motherhood. In western homes it is the wife who rules…such is the power of the Hindu Mother that the son's wife enters the family taking the place of her own daughter. She (the new wife) also has to listen to the Mother and respect her status as the queen of the family. Till her womanhood achieves wholeness she has to continue doing so. She attains that wholeness only when she herself becomes a mother..."

22. See Eric Stokes. 1959. *The English Utilitarians and India*, New York: Oxford University Press,; Mrinalini Sinha.S*pectres of Mother India*, Duke University Press,
23. Tharu and Lalita have pointed out how the tropes in women's fiction writing shifted towards the early decades ofthe 20th century stating, "If the 19th century texts had the recurring figure of the Hindu widow then the central fictional relationship of husband and wife in the 1880s becomes the mother and son in the 1920s." This indicates how by the early 20th century ideas around 'the mother' and motherhood assumes a crucial political and cultural function. Articles such as 'An Ideal Mother', 'Habits that Need to be Inculcated in a Child', which appeared in *Lakshmibai* and '*Child psychology*' in *Mahila*, stressed on the importance of an educated, cultured and caring mother who would be able to teach and impart good values to her children. A recurring logic used by most writers revolved around the impressionable mind of a child. The argument, hence, was that since children are raised primarily by their mothers, it was paramount that the woman herself was well equipped to handle such a vital responsibility.

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© 2019 *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.74-91

City Miniatures for Exhuming Its Heritage: A Study of Calicut, Kerala

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Abstract

Realising the significance of city in the history of human civilization this paper seeks to provide a proposal for preserving the heritage of the medieval port city of Calicut situated in the South Indian state of Kerala. The paper primarily proposes to construct a miniature of the medieval port city of Calicut to create a kind of aura of its medieval splendour. It is argued here that apart from the knowledge provided by the historians and the architects, it is necessary to incorporate the useful insights on cities offered by Sociologists and the Social Anthropologists. It approaches the process of constructing the miniature of the medieval port city of Calicut as a step by step process. Firstly, using the historical sources it attempts to visualise the medieval port city of Calicut with palace complex, port, bazaars and so on. Such an image of the city primarily speaks of it as a physical form leaving out the other dimensions of the city unstated. Next, the paper attempts to define the city as a living entity using the insights provided by Sociology and the Social Anthropology. Then, it proposes that the process of constructing the miniature of the medieval port city necessarily involves envisioning it as a living entity with identifiable physical form, geographical networks that stretch beyond the confines of the city and the social reality made up of relations among people. Finally, it demarcates Kallayi, a particular area in the present day city, as the appropriate location for constructing the miniature of the medieval port city and, as well provides some guidelines for its construction.
Keywords: Calicut City, Geographical Networks, Kallayi, Miniature, Port, Timber Trade, Valiyangadi, Zamorin.

Introduction

Archaeological excavations in the historic sites like Catal Huyuk in the late 1950s and 1960s had triggered imaginative leap in the field of urban historiography. Catal Huyuk was a Neolithic urban settlement that had flourished around 7000 BC in south-central Anatolia, a region in Turkey (Mellaart, 1967). Taking cue from the archaeological evidences

at Catal Huyuk that suggested an origin that was not agricultural, Jane Jacobs, one of the leading urbanists of the 1960s, was quick to imagine the possibilities of putting the urban before the agricultural revolution. In her seminal work, *The Economy of Cities* (1969), she challenged the generally accepted sequence that suggests that agricultural revolution and the formation of agricultural villages precedes urban revolution and thus the formation of first cities in the human history. That means, rather than an agricultural surplus being necessary for the creation of cities, it was cities that were acting as necessary precondition for the creation of farming villages and agricultural surplus. Informed by this line of argument, urban theorists like Edward Soja highlights the importance of seeing cities as the developmental force in human society. To be more precise, the intrinsic nature of city-ness acts as a primary motor force not just for the development of agriculture, but also for the appearance of agricultural villages, rural life, pastoralists and peasants, and later, writing, class formation, state, and scientific, technological and various other socio-cultural and economic processes (Soja, 2000: 26-27).

These developments in the field of urban studies signal the need for unearthing and preserving the heritage of historic cities. This paper attempts to provide a proposal for preserving the heritage of a forgotten medieval port city called Calicut situated in the south Indian state of Kerala. Historically, it was the capital of the well-known medieval kingdom of Calicut ruled by the Zamorins. The historian MGS Narayanan opines that there was no city of Calicut before 12th century and even at the beginning of the 12th century, Calicut was just a no man's land with saltpans and marshes. However, in the 14th and 15th centuries it had been transformed into one of the most prominent centres of international trade; it was the meeting point of east and west, merchants and travellers from China, South East Asia, Arabia and Europe congregated in the streets and bazaars of Calicut to exchange their products (Narayanan, 2006: 17). Today, Calicut city is an ordinary city. Unlike many other historic cities, not many imposing structures of worship, palaces, forts and so on are seen in Calicut. Therefore, as MGS Narayanan has aptly observed, it would be an imaginative adventure to search for the ruined old city below the surface of the new city (Ibid:19).

This paper consists of two sections. The Section I provides a brief survey of the history of Calicut city. Keeping the history in the background, it attempts to provide a picture of the medieval port city by focusing on the traces it had left on the contemporary city. Section II focuses exclusively on the process of constructing the miniature of the medieval port city of

Calicut. It begins with an attempt to provide a comprehensive definition of city in general, and would try to examine how the Calicut city fits into that definition. Next, it delimits a particular area in the contemporary city as the appropriate one to construct the miniature, coming up with the proposal to construct the miniature of the medieval port city in the proposed area.

Section I: The History of Calicut City

Ceraman Perumals were the traditional rulers of Kerala who ruled in the 8th, 9th, and 10th centuries, and the last Ceraman Perumal was Rama Kulasekhara who ruled from 1089 to 1102 (Narayanan, 2006: 59). According to *Keralolpatti* chronicle (Genesis of Kerala) the last of the Kerala kings (Ceraman Perumal) partitioned the kingdom among his dependents (feudatories) and secretly left for Mecca with some Arab traders, embraced Islam, and lived for a few years in obscurity and peace in Arabia (*Ibid*) [1]. The king treated *Eradi*, one of his governors who ruled *Eranad* province, as his favourite. As a special mark of his favour, at the time of partition, the king granted him a small tract of land on the sea coast, in addition to his hereditary possessions (*Ibid*: 59). But *Polanadu*, a province ruled by *Polatiri,* was an obstacle in the way of *Eradi* because his territory stood between *Eranad* and the small tract of land gifted to him by Ceraman Perumal. After several years of war *Eradi* finally defeated *Polatiri* and reached the coastal area (*Ibid*: 62) He founded a new kingdom in this newly conquered territory and took the title of Zamorin.

The original seat of Zamorin's family was *Nediyiruppu*, a village in the *Eranad* Taluk of the present Malappuram district. According to *Keralolpatti* chronicle, when the Zamorin conquered the *Polatiri* of *Polanadu*, he abandoned his ancestral house at *Nediyiruppu* and transferred his residence to the newly conquered territory. He founded a town called *Vikramapuram* with a Siva temple or *Tali* [2] at its centre (Ayyar, 1938). But this name did not become popular. The people called it *kolikkotu*, the European form of which is Calicut. This word is explained in various ways. The *Keralolpatti* says it is the land where the cock crows. Sanskrit writers translate it into *kokkutakrotaram* or hencoop. But Krishna Ayyar opines that all these explanations seem to be wide off the mark. According to him *kotu* is synonymous for stronghold or fortress. *Koli* is really a corruption of *koyi*, which again comes from *koyil*. The town derives its name from *koyilkottu* or *koyilkotta*, the fortified palace of the Zamorin, which was its commanding feature. In other words, it was both a *koyil* or palace and a *Kota* or fort. Hence, the town that grew up under his protection came to be called *koyilkotta*, corrupted into *kolikode* (Kozhikode) (Ibid: 83).

It was probably in the beginning of 12th century Zamorin moved to Calicut and founded his kingdom. And by 13th century it emerged as a major centre of international trade. The Zamorins were successful in converting Calicut into a major seaport on the Malabar Coast. Krishna Ayyar notes that as the capital of a great kingdom and its chief mart, Calicut overshadowed every port and city in the Malabar Coast. It was the meeting place of nations. Its population was cosmopolitan, consisting of representatives of different races and nationalities. (*Ibid*: 292-93). K N Chaudhuri notes that from late medieval times, a number of great emporia in Indian Ocean provided structure and vitality to its seaborne trade (Chauduri, 2002 [1985]: 98). According to him, it is certainly possible to say that "the whole of Indian Ocean and the eastern Mediterranean was held together by the urban gravitation of Malacca, Calicut, Cambay, Aden Cairo, Alexandria and Venice. The arterial flow of goods and men on the east-west axis is inconceivable without the history of these trading cities" (Ibid: 176). Thus, he observe a structural unity in maritime trade in the western Indian ocean, centred on the urban quadrilateral of Aden, Hormuz, Cambay and Calicut (*Ibid*: 114).

The entry of Portuguese in the Indian Ocean trade in the beginning of 16th century brought tremendous changes on the centuries-old pattern of maritime trade that prevailed in the Indian Ocean. Since the origin and the development of the city of Calicut was undeniably linked to seaborne commerce, the weakening of its role in the Indian Ocean trade was a major blow to the prosperity of the city. Zamorins' continuous war with his neighbouring kingdoms like Cochin were another major cause for the decline of the kingdom. P C Alexander notes that the warfare between the rival kings of Cochin and Calicut continued for over 250 years after the arrival of the Portuguese in Malabar (Alexander, 1946: 31). The advent of Hyder Ali of Mysore suddenly changed the scenario in Kerala. Mysore invaded the city of Calicut six times. The sixth invasion of the Mysore in 1766 resulted in the termination of the Zamorins' rule. The British East India Company formally took over the administration of Malabar from Mysore after the death of Tipu Sultan in 1799 (Narayanan, 2006: 234).Thereafter, Calicut city was no longer the capital of the kingdom or the seat of the sovereign king. The Calicut city continued its life as the headquarters of the Malabar district within the Madras Presidency. With the formation of Kerala state in 1957, Calicut became the main city of the district in the same name.

Visualizing Medieval Calicut: An Attempt to Look Back

In its long course of history, the city of Calicut has gone through many phases of transformation. Yet, in the present day city, one could identify locations like the Ocean and the Port, The Kallayi River, and the historic

streets like Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar), Mittayi Theru[3] and so that are capable of providing valuable clues to visualize the medieval city[4] . To begin with, it would be better observe the two central zones that determined the spatiality of the medieval city of Calicut. As the local historians have often described, the medieval city of Calicut had two central zones; while the western and the southern part functioned as the commercial central zone, eastern part acted as the administrative central zone. Administrative central zone consisted of the Palace with Fortress, the Royal Temple and the streets with residences of lords and Brahmins. The king's Palace was the nucleus of administration. Port, bazaars, settlement areas of traders were located in the commercial central zone. Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar), as the most important commercial region, formed the centre of the commercial zone. Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar), the long straight road, which starts from the beach on the western frontier was linked to the administrative central zone situated to the eastern end of the city (Nampoothiri, 2013[2008]:153)

The eastern side of the city which was once acting as the administrative zone has been changed drastically. Mananchira Complex and Mittayi Theru are the two significant locations in the eastern side of the city. The place where Mittayi Theru and the Mananchira Complex situate today was occupied by the palace complex of the Zamorin. Mittayi Theru also known as Sweet Meat Street or S M Street took its name from the special variety of *halwa* made in this street. Mittayi Theru is situated next to the Mananchira Complex. According to local historians, this street claims the history of 500 to 600 years. It is believed that sweet manufacturers were invited by the rulers to settle in this street laying behind the palace compound (Narayanan, 2006:37). However, this street was developed into a modern commercial street during the British period. Today, it is one of the most colourful part of the city, selling modern consumer goods and services. Mananchira Complex, which forms the heart of present day city, was part of the palace complex of Zamorins. It houses a large playground known as *Mananchira Maidan* and a water tank. The name Mananchira can be translated as Manavikraman Tank and it was the drinking water source for the entire palace complex. Manavikraman is the coronation name of the Zamorins of Calicut. The palace of The Zamorin was destroyed during the invasion of Mysore in 1766. After the invasion, Calicut came under the Mysore rule till the 1790. During this period the eastern side of the city where the palace of the Zamorin was existed remained as a desolate area in the city. The British East India Company formally took over the administration of Calicut from Mysore after the death of Tipu Sultan in 1790. With the establishment of British

administrative offices on the ruins of the palace of Zamorin in the second half of 19th century, the eastern side of the city was slowly but steadily transforming into a commercial zone. In this area, the administrative offices of British rulers coexisted with the educational, religious and the commercial establishments of the British and the other European and non-European companies and agencies (Ayyar,1938; Narayanan, 2006).

Despite all these changes, until 1980s the south-western side of the city maintained its prominence as the main commercial zone in the city. Thereafter, these commercial zones had begun to decline. Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar), as the most important commercial region, formed the centre of commercial zone. Even though some historians doubts the existence of Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar) as it exist today during the reign of Zamorins in the medieval times, they unanimously agree that the area where Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar) situates today is a commercial hub since the reign of Zamorins. During the reign of Zamorin, this entire area was considered to be an international center of trade as it was a meeting point for traders from china, Arabia, Europe and so on (Narayanan, 2006:30). Till the end of 1980s Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar) functioned as the main center for spices and other hill produces coming from the hinterlands; it was also the main wholesale market for rice and food grains in Kerala. Warehouses situated in and around Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar) processed and stored these spices and other hill produces and exported to foreign countries via port. From the 1980s onwards, with the development of local markets, Valiyangadi lost its significance as the main market in the city.

The Seaport and the Kallayi River were the two other significant locations in the commercial central zone in the southwestern side of the city. Since the seaborne commerce played the most prominent role in the origin and the development of the city, commercial activities in the city was mainly concentrated along the coastline on the western side. While the ocean formed the boundary of the city on its western side, the Kallayi River formed its boundary in the southern side. This river played a very prominent role in the commerce of the city, for it linked the city with its rich hinterlands. The Kallayi River was connected to the port of Calicut. Ever since the origin of the city, the Port was open to foreign trade. During the medieval period, Calicut Port was the meeting place for merchants and travellers from all over the world. Even though Calicut Port lost its status as an international Port with the entry of European powers, it continued as a major port until it was shut down by the end of 1980. Spices, timber and other valuable hill produces from the hinterland reached the commercial heartlands of the city through the Kallayi River and exported to the foreign world via Port.

The historic sources indeed provide valuable clues to visualize the medieval port city of Calicut. However, this form of analysis gives an impression that an historical city like Calicut could be visualized by focusing primarily on its physical form. Using the insights provided by Sociologist and urban theorists it can be argued that city displays a distinctive kind of social life. That means, the pattern of social life also play a very crucial role in the constitution of the city as a meaningful entity. Therefore, in the next section, the social as well as the physical aspects of the city would be taken as the fundamental elements in the process of the construction of the miniature of the medieval port city of Calicut.

Section II: Defining the city

A comprehensive definition of the city would be able to demonstrate in clear term those features that make a city what it is. The prominent urban theorist Mumford's characterisation of the city as a *geographic Plexus* seems to provide an appropriate setting to define the city. (Mumford, 2011 [1937]). Taking cues from Mumford, another prominent urban theorist Steve Pile explains the idea of *geographic Plexus* to provide a clear picture of those features that makes a city what it is. The term 'plexus' is derived from anatomy. In anatomy, this term is used to describe the networks (plexuses) of nerves, of blood vessels, of tubes for air and food, and so on, that make up animal bodies. So, by *geographic plexus*, he takes Mumford to be saying that the city is made up of many networks. Thus, "the city is like a body, living on its different functions: from manufacturing and assembling, to warehousing and storage, to sheltering and domestic bliss, to personality clashes and political intrigue (Pile, 2005 [1999]:16)." These functions of the city have identifiable geographic locations, and sets of networks (plexuses) that sustain the city by enabling these functions. Just as the animal body is survived by carrying in and consuming the essentials of life such as air and food that exist outside the body, urban networks stretch well beyond the confines of the city to carry in and circulate the things it needs to survive (*Ibid*). To put it simply, a city is a *geographic plexus* for networks of roads, rails, canals and ships, each channelling flows of commodities, people, information, capital and so on (*Ibid*: 27).

The notion of the city as a *geographic plexus* seems to give an impression that the city is primarily a physical from. But, Mumford himself is saying that as far as the concept of the city is concerned "social facts are primary, and the physical organization of a city, its industries and its markets, its lines of communication and traffic, must be subservient to its social needs (Mumford 2011 [1937]: 93)." In fact, both the material and the non-material aspects of the city are crucial in producing a city.

As Henri Lefebvre says, a city is both a practico-material and an architectural fact, and the social reality made up of relations among people (Lefebvre, 2000 [1996]:103). To put it simply, a city is a unique spatial configuration where people, commodities, money, information, techniques, ways of lives and so on, get concentrated, interacted, activated in novel ways. Thus, the process of defining city demonstrate three primary features which are necessary to elucidate what makes a city a city; first; the identifiable physical form; second, the system of geographical networks; and third, the process of social life in the city. Such a conceptualization of the city is grounded on the sociological insights which tend to see city as a living entity or an ongoing process. That means, the city with its distinct physical form is activated through the working of networks and the various levels of the activities of people living in the city.

Putting this definition of the city in the background, we can conceptualise the city of Calicut in clear terms. Historically speaking, two kinds of movements were central to the origin and development of the city of Calicut. The first one is that of Zamorin, the founder of the kingdom of Calicut. From his traditional citadel in the interior, Zamorin moved to the coastal belt which was then just a no man's land with saltpans and marshes and converted it into a port city, realising the prospect of seaborne commerce and the subsequent prosperity. The second movement was that of traders and explorers from beyond the sea, searching for proper destination to conduct trade. The city of Calicut was originated and flourished in the area where these two distinct but complementary movements were intersected. In fact, these two kinds of movements laid foundation for elaborated networks which in turn instigated a series of other movements. Zamorin took no time to convert Calicut into a major Port city and wide variety of commodities started flowing into the city from the hinterlands. In the same way, traders from outside world poured into the city with wide variety of commodities from foreign lands to exchange in trade. Subsequently, these economic transactions facilitated social and cultural exchanges, and laid foundation for the cosmopolitan city of Calicut.

The movements of Zamorin and traders speaks of networks; while Zamorin's movement from the interior indicates the opening of geographical as well as social and political networks facilitating the flow of people, commodities, information and so on to the city from the hinterland, the traders' movement to the city point towards the networks enabled through the maritime space. The intersection of these two movements indicates the creation of distinct physical form of the city with the palace, port, bazaar and so on and the social life in it.

Demarcating the City: Quest for Constructing a Miniature of the Medieval Port

Until the beginning of 1980s, the area extending from the banks of Kallayi River on the southern boundary of the city to the coastline on its western boundary was considered to be one of the most significant commercial regions in the city. This area is generally known as Kallayi. For obvious reasons, this area along the banks of the Kallayi [5] River to the coastline could easily be delimited as the proper region in the city to construct the miniature of the medieval port city . Firstly, since the origin and the development of the city of Calicut was undeniably linked to seaborne commerce, it is necessary to highlight the commercial heritage of the city while attempting to construct its miniature, and in this area, the medieval pattern of trade was predominant till the beginning of 1980s. Secondly, The Kallayi River and the Ocean, the two dominant geographical markers of the area, can still act as solid geographical markers of the city heritage signifying the crucial role these two had played in the functioning of the medieval port city. Finally, as seen in the above, the eastern side of the city, which acted as the administrative central zone of the medieval city, has totally been transformed into a busy commercial street devoid of any considerable traces of its medieval heritage.

As the definition of the city suggested, the processes of constructing a miniature of the medieval port city should consider the functioning of the geographical networks and the nature of their intersection in the city as the two fundamental elements that constitute the miniature. Obviously, the Kallayi River and the Port, the two significant location in the Kallayi region, indicates the functioning of the geographical networks. Further, an anthropological observation on the nature of timber trade that flourished on the banks of the Kallayi River in Kallayi would certainly be capable of demonstrating the functioning of these networks and the creation of a distinctive social world in Kallayi.

The Functioning of the Geographical System of Networks in Kallayi

Ever since its inception, the Kallayi River and the Port played a very crucial role in developing the city of Calicut as one of the major centers of trade and commerce on the Malabar Coast. The Kallayi River flows along the southern boundary of the city and the Port begins from the area where the Kallayi River meets the sea at its western boundary (see the map 1). The geographical connections between the Kallayi River and the Port indeed cast light on to their role in shaping the commercial activities of the city as a whole: the Kallayi River, on the one hand, links the city with its

hinterland (Mizushima, Souza & Flynn, 2015) [6] which provides it with necessary goods to trade; the Port, on the one hand, signifies the link with the outside world, which is crucial for the survival of a trading city like Calicut.

The unique geographical positioning of Kallayi River defines its central role in linking the city with its north-eastern and south-eastern hinterlands through the networks of rivers, backwaters and canals. The Murat or Kuttiyadi River and the Korapuzha River in the north eastern side, and the Chaliyar River also Known as the Beypore River and the Kadalundi River in the south eastern side are the four major rivers linking the city with its hinterlands (Menon, 1962: 321). In fact, these rivers facilitated the movement of commodities and people to the city from its rich hinterlands. Since Kallayi River is flowing adjacent to the commercial heartlands of the city and meet the sea near the seaport, the rivers originating from the hinterlands and their backwaters were connected to the Kallayi River through canals. As discussed earlier, history of the city of Calicut is deeply interconnected with the seaborne commerce channeled through the Calicut Port. Generally speaking, ports represent a complex interplay of physical, geographical and socio economic phenomena (Kidwai, 1992:7). A port is a place of contact where people and commodities as well as cultures are transferred between land and maritime space (Ibid: 10). During the medieval times, the Calicut Port epitomized prosperity and cosmopolitanism for it played a key role in the Indian Ocean trade. However, with the entry of European forces in the Indian Ocean trade from the 16th century onward, the Port lost its charm. Yet, the Port continued its life during the colonial times and the first three decades after the independence, it was finally closed down in the late 1980s.

The coming of spices and other commodities from hinterland through rivers and their export via Port were crucial in determining the character of Calicut as a port city. The Hinterlands provided the city with great varieties of spices and hill produces; and the Kallayi River facilitated the transportation of all these goods from hinterland to the city. Likewise, the Port enabled the export of these different varieties of goods coming from the hinterlands. A T, an inhabitant of Kallayi, narrates the movements of different varieties of goods across the Kallayi River and their export via Port in 1950 s and 1960s:

In the past, boats carrying spices and other hill produces used to arrive in Kallayi from the hinterlands. Farmers and local merchants who accompanied such boats unloaded their products in Kallayi Kadavu (Jetty) and from there they transported their goods to Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar) in trolleys and bullock cart for sale. From Valiyangadi

(Big Bazaar) these spices and hill produces were taken to Port for export after processing in the warehouses situated around Valiyangadi (Big Bazaar) and the Port. Timber logs from the hinterland forests were floated down to Kallayi through the Kallayi River. These timber logs were processed in the saw mills in Kallayi and then taken to the port for exporting to foreign countries. (Interview, A T, 22th July, 2016).

This narrative basically shows the significant role played by the Kallayi River and the Port in the city of Calicut. Timber trade would be taken as a specific case to demonstrate the functioning of the networks synchronized through the Port and the Kallayi River. Even though the timber trade on the banks of Kallayi River was basically a colonial enterprise, the pattern of timber trade is capable of illuminating the pattern of trade prevalent in the medieval period.

Timber Trade on the Banks of Kallayi River

According to MGS Narayanan, the growth of timber trade on the banks of Kallayi River must have taken place only after the 12th century when the Zamorins became the lords of Calicut (Narayanan, 2006:49). However, the modern history of timber trade is associated with the development of timber trade on the Malabar Coast under the supervision of British colonialism from the early 19th century onwards (Mann, 2001: 419). In Malabar, teak grows naturally in forests of Nilambur valley and Wayanad areas. Forests of Malabar and Kanara were the sources of teak timber for Bombay Naval dock-yard. To counter the shortage of the supply of teak timber, in 1840 Mr Conolly, the then collector of Malabar obtained on lease the forest areas considered suitable for teak plantation on the banks of Chaliyar River in Nilambur, which later developed into the famous Nilambur Teak Plantation. (Menon, 1962: 323).

The rivers originating from the Western Ghats facilitated the transportation of timber to Kallayi. The trees after being felled and roughly squared were dragged by elephants to the nearest river to be floated to the Kallayi Timber Mart. A feature of timber industry in Kallayi was its concentration along the bank of the Kallayi River. In the sawmills of Kallayi timber logs were swan into different types of finished planks and were marketed both locally and also exported to foreign countries (Ibid: 338-339). Writing in 1905, Innes observed: "in the season river at Kallayi is a wonderful sight, the water being scarcely visible for the thousands of logs floating on its surface. The logs are left in the water until they are sold (Innes,1905: 252 cited in S. Menon, 1962: 339)." Till the beginning of 1960s, Kallayi was considered to be one of the largest timber mart in the world. From 1970s on wards, with the implementation of new forest laws, the supply of tim-

ber from the Forests of Western Ghats got decreased, and eventually by the beginning of 1980s timber trade in Kallayi went to decline. However, Kallayi is still functioning as the major centre of timber trade in the city.

The pattern of timber trade in Kallayi involved various levels of activities. The first stage is of the procurement of timber logs from hinterlands and forests, and their transportation primarily through rivers, backwaters and inland water ways to Kallayi. A R, a famous timber merchant in Kallayi, explains the process of the procurement of timber from hinterland:

> We usually go to the field with the broker. If the timber is of fine quality and the price is reasonable, then we make the purchase. After cutting down the tree, we take the measurement and then carries to the nearest river or road. We also participate in public auctions at various forest depots. There would be separate agents for the transport of timber (Interview, A R, 22th July, 2016).

K D, a timber merchant and the sawmill owner in Kallayi, points out that till the end of 1980s timber from hinterland was mainly transported to Kallayi through rivers like Chaliyar River and Kuttiyadi River. Since, these rivers and their backwaters were connected to Kallayi River through canals, the transportation of timber from the deep hinterlands to the Kallayi was less expensive and easy. According to him,

In those days, the transportation of timber through rivers were so huge that it was almost impossible to see Kallayi River as it was filled with timber rafts arriving from far off places. These timber rafts were made by tying huge timber logs with bamboo sticks. On each timber rafts, there would be a person who took the charge of it. He stood on the raft with a long bamboo stick, directing its course through the river. These timber rafts were known locally as *therappanghal.* Workers who moved these *therappanghal* were known as *therapputhouilalikal*. It took several days for such rafts to reach Kallayi from the hinterland forests (Interview, K D, 9th July 2016).

In Kallayi, river is being used for storing logs. According to timber merchants and workers, it is safe to keep timber logs in the river as the river is shallow in this area and the merchants don't have to bother about creating extra space in their mills to keep large quantity of timber. However, the main reason, according to them, is that there is a strong belief among the local merchants of Kallayi that storing timber logs in the Kallayi River would ensure the durability of timber logs because of its salty water (see the image 2). In Kallayi, various kinds of people were associated with the processing and the marketing of timber. Broadly speaking, two groups of workers are employed in Kallayi. The first group, under the supervisor loc-

ally known as *Mooppan*, worked in connection with the river and engaged in measuring, keeping accounts and storing of timber in the river. Another group of workers were employed in the saw mills. The sawmill owners and the timber merchants took charge of trade. Generally these timber logs stay in the water for long time. *Mooppan* would be in charge of these timber logs stored in the river until the sale is over, and the sale of the timber is mediated by him. That means clients usually go directly to the *Mooppan* and negotiate with him. So, quite naturally, these *Mooppans* were very dynamic and influential section in Kallayi (Interview, A M, 4th August 2016).

Timber merchants played a prominent role in converting Kallayi in to the second largest timber yard in the world. They brought timber from hinterland to the Kallayi and exported it to the foreign countries and neighbouring states. They not only connected hinterland with the city but also acted as a connecting link between the city of Calicut and the outside world. The agents of foreign companies, mainly from Europe, came to Kallayi for the purchase. From Kallayi, timber was exported to foreign countries and various Indian states. Local consumption was minimum. Writing in 1962, Sreedhara Menon observed that almost 60 percent of timber was exported by sea to Europe and Arab Counties. 30 percent of timber was transported by rail to different parts of the country. Only 10 percent was consumed locally (Menon, 1962: 318). Thus, the nature of timber trade, especially the export of timber via Seaport to foreign countries demonstrate the ways in which the city in general and Kallayi in particular is linked to the world beyond the sea. A H, once a leading timber exporter in Kallayi, explains the pattern of the export of the timber:

> From Kallayi, sawn timber sizes were taken to the Port in boats. The carrying capacity of these boats were 20 to 40 ton. From the Port, steam ships transported both sawn timber sizes and timber logs to Europe, America, Arab countries and Africa. The transport of sawn timber to Bombay, Sourastra and Kutch was mainly through sailing vessels which were not mechanized. (Interview, A H, 24th July 2016).

The discussion on the nature of timber trade in Kallayi demonstrate the intersection of two different but complementary networks in Kallayi: on the one hand, networks of rivers which facilitates the transportation of timber from hinterland meet in Kallayi; on the other hand, the export of timber via Port facilitate the intersection of network from the world beyond the city in Kallayi. The way Kallayi is linked to its hinterland as well as the outside world through the elaborated system of networks formed by rivers and the port facilitate the concentration of large quantity

of timber and various sections of people like timber merchants, sawmill owners, brokers, different sections of workers , foreign clients and so on in Kallayi. It is this dynamic aspect of Kallayi that enables both the development of timber trade and the creation of a distinctive social world in Kallayi. In short, the ethnographic description of the timber trade in Kallayi demonstrate Kallayi as a unique city space with active social life.

A Proposal for Constructing the Miniature of the Medieval Port City of Calicut

In this discussion, it has already been noticed that Kallayi at present is not an active center of commerce as it used to be. Timber trade on the banks of Kalayi River in Kallayi has already passed its prime phase and is, today, slowly fading into oblivion. The Kallayi River and other rivers connected to it are no longer being used for transportation and commercial purposes. The seaport has also been shut down. However, the Beach, the Kallayi River and its river bank can still be utilized to highlight the heritage of the medieval Port City of Calicut for these geographical markers still continue having a solid presence in the City. However, since these locations have lost their commercial significance, they have to be used differently. That means the economic significance and meaning attached to the area considered suitable for the construction of a miniature need to be replaced. As a Port City, the Port was the 'organizing principle' of the Calicut city (26). Now the city has moved beyond the Port City stage and its characteristics are no longer determined through the functions of the Port. Therefore, while considering the miniature of the Port City it is necessary to replace port related commercial activities with some innovative practices which can illuminate its heritage as a Port City.

Today, the Calicut beach, where the Port was situated, is a favorite out door destination for city dwellers in the evening for recreation. Hotels, restaurants, huge residential towers and government offices are seen all along the beach. Eminent historians, like M G S Narayanan (2006) opine that all these new structures along the beach are built on the ruins of warehouses and trading houses owned by various prominent trading communities that had settled along the beach. Yet, the ruins of warehouses and Sea Bridges, and the abandoned Light House that are seen along the beach can be preserved to enliven the heritage of the Port City (see the images 4,5,6). Likewise, the Kallayi River and the Conolly Canal[7] which is connected to it from the northeastern side of the city could be renovated and utilized for the innovative projects like Heritage Boat Ride (Menon, 1962). Finally, the banks of Kallayi River in the area extending from Kallayi River to the coastline, and the beach can be developed as a heritage bazaar dealing

with different varieties of spices, hill produces, handicrafts and so on to enliven Calicut's heritage as a Port City with bazaars and commercial streets.

In fact, governmental as wells as non-governmental agencies have recently come up with plan for the renovation of Conolly Canal and the Kallayi River (Rajagopal, 2013, August 31). However, such a venture would remain an as empty gesture and a vain invitation to the city's heritage unless it is placed in the larger arena. It is in this context the idea of constructing a miniature becomes relevant. In fact, any step towards constructing the miniature of a medieval port city like Calicut demands the combined efforts of sociologists, social anthropologists, historians and the architects. While architects with the help of historians could identify and rebuild the physical form of the heritage city, the knowledge of social anthropologists and sociologists could be instrumental in envisioning the social and cultural life evolving though the commercial practices of the port city. In a typical miniature all the fundamental elements of the city like its physical form, geographical networks, and the pattern of social life have to be incorporated. In this model, the heritage boat ride is proposed to signify port city's link with hinterland and the outside world through networks of rivers and the port. Heritage markets should signify the physical form of the city both through the reconstructed architectural forms and articles traded there. Finally, the manner in which people engage with these spaces are also crucial for such a miniature to find its relevance as a meaningful entity. Heritage boat ride and heritage bazars seems to be capable of ensuring peoples' active participation in such spaces and as well, a constant flow of tourists, common folk and historians alike. Thus, developing such a miniature as a 'Heritage Park' would be capable of attracting scholarly as well as popular interests. It is in this way that the miniature would be capable of demonstrating the city as a living entity.

Conclusion

As discussed in the introduction, cities always play a very prominent role in the development of human societies as a whole. Therefore, the ventures to preserve the forgotten cities like Calicut demands considerable attention. In fact, the medieval city of Calicut played a very prominent role in the development of regions situated around the city. The history of suburban towns, villages, local trading centers etc. situated around the Calicut city are deeply interwoven with the origin and the development of the medieval port city of Calicut. It is highly probable that the large scale agricultural production of spices and other commercial crops in the interiors of Calicut were accelerated by the pro-

spects offered by the port city of Calicut. Faced with such a possibility, it wouldn't be too imaginative to propose that the development of settled agriculture, the large scale migration of people to the interiors and thus the development of more settled social life in the area need to be attended in relation to the origin and the history of the city of Calicut. In short, any venture towards preserving the history and the heritage of Calicut city is a gateway to the historical development of the region as a whole.

Notes

1. This myth of partition and conversion of the king has been a vital part of the oral tradition of Malabar for centuries. Even though it is a well tradition contained in *Keralolpatti,* the early travellers who came to south India, such as Sulayman, the Venetian traveller Marco Polo, and latter travellers like Ibin Batuta and others do not make reference to this fact. Peoples of other religions also claim Ceraman Perumal as a convert to their respective faith. One account says that he went away to Bethlehem. Some say he turned a Buddhist or a Jain. However, Hindus believe that he was a devotee of Siva throughout his life. In this regard see (K, Ayyar, 1938; MGS Narayanan, 2006, p.57-58)).
2. The *Tali* Siva temple was one of the two royal temples patronized by the Zamorin (the other being the *Valayanaattu Kavu*). The temple's date of origin is uncertain but was most likely built during the foundation of the city itself in the 12th century or before. In this regard see (K. Ayyar, 1938).
3. *Mittayi Theru* is the first modern commercial street in the city of Calicut. It is believed that the numerous sweet shops once present in this street gave the street its famous name. In Malyalam, *Mittayi* means sweets and Theru is the Malayalam word for street. Therefore, *Mittayi Theru* means street selling sweets. Today the street is called Sweet Meat Street (S M Street). Sweet Meat is the special variety of halwa made in *Mittayi Theru.* Though the street is formally known as S M Street, the short form of Sweet Meat Street, the common folk call it *Mittayi theru*.
4. For the details see the Survey and Settlement Register of Nagaram Desam, no 38, Calicut Taluk, Malabar District, 1901.
5. Kallayi is the name of a suburban town located on the bank of Kallayi River. However, this paper considers Kallayi as the area stretching from the banks of Kallayi River to the coastline where the seaport is situated, for the significance of Kallayi in the city of Calicut is based on the commercial significance of this area.

6. The word "hinterland" comes from German and it is translated as "behind land." It could be defined as "the region lying behind the coast district; hence a region remote from cities and towns." In this regard see T. Mizushima, G. B.Souza, D.O. Flynn, 2015, p.5-6.
7. Conolly Canal in the city of Calicut was built in 1848 by then collector of Malabar, H V Conolly. It linked the Korapuzha River in the north to the Kallayi River. During the colonial period it was mainly used for the commercial purposes. For details see (S. Menon, 1962,p. 321)

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.92-104

When Matter Matters: Materials in Conversation with *Jinns*, Ants and *Insaan* in Kotla

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Abstract

Based on field visits to the abandoned palace of Firoz Shah Kotla in Delhi, this paper attempts to map the ways through which materials interact with the belief and ecology of the space. It describes how the offerings to Jinns and animals create the moral geography of Kotla as well as the formation of affective ties within its ruined architecture and landscape. As a whole, the paper intends to rethink communication, temporalities and relations among the human and non- human beings in terms of matter and its diffusion.
Keywords: Matter, Ecology, Non- human, Jinn

Introduction

Firoz Shah Kotla also known as Kotla Firoz Shah or Kotla is a Fort located at the banks of river Yamuna in Bahadur Shah Zafar Marg, New Delhi. It was built by Sultan Firoz Shah Tughluq during fourteenth century (1354) and also housed the capital of Firozabad[1] . It was abandoned since 1490 AD with the defeat of Tughluq dynasty. Currently, Kotla is a protected monument under the Archaeological Survey of India. It also contains an Ashokan pillar[2] and a mosque called the Jami Masjid. Benevolent Jinns, who accepts the wishes of people, are believed to reside inside the ruins of the Fort. Incidentally, most of the Jinns's believers come from Old Delhi (including Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs) and there has been a tremendous rise in the practice since the Emergency of 1977 as noted in an earlier anthropological work conducted around similar themes in Kotla by Anand Vivek Taneja during 2007- 2011. In his work, Taneja has connected the growth of this practice of jinn veneration as a response to the 'magical amnesia of the state' in terms of bureaucracy as well as erasure of Muslim landscapes in post- Partition Delhi (Taneja, 2013). However, the current study is more inclined towards understanding the notions of materialities and its conversations with the Jinns, humans as well as the non- humans.

Description of Field

There is a huge iron gate at the entrance of Firoz Shah Kotla. At this point, the Security Staff would ask one to show the entry ticket unless it is a Thursday afternoon. The original entrance of the Sultan is now blocked with new walls constructed by the Archaeological Survey in the name of protection and rejuvenation. Anyone who enters first would consider the place as an assemblage of ruins of an old city. A flock of pigeons flew behind me as I entered the fort where the floor is adorned with concentric circles of white and brown powder (made of sugar and jaggery for feeding the Jinns who may take the form of ants). People may draw such lines along the edges of buildings as well and big black ants could be seen feeding on it.

The first Dargah[3] from the side of entrance is called as *Pir Baba's* ***shrine***. It is an opening in the wall in the form of a dome made of stone which is black in colour due to the repeated lighting of lamps and smoke. Jinns are venerated in Kotla much the same way as Sufi saints in Dargahs. Most of the ritualized acts such as lighting candles and incense, offering flowers and sweets are similar to that of the ones found in Muslim shrines across the country. Letters and xerox copies with photographs addressed to the *Baba of Firoz Shah Kotla* could be found tied to the nails on walls with red thread. These may be complaints regarding a missing husband or an appeal to release mother from jail or any other family affairs.It also contains the address of the author.

As one moves along, there is a vast ***maidan*** covered with trees and grass. The *Baolior step* well is next to the pathway. It is however closed down after few instances of accidental death. Among other abandoned buildings include the madrasa, the King's abode, the horse stable apart from the Ashokan Pillar and Jami Masjid. Beneath the Ashokan pillar is the ***Laat Baba's shrine***. This Durgah has gained itself the name of '*Laat Baba*' as '*Laat*' in Hindi may refer to a tower or pillar. I heard narrations of the powers of the *Laat Baba* who has a light behind the head and may even follow people.

The *Jami Masjid* is an old mosque with a prayer hall without roof. It is also in dilapidated condition and the Imam had complained to me against the Government's disinterest in the mosque as the *madrasa* too was closed down. However, Muslims especially women come here, offer *namaz*, read the Holy Qur'an kept in holes in the walls and may also share their stories of life with other women while eating the *kheer* in the gathering on Thursdays.

Jumraat observances at Thursday evenings is the most crowded event at Kotla because Thursday night is considered auspicious in Islamic beliefs wherein sins committed during the week

would be forgiven and the prayer would not be refused by Allah as it is the auspicious night of the *Jum'ahas* per *Hijra* calendar.

Beneath the Jami Masjid is the ***Sat Dar***. It consists of seven windowless chambers which are dark and said to be the abode of the Jinns. Bats could be seen on the walls like design and one may not recogonise their presence without their occasional shrieks and faint light from the chambers. People walk along the rugged stone leaving their footwears outside as a ritual. The air inside is very thick and smoky with incense that one may find one eyes filled with tears and heart choking as one crosses the seven chambers on a day of the *Jumraat*. One may find oneself transformed to another realm with changed senses. Shades of Burqa- clad women could be seen praying and crying inside the dark chambers. They may cry out loudly to the *Badshah* or silently walk to and fro reciting their mistakes by beating their index finger on the wall in this movement.It may not be easy to recogonise faces here.

Behind Kotla is the shrine of Badruddin Shah who was a Sufi saint. People who come to Kotla may also visit this shrine. There occur *Qawalis* on Thursdays and meeting with the care- taker of the place. The households outside Kotla are the settlers of Partition of 1947. Although some of them believe in the Jinns of Kotla, few others dismiss the practice as 'theirs' and as a business to make money. A Government guide whom I met during the work had gone to the extent of calling Muslims as 'fanatic' and Jinn veneration as an activity to ruin the monument. In other words, I had heard multiple and contesting narrations of the practice as the visitors to the place are of different religions and purposes. For instance, one could observe different sets of practices within such as idol worship (of the *Laat* Baba) by Hindus, *namaz* by Muslims (in the *Jami Masjid*) who may or may not worship Jinn and sweet offerings by Sikhs to mention a few. The tourists to the Fort may inturn denigrate the practice as that of '*pagal admi*' (mad people). However, in the coming sections I attempt to provide an analysis of this site not as mystical but for its historical, contemporary and futuristic overtones.

Methodology

Despite an emphasis on the symbols and meanings of practices, this work could be seen as an attempt to move beyond the Geertzian framework of 'interpretation of cultures'. By focusing more on intuition- based actions and non- verbal channels of communication (Ewing, 1993), the paper has tried to understand human as well as non- human relations through the perspective of material and affect Theory (Bennet, 2010). In other words, senses of experiences, feelings and emotions of

belonging of respondents have guided this study. This in turn is analysed in terms of ethics of relations and passions (Mittermaier, 2012).

Various methods of qualitative data collection were used; unstructured and in- depth interviews, oral narratives, observation and participation as in ethnographic field studies. Information regarding the site was also collected from secondary sources such as online sites and media. However, due to the constraint of time, archival sources were not considered which can be seen as a limitation of the study. The techniques such as Recorders and Photographs were used for future reference apart from field notes and situational jottings.

On Jinns

An Encyclopedia of Medeival Islamic Civilization describes Jinns as invisible and sentient beings made of subtle matter. The description is as follows:

> In Qur'an verses 15: 26-7 and 55:14- 5, there is mention that they are created from "scorching winds" and "a smokeless fire," and it is also said that they are like humans in that they are rational beings formed of nations (7: 38). In fact, the jinn are always addressed in the plural. The Holy Book points out also that both jinn and humans are called to worship God (51:56). (El- Zein, 2005)

Jinns are also believed to live longer than humans, more strong, fast moving and even able to eavesdrop in the lower reaches of heaven to acquire knowledge of future. There are several works available on the interaction of humans and Jinn. For instance, Naveeda Khan, in her article has tried to describe the relation between human and Jinn in terms of a family's story wherein a Jinni named Sulayman would possess the young girl called Maryam (Khan, 2006).

Accordingly, can Jinns be considered as forms of life? In the case of Kotla, the presence of the Jinn, referred to as *Jinnat* (in plural in Urdu) seem to be more in terms of a mediator between insaan [4] and Allah. As one of my young respondents said, 'the place is like High Court, jinns are like advocates who sit there, receive petitions and can fetch solutions to problems' (Interview on 31 March). They are believed to be supernatural beings made of fire and exist in the caves beneath the mosque, in the dark rooms as well as in the wind around. However all my Muslim respondents believed in Allah above Jinns. Infact few of them even claimed that they come to pray directly at the Jamai Masjid, the mosque as Allah is the supreme of all. The Imam of Jami Masjid also held this point of view and he himself referred as '*Allahwala*'. The care- taker of the Badruddin

Dargah believed that the Jinns had prayed to saint Badruddin Shah to renovate the place from evil spirits and therefore the former is the master, Badshah of the place. Despite these varied viewpoints on the Jinn, all of them agreed that the Jinns here are benevolent. One of my respondent who is a Hindu had another interesting take on Jinn who is said to have revealed to him in the form of a young man and who has gone to the extent of venerating Jinn in his home An elderly Sikh woman told me that she believed in the sacredness of the place and did not fear the Jinn. The effect of Jinn could even be felt in terms of bodily sensations such as hiccups or swelling or bad breathe. However old Zakir Ahmed believes that the Jinn and himself could not leave each other. The presence of Jinn in terms of these many stories and experiences point towards the Jinn-as real imaginal or to put it in their own words, it is hakikat(certainty).

The core of this paper, is mainly divided into three portions describing the offerings to Jinns, architecture of the place and matter that flows through this sacred site. Thereby it tries to describe materialities with communicative, temporal and affective dimensions respectively.

Communicating to the Jinn Baba

As mentioned by Taneja in his work, the saints who are venerated in Kotla are believed to be Jinns. Let me now try and explain the aspects of communication (non- verbal in particular) with the Jinn saints in Kotla. Letters in the form of applications, complaints, petitions or invitations are tied to the corners of the building either written in Urdu or photocopied. This may also contain the photograph and full address of the author. Most of these letters are addressed to the Baba of Firoz Shah Kotla (*Firoz Shah Kotlaki Baba*). It is believed that the Jinn saints could reach the petitions to Allah who would provide justice. Some of the friends here also told that the place is like a courtroom wherein there is certainty that justice would be given. Taneja, in his work has considered the increase in the practice of tying letters after Emergency and connected it to state amnesia which eventually led to increase in Jinn believers (Taneja, 2013). This example shows how the living and dead in Kotla communicate each other and through materialities. Other than the letters, Jinns are venerated in many other ways. A description of the same is provided in terms of an entry from my field note:

> "As I left my footwear and entered inside the *Saat Dar*, I saw a group of sari clad women wearing bindis collecting mud lamps (*diya*) from Sainuddeen (I am seeing him assisting in rituals for the first time today as his main job is to fill water in the tanks for drinking). Sainuddeen guided them on how to fill the lamp as he sat on his plastic mat with a

bottle of oil and incense sticks next to him. He gestured them to walk inside the fourth chamber and entered its darkness. The women were commenting that it was pretty dark inside. He asked them to follow him carefully. He lighted the first lamp with a matchstick and handed over the other three to the three ladies as all of them sat on the floor. They did it very patiently so that the light won't go off. Meanwhile Sainuddeen took a bunch of incense sticks and waved them in the air as the smell came out thick. Everyone (including me) closed their eyes in prayer, women covering their heads and their two hands open."

This is mostly explained in terms of rituals, symbolisms and material culture in Anthropology. However, this paper is an attempt to understand the above practices as well as associated acts such as the tying of bangles, coins, ribbons, garlands, and hairclips not merely in terms of its meaning of seeking wishes (*mannat/ muraadmangna*). Instead, one may understand how the connection with Jinn is retained by tying with a thread and in turn fixing the presence through materials when the person is physically absent. This is particularly evident in the case of photographs attached with petitions that would look back at the onlooker creating communication and affect.

Further, whoever has their *mannat* fulfilled would serve food on the day of *Jumraat* [5]. Once the huge tumblers of food arrive, one sees a long queue getting formed with children running behind for sweet and *namkeen biriyani*[6] and plastic bags swirling all around. Food is also given as alms as the beggars outside patiently wait for some. It is believed that not only the humans, but also animals and birds pass through tough times (*museebat*) due to which separate food including millet, bread, badam and millets, jowar are served for them in mud plates. The abandoned palace is inhabited by dogs, cats, vultures, bats, ants and many more in its caves such as the mangooses and rats which occasionally peeps out. Thus, both the sky and the earth of Kotla are equally crowded on *Jumraat* in particular. While feeding for the crows and vultures, Laila told me that one's illness get erased as high as you could you throw the millets. Her father tells that the birds and animals are '*yatheem'* (orphans) and are to be fed. These beings would inturn reciprocate their prayers for us. It is such narrations of human and non-human relationalities that are often mediated through materials here. Ants, however are separately fed sugar and jaggery and they also feed upon the *laddos* and roses kept at the Jinn's shrines. After all, Jinns could change any forms as ants, cats or insaan. This is a glimpse of the complexity of moral and material life that revolves around food in Kotla. It is important to remind that the moods and dispositions of food is not only the bodies who consume but also on

those who distribute and share them. So I wish to highlight the same as shared material affect which also gets the name of *dua* (prayer) in Kotla.

Time, Texture and Architecture

"Firoz Shah Kotla- The City of Cities" reads the Archaeological Survey of India's (hereafter ASI) red sign board at the entrance of the Fort. Although the palace was built by Firoz Shah Tuqlaq, it remained abandoned after his reign and is believed to have plunged by other rulers and the British. As per the Imam's narration, the Muslims of the area began *namaaz* in the mosque when they saw it abandoned. However, the majority of Muslims of Delhi had to leave for Pakistan after Partition. Later the place remained abandoned again when the neighbours began getting the effects of Jinns. Thus, Muslims here began to worship Jinns and do *namaaz* in mosque again. However, none of the ASI's signboards describe this story. For them, Kotla is a dead monument and they had also closed many down many chambers and installed an entry ticket. However, as also noted in Hilal Ahmed's works, this could be connected to the disinterest in the vitality of Muslim places of worship such as the Jama Masjid into monuments (Ahmed, 2014).

Through this description, I wish to say that noticing the presence of the Jinns in the abandoned palace and the emergence of practices of veneration has also to do with the architecture and spatial dimensions of Kotla such as its rugged floor, broken rocks, dilapidated buildings, dark chambers which got housed by ants and bats. Jinns are believed to inhabit forest and abandoned palaces. As provided in the first section, the place is now vibrant with practices wherein objects turn to things that matter! Moreover, this also transcends the temporal through oscillating through invoking the Badshah, Jinns and Government at the same time as argued by Taneja.

Apart from temporality, the stone walls and nooks and corners of buildings has its own active and affective dimensions. It is on the stone walls inside Kotla that the bats stick to during whole of the day. In one of our conversations, Roshni described to me the spectacular scene when the bats flew out to the open when the night fell. It is the same wall that Roshni once saw as changing to the Jinn as a black mighty form. She asked me to listen to the walls when a sudden sensation fell on me also that the walls were panting. It is on the walls that people lean on to and cry in pain of their worries. Thus, the shrines, chambers, verandahs become actants that support and produce its own effects. Apart from this, Kotla also has an iron pillar which became the Laat Baba's shrine the Jami Masjid, the horse stable, the Baoli an abandoned madrassa and a vast

maidaan. The next section describe the ecology of Kotla in more detail.

Matter, Energy, Flow

This section is an attempt to understand the matter and its force to affect in the landscape of Firoz Shah Kotla. As per oral narratives, the wind of Kotla has healing qualities. Sheba had told me that one gets relieved by visiting Kotla as the troubled air inside our bodies gets exhaled and mixes with the air around due to which one gets 'sukoon' (well- being). It is precisely this energy of the flow of matter that I wish to emphasise in this section. As aforementioned, the wind inside the chambers of Kotla carries the smell of incense and gets very thick in texture due to smoke. One may not be able to recogonise faces inside the chambers as black colour has diffused all along. In other words, one may have witnessed the Jinn through the faint light that comes from the diyas. Tears would roll down the cheeks by the time one gets out of the Sat Dar. Coughing due to smoke is considered to be normal as one is believed to be relieved of evil eye then. It is this "assemblage" of senses, belief and material that provides affective energies that moves around. According to Jane Bennett, this would constitute an "agency of assemblages" that is not specific to human bodies or in other words are "impersonal affect" created by material agency. The ants, bats, inssan and the Jinn appears and disappears within its architecture. Alongside Latour, Bennett further understands this in terms of human nonhuman collectives and also calls approached it from the angle of political ecology (Bennett, 2010).

By providing the above descriptions, my objective was definitely not to highlight the mystical or magical dimesnsions of a space. Instead they unravel the ethical and political stories of sharing affect through materialities. Thus, communication, time and affect are understood through materials. The attempt also intends to blur the human and non- human boundaries by providing a non-western ontology that is co- constituted by the cosmological and the ecological and thereby pave way for an anthropology that is not anthropocentric (Descola, 2013; Viveiros de Castro, 2014).

Seeking Mannat

While referring to the Hamad sha (Sufi saint) cult in Morocco, Crapanzano writes:

> "The tombs are visited and venerated by men, women, and children anxious to obtain from their saint some favor such as a male child, a cure for a bout of rheumatism or a case of devil- possession, a favorable verdict at court, political asylum, or simply good fortune." (Crapanzano, 1973).

Similar to this, an observation from this field work is a frequently used phrase '*Mannataur Muraad Mangna*' which could be translated as requesting for a votive and wish. People tend to pray keeping in mind their wish (which is ideally not to be disclosed) and inturn may tie letters or bangles or coins or locks (which are to be removed after the wish is granted) for the same and may visit the place for seven consecutive *Jumraats*. Most of these wishes that I saw were described in future tense such as to demand a victory in case, for a successful marriage, to get a child in family, to get back a missing a husband, for wealth or luck or protection from losses.

They may also give alms to beggars or offerings such as meat and milk or *biriyani*, sweet rice and millets to animals and birds. (Mangooses, kites, crows, pigeons, cats and dogs are abundant here). This is also seen as an act of 'correction' or removal of '*Shaitani Harkat'* (Demon deeds) to put in the words of Saadar Sab (Interview on 30 March). These aspects of seeking fortune in terms of fulfilling of hopes and desires could be understood very much in terms of interaction and interlocution (Crapanzano, 2003). Such interactions are not only between humans but other forms of life and provision is through interesting channels of communication as provided in the next section.

Witnessing *Basharat*

In Kotla it is considered as important to maintain consistency in communication with Jinns for fulfilling wishes. This could be done by visiting the Fort repeatedly or through the written word about the place. Anand Taneja has also mentioned about the need for *hazrat* (presence) and *haziri* (attendance) in shrines (Taneja, 2012). It is also said to spread the name of the place and few of my respondents were happy that I was 'writing' down their stories which could eventually help them regain 'connection'. Otherwise the saints may reveal themselves to people in the form of dreams and visions. Such prophetic dreams are referred to as '*Basharat*' and could also be considered as a 'calling' to visit the place. Sohan Lal of Old Delhi narrated to me his experience of witnessing the Baba as follows. He kept on blinking his eyes as he tried to recollect and equally ambiguous about the real and imaginal moment;

> I was around 12 when I first came here. We came from school to fly kites. I had climbed on top of that fort. Later it was when I was 35 year old when a boy I met in the bus stand who wore the same dress as mine a long *kurta.* He said he did not have *Kiraaya* to go back, so accompanied him till the fort and thought of visiting the place once again. He was a smart person and I climbed on top of the fort and lighted

> the *diya*. He was sitting on the bench. I climbed down and searched for him. I couldn't find him though I searched again and again. He was gone in the wind. Later, I had experienced growth in life from the next week. Unlike people who say I had thought of so and so after the things get down, he can predict future and see things beforehand. Till then everything was very dull. I had venerated him near my house. But later, the houseowner had placed tiles over the place and in Firoz Shah Kotla the area where I lighted the *diya* had gone down. And *Sarkar* had closed it down. This was not fair as break had come and I again started experiencing illness that was not particularly linked to my age. I came back and started visiting the place again and filled application and things started becoming better. I once again attained peace. I never saw him later but his message keeps coming back to me and it would reach in written form, the same way as you are writing would reach and today with your visit, *Aaj Baba ka yaadaya.* If you pray to him, he will certainly answer it. I have regained the connection of today and am going back. (Interview on 31 April)

Sohan Lal also lives with the hope of seeing the Baba again and expects the occurrence of another meeting which has the power to change the course of events, for better and occurrence of a 'break' in connection may change things for worse. This narration is very similar to Amira Mittermaier's study on the dream narratives of Sufi community in Egypt. Mittermaier further extends the notion of 'being acted upon' to the limits of intentional action and unpredictability of life. Hereby she tries to challenge the liberal model of autonomous self and sees the need to think beyond self- cultivation. Such subjectivities also harbinger towards religiosities that are pointing towards an alterity (Mittermaier, 2012). I would like to conclude in the coming sections by dwelling more upon this notion of alterity. This alterity could be thought upon in terms of alterity in bodily and mental experiences as well as of that of time and space.

Alterity of Time, Space and Imagination

As described in an earlier section, passing through the *Sat Dar* may transform one to an alternate realm witnessing the Jinn, who according to Saadar Saab, will be present in the air : "*Jinnathawameinguzartehein*". It is also a space wherein the earthly and the celestial could meet wherein *insaan*, *jinnatand* animals coexist as beings along with the environment. And no wonder people start venerating Jinns in new places such as holes in trees.

A discuusion of alternate temporality is also found in Taneja who has related to an alternate time coexistent with the present where people

seek justice in the court of Jinns as they are forgotten by the bureaucratic state (Taneja, 2013). Incidentally, this practice could also be seen as contradicting the conversion and secularization of Islamic buildings into monuments of 'Indian heritage' as Hilal Ahmed would argue (Ahmed, 2013) and instead posing a challenge in terms of the presence of an alternate form called Jinns who would guard the Mosque and Fort.

Conclusion

In Desjarlais's work among the Yolmo Sherpa of Nepal, he deals with their emotional and sensorial life by examining "the play between cultural sensibilities and emotional distress, from the cultural forces that mould, make sense of, and occasionally exacerbate feelings of loss, sorrow and despair to the social institutions that assuage the pain and anxiety often bound within these sentiments." (Desjarlais, 1992: 14). Much along the same line, Firoz Shah Kotla's Jinn veneration, its associated practices, music and gatherings could be seen as responsive to a sense of grief and sorrow that emulate from dealing with law or loss of kinship as also shown by Anand Taneja (Taneja, 2013). In other words, these could not be limited to the literature on possession or mysticism and could be seen as inaugurating discussions on affect and ethics of everyday life. Side by side, the study also wishes to open up possibilities on thinking in between the real and imaginal, the conscious and the unconscious. This could be best described with the help of a small self- reflexivity note on the study which however was conducted within the constraints of time and language:

I had approached the field with the perceptions of visiting a 'haunted site' as per the popular constructions in the mass media. I also remember a set of school children visiting the place in one of the days and running past the monuments in fear and prayer. I was partly relieved when I learnt that the place houses only benevolent Jinns. In the initial days, the believers were skeptical of my intentions and I was asked not to write anything bad about the place. They asked me to be cautionate while entering the *Sat Dar* and immediately showed me a torch light when I was about to slip from one of the chambers. They had overseen the possibility of me 'being affected' by the Jinn. I was also asked to visit the place only with purity. Jeanne Favret- Saada, in her book, The *Anti- Witch* has shared experiences of how she was 'taken' during the fieldwork and would not remember anything of the spell despite her participation. (Favret- Saada, 2015). I too had spent the nights after coming back from the field with a possibility of witnessing a Jinn in one of my dreams. Sooner or later, I came to know that Jinn could be found in many forms and got the justification of the fear and skepticism

in the eyes of few respondents while telling about the Jinn as they would have suspected myself to be one. This conundrum of the real and imaginal reminds me of the moral words of old Zakir Ahmad who sits at the entrance to Sat Dar with balck paint in his hands and body. He smilingly said through his toothless mouth; "*Sayyad mareganahi, who zindahein*". The righteous would not die, they would live forever. Thus, the moral life in Kotla revolves around prayer (*Dua*) and incidentally that is the only thing that Zakir Ahmed demanded from me and so does Jinns from everyonelse!

Notes

1. As per the sign boards in Kotla.
2. Asokan Pillar was brought from Ambala by Thughlaq
3. Dargah refers to a Muslim shrine
4. Insaan is the Arabic or Urdu word for human
5. *Jumraat* observances at Thursday evenings is the most crowded event at Kotla because Thursday night is considered auspicious in Islamic beliefs wherein sins committed during the week would be forgiven and the prayer would not be refused by Allah as it is the auspicious night of the *Jum'ah* as per *Hijra* calendar.
6. Namkeen refers to sour taste and biriyani is a dish made of rice

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.105-112

The 'Soap Operas' of the Epics: The Mythological Impressions on Visual Medias & The Expansions of Global Market Advertisements in India

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Abstract

The paper promises to analyze the features of 'Soap Operas'(known as —serials in India), its growing experiences and emergence in India after the colonial regime. The study is focusing on the epic 'Soap Operas'especially like Ramayana and the Mahabharata and its popularity among the common folks in India. Here, the paper is discussing the role of Doordarshan as a national broadcaster and also efforts to find out its relevance within the socio-political and cultural scenarios of the post-colonial India. The paper discusses the mythological impressions and its visual reaches among the people and how these 'Soap Operas' impaired the common middle classes in India and their political and cultural perspectives.
Keywords: Bharatiya Janata Party,Hindu Consciousness, Mahabharata, Ramanand Sagar, Ramayana, Saas-Bahu, Star TV, Valmiki.

Introduction

By the mid-1950s, soap operas (known as serials in India), films, and film-based programs were the programs which attracted to increasing amounts of sponsorship and advertising revenue homologous to other daily features like news, sports, talk shows, quiz shows etc. Within two years, a program named Hum Log was begun and this became successful and popular entertainer in the genre of Indian soap operas. Later, the Indian epics of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata had become the significant part of mainstream 'soap operas' and the national broadcaster-Doordarshan initiated to serialize them.This study exercises to analyze the socio-cultural perspectives of the visual interaction of the people and these epics for the creation of a nation's political and cultural identity.

The Mythological Impressions of the 'Epics' in Indian Visual Media

During the 'post-colonial' phases of India, numerous private satellite television channels and the national broadcaster *Doordarshan* have begun to inflect Indian perceptions in interesting ways. These introduce newer elements by different ways to the experience of expressive culture and the self-understandings of nationhood (Natascha, 2006:33-34). As a national broadcaster, the state-owned *Doordarshan* channel established in India during the nineteen seventies. In its primary stages, *Doordarshan* programs telecasted often oriented to 'social education' rather than entertainment. After the failed experiments like *Krishi Darshan*, *Doordarshan* initiated the most popular show like *Chitrahaar* which showed music clips from Hindi films. The eighties saw a steady change. Nationwide color transmission was introduced at the time of the Delhi Asian Games in the year 1982. By the end of the decade, *Doordarshan* serialized renditions of the epics *Ramayana & Mahabharata* which proved to be immensely popular (Sanyal, 2008:65).

The juxtaposition of a series of episodes from the *Ramayan* the actors who portrayed Ram and Sita in the 1987 *Doordarshan* television serialization of this epic embodies the historical interpenetration. This television broadcast is widely accepted as a key event in India's movement towards the Hindu right, leaving in its wake a 'politics after television' (Rajagopal, 2002:278). The Ramayan screened its first episode on National Programme on Sunday, 25 January 1987, and the serial ran for seventy- eight weeks. It was produced and directed by Ramanand Sagar, a veteran of the Hindi film industry. Although the *Ramayana* is attributed to the sage *Valmiki*, there are many regional versions of the epic. The one chosen for Doordarshan's production was mostly based on Tulsidas's *Ramacharitamanas*, a seventeenth-century devotional glorification of Lord Rama, the protagonist of the epic. (To distinguish between the serials and the epics, the serials shall henceforth be referred to as the Ramayan and the Mahabharat, and the epics as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata, a practice espoused by some academics.).

As with all epics, there are many subplots and digressions contained within the tale. Thanks to the director's film background, the serial was filmed in Hindi with extravagant costumes, lavish sets, and opulent visuals. Although emotional, melodramatic, and overwrought, it was designed to move the viewer to feelings of devotion for their Lord or deity. For many, the weekly episode was a religious moment, a time for devotion. Academics point out that many bathed and purified themselves, even lighting oil lamps and incense sticks (symbolic acts of worship) in front of the tele-

vision set, prior to viewing the serial. Some have argued that the revival of Hindu nationalism and the election victory of the rightwing Hindu-nationalist *Bharatiya Janata Party* (BJP) in the regional and national elections from 1991 onwards can be traced back to the success of this serial.

The second epic to be screened on Doordarshan's National Programme was the Mahabharat. It was directed by another veteran Hindi film director, B. R. Chopra, and its production was as gaudy, garish, opulent, and extravagant as the Ramayan— and even more popular. The Mahabharata epic is made up 83,000 couplets divided into eighteen cantos. It is longer than the Ramayana, the Bible, and Homer's Odyssey. It was serialized in ninety-three episodes from September 1988 to July 1990.

Both epics form part of the Hindu consciousness, and references to their episodes sprinkle everyday life and speech. However, the two epics are fundamentally different. The Ramayana is a morality tale inhabited by idealized characters—Rama is the ideal king, his wife the ideal woman, his brother the ideal brother, and even the villain is an idealized example of villainy. As an epic it offers guidance on what constitutes good and evil, and what upholds righteousness. In contrast, flawed and tragic characters people the Mahabharata. No one is perfect. The wrong doers have poignant moments of goodness and the heroes have critical weaknesses that move events inexorably towards the tragic war. The epic holds in its heart a complex but deeply antiwar narrative and condemns the destructive nature of war.

Most critics, who had already sharpened their pencils for a frenzy of acerbic barbs and clever writing, panned both epics. They sneered at the advertising Shakti (power) in bhakti (devotion) and sought amusing alliterations in "mythology, make believe, and masala" and "devotion, dharma (righteousness), and drama" to describe the serials. But while the intelligentsia dismissed them as pure kitsch, the serials found an immense and devoted following among the general public.

At first the advertisers showed little interest in sponsoring the serials. But once they realized that almost the entire nation, particularly the urban middle class, was mesmerized by the weekly renderings, they promptly queued up to advertise their products during its transmission. Ramayan represented a milestone in the history of commercial sponsorship on Doordarshan, generating spectacular revenues for the network and out-grossing all concurrent programs. The Mahabharat outdid even the record-breaking revenues of Ramayan. According to a newspaper poll, nearly 92 percent of Indian television viewers watched the Mahabharat(Rajagopal, 2002:278).

The success of these serials established the mythological/devo-

tional genre as a permanent feature of Indian television—so much so that the genre, which originated in cinema, has been entirely appropriated by the little screen and has virtually ceased to exist in popular Hindi films. But the genre has not remained the monopoly of Doordarshan. When satellite television arrived in India in 1991, the new channels lost no time in offering their own daily devotional and mythological serials.

The Arrival of Satellite Television in India

The arrival of commercial satellite television in India dates back to 1990, when AsiaSat1 was launched. It was the first privately owned satellite communication network covering all of Asia, and its owners were a consortium led by three firms: the Hong Kong–based Hutchinson Whampoa, Britain's Cable & Wireless, and China's CITIC Technology Corporation. The northern and southern geographical extents of AsiaSat1 covered thirty-eight countries, from Egypt in the west to Japan in the east. The southern footprint of AsiaSat1 covered the entire Indian sub-continent. In 1991, STAR TV was launched as a joint venture between Hutchinson Whampoa and its chairman, Li Ka-Shing. Since STAR (an acronym for Satellite Television Asian Region) is an English-language network, Hutchinson Whampoa gambled on being able to attract the English-speaking elite communities of Asia by offering them high-profile Western programming. The venture was to be funded by the advertising dollar, with multinational firms vying to sell luxury products and services to this niche market (Barraclough, 2000:3-17).

Cable had begun unofficially in India in 1984, spreading from tourist hotels to apartment blocks and finally to individual households. Videocassette players, linked centrally to a cable network, fed the networks (hotels, a few apartment blocks, and individual households) by subscription, and by May 1990 there were 3,450 such cable networks. In the four major Indian cities—Delhi, Mumbai, Chennai, and Kolkata—over 330,000 households had been cabled, forming an audience of 1.6 million (Ray, 1996:7-28).

In 1991, cable networks that had equipped themselves with satellite dishes gained free access to STAR TV and its BBC and CNN channels. The first real challenge to the Doordarshan's news monopoly came with CNN's broadcasts of the Gulf War in January 1991. This kind of access to a foreign war zone within the comfort of one's living room increased the Indian public's interest in cable networks. The death of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, son of Indira Gandhi, in 1991 was the first time Indians witnessed a major national tragedy live on a foreign TV network (Lahiri, 1995: 23-45.).

At first STAR targeted the urban, educated, middle-class viewers. It

offered special introductory rates for advertisements on its channels, which cost a quarter of the price of advertisements on Doordarshan. Small local companies advertising greeting cards, shoes, and fire extinguishers jostled with multinationals to sponsor U.S. programs such as The Cosby Show and Murphy Brown, which, together with Santa Barbara and The Bold and the Beautiful, had become primetime viewing. In fact, The Bold and the Beautiful became the conversation topic in urban Indian society. Dinner parties were rescheduled to allow aficionados the pleasure of the broadcasts.

STAR also conducted research on its audiences and found that Indians tended to stay at home rather than head for the hills or the countryside on weekends, unlike viewers in the western countries, so they quickly revamped their lackluster weekend schedules. Within six months, subscribers to STAR TV had jumped from 400,000 to 1.2 million, an increase of over 200 percent. By the end of the year India had become the largest national audience for STAR TV, a phenomenon that astonished its executives in Hong Kong. However, STAR TV's audience, large as it was, constituted just a fraction of Doordarshan's, which in 1992 stood at around 125 million in the urban areas and around 75 million in the countryside (Rahman, 1992: 21-53.).

Despite the onslaught by commercial cable and satellite channels offering round the - clock entertainment, Doordarshan has remained resilient, even though it continues to broadcast public service programs that are so unattractive to advertisers and commercial television. In 2000, Doordarshan inaugurated Gyan Darshan, an educational channel along the lines of the Open University. More recently Doordarshan decided to rectify its battered image of a down-market, ungainly dinosaur by hiring a public relations firm to develop its image and brand. It has tried to improve its presentation by improving sets, professionally training anchors, and amending its programs to take account of viewers' preferences and the market.

General Entertainment Programs

Although, the results of surveys published by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), the Economic Times, and other newspapers and magazines, tend to vary, they all agree that the regional channels and general entertainment in Hindi garner over 80 percent of the total viewership and comprise the largest segment of the market. The programs include primetime soaps, quiz shows, music contests, comedy programs, and talk shows. STAR TV's Star Plus channel, which now broadcasts entirely in Hindi, leads the field in entertainment, with forty-five of the nation's top fifty programs, followed by Sun TV, Gemini TV, Sony Entertainment, ETV, and Zee TV.

The most-watched category of the general entertainment is the soap opera. At any given time, every broadcaster in Hindi and the regional languages has at least one and often more soaps. They are generally about extended families, with the struggle for power among various members of the extended family dominating the action. Central to these conflicts are the vicious power struggles between the mother-in-law (*saas*) and the daughter-in-law (*bahu*). Since most Indians, both in the cities and villages, live in extended families with several generations cohabiting under one roof, these soaps find great resonance with audiences. These *saas*-bahu struggles are epitomized in long-running soaps such as STAR TV's Hindi-language *Saas Bhi Kabhi Bahu Thi.* Others include *Kahani Ghar-Ghar* Ki (STAR), *Des Mein NiklaHoga Chand*, *KkoiDil Mein Hai,* and *Kkusum* (Sony). The leader of the pack is *KyunkiSaasBhi Kabhi Bahu Thi,* which, in order to keep ahead of the rest, must come up with ever more innovative and daring ideas. For example, its production company, Balaji Telefilms, was the first to decide to shoot some of its episodes in Australia.

The soaps target female audiences, and most run only on weekdays. Drawing on unrestrained feminine greed and ambition, first introduced to Indian viewers by *The Bold and the Beautiful*, screened by STAR TV in the early 1990s, Indian soaps are intense family dramas. "Television clearly loves the new nasty that seduces husbands, steals boyfriends, exchanges babies and manipulates mothers-in-law," writes critic Kaveree Bamzai(Bamzai, 2004: 56-63).

The soaps concentrate on affluent, urban, unhappy Indians and unfailingly narrate incidents of rape, divorce, and extramarital relationships. "A good soap asks for the impossible," says television's top writer Manohar Shyam Joshi, who invented the genre with *Hum Log* and *Buniyaad*. "It must be high drama which can masquerade as reality"(Chandra, 1996: 33-48)

The most successful news channel is the Hindi-language *Aaj-Tak*, owned by Living Media India, Ltd., which also owns the news magazine India Today. The company's success can be attributed to its decision to woo the small businesses that had previously been shunned by advertisers as too insignificant or down-market. In doing so, it broke advertising records and showed that dedicated news channels could be lucrative business. The success of *AajTak* encouraged other broadcast companies to start news channels in regional languages.

According to the survey published in the Economic Times, the cable and satellite news channels' share of viewership, which was just 2 percent a few years ago, has risen to 6–7 percent. Advertising revenues have accordingly increased, too. News channels corner 14 percent of the total

television advertising revenue. The reason for this disproportionate share of revenue is the perception that the genre mainly attracts men, who are the decision-makers for the purchase of high-value goods in most families. Also, news viewers are often perceived as the opinion farmers of the nation. Advertisers therefore consider them a significant emerging market.

The international broadcasts include Indian programs and sometimes programs specially made for the immigrant population overseas, which constitutes an important revenue and target for advertising So lucrative is the overseas market that many Indian programs such as the musical quiz-cum-singing contest *Sa Re Ga Ma* are shot in the United States and the United Kingdom with Asian audiences (Joshi, 1998: 51-68).

Conclusion

The most impressive feature of Indian television has been its exponential growth. Despite a late start, television is now the fastest growing area of entertainment in India, and the forecast for Indian television, particularly regional television, is one of continued growth. As penetration of terrestrial, cable, and satellite television into the rural areas increases, the regional sector is expected to grow considerably.

There are a total of 192 million households in India—56 million in urban areas. Of these, 43 million receive terrestrial television, with 27 million households also subscribing to cable and satellite networks. There is therefore scope for growth and this growth also depicts the expansions of advertisements also in urban areas, particularly in cable and satellite television connectivity.

Therefore, 136 million rural households of which only 39 million receive terrestrial television and 13 million have cable and satellite connections. Cable and satellite penetration in regional hinterlands, away from the main commercial capitals, is particularly low, and the scope for growth in the rural areas is tremendous. However, growth in television connectivity in the hinterland will depend on improved infrastructure, particularly the availability of electricity in the rural areas. The biggest advantage of DTH technology is that it renders the role of the cable operator redundant. Digital technology and signal compression also create savings on transponder services while allowing for greater numbers of channels. However the more expensive addressable system and aerial dish required for DTH result in increased costs for the subscriber, a very important consideration in mass media diffusion in India (Kasbekar, 2006: 151-174).

The mythological printed images in advertisements were popular at the time of colonial ages. The so called 'Soap Operas' provide and hike

in the popularities of such genres of advertisements and the expansions of media in the present level made it more wider and easier. The epic images and its later impacts made a new culture of 'consumption' and a 'consumer persuasions' in broad and which created a scope for the emergence of brands and brand images in the markets not only the regional level but also in the global scenarios. Nowadays, such depictions in advertisements also prevailed in popularly by using new mediums such as internet and social networks. The epics also get the popularity through its divine and satire depictions and both of them acted as an effective marketing methodology among the modern consuming system.

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.113-123

Disciplining Women in Medieval Kerala: A Study of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi

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Abstract

Caste and gender were the two factors that regulated the everyday life of people in medieval Kerala. There were so many regressive customs in medieval Kerala related to caste. The accounts of foreign travellers provide references to a few such customs. It is reported that as a part of the established custom the Nāyar ladies were forced to practice Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi. Thus, the low caste or outcaste men were able to kidnap the Nāyar women in a stipulated period. However, the custom called Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi practiced during a period when pollution to any high caste person by outcastes was met with severe punishment makes it a problem to be revisited. The low caste or outcaste men are not gaining any social privilege or prestige by such abduction makes it problematic. This paper attempts to examine the context and social utility of such a custom. Who is benefited by the fear psychosis created in the name of Maṇṇān, Pulayan and Paṟayan to the Nāyar women? According to medieval custom, chastity was the sole responsibility of women. Whether this social regulation restricted the free movement of low caste and outcaste people and upper caste women of society? Whether this custom is used as a tool to isolate the outcastes from the rest of the society is a problem worthy to examine. Thus, the present paper reappraises Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi as a ploy of elite men against both the low caste people and aristocratic women.
Keywords: Maṇṇāppēṭi, Pulappēṭi, Nāyar, Maṇṇān, Pulayan, Sambandham, caste, gender, Taṟavāṭu, Disciplining women, outcaste, low caste, Medieval Kerala.

Introduction

The society in medieval Kerala was stratified, held its own tradi-

tion, culture and rituals. The indigenous practices like Mārgam (old custom), Maryāda (obligation) and Ācāram (established custom) have taken care of the rule of law. The absolute subjection of people to their age-old customs and traditions resulted in the recognition of customs as laws. Thus, customs were institutionalized by continuous observances. The people of medieval Kerala followed Chāturvarṇya (four varṇas i.e. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra) ideals of the medieval Indian social system. The social status and hierarchy of every caste was specifically delineated which were bound on them.

Peculiar customs and practices observed in medieval Kerala, particularly related to high caste groups to maintain moral code. Smārttavicāram, Maṇṇāppēṭi, Pulappēṭi and Paṟapēṭi are the foremost regulatory mechanisms for women based on the concept of chastity. These regulatory measures are directly related to the caste and gender principles of medieval Kerala. Earlier scholars such as Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai argues Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi as customs in favour of low castes against high castes (Pillai, 1970:114). This paper attempts to make a re-appraisal of these customs, which in fact acted against the outcastes in medieval Kerala. The process of disciplining the Nāyar women through Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi was also taken up in this paper. How the concept of chastity was utilized in the medieval period to curtail the freedom of Nāyar women also is an important aspect of the study.

Foreign and Indigenous Accounts

According to indigenous tradition of Kerala, the womanhood represented as to be gentle, polite, self sacrificing, sexually passive and monogamous. There was a belief that the status and position of a woman enhances basically with the proper maintenance of chastity. Chastity is not depended upon class, caste and social status. It was the sole responsibility of women to maintain chastity (Gauri Amma, 1934:146). Smārttavicāram was a trial of Nampūtiri women for adultery from late medieval period to the early 20th century (Moosath, 2017:132-37; Bhaskaranunni, 2000:148-209). The punishment for such an offence was excommunication. The women thus punished became outcastes in that particular social system.

Nāyar women were forced to practice customs like Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi. However, it was not based on any Brahmanical texts such customs were practiced. In fact, values prescribed by Brahmin tradition are amended in the case of sexual relation between Brahman men and Nāyar women. The practice of Sambandham (a form of marriage among matrilineal castes) was prominent feature of Nā-

yar society. The Nāyar women had concubinage relation with many Nāyar, Nampūtiri and other high caste men. Thus, the application of the concept of chastity in the case of Nāyar women is intriguing.

The foreign travellers visited Kerala in medieval period, refer about Maṇṇāpēṭi and Pulappēṭi. Duarte Barbosa, the Portuguese traveller who visited Malabar in 16th century, is the first to mention Maṇṇāppēṭi (Dames, 1989:68-69). Sheik Zainuddin, the indigenous scholar who wrote in Arabic, also refer this practice (Nainar, 2009: 43-44). The foreigners mention this as the most abominable and unbelievable custom of the Kerala Hindus. This custom had varied names in different places. In South Travancore it was called as Pulappēṭi or Paṟappēṭi (Achyuthawarrier, 2000:139). The details of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi are also varied in the foreign accounts.

Barbosa elaborated that on certain days of a year, an outcaste man can throw a stone or twig at a woman or touch her. In most of the cases there was no witness. But the women herself revealed the truth and ran away with the outcaste who polluted her. If she refuses to run away with that man, her relatives will kill her to save their honour. In certain cases, she requested the help of the outcaste man to sell her to foreigners (Dames, 1989: 68-69). This description shows that there was no need of a touch by an out-caste man for pollution. At the same time Sheik Zainuddin says that, every year there is a certain day, when an out-caste person would enter the sleeping room of a high caste lady or would dare to touch her, becomes polluted and is forced to run away with him. If not, she would be sold as a slave by the Nāṭuvāḻi, or she gets converted to Muslim or Christian sects (Nainar, 2009:43-44). Herman Gundert says that the period of Pulappēṭi is in the Malayalam month of Karkkiṭakam corresponding to July-August (Gundert, 2013:632). M.G.S. Narayanan, M.R. Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal use the term Maṇṇāppiṭi (grasp by Maṇṇān) and Pulappiṭi (grasp by Pulayan) to label the custom (Narayanan, 1972:3; Varier and Gurukkal, 2012:155). It is argued that it was a type of abduction of high caste women by outcaste men (Varier and Gurukkal, 2012:155). The description shows that the outcaste men entered into the room of high caste lady. No accounts mention molestation in the case of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi. Thus, high handedness from the part of outcaste men did not seems to be the reason for the practice. In fact, the origin and development of such a custom seems to be more complex.

Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai made a detailed study of the practice of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi. According to him, this practice originated after 11th century CE as a result of the Cēra-Cōḷa war (Pillai, 1970:123). To him, prior to seventh century CE or before the coming of Brahmins to

Kerala, the society was egalitarian. The Brahmin ideology created a stratified society of castes. He thinks that Pulappēṭi was a privilege granted to low castes after the origin of caste system and it was a way to increase the number of slaves in Kerala (Pillai, 1970:116-17). No evidences related to the origin and development of this custom in medieval Kerala is found. Elamkulam explains about a pleasant atmosphere of Pulappēṭi practiced in medieval Kerala. The Nāṭuvāḻi declared a particular date of Pēṭi. That day may be related to the festivals or other rituals of outcastes. During that time the outcastes like Maṇṇān, Pulayan and Paṟayan attain supernatural power and kidnap the ladies of high castes (Pillai, 1970:113). It is probable that the oral tradition on this custom may have created fear among Nāyar women. It is argued that Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi were not actually practiced as a custom in medieval Kerala (Sudhakaran, 1994:485). But this argument does not hold water as we have evidence to it in the account of Duarte Barbosa, in Tuhafat-ul-Mujahiddin and also in the inscription of Vīra Kēraḷa Varma abolishing this practice in Travancore. It is also argued that it was only an attempt to create an atmosphere of fear among Nāyar women. He considers it a ploy by the eldest members of Taṟavāṭu (the matrilineal joint family of the Nāyars) making use of the outcaste servants, and also a strategy to punish particular outcaste men who incurred their displeasure (Sudhakaran, 1994:485).

Disciplining the women

Nāyar society practiced matrilineal form of inheritance in Kerala. However, in practice the society was not matriarchal. Nāyar women had no right to partition the property, exchange the land, sale the profits from the property and so on. This type of economic transactions was controlled by Kāraṇavar (senior most male member of the Taṟavāṭu in the maternal line). The young ladies were under the strict control of Kāraṇavar and Kāraṇavatti (senior most female member of the Taṟavāṭu). They were the kingpins of Taṟavāṭu, especially in matters of young ladies including their Sambandham, child birth, divorce etc. Kāraṇavar and Kāraṇavatti decide the Sambandham of their female family members with appropriate Nāyar or high caste men. They decide the number of Sambandham, its time and continuance of the relationship (Sudhakaran, 1994:508). The senior members of the Nāyar family made use of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi as a disciplinary mechanism to suppress the daring Nāyar ladies on the pretext of custom. So, the atmosphere of obedience was maintained in the Nāyar family by these customs.

The tradition related to Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi may have created

a fear psychosis among the Nāyar women in medieval period. They have enjoyed the right to visit temples and attend festivals in that time. But when a woman travels outside, should be accompanied by a man like Nāyar soldier, or at least a boy above three-year-old, depending on the financial position of each Taṟavāṭu (Ayyar, 1930:26-28). In fact, the social system, in multiple ways, restricted the movements of women. Elamkulam argues that the Nāṭuvāḻi announced a particular date for Pēṭi in every year (Pillai, 1970:113). However, this view is at best a hypothesis as there is no evidence for such a declaration by any Nāṭuvāḻi in Kerala (Haridas, 2016:24-25). Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi gained wide popularity as oral tradition. The fear psychosis of such a social ostracism has sinister effects on Nāyar women of productive ages. Thus, their space restricted within the compound of Taṟavāṭu itself. The punishments related to this pēṭi are of unalterable in nature in the medieval period. A Nāyar woman excommunicated without trial from the community in case a Pulaya or Maṇṇān touches. The only option remains to her was to run away with that outcaste man or convert to Islam, Christianity or lead an ascetic life (Nainar, 2009:43-44). The relatives generally opt the honour killing if she prefers not to leave the family after such pollution (Sudhakaran, 1994:509). The fear of execution or a life of outcaste compelled the Nāyar women to be concerned of purity.

The women were vulnerable to pēṭi only after evening. The companionship of at least a three-year-old boy protected her from pēṭi, and safe guarded her purity (Pillai, 1970:113). This custom openly announces that if a woman was accompanied by a male 'representative', she would be immune from any sort of 'pollution'. This upholds men as protector of women from all sorts of hazards. The social regulations restricted the free movement of low caste people in medieval Kerala. They were even prohibited to see, approach and touch an upper caste man. The custom called Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi were practiced during a period when pollution to any high caste person by low castes or out castes was met with severe punishment. Thus, the possibility of any such act voluntarily from the side of an outcaste man was generally truncated (Pillai, 1970:123). On the other hand, aristocratic family head or chieftain occasionally would have instigated his outcaste servant to touch the disobedient woman of his Taṟavāṭu. Hence the woman was punished in the pretext of custom itself.

Seclusion of outcastes

According to tradition all outcaste men have the right to pollute Nāyar ladies by this medieval custom. But a few outcastes like Maṇṇān, Pulayan and Paṟayan had particularly created fear psychosis to the Nāyar women. The Brahminic ideology of seclusion of outcastes from the Varṇa society

seems to be detrimental in such practices. The outcastes were identified with sorcery and witchcraft, such as Oṭividya, Kūṭōtram and Mantravādam. A social stigma may have formed upon particular outcastes by such practices (Sudhakaran, 1994: 509). The elite class would have taken advantage of the situation by utilising the service of the outcastes as practitioners of sorcery to settle their scores with the opponents. In fact, such practices would have enabled the outcastes to take advantage of the situation against their immediate oppressor and even the estranged masters. Fear is considered as a major regulatory mechanism in the entire period of Kerala history. The practice of sorcery and witchcraft by the outcastes created fear among the high castes which would have exploited to control their women.

The account of Barbosa show that even in the absence of any witness to the incident woman voluntarily informs it and ran away with the outcaste man (Dames, 1989: 68-69). It may be either due to the fear of the custom or in a bid to save the life from execution. The woman considered it as her responsibility to ensure the caste purity of her Taṟavāṭu and so in silence suffered the pain of excommunication. Another possibility is the elopement of woman with her outcaste lover taking advantage of the custom. Thus, it may be either a sacrifice of her life for the honour of her family or a selfish act to fulfill her desire. But evidence is scanty to ascertain the reason behind the actual practice of this custom. Some ballads mention the marriage of upper caste women by low caste men, but of course not in the context of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi (Varier and Gurukkal, 2012:158). The caste rules prescribed and practiced in medieval Kerala denies any possibility of lower or outcaste men marrying upper caste women. Thus, the reappraisal of the custom of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi will throw light on the implications of this practice.

Elamkulam suggested another possibility that the Nāyar woman herself created the circumstances for this custom to live with her outcaste lover (Pillai, 1970:113). To him, during that time, it was tough to touch a Nāyar woman by a Pulayan or Maṇṇān, as she was under strict vigilance of Nāyar militia (Pillai,1970:123). But this argument holds no water, as all upper castes were not in highest glory during that period. So, unlike the aristocratic women, the ladies belong to poor families were not protected by militia, but were only accompanied by a small boy or maid. The social status of Nāyars and outcastes were in the extremes. Thus, it is argued that the possibility of love relation between upper caste women and lower caste men seems to be unusual if not improbable in those social circumstances (Sudhakaran, 1994:507). According to Hindu law, the exogamous marriage was strictly prohibited. The medieval texts on caste rules and customs

like Śānkarasmriti (Unni, 2003:192) and Vyavahāramāla (Vyavahāramāla, 15-63) preach against inter caste marriage. But the prescription against such Varṇasankara itself implies such occurrences in medieval Kerala.

In medieval Kerala, the jāti regulations were not the creation of rulers like Nāṭuvāḻi. The formal order for conducting Smārttavicāram was announced by the ruler, but the outcome of the trial was nothing to do with the ruler as it was entirely managed by the community leaders (Unni, 2003:192). We have already pointed out that there was no evidence regarding the royal proclamation of a particular date for the practice of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi.

Elamkulam argues that the freedom of adultery was permitted once in a year (Pillai, 1970:115). But this argument is in contravention to the social system of that period. During that time adultery was considered as a serious offence which resulted in severe punishment. It seems that the custom called Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi existed not to promote adultery, but to prohibit adultery and ensure the chastity of Nāyar women. However, it is relevant in this context to reappraise the concept of chastity among Nāyar women. The practice of Sambandham made polygamy an accepted norm in the Nāyar community. Thus, monogamy is not a necessary norm of chastity in the case of Nāyar woman. Here the concept of pollution and purity gained more emphasis. The male dominated ideology of caste always forbade and condemns the pratilōma type of marriage, which may be true in the case of medieval Kerala as well. In a matrilineal inheritance system, the elder male members ensured the purity of their successors. They were proud of begetting progeny from upper caste men, but frightened on any possibility of adulteration by lower or outcaste men. Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi seem to be the institutionalisation of the fear of Varṇasankara by the elite males.

The heinous part of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi was the award of punishment without trial. Thus, at the very moment of such occurrence the Nāyar woman ran away from the dēśam due to the fear of execution. The woman involved in this solely bore the brunt of social ostracism. In most of the cases external agency need not to implement the punishment but the victims accepted by themselves.

K.N. Ganesh analyses Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi based on the class theory of Marx. To him, the Nāyars and Pulayars were two distinct classes and exists the possibility of class struggle between these two groups. He says that, in a traditional society, the class struggle is visible through the customs and beliefs and the violation of traditional Maryādas. He says that the low castes expressed their discontent against high castes through the cus-

toms of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi (Ganesh, 2011:169). But in medieval Kerala, we have no evidences of any direct conflict between outcastes and upper castes. Purity and pollution practice seem to be generally abided by the people of Kerala. The outcastes did not dare to challenge their impurity and kept away from the public sphere. They perceived untouchability and unapproachability as a result of their actions in previous life. In that social context class struggle seems to be a distant dream. M.G.S. Narayanan refutes the view of K.N. Ganesh. To him, during medieval period no one impose customs and traditions on people, but themselves accepted it (Narayanan, 1972:3). However, this argument of people voluntarily following customs and traditions in medieval period is contentious. The circumstances in which people became so subservient are only a matter of conjecture. They were not conscious of class exploitation and simply considered it as their fate. It is argued that they were not bothered about the freedom from that social system (Narayanan, 1972:3). However, such over simplification of customs and practices in medieval period can be challenged. Brahminic ideology works in a social and political system, where power is used in visible or invisible manner upon the common people by the elite.

Re-appraisal of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi

In the case of Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi, adultery was not practiced like Aṭukkaḷadōṣam. According to medieval travel accounts even pollution by personal contact was not required for excommunication in the case of these customs. In some cases, Pulayan or Maṇṇān had seen the Nāyar women from a distance and howled out 'Seen! Seen!' which resulted in the excommunication of the latter (Dames, 1989:68-69). A native account of 16th century mentions that in some cases, a Pulayan or Maṇṇān thrown a stone or twigs at a woman of higher caste or touched her (Nainar, 2009:43-44). In any of these cases women were not allowed to stay back in her house. So, it was a case beyond chastity. It seems that it was a toll of gender discrimination devised by the aristocratic class to restrict the freedom of their women. The concept of purity and pollution is utilized for this.

The social structure of medieval Kerala places the Maṇṇān, Pulayan and Paṟayan as servile group of outcastes far below the upper castes. They never challenged their masters and generally remained loyal. In such a social condition how far, the outcastes might have enjoyed such a custom to touch the Nāyar women is highly debatable as the existing social system deprived the outcastes any social space. It may be due to external compulsion if it all they practiced it. It is argued that the Kāraṇavar of Nāyar Taṟavāṭu compelled his outcaste servants to do that. In fact, the Kāraṇavar would have made use of this custom to discipline the auda-

cious ladies in his family, who disobeyed him. Here the outcaste men and high caste women became the victims of existing social customs. Caste differences and gender inequality acted as a weapon to regulate certain groups of society. The power of patriarchy and caste system acted as a tool against the outcastes and women in medieval Kerala society.

Even in a matrilineal Nāyar Taṟavāṭu, males dominated the family structure. The mobility of women was regulated by the elder male member of the family. The space of women confined within the wall of Taṟavāṭu. But a few references related to Maṇṇāppēṭi shows that she was threatened within this limited space itself (Panikkassery, 1970: 79). If any outcaste man touches high caste woman by entering the house, the family members of the latter supported the former. In fact, it is evident that Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi were not accidental incidents, but a well-planned conspiracy to discipline the women.

The daring attempt to abolish Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi was made by Vīra Kēraḷa Varma in 1696 CE. In Kalkulam inscription the King orders that Pulappēṭi and Maṇṇāppēṭi shall not be practiced in the territory lying from the west of Tovāḷa, to the east of Kannēṟṟi and between the mountain range and the sea. If, in transgression of this order, Pulappēṭi and Maṇṇāppēṭi practiced, the very embryo in the womb of the Pulayan and Maṇṇān shall be extracted and slain. It is also ordered that if the Pulappēṭi and Maṇṇāppēṭi occurred to the woman, the pollution shall be considered as removed if the women bathe in a tank (Ayyar, 1930:28-29). This stone inscription was placed at the northern entrance of Keṇṭappaṭaivīṭu. But most of the Nāyar Taṟavāṭus were not ready to accept the order, as they were bound to traditional customs and rituals, which they considered more sacrosanct than the royal proclamation. This royal order protects the upper castes. Here cruel punishments are prescribed to Maṇṇān, Pulayan and Paṟayan who violates the order. The entire family of the outcaste would be killed if anyone practiced Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi. This punishment itself is directed against women. Here the victim was outcaste woman, who had no direct involvement in this practice. It indicates that the proclamation of Kēraḷa Varma protects only the interests of upper caste people in the society. (Varier and Gurukkal, 2012: 157)

Even after the royal proclamation Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi practiced in Kerala by Nāyar families. *Putuvapāṭṭu* depicts the story of the courageous ruler of Kottayam called Kēraḷa Varma who stopped the custom Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi on Kollam Era 871 Makaram 25 (23 January, 1696) (Varier, 2016:38). But his daring attitude led to his assassination by nobles with the consent of Umayamma Rani (Varier, 2016:36).

Conclusion

The present study makes it evident that Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi was one of the regulatory mechanisms to discipline the women of Nāyar community by the patriarchal society. They tried to ensure the purity of their women by restricting their mobility and free will with this custom. The public space was fully restricted to Nāyar women by this custom. Their free movements and independent actions were controlled by a fear psychosis of social ostracism. Thus, Maṇṇāppēṭi and Pulappēṭi can be considered as a disciplinary mechanism, to curtail the freedom of Nāyar women with in a matrilineal community. This custom also used as a tool to alienate the outcastes from the rest of the society. The low castes and out castes were compelled to practice a custom which in no way benefited them. If at all it placed them as the enemies of high caste people and a dreaded community in medieval Kerala.

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.124-135

Conceptualizing Civilization in Sigmund Freud: An Analysis

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Abstract

Civilization has been one of the central concerns of philosophical thinking especially in the twentieth century. In the continental world, many thinkers have discussed civilization as a philosophical problem and, have attempted to look into various aspects of its conceptualization. The realm of civilization is an essential element of the study of human being, which is not merely an anthropological and historical study, but a philosophical one. Sigmund Freud, the father of Psychoanalysis, has been one of the major thinkers who discussed civilization as an important issue especially in the context of the question of subjectivity. Freud's perspective on the question of civilization as expounded in Civilization and Its Discontents was the main source of inspiration behind the psychoanalytic critique of civilization. In this paper, I will try to explore how Freud conceptualizes civilization on the basis of his own concepts of self and repression.
Keywords: Civilization, Self, Repression, Sublimation, Oedipus-complex, Super-ego, Sense of gulit.

Introduction

The word civilization[1] in the literal sense refers to the action or process of civilizing or being civilized. Freud uses the word civilization almost interchangeably with culture. Freud's interpretation on 'civilization' has been initially set out in his work *Totem and Taboo* (1912-13). Here, he posits an intimate link between cultural progress and order and an ever-spiraling instinctual renunciation and repression [2] at the level of the self. Freud argues that our psychic tendency towards violence and destructiveness represents the major threat to the survival of society and culture. This threat leads to an instinctual renunciation and repression of the subject in society. Thus the repression and the formation of self [3] in society are the major two points behind the whole discussions of the concept of civilization. These issues are the main consideration of this paper.

Civilization and its Discontents (1930) is an authoritative work of Freud on civilization. In this work Freud exposes the battle between culture and the drives of the human self. He argues that the increasing complexity of culture necessarily entails the escalation of psychological repression. More advanced level of culture and society has been necessitated for individual's self-control of violence and destructiveness, the repression of desire and emotion. Civilization emerges initially from humanity's need to conquer the earth, to make its harsh surroundings bearable and serviceable to mankind's needs and desires. Thus, for Freud, 'civilization' refers to, "the whole sum of the achievements and the regulations which distinguish our lives from those of our animal ancestors and which serve two purposes- namely to protect men against nature and to adjust their mutual relations (Freud, 1961)." [4]

Here, Freud provides a clear picture on the nature and the function of civilization. Freud's description involves mainly three points: 1) civilization is founded upon the regulations and the acquisition of achievements; 2) these regulations and achievements established a mastership over the instinctual nature of human being; 3) this mastership, which distinguishes men's lives from their animal ancestors, protect men against nature and adjust their mutual relations. The first two have been momentous points in conceptualizing civilization. According to Freud, civilization protects man against the aggression and violence within himself that threaten continually to undermine human relations. Yet this protection and security is only achieved at a cost; the cost of freedom for control.

Freud notes, by the development of superior brain power, human beings have become survivors and conquerors. This process requires co-operation, an ability to abandon individual interests and demands in order to maintain an orderly society. Since, according to Freud, the "replacement of the power of the individual by the power of a community constitutes the decisive step of civilization (Freud, 1961)." [5] But this process occurs only in and through the suppression of the instinctual desires. Freud emphasizes civilization is founded upon instinctual renunciation in the sense of basic repression. So the perfection of our self-control is accomplished at the cost of instinctual repression in civilized man. The human being is the only animal that becomes an 'I' or a self-conscious subject, in and through the process of repression and sublimation. [6] Instinctual renunciation is the basis of justice and order in the relationships among human beings (morality) and survival in the struggle with nature.

Freud remarks that one of the foremost requisite of civilization is justice. Justice made laws that once made will not be broken in favour of

an individual. It implies that, there should be a rule of law to which all have contributed by a sacrifice of our instincts. No one can escape from the rule of law. Liberty, according to Freud, of the individual is not an element of civilization. He writes "the urge for freedom is directed against particular forms and demands of civilization or against civilization altogether (Freud, 1961)." [7] Thus, actually, civilization marches toward the organization of nature and the collective development of the superego (Freud, 1923).[8] We can see that morality (superego) make a powerful factor in the inner life of subject. Freud maintains that the aggressive and brute forces in man can be tamed through the institution of the 'superego' and 'conscience'.

Civilization restricts the instincts and demands of men in mainly two ways: sublimation and renunciation. Restrictions force instincts to induce to displace the condition for their satisfaction that leads them into sublimation. Freud defines sublimation of instinct as "an especially conspicuous feature of cultural development; it is what makes it higher psychical activities, scientific, artistic or ideological, to play such an important part in civilized life (Freud, 1961)." [9] The denied satisfaction is diverted into a more acceptable channel or form of expression through sublimation. For example, aggression gets diverted into playing and watching violent sports or libido gets diverted into artistic and creative activity. This defense mechanism [10] of civilization consists of repression of the individual. Thus, civilization is built upon a renunciation of instincts by suppression, repression or some other means.

Hence, Freud observes that our civilization has been largely responsible for our misery. And we should be much happier if we gave it up and return to primitive condition. Why are we uncomfortable in our civilization? Freud asks this question repeatedly in his work. It is also the basic question for subjectivity, because it reveals the nature and hidden structure of the self. Freud insists persistently that happiness is impossible. Civilization, in the end, categorically implies "control and domination," the sheer denial of human freedom and happiness.

As a matter of fact, Freud believes that life is basically suffering and that the dynamics of nature proves this point. He said there is no possibility at all that happiness can be achieved since all regulations of the universe militate against it. Freud writes: We are threatened with suffering from three directions: "the superior powers of nature, the feebleness of our own bodies and the inadequacy of regulations which adjust the mutual relationships of human beings in the family, the state and society (Freud, 1961)." [11] The suffering from our own body, which is doomed to decay and dissolution and which cannot even do without pain and anxiety as

warning signals. The second one is from the external world, which may rage against us with overwhelming and merciless forces of destruction, and finally from our relation to other men. The suffering which comes from this last source is perhaps more painful than any other. In regard to the first two sources, our judgment cannot hesitate long. It forces us to acknowledge those sources of suffering and to submit to the inevitable.

We shall never completely master nature; and our bodily organism, itself a part of that nature. It will always remain a transient structure with a limited capacity for adaptation and achievement. As regards the third, the social source of suffering, we do not admit it at all. We cannot see why the regulations made by ourselves should not, on the contrary, be a protection and a benefit for every one of us. But what Freud wants to clarify at this point is not only the fact that man is destined to suffer, but also the cause which gives rise to this suffering. Suffering is a direct upshot of the repression of instincts. We have seen that Freud never repudiates this repression. On the contrary, Freud argues that repression is necessary in order to preserve life. This can be done through the repression of instincts. Therefore, momentary pleasure, which he speaks of the alternation of pleasure and unpleasures in life, is the least that man can ever have. Freud maintains that the antagonism between the pleasure principle [12] and the reality principle [13] is eternal.

According to Freud, the large amount of frustration of society, imposed upon the individual, has been the causes of neurosis. There is a built-in antagonism between the demands of the instincts and the repressive structure of the society. For Freud, we suffer as human from external restrictions (for instance, laws and regulations which tell us not to kill our father or have sex with our mother) and internal restrictions (which often keep us from committing those acts even if we knew we would not get caught, because we would feel unbearable guilt if we did). Freud, thus, writes that the sense of guilt is the most important problem in the development of civilization. The price, we pay for our advance in civilization, is a loss of happiness through the heightening of the sense of guilt.

Freud argues that the sense of guilt attached to a Christian concept such as original sin--one in which the individual shares in the guilt of primal ancestors such as Adam and Eve--resembles that structure of the primal murder which posits an ancient crime against an ancient father figure. Hence, according to Freud, “We cannot get away from the assumption that man’s sense of guilt springs from the Oedipus complex and was acquired at the killing father by the brothers banded together (Freud, 1961).”[14] Even if we do imagine that this murder may have actually taken place, the guilt structure remains and it is buried deep in

the unconscious. Conscience is based on repression, as Freud believed; it is a tool of submission. In Freud's account the civilized 'moral' human being is obviously a repressive formation. The structures of conscience work themselves torturously into our psyches by ingraining a long list of prohibitions and moral imperatives which keep us morally and legally in line. Hence, an advanced civilization is based on guilt. It makes the achievement of happiness as extraordinarily difficult.

The central demand of a civil society, for Freud, is one of the Christianity's proudest claims, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself'. Freud shows the way in which the relationship with neighbor suggests an encroaching aggressiveness. For civilization to function, everyone is expected to hold back these aggressive instincts. Thus, Freud writes, "an act of aggression was not suppressed but carried out; but it was same act of aggression whose suppression in the child is supposed to be the source of his sense of guilt (Freud, 1961)." [15] So, Freud realizes that the individual who lives life closest to impossible demands such as 'Love thy neighbor as thyself' actually suffers from an acute sense of guilt. For Freud, a person with a highly developed and punitive super-ego will be covered with guilt whether or not they have done anything wrong. Because of this reason, Freud draws out unfolding nature of "sense of guilt, is at bottom nothing else but a topographical variety of anxiety; in its later phases it coincides completely with fear of the super-ego (Freud, 1961)." [16] So, in the realm of mental illness it is often the case that obsessive and neurotics have the most acute sense of duty and responsibility towards others, according to Freud. Then, here, Freud noted that the commandment, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself', is the strongest defence against human aggressiveness and an excellent example of the psychological proceedings of the cultural super-ego.

Freud believes that the attitude of hostility towards civilization is based on a deep and long-standing dissatisfaction and it occurs through certain specific historical events. The repressive elements of civilization produce the dissatisfaction of the individual. In this context, Freud clarifies the nature of the human life: "the purpose of life is simply the program of pleasure principle (Freud, 1961)." [17] It is through the order and control over pleasure principle, that the civilization functions. The controlling elements of civilization are working as the higher psychical agencies, which have subjected themselves to the reality principle. It is a painful moment in the developmental process of human life.

The shift from the pleasure principle to the reality principle marks in two ways: in the evolution of the human species (phylogenesis), and the development of the individual (ontogenesis). According to Freud, this

event is not unique but recurs throughout the history of mankind and of every individual. In other words, it is a universal phenomenon. This insight leads him to a systematic analysis of the structure of civilization. The biological evolution happens over millions of years of transformation of the ego- id of the first pre-human primitive into the homo-sapiens, the cultural animal and the primitive homo-sapiens into the modern civilized man. Thus, the ontogenetic process of growing an ego embeds the phylogenetic process which produced modern civilization.

For Freud, these processes of evolution leave their mark on the human organism by the way of the 'inherited predispositions' and 'memory traces' of the archaic heritage. Man's archaic heritage forms the nucleus of the unconscious mind. Human's cultural evolution began, when the pre-human male stays permanently with the female, keeping her, and her young under her protection. Thus, the family makes culture possible. The family itself is the product of biological evolution. It is the product of the cultural learning also. Thus, Freud formulates a universal theory of sexual and mental development and subsequently, he applied his ideas which began as theories of the individual, such as the Oedipus complex[18] and repression, to society at large.

Freud speculates that child's repression of anal and genital erotism is a phylogenetically programmed repetition of this prehistoric evolutionary process. And furthermore, he proposed that the organic repression of anality and genitality carries with it an organic repression of sexuality also. Thus, it is important to note that he describes the organic repression as a biological phenomenon which is at the same time a prerequisite for the evolution of culture. And, thus repression is demanded by culture. Freud writes that the deepest root of the sexual repression comes along with the process of civilization and comes to be considered as the noblest cultural achievement. The basic repressions and sublimations accompany the development of the human psyche (self). So, further, we can see basic repression becoming the process of humanization/ civilization. It arises from the requirements of the species (morality and work) and the requirements of the individual (the need to grow an ego which relates the organism as self-conscious and self-controlling subject to its environment).

The human infants are biologically 'open' creatures. But their existence becomes fully human through their relations with others which guarantee that they will go through the process of basic repression, the process of civilization, according to Freud. So, civilization is a set of external requirements which is simultaneously a set of internal requirements also. Freud observes that the basic nature of man is exclusively

satisfying its biological needs in all activities. But the biological nature of the cultural animal ensures that the drive will go beyond the body. According to Freud, scarcity, the struggle for existence produces the cultural animal. Thus, scarcity leads to divert pleasurable energy to increasingly unpleasurable cultural activity. Work, in its broadest sense, is equivalent to cultural activity, constitutes and sustains human as distinguished from pre-human society. All cultural activities are based on sublimation; they depend on drive energy which has been diverted from its original aim (total and immediate bodily gratification). Only humans have the ability to delay and to renounce gratification in order to divert some of their originally instinctual sexual (and aggressive) motivational energy to socially necessary 'cultural activities', including work, observes Freud.

Furthermore, Freud observes the first acquired characteristics transmitted by culture are technological (the making fire, tools, weapons) and moral (the incest taboo, renunciation of patricide and infanticide). According to Freud, incest and exogamy rules, the first cultural restrictions of sexual behavior, as a means of uniting families to produce human societies. Thus the incest taboo is essentially a cultural demand made by society. For Freud, 'society' arises on the foundations laid by phylogenetic basic repression, the transition from primate to human, from pre-cultural to 'cultural society'. Furthermore, Freud argues that there must be a motive operating just outside of the human biological organism. He believes that it must be the economic factors (selective pressures) which transform primate into human. But this transformation is the product of basic repression and when this transformation is completed, work becomes a character of human species.

In Freud's writings, it is mentioned that libidinal renunciation has been the basis of justice and order in individual's relationships with other human beings and of his survival in the struggle with nature. It denotes the existence of life itself. Thus, Freud argues that humans must have the ability to divert some of their instinctual sexual (and aggressive) motivational energy to socially necessary 'cultural activities', including work. But, the diversion of energy is made possible only in and through the process of 'sublimation'. Freud refers to sublimation as derivative and pleasure-seeking motivation: "primal man made work acceptable …. by treating it as an equivalent and substitute for sexual activity (Freud, 1973)." [19] Similarly, society needs to divert their energies from sexual activity to work. Freud articulates that the first acts of civilization are the use of tools, the gaining of control over the fire and the construction of dwellings. As he points out, in Civilization and its Discontents, work in our civilization is primarily painful. It performed

not for its own sake but it is imposed by external necessity (scarcity). This unpleasurable work is essential for the progress in civilization.

According to Freud, beauty, order, and cleanliness obviously occupy a special position among the requirements of civilization. Thus the technological progress depends on the heightening of the cultural demands for 'order and cleanliness'. Freud observes that human beings have an inborn tendency to carelessness, irregularity and unreliability in their work. But the technological apparatus control over the nature and trains it for requirements of culture. Subjection of man's activity to the requirements of the technological apparatus (cleanliness and order) involves increasing instinctual renunciation, joylessness, and neurosis. For Freud, the progress of civilization is bound up with increasing neurosis.

Freud believes that the repression of the human instincts is enforced and sustained by scarcity or Ananke. Freud puts it clearly in his work *Civilization and Its Discontents*: "The communal life of human beings had, therefore, a two-fold foundation: the compulsion to work which was created by external necessity (Ananke), and the power of love (Eros), which made the man unwilling to be deprived of his sexual object…. (Freud, 1973)" [20] Freud believes that civilization begins with the twofold systematic repression of the primary instincts of man: a) the repression of life-instincts (Eros), ensuing in durable and expanding group relations, and b) the repression of the destructive instincts (Thanatos), leading to the mastery of man and nature, to the individual and social morality. Freud says that men "come together," i.e., live in society, first because they are forced to do so by economic necessity (Ananke) and second because they want to do so to acquire their sexual objects (Eros).

We know that work is not necessarily unpleasurable nature. But, for Freud, the pleasurable work is a play which is also embeds socially useful factors. As he recognizes, work is to be pleasurable when it has been selected by free choice. Accordingly, freely chosen, pleasurable work involves a reciprocal relationship between the internal and external worlds of the worker. By means of sublimation (neutralization and displacement) the internal and external worlds move toward reconciliation. Neurosis, Freud observes that, occurs in the absence of successful sublimation and it sustains the structure of modern civilized cultural activity. So we can see that the successful repression (sublimation and defence mechanism) and neutralization of instinctual energies is an essential factor of a healthy human society. Thus, it has been considered as a positive part of the development of self in modern civilization. But at the same time, Freud realizes that the culture inflicts considerable psychic damage upon individuals. It cultivates

neurosis and obsessive behaviour through its stringent rules and regulations concerning mastery of the passions. Yet this repression is never complete.

In *Civilization and its Discontents*, Freud does not offer any solution to the problems of the renunciation of instinct (repression) that civilised society requires and the lack of individual happiness it can guarantee. But, Freud strongly argues: "Civilization has to use its utmost efforts in order to set limits to man's aggressive instincts and to hold the manifestation of them in check by physical reaction-formation (Freud, 1973)." [21] Thus, no rational society can ever have this system. People cannot just do whatever they want to do. Thus, man needs to restrain his destructive instincts by conforming to some socially useful norms. This is exactly the reason why Freud fully accepts the necessity and virtue of repression.

It is important to note that through conceptualizing civilization, Freud unfolds the conditions that involves on the formation of the self. For Freud, reconciliation of the external and internal world or the interpersonal relationship is central to the constitution and reproduction of the self. Self is embedded in the context of social, cultural and political life. Thus, self is a constructed phenomenon. In other words, self is established through individual actions and choices, the patterning of thoughts, feelings and desires, and the structure of subjective experience in relation to the social order. While, Freud declares that human self exists with a kind of incompleteness and insufficiency. It means that unsuccessful gratification (repression/sublimation of instinctual energy) of the desire makes self incomplete. Thus, in the Freudian sense, instinctual renunciation or repression becomes an inevitable one in the development and survival of the civilization. Yet, we can see that Freudian observations are relevant for tracing the exercise of domination upon the inner world of the self. It opens an urge for the possibilities of human emancipation.

Notes

1. The term *civilization* emerged late in the eighteenth century in France. In about 1732, 'civilization' was still only a term in jurisprudence: it denoted an act of justice or a judgment, which turned a criminal trail into civil proceedings. Its modern meaning 'the process of becoming civilized' appeared in 1752, from the pen of the French statesman and economist Anne Robert Jacques Turgot. In the new sense, civilization meant broadly the civilized peoples: on the other, primitive savages or barbarians. From France, the word civilization rapidly spread through Europe, the new word 'civilization' was accompanied the old word; culture. Thinkers often use the terms culture and civilization as having different implications. Culture refers to moral value systems and to intellectual and aesthetic

achievements and the word civilization refers to material and technological accomplishment.

2. The notion repression is one of the most basic concepts in Freudian psychoanalytic theory. Repression, for Freud, is the process by which certain thoughts or memories and wishes are barred from consciousness and confined to the unconscious.
3. Freud uses the concept of self is in a manner that different from modern philosophical tradition. He occupy the words 'id' , ' ego', and ' super ego' or 'conscious' , 'pre-conscious' and 'unconscious' instead of the term self which is varied from Cartesian 'cogito'(self or subject) that is indivisible, fixed and innate in nature.
4. Freud, Sigmund. (translated& edited by Strachey. James). 1961. *Civilization and its Discontents*. (W.W. Norton& Company. INC., New York. p.36.
5. Ibid.
6. In Freud, the notion sublimation is a type of defence mechanism; in which socially unacceptable impulses and drives are transformed in to socially acceptable actions or behaviors.
7. Freud, Sigmund. (translated& edited by Strachey. James). 1961. *Civilization and its Discontents.* (W.W. Norton& Company. INC., New York. p.43.
8. In his work, 'The Ego and the Id' (1923), Freud presented his so called 'structural model'- 'the ego', 'the Id', and 'the super ego'. For Freud, the concept of 'super ego' is a moral agency which judges and censures the ego. It functions as a censorship.
9. Freud, Sigmund. (translated& edited by Strachey. James). 1961. *Civilization and its Discontents.* (W.W. Norton& Company. INC., New York. p.44.
10. Defense mechanisms are denotative of specific patterns of psychic action, employed to eliminate from the awareness of the total personality any of the external and internal stimuli resulting from the damming up of infantile instinctual tensions and narcissistic mortifications.
11. Freud, Sigmund. (translated& edited by Strachey. James). 1961. *Civilization and its Discontents.* (W.W. Norton& Company. INC., New York. p.24.
12. Pleasure principle, defines Freud, as psychological processes and actions are primarily governed by the gratification of needs and the avoidance or discharge of unpleasurable tension. It is governed by the id in contrast to the reality principle.

13. Reality principle is, in the terminology of psychoanalytic theory, the chief governing principle of the ego, exercising control over the behavior to meet the conditions imposed by external reality, thereby acting as a moderating influence on the pleasure principle.
14. Freud, Sigmund. (translated& edited by Strachey. James). 1961. *Civilization and its Discontents*. (W.W. Norton& Company. INC., New York. p.78. It also mentions on Totem and Taboo (1912-'13), Standard edition, Vol.13, p.143.
15. Ibid, p.78.
16. Ibid, p.82.
17. Ibid, p.23.
18. The Oedipus complex is an unconscious set of loving and hostile desires which the subject experiences in relation to its parents; the subject desires one parent, and thus enters into rivalry with the other parent.
19. Freud,Sigmund. 1973. 'Civilization and its Discontents' in Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud, vol. XXI, London: Hogarth Press,1973,
20. Freud,Sigmund. (Edited by M. Masud R. Khan, Translated by James Strachey). 1973. *Civilization and Its Discontents*, London: The Hogarth Press and the Institute of Psycho-Analysis, 1973. p.38.
21. Ibid, p.49.

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.136-143

Legislation and Manual Scavengers: An Analysis of the Government of India's Legislation Towards Manual Scavengers and its Upshot

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Abstract

It is the fact that manual scavenging is existing across India in the 21st century and strongly connected with the caste system. The human scavengers are the most excluded and isolated community in the mainstream of society. There are different rules and regulation against the practicing of manual scavenging in both, national and International level. But still, the practicing of manual scavenging continues. The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Abolition) Act 1993, defines Manual Scavenger means a person who is engaged in or employed for carrying human excreta, and the expression "manual scavenging" shall, it reads, be constructed accordingly. There was a wide criticism towards this definition because it excluded those people who handle the material like garbage, sewage etc. or engage in any other similar work which is considered belittling of human dignity. This paper mainly talks about the different legislations towards manual scavenging and how did affects among the Manual Scavengers. The main objective of the paper is to understand the various legislations and its impacts on manual scavengers.
Keywords: Manual Scavengers, Social Exclusion, Legislations, Main stream society, the caste system.

"In India, a man is not a scavenger because of his work, he is a scavenger because of his birth irrespective of the question whether he does scavenging or not" (Dr B R Ambedkar)

Introduction

It is reality that practice of the human scavenging exists most powerfully in India after passing different legislation regarding the prohibition of manual scavenger. In India, the practice of the scavenging is directly connected with the caste system. There is a wide range notion that scavenging is the ascribed duty of particular community and they have to do it otherwise they have to face the consequences from dominant community. That's why Dr B R Ambedkar said that "In India, a man is not a scavenger

because of his work, he is a scavenger of because of his birth irrespective of the question whether he does scavenging or not".Manual Scavengers are found everywhere in India, There are different caste names for manual scavengers in various parts of India, including Balmiki, Bhangi, Mehatar, Lalbegi, Chuhara, Mira (in Uttar Pradesh. Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Punjab,Maharashtra), Hadi in West Bengal, Paki in Andhra Pradesh and Thotti Tamil Nadu (Abishek and Farheen, 2017). Manual scavenging is a caste-based occupation wherein certain sub-castes of Dalits are condemned to manually clean, carry, dispose, or handle human excreta from dry latrines and sewers (Deepika and Moushumi, 2016). The important fact is that government of India formulated different legislations and policies to eradicate the inhuman practice of human scavenging from time to time. But it is very unfortunate that legislation and policies on paper only not in practice as usual. The government has no correct statistics on the number of human scavengers which are increasing the seriousness of the problem of human scavenging. The thing is that foresaid number is not representing the real number of human scavengers. According to the Bezwada Wilson, (2016 Magsaysay award winner and founder and National convener of Safai Karanchari Andolan, which works to improve the lives of manual scavengers and to end the practice of manual scavenging), stated that "there has been no survey conducted to find the number of manual scavengers in India in the last ten years (Swagata, 2017). This is one of the major problem faced by Manual Scavengers in India. Often government bodies are the main supporters of the human scavenging practice. Indian railway is the best example of that. The International Labor Organization distinguishes manual scavenging into three forms, first is the removal of human excrement from public streets and dry latrines, and second is that cleaning septic tanks and cleaning gutters and sewers are the third forms (Abishek and Farheen, 2017). From Independence onwards, Government of India passed different legislation toward manual scavengers to eradicate the inhuman practice and to uplift this community. But, these legislations and constitutional acts could not stop the inhuman practice of human scavenging completely. This paper is mainly talking about different legislation formulated by the Government of India to Manual scavengers and how did this legislation effect on manual scavengers. This paper is mainly based on secondary data and Government articles, NGOs reports and newspaper articles.

Definition of Manual Scavenger from Government side

From independence onwards, Government of India opposed the practice of Manual scavenging through different legislation indirectly. Government of India passed " The Employment of Manual Scavengers and

Construction of Dry Latrines (prohibition) 1993, firstly defined Manual Stavanger as " a person who is engaged in or employed for carrying human excreta, and the expression manual scavenging shall, it reads, be construed accordingly (Abishek and Farheen, 2017). It was the first definition of the Government of India on human scavenger. But its definition was very narrow and a lot of people related to human scavenging practice excluded from this definitions. This definition was widely criticized. The National Commission for Safai Karanchari report of 2000 questioned the definition of Manual Scavenger in "The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (prohibition) 1993, and report called it as narrow definition and it has to include those who handling material like garbage, sewage etc by hand and engage in any other similar work which is considered obnoxious or derogatory to human dignity (Abishek and Farheen, 2017). The fact is that Government did not make changes in the definition of Manual Scavengers till 2013. So many rehabilitation and welfare programme was based on the 1993 Act. So the number of manual scavengers excluded from the Government Scheme. After twenty years, Government of India passed another legislation or modification in 1993 legislation titled "Prohibition of Employment as a Manual scavenger and Their Rehabilitation Act 2013. An important aspect of this legislation is that it expanded the definition of Manual scavenger from the 1993 definition. It defined manual scavenger as "a person who is employed for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit or railway track" (Government of India, 2013). It specifically mentioned railway track. Because Indian railway is one of the big violators of the manual scavenger prohibition law widely. One positive aspect of the 2013 legislation is that it tried to elaborate the definition of Manual scavenger in the real sense.

Constitutional Provisions against Manual Scavenging

Before moving to legislation for banning manual scavenging, it is essential to go through the constitutional article, that directly or indirectly against of the inhuman practices like manual scavenging and other practices. Dr Bhimrao Ramji Ambedkar, the chairman of the Drafting Committee of the constitution of India, predicted the consequences of the inhuman practice of human scavenging and indirectly added the provisions in Article of Indian constitution. Article 17, Article 21 and Article 23 (1) are the best examples of it. Article 17 of the Indian Constitution deals with the abolition of the untouchability. Article 17 of the constitution was initially implemented through the enactment of the"Protection of Civil Rights Act 1955. Firstly it was known as Untouchability (Offences Act) 1955. Section

7A of the act indicates that whoever compels any person on the ground of untouchability to do any scavenging shall be deemed to have enforced a disability arising out of untouchability which is punishable with imprisonment (Abishek and Farheen, 2017). In India, the practice of human scavenging is closely connected with the caste system and untouchability. The Article 21 of the Indian Constitution deals with the"protection of life and personal liberty". According to Article 21, no person shall be deprived of his or her life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law. This article ensures protection against all types of deprivation to its citizens. The practice of human scavenging is the deprivation of the human status. Article 23 (1) of the Indian Constitution ensure to its citizens the right against exploitation. This article prohibits all types of exploitation. The practice of human scavenging is illegal and unconstitutional. And it is the exploitation of the depressed community. So this type of exploitations is strictly prohibited in Constitution of India by Article 23 (1). From the initial stage onwards, the constitution of India takes enough steps to avoid the inhuman practices of human scavenging. Violation of Indian constitution is punishable. But still, constitution violation continues. Often our constitution failed to overcome the caste dominance.

Legislations against Manual Scavenging

The government of India passed different legislation to eradicate the inhuman practices of human scavenging. After independence, India had to wait till 1993 to pass a comprehensive legislation to ban the inhuman practice of manual scavenging. Before 43 years of this act, in 1950 the practice of manual scavenging strictly prohibited the jurisdiction of Gopichettipalayam municipality at the District of Erode in Tamil Nadu by GS LakshmanIyer, the chairman of the Gopichettipalayam municipality. He was a freedom fighter and social worker. He understood the impact of the inhuman practices of manual scavenging and took action initially. But it is very unfortunate that the follow up of this action could not see in any other part of the country. The main reason behind that human scavenging is closely connected with the caste system.

The Untouchability Offences Act of 1955: Under section 4, the Untouchability Offences Act 1955 strictly prohibit all types dehumanizing practices and treats all dehumanizing practices are punishable and unconstitutional. But it could not stop the inhuman practice of scavenging. One important fact behind is that human scavenging is a caste-based occupation. So people thought that it has to exist and not considered it as inhuman practices.

Protection of Civil Rights Acts of 1977: Government of India amended the Untouchability Offences Act of 1955 in the name

of Protection of Civil Rights Act in 1977. It treated the practice of scavenging on the ground of untouchability under section 7A of this act and made it punishable. Unfortunately, this act could not stop the practice of human scavenging. Untouchability was practicing visibly and invisibly after the implementation of this act also.

Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act of 1993: It was the third attempt of Government of India to eradicate the practice titled Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act. It is the serious issue that after 46 years of Independence, with constitutional provisions and legislation world largest democratic country failed to eradicate the practice. Under section 30 the act, prohibited anyone from employing another to carry human excreta. If it proves, punishment will be up to one-year imprisonment or fine. The important negative side of this act is that it did not include cleaning of gutters, manholes and septic tanks under the act. Unfortunately, this act failed to make any improvements in the case of manual scavenging.

The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act, 2013: The parliament of India passed another legislation to completely eradicate the inhuman practice of human scavenging titled' The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act 2013. An important aspect of this act is that it has defined manual scavenger in wider level. The definition of manual scavenger in 1993 Act was widely criticized in its narrow manner. So 2013 Act gave a wide level definition to Human scavenger. It defined manual scavenger as "a person who is employed for manually cleaning, carrying, disposing of or otherwise handling in any manner, human excreta in an insanitary latrine or in an open drain or pit or railway track". It is very visible that Indian railway is one of the big violators of the law . The present act specifically mentioned Indian Railway. Another important aspect of the 2013 act is that it talks about the rehabilitation of Manual scavengers. It is clear that human scavenging is inhuman, but often they found a livelihood in human scavenging. So the rehabilitation is the inevitable part. Section 4 (1) of the present act suggests to all local authorities to conduct a survey to find out the number of insanitary latrines within three months since the act came out. But majority local bodies did not give correct information. The important issue of the act is that section 2 (1) (d) allows an employer to use employees in the septic tank and manhole with protection measures. There is a chance to exploit this clause by employers and again it will lead to accidental death. The government has established national commission namely National Commission for Safai

Karmchairs in 1994 and National Safai Karmcharis Finance and Development Corporation in 1997. The main function of both institutions is to evaluate the programme implemented for the eradication of manual scavenging and facilitate economic assistance to find out alternative jobs.

Legislations and Manual Scavengers

It is clear that from Independence onwards, Government of India implemented different legislation and constitutional acts to prohibit the human scavenging and their rehabilitation. The truth is that it did not make that much changes in human scavenging community. One important problem that is a caste-based occupation and dominant caste compelled low caste to do human scavenging. Asif Shaikh, the founder and convener of Rashtriya Garima Abhiyan says "the manual carrying of human feces is not a form of employment, but an injustice akin to slavery. It is one of the most prominent forms of discrimination against Dalits (formerly untouchables) and it is central to the violation of their human rights" (BBC News India, 2014). It is a very shocking report published by Human Right Watch on "Cleaning human waste, Manual Scavenging caste and Discrimination India" in 2016. The report is based on Human Rights Watch Conducted between November 2013 and July 2014 in Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. The report indicates a number of incidents that upper caste community forcefully compels to human scavenging. Despite the Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and Their Rehabilitation Act 2013, and several supreme court orders, there is no end to manual scavenging. The report said in Maharashtra, Panchayats recruited people to manually clean toilets basis of their caste and denying them other jobs for which they are qualified within the panchayat (Meena, 2016). Another important issue is the Government body like Indian railway.The Indian Railways are the largest employer of manual scavengers, with an unknown number on their rolls, India Spend reported in November 2015. Most "sweepers" -- as they are called to mask their identity as scavengers, with the railways are employed through contractors, and they earn around Rs 200 per day (*The Hans India*, 2016). Supreme Court observation on manual scavenging is very relevant now. Supreme court of India observed that ""Given the option, no one would like to enter the manhole of sewage system for cleaning purposes, but there are people who are forced to undertake such hazardous jobs with the hope that at the end of the day they will be able to make some money and feed their family. They risk their lives for the comfort of others (Rautary, 2017). This is the fact that different schemes and legislations are existing for the eradication of the inhuman practice of manual scavenging. But could not stop the practice of Manual

Scavenging. One of the reasons behind the existing of manual scavenging is a Government institution. Instead of prohibiting such inhuman practice like manual scavenging, often they are the promoter of the manual scavenging. Another important obstacle to eradicate manual scavenging is highly connected to the caste system. Often upper caste compels lower caste to human scavenging. Often authority did not take enough action against it. Another matter of shame is that since1993, there has not been a single case prosecuting those hiring people to do the work of manual scavenging, even while many government bodies, the largest of them being the Indian Railways, continue to do so (Deepika and Moushumi, 2016).

Conclusion

There is no doubt that human scavenging is inhuman and has to eradicate. So Government makes different legislation to eradicate the inhuman practice of human scavenging with rehabilitation. But after 71 years of the Independence, India could not eradicate the manual scavenging completely. The serious issue is that Government has no actual number of Manual scavengers. Government is facing wide level criticism that Government did not take any in-depth study about Manual scavengers. Now Government is declaring different schemes for the rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers. It is sure that never bring any result because of the number of scavenging workers higher than Government statistics. Solution to present problem is that Government has to conduct a large level survey on the number of manual scavengers. And the second solution is that Government has to ensure that its Institutions are completely free from the practice. And the third solution is that Government has to appoint a nodal officer in Local body level to investigate the practice. This is a shame that after different legislation and programme could not stop the inhuman practice of manual scavenging.

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.144-149

Shaduli Mosque Inscription : Text Deciphered

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Abstract

This paper is an attempt to decipher an Arabic inscription found in a wooden plank at Kuttichira near Calicut city in Kerala. The inscription was found in good state with legible and beautiful calligraphic presentation. We could take estampage of the inscription and decipher it. The image of the original inscription, estampaged copy, transliteration, English translation and a brief analysis of the inscription have been included in this paper.
Keywords: Calicut, Kuttichira, Insctiption, Shaduli, estampage

Introduction

Calicut, one of the oldest Muslim settlements in the south western part of the Indian subcontinent, had been well known for its dynamic engagements in the transoceanic trade net-works which made the city one of the renowned port cities in the Indian Ocean littoral (Prange, 2018:25-26). The Muslim settlement in Calicut is consisted of various Merchants groups like *Al Karimis, Marakkars and Mappila Muslims* in the initial period. The active involvement of these ambitious traders had played a decisive role in shaping the metropolitan nature of Calicut city in the pre-colonial period (Melekandathil, 2003). It is assumed that the Muslim settlement in Calicut and in the northern part of Malabar had created a congenial ambience for long distance trade especially with the Red Sea region and also with the Mediterranean. The impetus extended by the Zamurins, the chieftains of Calicut also made favourable atmosphere for both the trade and the expansion of Muslim settlements in Calicut. The City of Calicut is acclaimed of its multi-cultural and multi religious tradition which is evident in the making of the city (Narayanan, 2006).

As a trade emporium and a meeting point of distinct cultures, the city had been enriched with novel ideas and scholarship in the course of time. Along with Arabs and other *paradesi* Muslim traders, large number of literati must have visited Calicut and later settled in the city on various capacities including *Imams* and religious instructors. The oldest Mosques like Muchundi, Mishkal and Juma Masjid had housed many eminent scholars from various parts of the world (Randathani, 2007:66-68). They functioned as a link in disseminating knowledge on varieties of fields in the city. A kaleidoscopic view of the city during the medieval and late medieval period would definitely reveal the nature of the percolation of information among people of Calicut (Eaton, 2000:90). When the people from distant land anchored on the shore of port city of Calicut, new style in constructions of building, planning and designing of streets, housing, erecting of worshiping centres etc also made its way in the city. Of these, a new literary culture also could be seen evolving in the city by learned Muslim scholars who were keen in imparting the Islamic theological and spiritual life among them. The Qazis and Imams of the Mosques might have taken leadership in this regard. It is noticed that copying of the manuscripts and sending these copies to various learning centres had been a common practice and considered as a religious duty. Further more, the newly emerged literati who introduced Arabic calligraphy, new materials of writing including durable 'Arab ink' by which the manuscripts and calligraphic designs in the papers were composed. It is noticed that the Muslims in the city had followed a tradition of recording and documenting everything in their everyday life. It could be seen even in the headstones, epitaphs and also on the walls of the mosques.

Arab Inscriptions in Calicut City

Inscriptions in Arabic language found with variety of calligraphic styles in Calicut city from 13th century onwards (Desai, 1986: 114). Of these the *Muccunti Inscription*, a bilingual inscription in the Muccunti Mosque, is an oldest one. The Arabic inscriptions are also seen in *Darghas, Mosques, old Muslim taravadu* etc which are adorned lavishly by different variety of calligraphic decorations. Stones, wooden planks etc used for carving or embossing inscriptions. However, most of these inscriptions are found in the Mosques. As a centre of worship and a regular meeting point for congregational prayers, the Mosques were built with an advanced artistic precision and aesthetic sense (Shokoohy, 2011:137). So, enlightening qur'anic verses, the traditions of the prophet, year and other details of construction or renovations of the structure etc gracefully recorded with the help of Arabic calligraphy. Though the calligraphic

presentations of the inscriptions are bit difficult to read, it seems that, its aesthetic value must have counted and encouraged by the scholarly community of the Muslims in the City. It also reveals the collective efforts of a group of people in the city who must have either engaged directly or supported in embossing or engraving a new inscription in their settlement area. It is also noticed that a simple renovation work of even a pulpit had been documented in the mosque. It obviously points out the literary culture of the Muslim community of the historic city of Calicut. In short, the historical value and the appealing artistic presentation of the Arabic inscriptions with astonishing calligraphic style is remarkable.

Though the number of Arabic inscriptions found in the city numerous, the studies based on these inscriptions are still very scanty. During the colonial period few 'epigraphists' and administrative officials who were at work under the British in the Madras presidency had taken up some initial work to locate and identify the inscriptions and other inscribed materials in Malabar. However, the colonial meddling in this field was not comprehensive, instead they simply tried to locate and compile them only. However, the *Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India* (ARASI), the *Annual Report of the Indian Epigraphy* (ARIE), *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (ARSIE) etc, have perfectly documented almost all available inscriptions in South India. Ziyauddin. A. Desai, an eminent epigraphist whose work titled as '*A Topographical list of Arabic, Persian and Urdu Inscriptions of South India*' is an attractive attempt to document such inscriptions of South India. Since the topographic, list published by Desai focussed his attention only to give a list and a long index of the major Persian, Urdu and Arabic inscriptions found in the record of the Annual report of the Archaeological Survey of India and in the Annual Report of the Indian Epigraphy. So, some of the minor inscription having sufficient historical value has failed to be enlisted there.

Prof. Meherdad Shokoohy, the renowned architectural historian, has published an extensive study on the Mosque architecture in South India titled as *Muslim Architecture of South India: The Sulthanate of Malabar and the traditions of Maritime settlers on Malabar and Coromandel Coast (Tamilanadu, Kerala and Goa)* The book has allotted a sperate chapter for Malabar region by leaving an elaborated discussion on the structure and style of architecture of the Mosques in the Malabar coast. Moreover, he also has done thorough survey of Mosques inscriptions found particularly in the city of Calicut. The scholarly approach of the author to decipher the inscriptions found in the Mosques is really a welcome addition in the history of the epigraphy of Malabar. Since his concentration was

limited in the Kuttichira region in the western coastal line of Malabar, Prof. Shokohy, as he was concentrating on Mosque and its architectural elegances, could not include all the relevant inscriptions found in the periphery of the Calicut city. So, the present paper is an attempt to document an Inscription, which has not been properly documented in any of the standard repositories of south Indian inscriptions so far. The inscription (Shaduli Inscription) was found at Parappil area of the Calicut city.

Shaduli Mosque Inscription

Shaduli Mosque, located in Parappil near Kuttichira,is one of the popular mosques in the Calicut City. It was erected in the name of Abul Hasan Ali Shaduli a renowned 13th Century Moroccan Sufi master and founder of the *Shaduli* sufi order. There is a *Dargha* of a Sufi saint adjacent to this mosque. The *Shaduli* Sufi order had perhaps many followers in the city and there had been regular gathering for the ritual recitation of the *dikr* in the city. Hence, the mosque and its surroundings were very familiar to the people who reside in the coastal belt of Calicut. However, during 19th and 20th centuries, the differences of opinion among the Muslims with regards to certain practices like public gathering for recitation of *dikr*, ritual visitation called *ziyarath*, and other theological and polemical matters created split among the Muslim community in Kerala. The split has got visible in the form of various religious organisations, institutions, publications and so on. It had also affected the community who reside nearby *Shaduli* Mosque too. When the dispute over the rituals practiced in the *Shaduli* Mosques become intense, the ownership of the Mosque was claimed by each group who had divergent views on the theological matters to be practiced by a Muslim in his/her daily life. Consequently, the issue was taken in to court as a case for the ownership for the Mosque and its administration. However, the inscription reveals the long tradition of the mosque and socio-cultural legacy which is embossed in a piece of wooden plank inscription. It was found in one of the private godown nearby the mosque. The mosque had been constructed in the traditional architectural style with wood and thatched roof which is now renovated as a spacious concrete structure

The Original Inscription

Estampaged image

Arabic text deciphered

1. قد بني وعمّر هذا المسجد المبارك المسمى بمسجد الشيخ الشادلي
2. تغمده الله برحمته ومن علينا من بركته
3. سنة عامين واربعين ومأة والف من الهجرة النبوية
4. على صاحبها أفضل الصلاة والسلام

Transilitration

1. Qad buniya va ghummira hâdhal masjidul mubarak al musammâ bi masjid al sheikh al shâdilî
2. Taghammadahullâhu bi rahmatihîva manna ‘alainâ min barakatihî
3. Sanah ‘amaini va arba‘îna va mi’ah v a alfin min al hijrah al nabaviyah
4. ‘Ala ṣaẖibihâ afḏalalsalâh va ssalâm

Translation of the Arabic Text

1. This Holy mosque was named the Sheikh Al-Shaduli Mosque, was built and commissioned (Inhabited)
2. May God bless him(Shaikh Shaduli) and shower with His mercy up on him and also those of us with his blessing
3. One thousand one hundred and forty two year of the Prophet's migration (Hijra)
4. Peace and best prayers be upon him (the owner of Hijra)

Conclusion

It is interesting to note that Ziyauddin Desai has listed this inscription in his monumental work on the Inscriptions of South India. But the list has briefly given only the first line of the inscription. Since it is only a long list of inscriptions, one cannot expect the text, transliteration and the translation of the Inscription. In addition to that the book does not intend to interpret the meaning of the inscriptions as well.So it would be difficult

to have a complete picture about the wooden plank inscription. Moreover, the year of the construction of the mosque is given in the book is as A.H 1140 = 1728, but the year mentioned in the inscription is A.H 1142=1730. So, the present paper has given full text with its transliteration and translation in to English. The paper also has given the exact year of the construction of the Shaduli Mosque in the Parappil area of the Calicut City.

Since the inscription gives us the exact year of the construction Mosque and also indicate the Sufi allegiance of the people who built this structure, evoke certain level curiosity about various aspect of the social and religious life of the Muslims settlements in the 18th century in Calicut. The inscription is composed by using a beautiful calligraphic style. The thuluth* Style (Alani, 2016:43) of Arabic calligraphic script is used in this inscription.

Notes

* *Thulth*, considered the perfect form of cursive, is nicknamed the mother of calligraphy. It is the most complete style, with the richest gestures and studying it offers learner a global understanding of script.

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Kin Groups, Agrarian Slavery and Land Ownership in Eighteenth Century Central Kerala: Deciphering New *Kōleḻuttu* Palm Leaf Documents

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Abstract

Besides deciphering nine new Kōleḻuttu records on palm leaves, this paper identifies kin groups in the ownership pattern of agrarian land in pre-modern Kerala. The agrarian production process of the early 18th century involved agrarian slavery, as seen in the documents, and is viewed as a continuation from the early medieval period onwards. It is argued that ownership of land by kin groups and the agrarian production by them continued side by side with agrarian slavery till the pre-modern period.
Keywords: kinship; agrarian slavery; pre-modern agrarian production.

Introduction

The subjoined nine *kōleḻuttu* palm leaves belong to the early 18th century and originally come from the Alathur Taluk of Palakkad district.[1] Two documents within this collection are written on stamped palm leaves supplied by the erstwhile Princely State of Cochin and bear the seal of the Cochin State on it. [2] At present, nothing more is known about the origin and sequential owners or possession of these palm leaves. The collection has more than a hundred single palm leaves belonging to the last half of nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century, all of which register land transactions in Malayalam script, from which I have selected the subjoined nine kōleḻuttu records, considering its script and historical importance.

These documents prove that the assumption, generally held by historians and epigraphists, that *kōleḻuttu* was employed and kept alive by the Christians and Muslims for a long time, while the Malayalam script called *ārya eḻuttu* (a derivative of *Grantha*) was adopted by upper caste Hindus,(Narayanan, 2013:380) is false, and can no longer be held valid. Both the scripts were used in Kerala until the beginning of second half of the nineteenth century; *kōleḻuttu* as the script reserved for documents, while *ārya eḻuttu* was for Sanskrit and Malayalam literary endeavours. Besides

these scripts, Muslims and Syrian Christians employed *Arabi-Malayalam* (Arabic script to write Malayalam language) and the *Garshoni-Malayalam* (Syriac script to write Malayalam language) respectively in their records till the modern period. It was during the colonial period that *ārya eḻuttu* was chosen as the standard script to print Malayalam and consequently it became the sole official script to write and print Malayalam language. [3]

Early-Modern Land Rights: Towards Capitalist Investment in Land

All the nine leaves, the first one starting from Kollam Era 881 (CE 1706), enunciate *aṭṭippēṟu* [4] (sale deed) kind of land transaction. The proliferation of documents concerning land transaction during the early modern period in Kerala has been noted by scholars, and many such documents regarding the same have been published. [5] In the context of the early modern land records, lease documents (*kāṇam, pāṭṭam, kuḻikkāṇam* etc.) are common, [6] but *aṭṭippēṟŭ* (absolute ownership) is sporadic and far in between. The abundance of money transactions through these documents during the early modern period is regarded as an impact of the mercantile capitalist engagements along the Malabar Coast, which affected the economy of Malabar since the advent of the Europeans .[7] By the nineteenth century, as noted above, the profusion of land transactions and the revenue that could be extracted from the same were utilized by the colonial government, and it was insisted upon that stamped palm leaf should be used to record the transactions. [8]

Owners, Vendors and Neighbours: Kin Groups as Land Holders

Each transaction recorded in the subjoined palm leaves is done by a single person, most probably the senior most of the kin group (kāraṇavar), along with his kinsmen (*tampimārum*), which points to the collective nature of the ownership of land by a kin group (*taṟavāṭ*) than to personal ownership. Similarly, as seen in the case of the several kinds of lease deeds in other collections, which are already published, the transactions were being done between two kin groups rather than between two persons. [9]All the records point to the fact that the ownership and other rights of land were assigned in the collective ownership of kin groups until the pre-modern period, personal right over the landed property being a much later development, which became the general practice only in the early twentieth century as far as Kerala is concerned. Scholars have noted the commencement of private property as emerging out of the influence of mercantile capitalism on the Kerala economy in the form of church property as early as the 16th century. [10] Christians have been practicing the division of ancestral property, as demonstrated by the canons of the Synod

of Udayamperur in 1599; but as far as the various 'Hindus' were concerned, it was mostly in the early twentieth century that the entire kin group's property came to be divided, first among its branches (*tāvaḻi*), and then eventually among their individual members by executing partition deeds. [11] It is to be noted that not only the transacting kin groups, but also the neighbours, the witnesses and the persons who write the document also are denoted as belonging to a kin group. For e.g. Ampāṭṭ Rāman Māñci, whereof the first name is of the kin group and the second, of the person concerned. Suffice it to say that the development of private property in Kerala is a less studied subject and needs careful research.

Except the last leaf of the present collection, which is undated, all the leaves are arranged in chronological order. The last leaf carries a scribal mistake. In line number 9, instead of the numeral 'five' it is written 'fifty' twice, and instead of 'three,' it is written 'thirty.'

1

ഓല 1

ഇത മറുപാടടമ

പുറം 1

1 കൊലലമ 800,8,,10,1 മത കരകകിടക വിയാഴമ ചിങങ ഞായററില കിഴപാലെ
യൂര നാടട ചിററൂര മന

2 നതതിരുനനെഴുതിയ അടടിപപെററൊലകകരണമാവത അമപാടട രാമനമാ
ഞചി കൈയയാല പെറുമഅരതത

പുറം 2

3 മ വാങങി കകൊണടാന കൊടകരെകകുമരന കണടന കൊണടാന കൊണട
പരിചാവത ഇപ പെറുമരതതതിന

4 കാരിയമ തനറെ തൊമമ ഒടപപെറെനില മാടമപിളളിപപടടി കണടതതിന മെല
പപെടട തെകകെപ

5 പെരുവഴികക കിഴപപടട കെഴകക വാരികകൊടടവ ഉഴുനന നെലതതിനു പ
ടിഞഞാടട പടിഞഞാ

6 റെ കുനനിന കെഴകകൊടട ഇതിനകതത ഉളള നെലമ എണപതു പറെകകുമ
അതിലെ മെലപപലവുമ കിഴപ

7 പലവുമ തനനടിയാന വലലിചചാതതനമാരില വെളളണണനെയുമ അവനറെ
മകകള ഇരുവരെയുമ കുടടിക

8 കണണനെയുമ അവനറെ മകകള നാലരെയുമ നമപിയെയുമ അവനറെ മക
കള ഇരുവരെയുമ ആകകകൂടി അ

9 ഞചുമ ചെറിയ കിടാങങള ആറുമ ആകപപതിനൊനന എണണമ വലലിയാളി
നെയുമ നെലമ എണപതു പറെ

10 കകുമങകൂടി അടടിപപെറായി നീരാടടികകൊടുതതാന കൊടകരെകകുമരന
കണടന ഇമമാരകകമെ

പുറം 1

11 ഇപപെറുമരതതവുമ കൊടുതത ഇചചൊനന നെലമ ഒടപെറ നിലമാടമപ

ി≈ിപപടടികകണടതതിന മെലപപടട

12 തെകകെപപെരുവഴികക വടകകൊടട കെഴകക വാരികൊടടവരുഴുനന നെലസ്ഥിനന പടിഞ്ഞാടട പടിഞ്ഞാറകകുനനിനു

13 കെഴകൊടട ഇരുകരെകകാടുങകരെയുമ തനനടിയാന വലലിചചാതതനമമാ രില വെളളയനെയുമ. അവനറെ മകകളെയുമ

14 കുടടികകണണനെയുമ അവനറെ മകകളെയുമ നമപിയെയുമ അവനറെ മക കളെയുമ ആകകകൂടി അഞ്ചുമ കിടാങള ആ

15 റുമ ആകപപതിനൊനനെണണമ വലലിചചാതതനമാരെയുമ നെലമ 80 പറ വിതതിനു നെലവുമ കൂടി അടടിപപെറാ

16 യി നീരടടിചചുകൊണടന അമപാടട രാമന മാഞ്ചിയുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇപപ രിചിതറിയുമ താക്ഷി ഇളമാള

17 ചചെനന രാമനുമഞ്ചെനനായികകോടട ചാതതരാമനുമ അറിയ കൈയെ ഴുതിനെന ഇപപടികക മെലെടുതത മെനൊന കയയെഴുതത

2

ഓല 2

പുറം 1

1 കൊലലമ 800¸80¸2 മത ചിങങ വിയാഴം തനു ഞായററില കിഴപാലെയുര ന ാടട ചിററൂര മനനതതിരുനനെഴു

2 തിയ അടടിപപെററൊലകകരണമാവത എഴുവതത ചാതതന മലെയന കൈ കയാല പെറുമ അരതതതമ വാങികകൊണടാന മാടമ

പുറം 2

3 പിളളികകൊരു ചെനനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇപപെറുമ അരതതതതിനു കാ രിയയതിന കൊടകരെനായരൊട നെടിയ ഉപ

4 യമ ഒടപെറ അയിഞ്ഞൂററു നാഴി വിതതിനു നെലതതിന അതിരായത അമപാടടെ നെലതതിന കിഴപപടട.....

5 യതതരുടെ നെലതതിനനു മെലപപടട കെഴകകെടുതതകണടതതിനു പടിഞാ ടട പടിഞ്ഞാറെ പെരുവഴികക കെഴകകൊടട

6 ഇതിനകതത അനപതു പറ വിതതിനനു നെലവുമയതിന നെടിയ വലലിചാ തതന നമപിടെ മകന വെളളണനെയുമ അതിനമെ

7 ലമൊതല കരണവുമ ഇചചൊലലിയ അതിരിനകസ്ഥുളള കാടുമങകരയുമ മെലപപലവുമ കിഴ Пലവുമ

8 മ കൂടി അടടിപപെറായി നീര മുതലായി നീരാടടികകൊടുതതാന മാടമപിളളി കകൊരുചെനനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇമമാറ

9 കകമെ ഇപപെറുമ അരതതവുമ കൊടുതത ഇചചൊനന നെലമ ഒടപെറ അനപതു പറ വിതതിനു നെലവുമ വെളളണനെനന

10 വലലിചചാതതനെയുമ അതിനറെ മൊതലകകരണവുമ ഇചചൊലലിയ അതി രിനകതതുളള മെല പപലവുങകിഴപപലവു

11 ങ കൂടി അടടിപപെറായി നീര മുതലായിനനീരാടടിചചുകൊണടാന എഴ ുവതത ചാതതന മലയ നുനതമപിമാരുമ ഇമമാ

പുറം 1

12 റകകമെ ഇതറിയുനതാക്ഷി എളമാളചചെനനരാമനുമ ചെനനായികൊടട ചാതതരാമനമ ¸ പൊടിവ്

13 തെയയന കൈയെഴുതത.

ഓല 3

(കൊണ്ണി സയ്യത്ഥായ്യ മുദ്ര ഓല) നമ്പ്ര് 1349 തഹസി≥ നാരയണ≥ ക≠ര (ഒ∏)

പുറം 1

1 കൊലലമ 900¸10¸7മത കറകകിട വിയാഴമമെടവ ഞയററില കിഴപാലയൂര ന ാടട ചിററുമനനതതിരുനനെഴു

2 തിയ അടടി പപൊറൊലകരണമാവത അമപാടട രമനമാഞചി കൈയാല പെ റുമറതത കൊണടാന വരികകൊ

3

പുറം 2

3 ടട രാമനുമ തമപിമാരുമ കൊണടറ കൊണടയിപപെറുമറതതിനുമ കാരിയമ തനറെ തൊ∩മഒടെ പെറെ അമപ

4 ടടെ കണടസ്ഥിനന മെലെത അയയമപാടടിലെ ക≠സ്ഥിനന താഴതതെ കണ ടമ പസ്ഥു പറെകകുമ അതിലടുതത കരെയു മെലപപലവുമ

5 ങകിഴപപലവുമ കൂടി നീറ മുതലായി നീറടടിപപെറായി നീറാടടികകൊടുത താന വരികകൊടട രാമനുന തമപിമാരുമ യി

6. മമാറകകമെ യിപെപറുമ അറതതവുമ കൊടുതത യിലലിയന്നിലമ വൊടെപെ റെ അമപാടടെ ക≠ തതിനന മെലെത അയയമാടടിലെ

7 കണടസ്ഥിനന താഴതതെകണടമ 10 പറകകുമ അതിനടുതത കരയുമ മെലപ പലവുങ കിഴപപലവുമ മങകൂടി നീര മുതലായി നീരട

8 ടി പെറായി നീരാടടിചചെഴുതിചചയെഴുതിയ കൊണടാനു അമമാടട മാഞചി യുന തമപിമാരുമ യിമമാറ

പുറം 1

9 കകമെ യിപപരിചിതറിയുന താക്ഷി വെളമുളയതത രാമാനു ചെനനായിക കൊടട ചെ

10 നന രാമനുമറിയ കൈയെഴുതിനെന കൊററികകൊടട വീടടി കൊരപപ കൈയെഴുതത

ഓല 4

1 കൊലലമ ¸ 57മത ¸ പൊടിവ് ¸ ഴമ കുമപഞായ%ില പാലയൂര നാടട തതതമ ങങലതത മനനതത ഇരുനന

2 എഴുതിയ അടടിപപെറൊല കരുണമാവിത അമപാടട രാമന ഇടടുണണി രാമന കയയാല പെറുമ അറതതമ

പുറം 2

3 വാങങി കകൊണടാര ¸¸പൊടിവ്¸¸ റുതതിഅകരതതലിരികകുമ പരതെചിക ളില തൊപപറു¸ പൊടിവ്¸

4 മമയാരുമ തമപിമാരുമ കൊണടാര കൊണട ഇപെറുമ അറതതതനിനുമ കാ രിയമ തനറെ തൊമമ ഒടചെറെ

5 ചമപതതില നിലതതിനന കിഴപപടട തങങടെ പാറെകകലെ കണടതതിന മെലപപടട കണടമ രണടുമ കൂടി നൂററി

6 രുപതുനാഴി വിതതിന കണടവുമ ഇരുകരെ പറമപുമ മെല പലവുമ കിഴപല വുമ കൂടി നീര മുതലാ

7 യി നീരടടിപപെറായി നിരാടടികകൊടുതതാര ചിപപി അമമയാരുമ തമപിമാ രുമ ഇമമാറകക

8 മെ പെറുമ അറതതവുമ കൊടുതത ഇചൊനന നിലമ ഒടചെറെയില ചമപത തിലെ നിലതതിന കിഴ പടട

9 പാറെകകലെ കണടതതിനന മെലപടട കണടമ രണടുമ കൂടി 12 പറ വിത തിനന കണടവുമ ഇരുകരെ പറമ

10 പുമ മെലപലവുമ ,, പൊടിവ് ,, തലായി നീരടടി പപെറായി നീരടടിചചുകൊ

4

പുറം 1

11 ണടാര അമപാടട രാമന ഇടടുണണി രാമനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇപരിച ഇതറിയ ,പൊടിവ്,

12 അരങകന ചാതതനുമ മാണികകതത കണടന തെയയനുമ അറിയ എഴു,പെ ാടിവ്,പപ കൈ എഴുതത

ഓല 5

പുറം 1

1 കൊലലമ 900,5,10,9 മത കുമപ വിയാഴമ എടവഞായററില കിഴപാലയൂര ന ാടട ചീററു

2 ര മനനതതിരുനനെഴുതിയ അടടിപപെററൊലെ കകരണമാവത അമപാടട രാമെന ഇടടി ഉണണി രാ

പുറം 2

3 മെന കൈയാല പെറുമ അറതതമ വാങങി കൊണടന പൊറെയതത രാമന ുമനതമപിമാരുമ കൊണടര

4 കൊണടനന പെറുമ അറതതതതിനുമങകാരിയമ ത≥റെ തൊമമ ഒടചെറ അണണാകൊണതത വടകക തങങ

5 ടെ നിലതതിന തെകകൊടട തെകക തങങടെ നിലതതിനന വടകകൊടട കെഴകക തിരിതതിയിലലതതെ നില

6 തതിനന പടിഞഞാടട പടിഞഞാറെ പറമപ വെ≈ചചരിവിന കെഴകൊടട ഇതിനകതത 12 പറ വി

7 തതിന കണടവുമ വാരവുമ കാരാഴണമയുമ മെലപലവുമ കീഴപലവുമ ഇന ാലതിരിനകതതുളള

8 തെപപെരപപെടടതുമ നീര മുതലായി നീരടടിപപെറായി നീരാടടി കകൊടുത താന പൊറയതത രാമനുമനത

9 മപിമാരുമ ഇമമാറകകമെ ഇപപെറുമ അറതതവുമ കൊടുതതിചചൊനന ന ിലമ വൊടചെറഅണണാകകൊണ

പുറം 3

10 തത തങങടെ നിലതതിനന മെലപപടട തങങടെ നിലതതിന കിഴപപെടട ഇലലതതെ നിലതതി നന പ

11 ടിഞഞാടട പടിഞഞാറെ പറമപ വെളളചചരിവിന കെഴകകൊടട ഇതിനനക തത പനതറണടുപറ വിതതിനനു കണടവു

12 മ വാരവുമ കാരാഴണമയുമ മെലപപലവുമ കിഴപപലവുമ ഇനാലതിരിനകത തുളളതെപപെരപപ ടടതുമ നീ

13 ര മുതലായി നീരടടിപപെറായി നീരടടിചചു കൊണടാന അമപാടട രാമെന ഇടടിണണി രാമനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇപപ

14 രിചിതറിയുമ താക്ഷി ഇളമാളെ ചാതതെന രാമനുമ ചെനനായകകൊടട തെയയന രാമനുമ അറിയ തചചൊടട കണടു കൈയെഴുതത

5

ഓല 6

പുറം 1

1 കൊലലമ 900,6,10,7 മത കനനി വിയാഴമ മീനഞായററില പാലയൂരനാടട തത തമങങലതത

2 മനനതതിരുനന എഴുതിയ അടടിപപെററൊലകകരുണമാവത മാരാതത ചാതതു കൈയാല പൊ

പുറം 2

3 നനുമ പെറുമ അറതതവുമ വാങങി കകൊ≠ടാര പുതതിലലതത കൊനന ചചന കെലനുമ തമ

4 പിമാരുമ കൊണടാര കൊണടയികകൊണട പൊനനുമ പെറുമ അറതതതതി നുങകാരിയമ തനറെ

5 തൊമമമണി കെടടികകൊളുമപ കൊപാലചാമിപപടടരുടെ നിലതതിനന മെല പപൊടട

6 40 പറ വിതതിന കണടവുമ അതുമമെല മൂനനു കര നീറ ചായിവുകണടുളള പറമപുകളുമ

7 മെലപപലവുമ കിഴപപലവുമങകൂടി നീരായി നീര മുതലായി നീര അടടിപപെറായി

8 നീരടടികകൊടുതതാര പുതതിലലതത കൊനനചചന കെലനു തമപിമാരുമ യിമമാ

9 റകകമെ യിചചൊനന പൊനനുമ പെറുമറതതവുങകൊടുതത യിചചൊനന നിലമ മണികെ

10 ടടികകൊളുമപ കൊപാലചാമിപപടടരുടെ നിലതതിനന മെലപപൊടട നാല പപത

പുറം 1

11 പറ വിതതിനന കണടവുമ മൂനനു കര നീര ചായിവവ കണടുളള പറമപുക ളുമ മെലപപലവുങകീ

12 ഴപപലവുങകൂടി നീരായി നീരമുതലായി നീരഅടടിപപെറായി നീര അടടി ചചു കൊണടാന മാരാതത

13 ചാതതുവുന തമപിമാരുമ യിപപരിചിത അറിയുനതാക്ഷി കീഴാനി അരങകന ചാ

14 തതനുമ മാണികകതത കണടന തെയയനുമ അറെയ മരുതുര ചാമി കൈയ യെഴുതത

ഓല 7

കൊണ്ണി മുദ്ര നം.1350 തഹസി≥ നാരായണ≥ ക≠ര (ഒIJ)

പുറം 1

1 കൊലലമ 900,7,10,9 മാണട തുലാവിയാഴമ മകര ഞായററില പാലയൂര നാടട തതതമങങലതത മനനതി

2 രുനന എഴുതിയ അടടിപപെററൊലകകരുണമാവിത അമപാടട മാഞചി ഇടടി പപങങന കൈയാല പൊ

പുറം 2

3 നനുമ പെറുമ അറതതവുമ വാങങികകൊണടാന മാരാതത ചങകരനുമ

തമപിമാരുമ കൊണടാറ കൊ

4 ണട ഇകകൊണടാ പെറുമ അറതതതതിനുമ കാരിയമ തനറെ തൊമമ. മണി കെടടികൊളുമപ കൊ പാലചാ

6

5 മിപപടടരുടെ നിലതതിനന മെലപപൊടട 40 പറ വിതതിനു കണടവുമ അതു മമെല മൂുകര നീറ

6 ചചായവവ കണടുളള പറപുകളുമ മെലപപലവുമ കീഴപപലവുമ കൂടി നീരായ നീര മുതലായ

7 നീരടടിപപെറായ നീരടടടികകൊടുതതാന മാരാതത ചങകരനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇമമാറകക

8 മെ യിചചൊനന പൊനനുമ പെറുമ അറതതവുമ കൊടുതത ഇചചൊനനാ നിലമ മണികെടടിക

9 കൊളുമപ കൊപാല ചാമിപപടടരുടെ നിലതതിനന മെലപൊടട നാലപപതു പറ വിതതിനു

പുറം 1

10 കണടവുമ മൂനനു കര നീറചചചായവു കണടുളള പറമപുകളുമ മെലപപ ലവുമ കിഴപപലവുമ കൂടി

11 നീരായ നീര മുതലായ നീറ അടടിപപെറായ നീരടടിചച കൊണടാന അമപ ാടട ഇടടിപപപങങ നുമ തമപി

12 മാരുമ ഇപപരിചിതറിയുമ താക്ഷി കീഴാനി അരങകന ചാതതനുമ മാണികക തത കണടന തെയനുമ അറിയ കൊണടാന കയെഴുതത

ഓല 8

പുറം 1

1 കൊലലമ 900,90,8 ആമത എടവവ്യാഴമ മിതുന ഞായററില കിഴപാലെയൂര ന ാടട ചിററൂര മനനതതിരുനന എഴുതി

2 യ അടടിപപെററൊലെ കകരണമാവത അമപാടട മാഞചി രാമന കൈയാല പെറുമരതതമ വാങങികകൊണടാര എഴുവതത രാ

പുറം 2

3 മന ചാതതനുമ തമപിമാരുമ കൊണടാര കൊണട പരിചാവത യിപപെറുമര തതതതിനുമ കാരിയമ തനറെ തൊമമ, വെന്ത് ,

4 ,വെന്ത് , ഒടടുറപെനന നിലം പൊറയതതെ നിലതതിന മെപപൊടട ആലകക ലെ ചെറെകക കിഴ പപട ഇതിനകതത അറു

5 പതുപറ വിതതിനു കണടവുമ ഇതിനമമെലുളള ഇരു കരപപറമപുമ മെലപല വുമ കിഴപലവുമ\ുരിയുമ നുരിയിടപപഴുതുമ

6 കൂടി നീര മുതലായി നീരടടിപപെറായി നീരാടടികകൊടുതതാന എഴുവതത രാമന ചാതതനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇമമാരകക

7 മെ ഇപപെറുമരതതവുമ കൊടുതത ഇചചൊനന നിലമ ,വെന്ത്, ഒടടു റപെനന നിലമ പൊറയതതെ നിലതതിന

8 മെപപൊടട ആലകകലെ ചിറെകക കിഴപപടട ഇതിനകതത 6,10 പറ വിത തിനന കണടവുമ ഇതി നമമെലൊളള ഇരുകരപ

7

9 പറമപുമ മെലപപലവുമ കിഴപപലവുമ നുരിയുമ നുരിയിടപപഴുതുമ കൂടി ന

ീര മുതലായി നീരടടിപപെറാ

10 യി നീരാടടിചചു കൊണടാര അമപാടട മാഞചി രാമനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇമമാ രകകമെ പെറുമരതതവു വാങങി

പുറം 1

11 എഴുതികകൊടുതതാര രാമന ചാതതനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇപപടികക പെറു മരതതവുമ കൊടുതത എഴുതിചച

12 കൊണടാര മാഞചി രാമനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇമമാരകകമെ ഇപപരിചിതറിയുമ താക്ഷി എളമുളചെനന രാ

13 മനുമ ചെനനായികകൊടട ചാതതരാമനുമ അറിയ കൈയെഴുതിനെന ഇപ പടികക അചചൊതതകണടു കയയെഴുതത

ഓല 9

പുറം 1

ചെനമമകകരുണമ കെടുവനന പൊയതിനറെ പെറപപ

1 മെടവിയാഴമ മെടഞായററില പാലയൂരനാടട മടുപപു മനനതനിരുനന എഴു തിയ അടടിപപെററൊലകക

2 രുണമാവിത രാമലതത മലയന കണടന കൈയാല പെറുമരതതവുമ വാങങി കകൊ≠ടന പെറുവീ

പുറം 2

3 ലിയതത കുമരന രാമനുമ തമപിമാരുമ കൊണടാറ കൊണട പരിചാവിത ഇകകൊണടാ പെറുമറ

4 തതതതിനുമ കാരിയമ തനറെ തൊമമകുളചചരിവ അഞഞൂററു നാഴികകുമ കരുപപുകൊട അ

5 ഞഞൂററു നാഴികകുമ പാലഞചെരികൊളുമപ മുനനൂററു നാഴികകുമ ആക കൂടി 13 പറ

6 വിതതിന കണടവുമ ഇനനിലങങളില നീചചരിവു≈ പറമപുകളുമ മെലപപല വുമ കീ

7 ഴപപലവുമ കൂടി നിരായ നീര മുതലായ നീരടടിപപെറായ നീരടടി കകൊടുത താന പെറു

8 വിലിയതത കുമരന രാമനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇഛാറകകമെ ഇപപെറുമറതതവുമ കൊടുതത

9 ഇചചൊനനാ നിലമ കുളചചരിവ 50 പറകകുമ കരുപപുകൊട 50 പറകകുമ പാലഞചെരി കൊളു

പുറം 1

10 മപ 30 പറകകുമ ആക കൂടി 13 പറ വിതതിനനു കണടവുമ ഇനനിലങങളില നീറചചരിവുളള പ

11 റമപുകളുമ മെലപപലവുമ കീഴപപലവുമ ഉമി കടതല മാണികകതതൊടുളപപ ടട തെപപെറ

12 പപടടതുമ കൂടി നീരായ നീര മുതലായ നീരടടി പപെറായ നീരടടിചചു കൊണടാന രാമലതത മ

13 ലയനകണടനുമ തമപിമാരുമ ഇപപരിചിതറിയുമ താക്ഷി അരങകതത അര ങകന ചാതതനുമ മഞഞപപു

14 ളളി കണടനകുമരനുമ അറിയ കൊണടാന കയയെഴുതത.

ഓല 1A ***(Ola 1A)***

ഓല 1B ***(Ola 1 B)***

ഓല 2A ***(Ola 2A)***

ഓല 5A ***(Ola 5 A)***

ഓല 5B ***(Ola 5 B)***

ഓല 6A *(Ola 6 A)*

ഓല 7A *(Ola 7 A)*

ഓല 7B *(Ola 7B)*

ഓല 8A *(Ola 8 A)*

Analysis

The date of the document is denoted in Kollam Era, along with the position of Jupiter. As Jupiter was considered an auspicious planet and stays one year in one of the twelve houses of the zodiac, it was a pan-Indian practice to denote the position of Jupiter in documents. Sun (*ñāyar*) stays 30-31days in one house and the particular period is denoted in the name of that house, hence *mīnañāyar* means the month of *Mīnam.*

Multiple Owners of a Single Land: Intricacies in Pre-modern Land Holdings

Of the nine documents, five are executed by concerned kin groups while sitting in *Kīḻpālayūrnāṭṭu Cir̲r̲ūrmannam,* [12] three while sitting in *Tattamaṅkalattu Mannam* and one at *Maṭṭuppu Mannam.* Dr. Hermann Gundert describes a *mannam* as a place of judgment or discussion (as in Tamil *man̲ram*)(Gundert, 2013:720). The *mannams* described in the palm leaves probably may be the local chieftains, who got a share while such transactions were made. An *aṭṭippēr̲ŭ* document is described by Major Walker as 'the last deed executed, and without which the sale of a property can be valid' (Walker 1862:1). The statement of Walker needs some clarification here, as the first clause of the sentence is based on a false assumption that before the execution of an *aṭṭippēr̲ŭ* deed, several other transactions like *pāṭṭam, kāṇam, or̲r̲i*, etc. took place, and *aṭṭippēr̲ŭ* was the last of the above mentioned transactions. In fact, no such transactions were necessary for an *aṭṭippēr̲ŭ* transaction. The *janmam* holder of the land may engage in any of the above said transactions according to his economic compulsions, or he may execute an *aṭṭippērŭ* deed directly before making a lease right, or after making one to a third party, if he desired so. The value of the property is indicated in the *aṭṭippēr̲ŭ* deed as *annu pe̲rumarttam.*[13] But in the case of *kāṇam* deeds, the money transacted usually got mention as the further dealings of money as payment of interest or repaying of the debt were ensued.

Valliccāttanmār: Bonded Agrarian Laborers

Another aspect of property deal denoted in the present collection of documents is the transaction of bonded labourers along with the land. Similar instances have been noted by earlier historians in several parts of Kerala before. *Tarisāppaḷḷi* Copper Plate (CE 849) is the first instance for the same. An inscription from Trikkakkara during Indu Kota's period (CE 959) also has a reference to the transaction of pulayās along with land. Bonded labourers were mortgaged along with land when the land was pawned. Not all the land had bonded labourers, and therefore, only some *aṭṭippēr̲ŭ* documents denote the same. The extant lease deeds (*pāṭṭaśīṭṭu*) and other tenure documents—*kāṇam, kuḻikkāṇam, or̲r̲i* etc.—also seldom speak about the permanent labourers. It is probable that the land which had bonded labour was tilled by the owning kin group on their own governing, while the other lands owned by them were leased for various tenures to other non-landed kin groups, which were tilled by their collective effort. This practice also seems to be of early medieval origin. [14]

Naming a land was an old practice in Kerala for which early medi-

eval records have several instances. It was only in the 20th century that the modern survey system started, and numbers were given to every survey in a village, for taxation purpose by the government. [15] The present documents have several instances for the naming of the lands. For e.g., palm leaf no.1 refers to about *tommāoṭapēṟŭ, māṭampiḷḷippaṭṭikkaṇṭam* etc.

All the lands transacted are wet land, and the dry land is indicated as *itinōṭu cērnna kāṭum karayum* (i.e., the scrublands and land attached to this land), which indicates the importance of the paddy cultivated land compared to dry land in pre-modern Kerala. The wetland had a kaleidoscopic pattern of ownership distribution among the holders, who were kin groups, as indicated by the description of borders.

While the land is sold it is pointed that *mēlppalam* and *kīḻppalam* is included. Dr. Hermann Gundert defines *mēlppalam* as the future produce and *kīḻppalam* as the present produce(Gundert, 2013:782). Another right given along with land is *nuri* and *nuriyiṭappaḻut*. According to Dr. Hermann Gundert, *nuri* and *nuriyiṭappaḻutŭ* is a bunch of rice seedlings or paddy seeds (what three fingers can hold) and the space required planting them respectively(Gundert 2013:543). These colloquial words points to two different types of paddy planting techniques that prevailed in pre-modern agriculture in Kerala, the first one being the planting of prepared seedlings in the well-tilled paddy field, and the second one being seeding in the furrows at the time of tilling. The first technique was practiced just after the beginning of rainy season when there was enough water in the fields, while the second was done during the spring, when rainy season was expectant. The mention of *nuri* and *nuriyiṭappaḻut*, means that even the minute space to plant seedling is transferred in the deed, was not retained by the vendor.

Water Resource Management: Some Pre-Modern Experiments

The reference to *ālakkale ciṟakku kīḻppōṭṭu* (i.e., downwards from *Ālakkal* [16] *Ciṟa*) in palm leaf no. 8, needs special discussion. The reference to *ciṟa* [17] (controlled water tank) and *kuḷam* (water tank) in relation to paddy cultivation is very important. The practice of controlled tank irrigation goes back to the Sangam period (BCE 3rd c. to CE 4th c.). [18] The practice was in vogue not only during the Sangam period, but even during the early medieval period, [19] evidences for which can be found in the inscriptions of the period. Every settlement in the pre-modern period had one or multiple controlled tank in and around them. In fact, many of them are named after the controlled tanks as for e.g., *Cempūcciṟa* (tank of red flowers), *Kuṟṟicciṟa* (small tank), *Kuriayacciṟa* (smaller tank), *Vallacciṟa* (large tank), *Putucciṟa*, *Puttenciṟa* (new tank) etc., all sites belonging to Thrisuur district.

In this practice, a permanent large bund was constructed around a seasonal stream, twenty or so meters close to its origin, so as to collect large quantity of water during rainy season. The excess water was cleared through one or two constructed permanent mud canals starting from either side of the tank, sometimes one or more kilometers long, converging in a lager rivulet or river. The wetlands beyond the tank and beside the canals up to the converging rivulet were safeguarded from the excess water by the tank and canals during rainy season. Just after the rainy season, the harvested water in the tank was channeled through the canals for use in paddy cultivation.

Inflow of Money and New Ownership Pattern: Agrarian Scenario in Transition

At least two of our present palm leaves speak about Tamil Brahmans as *janmi* (absolute owner) of the land. Tamil Brahmins, most of them cloth merchants and moneylenders, might have invested their profit in the land as a safe form of asset. Emergence of new *janmis* like the Church, the Christians, the Muslims, and the Tamil Brahmans, all of them traders, as noted above, is recognized as the influence of merchant capital on the economy of late medieval and early modern Kerala, which generated new landed groups, and invigorated the agrarian economy with their money deposits, both as *kāṇam* money and as value of the land.

Conclusion

These documents prove the continued existence of kinship and collective ownership of land by the kin groups in pre-modern Kerala. Though small in number, these documents present an agrarian economic system of early modern central Kerala in transition—the feudal land ownership changing to new ownership patterns generated by the mercantile capital. Besides, these point to the prevalent slavery, related to agriculture, in central Kerala. Farming procedures and irrigation system are some other aspects dealt with in the documents. Interestingly, these palm leaves also present the picture of a variegated distribution of agrarian land in modern Kerala, and point out the urgent need to delve deep into the nuances of the pre-colonial and early colonial forms, patterns and institutions in agriculture for a better understanding of the modern history of Kerala.

Notes

1. These leaves belong to the collection of Sri Mohemmad Riyas P.V., New House, Beypore, Kozhikkode Dt (a former student of Farooq College, Kozhikkode), who generously allowed me to decipher and publish the text.
2. Stamps were introduced in the Princely States, as part of the British inter-

vention in the administration, as a method to increase the states' income, in the beginning of the 19thcentury.In Travancore, the Regent of Travancore, Rani Gowri Parvati Bai issued an order in Kollam Era 994 (CE1819) that stamped palm leaves issued by state must be used by people while executing documents. Please see Doc. no.4 in Thaliyola: Kerala Archives Journal, January- March, 2010, Vol. 1, Part 1

One of the two stamped leaves of the present collection bears the text of a previous date, viz., KE 917, corresponding to CE 1742, which is evidently a text copied after the introduction of stamp system.

3. Though *Kōleḻuttu* subsisted till the 19th century, it never went into printing, while *Grantha* and its derivation *Ārya eḻuttu* were adapted to print Sanskrit and Malayalam respectively. However, *Grantha* was eventually replaced by *Dēvanāgari*. See the various volumes of the Travancore Archaeological Series (TAS) for the specimens for printed Grantha.
4. *Aṭṭippeṟŭ* means a sale deed. In this kind of land transaction, the absolute right over land is transacted by the owner, to another, by receiving the extant rate/value (*annu peṟumarttam*) of the land.
5. For example, see M. G. S. Narayanan ed., *Vanjeri Grandhavari*, Department of History, Calicut University, 1987; and K. K. N. Kurup ed., *Kootali Grandhavari*, Department of History, Calicut University, 1995.
6. See M. G. S.,*Vanjeri Grandhavari*, Documents no.12 A, 14 A etc. and K. K. N. Kurup, *Koodali Grandhavari*, Section B 4, 5, 8, 16, section C. Doc. no. 35etc.
7. For a discussion on the subject, see Santhosh E., 'Ceppeṭukaḷile Śabarimala' in *Ezhuthu* (mal), Book 4, February 2019, pp. 55-59. The essay discusses how the mercantile capital of early modern period reach atop Sabarimala, a hill top temple, in the second half of the 17th century CE, and make investment there, changing the feudal economy into semi mercantile and semi capitalist.
8. Major Walker, as early as 1801, noted that it was the local land lords who received dues when a land transaction was made, and suggested that the government could accrue or claim this share instead of the local chieftains. For details, see Major Walker, *Land Tenures of Malabar*, Malabar Government Press, Calicut, 1862.
9. See M. G. S.,*Vanjeri Granthavari*, Documents no.12 A, 14 A etc. and K. K. N. Kurup, *Koodali Grandhavari,* Section B 4, 5,8, 16, section C. Doc. no. 35etc.
10. For instance, see 'Palaiyur Plate of Kollam 852'in A.S.Ramanatha Ayyar

ed.,*Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. VI., pp. 85-88., The document is an *aṭṭippēṟŭ* deed of Kollam Era 852 (C E 1677).

11. From the beginning of 20th century onwards, laws were being passed concerning the partition of land of kin groups, and a large number of such partition deeds came to be executed and registered to effect the dissolving of kin groups in the regions now constituting Kerala. The kin groups, who had *janmam* right of lands divided their *janmam* right, while the kin groups who had various lease rights, shared the rights among themselves. In the wake of the land reforms, by the beginning of the 1970's, the leaseholders of land were declared as the owners of land, the *janmam* holders losing their ownership right. The branches of the kin groups included some terms in the documents like *aṟṟālaṭakkam* and *āśaucabandham*, among them as the two conditions in the *tāvaḷi* partition deeds. *Aṟṟālaṭakkam* is an agreement that in the case of extinction of one branch, its property will go to the other branches; and āśaucabanḍham means the observing of *pula* and *vālāyma*, the two customary rituals among the kin groups, the first one being ten or sixteen days of self-imposed pollution on the death of one member of the kin group, and the second one, the observance of grief for one year. For eg. see Doc. no1101 of Kollam Era 1101, a document registered in Sub Registrar office Nellayi, Thrissur Dt., which happens to be the partition deed of *Caṅkaranṅōta* family, the feudal lords of erstwhile *Perumpaṭappu swarūpam*. Both these customary words were eventually abandoned.
12. Probably a meeting place controlled by the chieftain of the area, whose authority and presence legitimized the transaction. Major Walker, at the beginning of the 19th c., had noted that the local chieftains received their share when a land transaction, was made. Only the *aṭṭippēṟŭ* deeds mention the presence of such an authority, probably the absolute right transaction only fetched a share to the chief. For details see, Major Walker, 1862, *Land Tenures of Malabar*,Calicut, Malabar Government Press.
13. Means 'the present market rate'
14. An inscription from Chembra Subramanya temple speaks about Vāyila Kumaran Iyakkan, his mother and mother's younger sister, together holding and cultivating the temple's land on lease. The same inscription speaks about Cirattalai Tariyanan, Cālakkarai Iyakkanār and others holding and cultivating temple land as lease. The first name evidently, is the name of the kin group to which they belonged to, and most probably, of which they were the senior most. See M. R. Raghava Varier, *Keraleeyata: Caritramanagal* (mal) for the text and details.

15. Taxation of the land in Cochin was started during the reign of Rama Varma alias Sakthan Tampuran (1790-1805). The land records, *kaṇṭeḻuttu* documents, were prepared according to the name assigned to it by its owners. Later, by the beginning of the 20th century, records were reformed and numbers were assigned to each surveyed land in every village.
16. *Ālakkal* may be the name of a kin group.
17. *ālakkale ciṟakku kīḻppaṭṭu* in ōla no 8, line 4.
18. Many of the megaliths are found near these controlled tanks. Cempūcciṟa in Thrissur district is a classic example for this. In that village, there were more than ten cist burials and urn burials around two controlled tanks there. The association of controlled tank and megaliths in Tamil Nadu were noted by several historians before.

19. kaṭaḷaṅkuḷattālum ilañcaikkuḷattālaum nīrpeṟuvana in Pārthivapuram Copper Plate l.33-34. See T. A. Gopinatha Rao ed., *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vol. 1, p. 23.

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© 2019. *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.167-187

The Uncontested Questions of Gender: *Islahi* Movement and the Making of Virtuous Wife and Mother of Nationalist Imagination [1]

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ABSTRACT

The Renaissance movement among the Mappila Muslims of Kerala, the Islahi Movement, claims to have pioneered in uplifting the community which was wrecked by its inherent indigenous affinity with local tradition and culture. It contributed much for the modernisation of the Mappila community. It was also instrumental in strengthening the collective Islamic consciousness of Kerala. However, it is important to take a critical look at the attitude of this reform movement and its leaders on the gender questions. The age old syncretic rituals, rites and customs were denounced and an attempt has been made to bring in the pristine formof faith, Islam, combined with modern western education. Even when it tried to address some concerns regarding women and their education, it was meant partly for fitting the women properly into the moulds that were created for them by the system, and partly to impress the colonial masters and the other regional/national power centres in the society. The emphasis on women's education was focused mostly on making hera 'virtuous wife' and a 'good mother', as those have long been the qualities that the society attributed to good women. If one were to look at it from a religious/textual angle with a gender perspective, we now have a lot of studies and readings like that of Amina Wadud, Asma Barlas et al., that break this belief that women are secondary to men or they are only supposed to serve a supportive role if one goes by the teachings of Islam.Which means there is a need to address women's issues seriously, not just from a colonial/secular point of view but also from an unbiased reading of Islam and its principles.

Keywords: Mappila, Reform, Gender, Qur'an, Islahi, Wahabism, Malabar, Social reform

Introduction

Though the *Islahi* Movement, whose foundation stones were laid by Makti Thangal and Vakkom Maulavi and was taken forward by *Kerala Muslim Aikya Sangham* is popularly known as a reform movement,

there are a lot of dangers associated with such an understanding, as is the case with any other 'renaissance' movement. In particular, the movement did not emphasise much on any radical change in the situation of women. Even when it tried to address some concerns regarding women and their education, it was meant partly for fitting the women properly into the moulds that were created for them by the system, and partly to impress the colonial masters and the other regional/national power centres in the society. The religious side of the movement can be understood as a part of an attempt to get clear of the 'impurities' that made their way into what the leaders of the movement, or these reformers, considered as the 'real' and 'sanct' practices of the religion. This was true about all renaissance movements in general. Raja Ram Mohan Roy, known for his efforts to abolish the practices of sati and child marriage, was citing *Vedas* to counter the evil practices of Hinduism. (Mani, 1998).[2]

To make matters worse, all the readings of *Qur'an* and Islam till that point in history were mostly male-centric. So, the emphasis on women's education was focused mostly on making a 'virtuous wife' and a 'good mother', as those have long been the qualities that the society attributed to good women. In addition to this, the reform's leading personalities tried to make a place for the Muslim community in the 'mainstream', and for achieving this, they tried to align with those who were in power. At that point in history, this meant maintaining an amicable relationship with the British government, and also 'mixing' well with the 'Malayali' community in the geography of Kerala, though there was no Kerala at that time. This gave a 'nationalist' identity to the reforms. This is not to be confused with the nationalist movement against the British that was gaining strength during the same period, even though those who support and celebrate these reforms often try to portray it as an anti-colonial one. K M Seethi's analysis, where he says "It was essentially anti-colonial in character; yet it did not seek to offer any Islamic alternative in political terms" (Seethi, 2018) is an example of such a portrayal, which is not very truthful to the history. Makti Thangal argued in favour of taking help from the British, and later Kerala Muslim *Aikya Sangham* leaders also enjoyed a stake in the power dynamics of the colonial administration.(Aboobacker, 1993:598).[3]

One main problem with these reforms was that it largely missed addressing the agency of women and considered them only as a supportive mechanism that was made for men, with very few exceptions. When it did take up the issues of women, it did so mostly to suite the modern European gaze. Looking back, if one were to look at it from a religious angle, we

now have a lot of studies and readings like that of Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas that break this belief that women are secondary to men or they are only supposed to serve a supportive role if one goes by the teachings of Islam (Wadud, 1999; Barlas, 2011). Which means there is a need to address women's issues seriously, not just from a colonial/secular point of view but also from an unbiased reading of Islam and its principles. A need to acknowledge women's role in policy making and making contributions to the society just like men do, if one were to understand Islam in its real sense. Whereas the reform movement of the 1920s was mostly a regressive one as far as this aspect is concerned, even as it had upheld some seemingly progressive and modern ideas like education for women and men alike.[4]

A Civilising Mission: Colonial India, Customs, Women and the Saviours

Partha Chatterjee tries to analyse the apparently "degenerate and barbaric" social and political condition that prevailed in the British India, including the situation of women, and how it was used to justify the colonial rule. Apart from just 'colonising' the land and ruling over the people, the colonial rulers assumed the position of a saviour as well, who took up a "civilizing mission" against the 'scriptural tradition' of Indians. (Chatterjee, 1989). Just like most other religious reform movements of India, the *Islahi* reformers also partly aligned with this civilising mission. Their aim was also to 'civilize' the society and get rid of superstitions and customs and practices they considered 'uncivilized / barbaric'. The situation of Muslim women in India were probably better in comparison with that of the Hindu women, and hence these reforms were not as specific on women's issues as the Hindu/Arya Samaj reforms.

Writings and speeches of Sayyid Sana Ulla Makti Thangal served as a springboard for the so called *Islahi* reforms. He wrote about the need to get rid of the 'impurities' and 'un-Islamic practices', and also about the need to make use of the avenues of modern education that was becoming available at that time. He emphasised on the need for the Muslim community to gain modern education, and on the need to learn both Malayalam and English (Thangal, 2006:440-445). Another declared enemy of the *Islahi* reforms was the Sufi orders that had made its inroads into the Malabar Mappila psyche. P P Abdul Razack points out that a major concern of Makti Thangal was to liberate the Muslim masses from the clutches of the Sufi influence (Razack,2007:103). The works of Vakkom Moulavi can be seen as a continuation of these thoughts.

Both these aspects constituted the dual agenda of these reforms

throughout. Thus, the focus of the *Islahi* reforms can be divided into two broad classes: one, it was an attempt to revive a 'pure' Islam, trying to be true to the scriptures and 'cleaning it' of several elements and practices it accrued locally. The other objective was that of opening up to modern education and in turn preparing the community to get into a 'good relationship' with those who ruled. The latter one was able to gain more support from the community, aided by the pace at which changes were coming about in the area of education and employment. As part of those larger changes in the society, women from the Muslim community also did gain better access to modern education. It is difficult to measure the impact on women's lives from the history books though, as the women are mostly absent from the historical works altogether. As Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak says, "within the effaced itinerary of the subaltern subject, the track of sexual difference is doubly effected." She adds that "as objects of colonial historiography and as subject of insurgency, the ideological construction of gender keeps the male dominant. If, in the context of colonial production, the subaltern has no history and cannot speak, the subaltern as female is even more deeply in shadow." (Spivak, 1988:287).

Naari Narabhichari, an important work by Thangal, remains as a landmark evidence for what we can now understand as a regressive vision of the reformers, though we can blame it partly on the Kerala society of that period and the limited understanding of *Qur'an* and Islam at that time. This paper takes a look at that regressive nature of those 'reformist' thoughts in detail. Unfortunately, the Kerala society has not moved much from that point and it is yet to understand and accept a woman as an individual.

Naari Narabhichari : Revolution Meets Regression

Naari Narabhichari is a book by Sayyid Sana Ulla Makti Thangal (1847-1912), the famous reformer and author whose name is closely linked with the *Islahi* reform movement (Thangal, 2006:633-666). Dr. M Gangadharan, in his foreword to the book *Makthi Thangalude Sampoornna Krithikal* (The Complete Works of Makti Thangal), observes that Makti Thangal's views were instrumental in Muslim women joining public schools and gaining education along with the boys. Thangal was against having separate schools for girls, and he insisted that girls also should get Malayalam and English education. In a way it was a revolution, because education till then meant only Arabic and Arabi-Malayalam or religious education -- for the Muslim community in general and for girls in particular. However, as Dr. Gangadharan rightly points out, Thangal was against the idea of considering women and men at par (Gangadharan, 2006:17). We can see a lot of evidence for this in the above-mentioned book. The

title literally means that 'woman is meant to follow / accompany the man'.

The book has some radical statements like 'education is an ornament for women and men alike' (Thangal, 2006:635). However, in the same book, Thangal argues that women are essentially different from men, they are different like 'top and bottom' (referring to a strict hierarchy between their positions) (Ibid:642) and that women do not have the right to be individuals who enjoy freedom and influence people (Ibid:643). He justifies this with arguments that might appear bizarre and outright sexist to the reader of today. The explanation goes thus -- 'It is because women become the objects of the man's need as one who owns the seeds (referring to the popular imagery that considers woman as a field where man sows his seeds, or sperms) but men do not become an object for the woman's needs. A man's disinterest stops the woman from fulfilling her desire but a woman's disinterest does not stop a man from fulfilling his desire. Hence it turns out that women will have to wait for the man's interest and his preparedness.' (Ibid:643-644). These arguments can be seen as plain anti-women as they justify or normalise rape, and it is unlikely that he would have made such statements if he were to write that book today.

Ironically, Thangal, who was critical of Christianity on several other occasions, largely refers to the *Bible* and the *Manusmriti* to justify his arguments regarding women's subordinate position when compared to men. The *Bible* quotes he uses for this purpose include 'For the husband is the head of the wife even as Christ is the head of the church, his body, and is himself its Saviour. Now as the church submits to Christ, so also wives should submit in everything to their husbands.' (Ephesians 5:23-24), 'A woman should learn in quietness and full submission.' (1 Timothy 2:11) 'And I do not permit a woman to teach or to have authority over a man, but to be in silence.' (1 Timothy 2:12) 'For Adam was formed first, then Eve.' (1 Timothy 2:13) 'And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived, fell into transgression.' (1 Timothy 2:14) (Ibid:645). This version of the story that woman fell to the trap that was set by the *Satan* and man did not, is given as the reason for not giving her the power to advice men (Ibid:646).

The book then quotes from *Skandapurana*[5] and tells a woman shall drink the water after washing her husband's feet with it, to emphasise on the power relationship between man and woman (Ibid:646). Quoting the infamous verse from the *Manusmruti* that says a woman is to be under the control of men all her life, Thangal says it is an evidence that women are intellectually weaker. He then lists a number of words that are used to refer to women in Hindu / Sanskrit scriptures, including words like *Abala* (the weaker one) and *Bharya* (one who is ruled by her husband) (Ibid:647).

In a weak sequence of arguments built around the word *abala*, Thangal says that freedom is a big power that allows one to protect oneself and what one finds right, and women are obviously lacking in it. The arguments include (i) The *Bible quote*, 'Your desire will be for your husband, And he will rule over you.' (Genesis 3:16), (ii) A man's beauty is his strength and bravery whereas a woman's beauty is her weakness (iii) By character itself they are divided as one on top of the other, among others (Ibid:648-649). While ruling out the arguments that man and woman look the same and are of the same species and hence they are to be considered equal, the book further argues that man is created as *Sarva Sreshtan* (the greatest), *Yogyan* (Worthy or Able one) and *Divyan* (Divine one), and woman is created from man as a supportive tool that is to be used for reproduction (Ibid:649). Dismissing the claim that men and women are equal in their intellectual capabilities, *Naari Narabhichari* refers to the *Bible* version of the story of Adam and Eve, and puts all the blame on Eve alone. Pain during labour and delivery is cited as a punishment that women received for this sin that they committed (Ibid). Interestingly, The *Qur'an* never does this transfer of blame (on to a single person), as Amina Wadud rightly points out in *Qur'an and Women* (Wadud, 1999).

The book goes on to establish a bigger stake for the father on the (male) child compared to the mother (Thangal, 2006:643). It also repeatedly refers to the origin story from the Bible of woman being born from the rib of the man as a matter without any dispute, (Ibid:643,645,649,664) even as the *Qur'an* is free from any such reference.

Countering Prejudice and Chauvinism: The *Qur'an* and Woman

From the readings available with us now in the twenty-first century, we now know many of the arguments that Makti Thangal uses in support of his views of women do not have much backing from the Qur'an. In the book *Quran and Woman*: *Reading the Sacred Text from a Woman's Perspective*, published first in the year 1992, African-American scholar Amina Wadud presents a new 'reading' for the *Qur'an*, i.e., a process of reviewing the words and their context in order to derive an understanding of the text of the holy *Qur'an*. In contrast to the Muslim scholars including Makti Thangal who tried to defend their anti-woman standpoints using the texts from other religions, Wadud views Islam as a religion that breaks away from such anti-woman theories that had a long history and had roots in the culture and the society.

Justifying this effort, she says that there is no single method of the *Qur'anic* interpretation that is completely objective. Every person

who tries to understand and interpret the text will have some subjective choices to make. It is natural that these subjective choices decide the fine details of the way each person understands and interprets the scripture. It may deviate from the intent of the text. Yet, she observes that often people make no distinction between the text and individual interpretations (Wadud, 1999:1). Further, Wadud adds that her main concern was that all the 'traditional' *tafasir* (interpretations of the *Qur'an*) were written exclusively by men. It meant that they took men and their experiences into consideration in their interpretations, where as women and their experiences were either excluded or were seen only from a man's point of view. It was bound to be limited their perspective of women, their desires, and in general, their 'needs of a woman' (Ibid:2). It could include their sexual needs and home care needs among others. Looking back, Makti Thangal's interpretations of woman's status in the *Qur'an* can be seen as a classic example of this phenomenon that Wadud talks about.

This happens because men's readings are bound to be regressive or male-centric because they have the baggage of a 'prior text', or their own life experiences that allow them to see everything only through a man's eyes. Elaborating this a bit more, Wadud says that this 'prior text' adds a great deal to the point of view and to the conclusions that one arrives at while doing an interpretation of the text. The end result would certainly lay bare the individual who carries out this exegesis. It is neither good nor bad in and of itself, but it has the danger that when one individual who reads the text, with a certain world-view and a particular set of experiences insists that his (or her) understanding is the only possible or permissible interpretation of that text, then it closes doors on other meaningful and valid interpretations. It prevents other people who may have a different life experience and a different worldview from coming to terms with and understanding this text with those experiences in mind. At the same time, a text like the *Qur'an* can not allow too much of relativism, and the text does take care of it, as can be seen from the points of convergence of multiple readings / interpretations of the *Qur'an*. However, in order for it to achieve its objective of acting as an impetus that affects the way people behave in the society, each person should be able to understand the unchangeable and core principles of that text from their own social context. Then only they can put these ideas into action, applying their own individual thoughts. The text or its basic principles do not (and cannot) change, but the capacity of each individual to understand it, and the context in which one understands it and applies it, changes within a community of people (Ibid:5).

There is a belief among Muslims that there are essential distinctions

between men and women reflected in Creation, capacity and function in society, accessibility to guidance (particularly to the *Qur'anic* guidance), and in the rewards due to them in the Hereafter. Wadud argues that although there are distinctions between women and men, they are not of their essential natures. In particular, she argues against the values that have been attributed to these distinctions — values that describe women as weak, inferior, inherently evil, intellectually incapable and spiritually lacking.

Wadud refers to various verses in the *Qur'an* to support her argument. For instance, about the stand on a woman's modesty, she notes that modesty helps in maintaining a certain moral strength and character in cultures worldwide and it is important to maintain it, but it should be purely on the basis of faith and it should not be something that gets forced on a person. When it becomes based on economics, politics or other forms of access or when it is forced on, it becomes problematic. She argues that this is probably why Yusuf Ali translates verse 24:31 of the *Qur'an* in the following way: 'what (must ordinarily) appear' (talking about the body parts that remain uncovered), 'to indicate that (ordinarily) there are culturally determined guidelines for modesty.' (Ibid:10).

While explaining the *Qur'anic* text about Creation, Wadud clearly highlights the differences from the *Bible's* narration of Creation, thus countering the arguments like those mentioned in *Naari Narabhichari.* She observes that in the Qur'anic account of creation, it is never mentioned that God planned to begin the creation of humankind with a male person. Further, it does not ever say that the origin of the human race is from Adam. In fact it does not even state that God started the creation of humankind with the *nafs* (soul, or self) of the man alone. Wadud feels this omission is an important deviation from the *Bible's* version, because it means that the way *Qur'an* tells the story of Creation of humankind is not about who came first, man or woman. (Ibid:19-20).

It is important to note that nowhere in the *Qur'an* it is mentioned that Eve is made from the rib of Adam. Some people believe it because everyone already knows that part of the story from the *Old Testament*, but it is important to look at it as a point where the *Qur'an* chooses to drift from the *Bible* version of the Creation. It gives us an idea why people like Sana Ulla Makti Thangal had to resort to *Bible* or *Manusmriti* heavily for endorsing their anti-woman theories, as *Qur'an* has very little to offer them in that respect.

It is not only about the Creation. Explaining the events in the heavenly Garden and the sin of Adam and Eve, Wadud notes that the *Qur'an* does not put the blame of the sin entirely on the woman. This is also in

contrast to the *Bible* and the Christian version of the story that people like Makti Thangal use to support their arguments against women.

Wadud notes that the sin is referred to in the *Qur'an* as a collective responsibility or a collective failure of Adam and Eve. She quotes from the *Qur'an*: 'The offer he made to Adam and Eve was so great that they failed to remember the warning against him that they had been given. They failed to remember *Allah's* admonition and approached the tree. Upon recognition of the error that they had made, the original parents repented and asked for forgiveness' (the *Qur'an* 7:23).

She notes that the only exception to the *Qur'anic* use of the dual form, to refer to the temptation and disobedience of Adam and Eve in the Garden, is actually one that singles out Adam and holds him responsible for disobeying the Lord.

'And verily We made a covenant of old with Adam, but he forgot, and We found no constancy in him. . . . And the devil whispered to him saying: 'Oh Adam! Shall I show you the tree of immortality and power that does not waste away?' Then the two of them (Adam and his wife) ate of the fruit (of the forbidden tree)... And Adam disobeyed his Lord, so went astray' (the *Qur'an* 20:115-21). (Ibid:25).

Note that while the *Bible* and Muslim scholars like Makti Thangal put all the blame of the sin on Eve, the *Qur'an* not only refrains from blaming her but even goes to the extent of singling out Adam and saying that he disobeyed his Lord and went astray.

About the references to female characters of the *Qur'an* in general, Wadud notes that all such references have a common pattern that shows respect for women. (Ibid:32).

About the distinction between man and woman, Wadud notes that *Qur'an* does not distinguish between them as far as their individual capacity is concerned. Their relationship with God also remains same, one is not any closer to God than the other. With regard to their potential relationship with *Allah*, they are the same. There is no difference in their personal yearnings either. She says there is no indication that the *Qur'an* wants us to believe there is an essential distinction between men and women as far as their spiritual capacity is considered. Therefore, she argues that the differences that exist between men and women cannot be of an inherent value, because otherwise individual will would not have any meaning. She then points out that the problems arise when people try to determine the origin and cause of the differences that have come about. (Ibid:34-35). Talking about the folly of the interpretations like what Makti Thangal

does in *Naari Narabhichari,* though not referring to that one in particular, she says, that 'such interpretations assume that men represent the norm' and hence only they are completely human, and naturally it implies that women are less human than the men. They are incomplete, and hence of less value. Wadud adds that such interpretations end up strengthening the stereotypes in the society about both men and women, and it causes severe damage to the potential of both the sexes. Such interpretations also justify the restrictions that the cultures and societies put, using the pretext that Islam says so, on a woman's right to seek personal happiness. Even more dangerous and disturbing is the tendency of erasing the role of people who do such interpretations, and ascribing such interpretations to the *Qur'an* itself. As an individual, she says neither does she hold such views nor does she find support for these stereotypes in the *Qur'an*. She observes that interestingly, these interpretations do not do complete justice to women, and yet even those Muslim authors who make such interpretations believe and assert that the *Qur'an's* aim is to ensure social justice. Wadud compares it with Thomas Jefferson and the writers of the American Constitution saying that 'All men are created equal' and not giving a damn to even consider black men to be equal to white men.(Ibid:35-36).

Dismissing the readings / interpretation that men and women are hierarchically 'top and bottom', she quotes a statement from the *Qur'an,suratAl-Hujarat* (49:13): 'We created you male and female and have made you nations and tribes that you may know one another. *Inna akramakum 'inda Allah atqa-kum* [Indeed the most noble of you from *Allah's* perspective is whoever (he or she) has the most *taqwa* (piety)].', and says this statement sumps up how the *Qur'an* looks at the differences that are present within the humankind. (Ibid:36). It talks about the creation as male and female, and says the distinctions or the grouping that the God made, be it male and female, or into nations and tribes, are not essential differences, it is only so that one can identify the other easily. If everyone looked the same or had the same set of identities, it would be difficult even to distinguish one person from the other. But from *Allah's* perspective, the only distinction comes from one's *taqwa* or piety. Nothing else matters.

Regarding the responsibilities of an individual, the rewards and the Hereafter, Wadud observes that the *Qur'an* repeatedly states that every person, be it a man or a woman, individually and every people and society collectively are solely responsible for what they do. (Ibid:25). To quote from the *Qur'an* itself, 'all human activity is given recompense on the basis of what the individual earns' (the *Qur'an* 4.-124). (Ibid:36). About the Hereafter, she feels that the *Qur'an* only emphasises this personal responsibility

and experience even more. The rewards that await an individual is completely based on the individual alone. It does not matter whether it is a man or a woman, each one gets their rewards individually, based on what kind of life they led and what all they did. The scale of judgment is not a gendered one. It is the actions performed by the individual during their lifetime that earns them the rewards. 'Or do those who commit ill deeds suppose that We shall make them as those who believe and do good works, the same in life and death? Bad is their judgement! And *Allah* has created the heavens and the earth with truth, and each *nafs* (soul, or self) may be repaid what it has earned. And they will not be wronged.' (the *Qur'an* 45:21-2).(Ibid:50).

In continuation to this, she adds that no one can take away or reduce the 'grade points' earned by another person, nor is it possible to make it any higher. The merits achieved by one person cannot be shared with another, and the same holds for the punishments as well. 'And guard (yourselves) against a day when no *nafs* (self) will in aught avail another (*nafs* / self), nor will compensation be accepted from it, nor intercession be of use to it, nor will they be helped.' (*Qur'an* 2:48). She ends this with an interesting observation that there is an 'unusual consensus' among the commentators and exegetes on this point, even as they may differ on several other details. Wadud attributes it to the 'explicit wording in the *Qur'an*' with regard to gender equity, or the absence of male/female distinctions, when it comes to recompense. To quote one such *Qur'anic* account of the final Judgement and the rewards: 'Unto men a fortune from that which they have earned, and unto women a fortune from that which they have earned.' (*Qur'an* 4:32). (Ibid:50-51).

Biological differences between men and women and the women's ability to give birth is another point that is widely used my male scholars to justify their readings that are biased against women. Wadud says women cannot be seen as mere tools that help men with reproduction just because she has the ability to give birth to children. It is a notion that many scholars continue to hold even in the current times, and such arguments are seen in Makti Thangal's book also. She says that the ability to bear a child is often seen as a woman's primary function because (biologically) woman's primary distinction from men is on the basis of this ability, and men often use this 'primary' in a negative sense and imply that women can only be mothers. That is why in various cultures it has become accepted that the main thrust of bringing up a woman must be on making them devoted wives and ideal mothers, and preparing them for childbearing. Wadud notes that in the *Qur'an*, there is no term that suggests that childbearing is the 'primary' function of a woman. There is absolutely no

indication that motherhood is her only or exclusive role. What it says, on the other hand, is that only women are capable of bearing children. It is only an additional and exclusive power that a woman has.(Ibid:64).

Wadud also counters the arguments that try to justify superiority of men citing that there have not been any women chosen as prophets. She notes that both men and women figure in the list of people who have received the divine communication, *wahy* (a direct communication from *Allah*). While it is true that there is no example of a woman prophet mentioned in the *Qur'an*, it is not that all men are given the responsibility of *risalah* (prophethood). That is, there is no reason to arrive at a conclusion that prophethood is a man's primary function. It was given to a chosen few, and there are many factors that influence this choice. She points to the difficulty that the prophets faced in getting others to acknowledge them as prophets and accept the message from God, especially when those chosen (exceptional) men came from poor classes, and notes that the challenges would have been higher for women. Since women are considered inferior beings in most cultures and societies, the message might not get many takers if women were chosen as prophets. She feels 'It is a strategy for effectiveness, not a statement of divine preference.'(Ibid:65).

Interestingly, most of the prejudices and misconceptions that Wadud tries to break find a comfortable place in the thoughts of Makthi Tangal. In that sense, the ideological base of the *Islahi* movement was also very much limited, mostly by the limited understanding of women's rights at that time. This understanding has long been missing, and we know that even in a so-called civilised and modern country like the UK, voting rights were granted to women only in the year 1918. It was only in 1870 that married women got property rights in England. (Comps&Beth:2005,1028-1057).[6] That was also not an absolute right, it came with some clauses and conditions: The enactment of the Representation of the People Act of 1918 granted property-owning British women over age 30 the right to vote. It took another decade before women in Britain would have the same voting rights as men. In Spain, women gained voting rights in 1933, as a result of legal changes made during the Second Spanish Republic. In most parts of the world, women did not have any rights to their parent's property either, until recent years. In India, Hindu women were granted absolute right to property only in the 1950s, through the Hindu Code Bill. When we look at these facts, the Qur'an can be seen as a revolutionary text from the women's point of view. (Wadud,1999:87).

K M Moulavi and His Book : A Predecessor to the Feminist Readings of Islam

K.M Moulavi, one of the leaders of the *Islahi* reforms, took a stand on women that was different from that of Makti Thangal. He rightly observed that the position of women in Islam was theoretically better than the status they enjoyed in the then prevailing Muslim societies. His book *Islamum Sthreekalum* ("Islam and Women") was published in the year 1936. (Razack, 2006:152). It was a revolutionary work, considering the situation of the early 20th century Kerala Muslim society.

Like Wadud, K M Moulavi also takes supportive evidences from the *Qur'an* and other scriptures to support his argument that both men and women had soul, and both had equal rights and obligation as far as their belief and religious duties are concerned. (Ibid).

In the second part of the book, Moulavi quotes *hadiths* and further argues that women have the right to participate in the *Salat al-Jama'*ah (congregational prayers) held in the mosques just like men. Moulavi reminds the Muslim society that during the time of Prophet Muhammed and immediately after that, women used to take part actively in the battles, citing the example of Ayisha, the youngest wife of the Prophet, who led a battle on a horseback immediately after the death of Prophet Muhammed. (Ibid).

The third part of the book discusses women's right to education, stressing on the need for both modern as well as religious education for women. In the fourth and final part, Moulavi deals with another controversial topic, *Islamum Pardayum* ("Islam and the veil"). He argues that religion (Islam) only asks women to cover only what is considered the *awrah*, or the intimate parts of the body. He said it means covering body parts except for her face and her hands up to her forearms. Moulavi asserts that the women could go out in the public and engage in all activities without covering her face. He was trying to get the society out of the cultural trench it was trapped in.

Asma Barlas: Continuation of the Liberational Thoughts

In the book *Believing Women in Islam: Unreading Patriarchal Interpretations of the Qur'an*, (Barlas, 2002) Pakistani academic / writer Asma Barlas extends the thoughts of Wadud and tries to further liberate *Qur'an* from the conventional patriarchal readings. She says she wanted "not only to challenge oppressive readings of the *Qur'ān* but also to offer a reading that confirms that Muslim women can struggle for equality from within the framework of the *Qur'ān's* teachings, contrary to what both conservative and progressive Muslims believe." She adds that "To identify Islam inseparably with oppression is to ignore the reality of misreadings of the

sacred text".(Ibid:xi) In a follow-up essay titled Quran & Women's Liberation first published in 2009 (Barlas, 2011), Barlas argues against the prejudice that most people carry which sees Islam (and monotheism in general) as a patriarchal concept. She says this representational prejudice is one that is faulty on at least three counts. First, it mixes or confuses the religion or the sacred text with a particular (patriarchal) reading of it. Two, such a representation is ahistorical and it misses the fact that different forms of discrimination and misogyny are acquired by various societies and though they are similar to what is seen in Muslim societies, there is nothing 'Muslim' about it.Ideas of women being inferior to men, polygyny, wife-beating and segregating women were customary among several societies, including societies with goddess cults (Ibid:10-11) While explaining this, she refers to Leila Ahmed who shows how the misogyny 'pre-existing' in the society was 'seamlessly' incorporated into Islam during the Middle Ages, in turn shaping the Muslim discourses on women and gender in many years that followed. She also sites the several secondary religious texts that assert that Eve was created from the rib of Adam, even as the *Qur'an* never makes such a reference. Nor does the *Qur'an* treat childbirth and menstruation as punishments for women. (Ibid:11)

Rajabhakthiyum Deshabhimanavum: Engagements with Nation and the Government[7]

Another key characteristic of the *Islahi* movement, as was mentioned earlier, was the way in which it 'bowed before the King' or aligned with the rulers. The reform leaders considered it important to have a healthy relationship with the government as well as the nation. Even as there are readings like that of K M Seethi that consider the reform "essentially anti-colonial in character", they also admit that it was more complicated than that. Seethi tries to explain that complexity briefly in the same article: "Makhti Thangal, the pioneer of Muslim reform movement, began his career as a British official, but opted to remain in the realm of *Islah*, seeking to engage with modernity. On one end of the spectrum, he confronted the Church missionaries who propagated a highly distorted image of Islam; on the other hand, Thangal exhorted the Muslims to come out of their social seclusion to undertake English education (besides in their mother-tongue, Malayalam) and through it the emerging challenges of modernity. Makthi Thangal was not anti-British in his essential character, just as Sir Syed Ahamed Khan was during this time, but sought to uplift the Muslims from their self-imposed backwardness and to prepare them to face challenges of modern times." (Seethi, 2018).

In the book *Rajabhakthiyum Deshabhimanavum* ("Loyalty to the

King and the National Pride"), Sana Ulla Makti Thangal gives an ideological base for this strategy / theory they followed through the reforms. In this book, he also stresses on the need to avoid getting into protests or riots. His teachings/arguments in this book are essentially in the backdrop of several rebellions that took part in Malabar during the last years of 19th century, and it also addressed the belief prevalent among the Mappila Muslims of Malabar that learning Malayalam and English languages or taking up a government job was against Islam. Thangal takes pride in his role in suppressing the riots that broke out in and around Malappuram in the year 1896: 'It is well known that both the government and the subjects suffered a lot when Muslims got into riots in the belief that they would get rewarded in the afterlife if they get killed while killing their enemy. In the latest such riots that broke out in 1896, I was called from Changanassery [by the British administration] to Malappuram and as per their order I travelled around Malappuram and explained to the people that there is no virtue or reward [in it] and it is only a big sin, and there have not been any riots since then. Think who has benefitted from it.' (Thangal, 2006:504).

There are many historians like Dr. M Gangadharan who appreciate Thangal's efforts towards quenching the riots. In the foreword written to the complete works of Makti Thangal, he notes that in the riots of 1896, 94 Mapplia Muslims got killed in Police firings in connection with an incident where the Mapplias killed a Nair landlord and two others. He adds that Makti Thangal succeeded in his mission (of pacifying the violent crowds), and no further riots were reported till the death of Thangal in 1912. Even in the riots of 1915 and 1919, he says there was not much support from the Mappila Muslim community. (Gangadharan, 2006:18). However, the critiques of Thangal see this as a cowardly measure that resulted in Mappilas suffering many more years of oppression and repression from the landlords and the British government alike. M T Ansari, in his book *Malabar: Desheeyathayude Idapadukal*, feels it is a result of a formation of a 'modern' awareness that the Mappilas became aware of the futility of fighting with an enemy who is more powerful in terms of weapons. (Ansari, 2008:31).

Thangal calls for cooperation with the rulers of the land, whoever that may be, and justifies it using religion as well. 'Even as the lord of this world and the other world is the divine and only one God, one shall respect and obey the kings who are assigned the responsibility to save and punish us, without any disobedience. There is one section who thinks the third (among those who the believers shall obey, *ulul amr*, as mentioned in the *Qur'an*) is the ruler.' (Thangal, 2006:505). Here, he is referring to

the *Qur'anic* verse that says "O ye who believe! Obey Allah, and obey the Messenger, and those charged with authority among you." (*Qur'an* 4:59).

He makes multiple references to this Qur'anic verse in the same book. Referring to a speech he made in Thiruvananthapuram on this topic, he says, 'Oh people, *bhakti* (devotion) is of three types. Two are connected with the God's matters and one concerns with the material world. The material one is on the ruler who has the right to save us and punish us.'(Thangal, 2006:505).

Talking about the same speech, he adds, 'Just like the believers have the right to know the rules of the God, the subjects [of the King] have the right to know the law of the land. Knowing and obeying the rules is a devotional right and it also gives one a special power.' (Ibid:505). (Note that this speech is made in Thiruvananthapuram which was under the Travancore King's rule at that time).

Thangal continues with stressing further on the need for a devotion to the King and the government: 'Government job is a support you get from the rulers. That is also an important part of one's devotion.. Without doubt, it is a right of the subject, it is a matter of pride of belonging to the nation, and devotion to the king. It adds to the position of the individual and the community, and results in a good relationship with the government. Especially it makes one content in this devotion. There are enough reasons to believe that those who do not have [government] jobs are lacking in power and in devotion.'(Ibid:506).

In the same book he stressed on the need to learn Malayalam and English languages. In the second essay in the same book, Thangal repeats some of these points, and refers to the same *Qur'anic* verse once again : 'Just like belief in God and devotion are essential, belief in the King and devotion to the King are also essential. It is said that the third one in the *Qur'anic* verse [mentioned above], charged with authority, is the ruler.' (Ibid:508).

In the third and last essay in the book, titled *Deshabhimanam* (Love for the Nation), Thangal talks particularly about the need for loving the motherland as well. He says the slogan '*Vande Mataram*' that the people of the northern states used had the same meaning. He adds that it is important to have a 'husband for the land and a ruler for the people'. (Ibid:509). Here, Thangal reads '*Vande Mataram*' only as a part of a 'national' sentiment, and misses the Hindutva undertones of that slogan.[8]

Even though officially there was no state called Kerala then, Thangal stresses on the need for the Muslims of Kerala to take pride in being a Keralite, since Kerala is their land of birth. (Ibid: 510). In another book *Muslim Janavum Vidyabhayasavum* ("The Muslim

community and education"), he stresses further on the need for the Kerala Muslims to be proficient in Malayalam. (Ibid: 440-442).

Indian Context of the 'National Model' of an Ideal Womanhood

Right from the reforms within the Hindu / Brahmin communities of North India and Bengal, one can see the construction of an Ideal Indian womanhood. Sonia Nishat Amin observes that in the period of cultural nationalism, R C Dutt, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee and Dayananda Saraswati among others were the architects of the new ideal womanhood in India / Bengal. She adds that a similar reconstruction (of the ideal Indian Muslim woman) took place in the Muslim reform movement of Bengal, replacing the Aryan / Hindu Goddesses with modern-day Ayisha or Fatima, and calls it an 'identity-seeking Modernism' of the Muslim reform movements. (Amin, 1996:30-31). Both among Hindus and Muslims, the revivalists / reformists acknowledged the present dreadful status of women in contrast with a romanticised version of a 'golden' past where women supposedly enjoyed a better status. They sought to improve the not-so-enviable current situation through social reforms, with the help from the colonial government if necessary. The engagements with a colonial modernity provided the background to what turned out to be women's reform movements that the reformist men were forced to take up. The backward status of women were seen as a sign of backwardness of the community. At the same time, they were cautious about the onslaught of the same modernity. They felt a need to counter it, as they feared otherwise it would end up putting the Indian (or Muslim) cultural existence in danger, observes Amin.(Ibid:31).

The analysis of the *Islahi* reforms shows that they also followed a similar pattern, and their fears and concerns were based on a wrong notion that the gender hierarchy and inferiority of women were essential to the Muslim cultural existence.

Breaking out of the Stereotypes: Influential Women

No matter how much the pioneers of the reform wanted the women to remain subordinates to men, education did open up a new avenue for women. There were women who made use of the opportunities they got, and made a space for themselves in the society.

Dr Shamshad Hussain traces the lives of some of these women in her book *Muslimum Streeyum Allathaval*. M Haleema Beevi, born in 1918, was one of the major woman personalities who benefitted from the changes that came about in the Muslim women's lives. Hussain quotes Haleema Beevi's words from a speech at a women's conference held in Thiruvalla in the year 1938 : 'even though we once considered modern

education a sin, now many of us have become educated. It is relieving that the belief that women's education will spoil women does not have many takers now. Education has helped us develop and articulate our thoughts better. I must acknowledge the fact that it is the broad mindedness underlying in the power of education that has enabled us to shed our inhibitions and attend this conference here today'. (Hussain, 2015:79)

Apart from Haleema Beevi, two more Muslim women, P G Khadeeja and Meytheen Beevi also spoke at that conference. Chapter 3 of this thesis mentioned about the three resolutions passed at the conference, regarding free education for girl children, compulsory primary education for girl children and employment for educated women. Meytheen Beevi was the first woman to pass Hindi Rashtra Bhasha Visharad examination and Dr. Habsha Marakkar who was the first Muslim woman from Kerala to pass MBBS. At the conference, Haleema Beevi stressed the need for claiming their rightful space in the public life and become a part of the development of the community and of the nation. She later wrote an essay titled "Muslim women in the organisational field", where she gives details on the follow-up actions to the decisions made at the conference. She says Sir CP Government considered the demands of the conference regarding education for Muslim women favourably and offered many perks for Muslim girl students. She also talks about the plans they had to extend their activities to Malabar. *Thalassery Muslim Mahila Samajam* was known to be active in Malabar during that time. Beevi writes about the communication that she had with the *Samajam*. T C Kunjachumma Saheba was in charge of the *Samajam*. But somehow, their Malabar plans did not work out.

Haleema Beevi proved her proficiency in journalism also. She was the editor, printer and publisher of a magazine titled *Muslim Vanitha*, published from Thiruvalla, that started in the year 1938. When *Bharatha Chandrika*, which later became a daily, began as a weekly in 1946, Haleema Beevi was the editor. Noted writer Vaikom Muhammed Basheer was one of the sub editors. Both these publications had to shut down later due to financial problems. (Ibid:79-81)

Conclusion

To summarise, *Islahi* movement was closely linked with European /Colonial Modernity, though one cannot count the movement entirely as a colonial project. The leaders of the movement took inspiration from reform movements world wide and tried to induce a new energy of modernity into the community, and tried to take the community back to a 'golden past' of their imaginations. However, pioneers like Makti

Thangal carried some extremely regressive views regarding women, and it reflected on the reforms as well. Thus, the reforms largely missed addressing the agency of women and considered them only as a supportive mechanism for men. To make matters worse, all the readings of the *Qur'an* and Islam till that point in history were also mostly male-centric.

The changes that came about in the society as part of the movement and also as part of the colonial modernisation gave women access to modern education, but at the same time, they were pushed back and were more or less confined to a few roles that the society assigned exclusively for them. There were exceptions though. One can see there were women who made a mark in the public sphere without compromising or confining themselves to the margins and boundaries set for them. But in general, it can be said that the reforms got them education, but in strict nationalist and patriarchal frameworks. A more Islamic or the *Qur'anic* frame would have emancipated them better. When we look back, we now have a lot of studies and readings like that of Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas that break the belief that women are secondary to men or they are only supposed to serve a supportive role, even when one looks at it through an Islamic eye. K M Moulavi and his book *Islamum Sthreekalum* (Islam and Women), was a notable exception to the regressive ideas that were underlying beneath the surface of the tryst with modernity. His book could be seen as sharing a less patriarchal reading of the *Qur'an.*

Another key characteristic of the movement was the way in which it 'bowed before the King'. The reform leaders felt that a cordial relationship with the rulers, be it the colonial masters or the local King, was the only way to ensure that the community remained in the mainstream and enjoyed the fruits of modernity.

Notes

1. The word 'nationalist' in the title of this paper mainly refers to the blending of one's identity with that of the system, or being an ally to the government. At a sub-national level, it also refers to projecting the 'Malayali' identity, or playing up the Kerala / Malayali sub-nationalism and blending oneself into the mainstream Malayali self. It is about coming to an agreement with the society and the nation one lives in, rather than being rebellious. Thus, the reform worked as a project that created an obedient and less violent Muslim in general, a 'tamed' one in the eyes of the state and the society. The women's role was to be a virtuous wife and mother of that nationalist imagination.The phrase "virtuous wife and mother of

nationalist imagination" is taken from Aamir R Mufti's "A great Story-writer than God: Genre, Gender and Minority in Late Colonial India" an article in Partha Chatterjee & Pradeep Jaganathan (ed.), *Community, Gender and Violence: Subaltern Studies*, Vol. XI, Permanent Black, Delhi, pp.13-14.

2. In the book Mani re-examines the colonialist as well as nationalist historiography on the social reform and emancipation of women in the colonial period. She criticises the reform movements among the Hindus as in the debate on the prohibition of sati - the 'self' immolation of the wife of the deceased husband - the women who were burned alive had been marginalised. See Lata Mani, *Contentious Traditions*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1998.
3. Many of the organisers as well as delegates of the Annual Conferences of *Aikya Sangham* were government executives. For example the eighth Annual Conference of *Aikya Sangham* was presided over by Capt. Abdul Hamid Khan in 1930 and in the following year, the ninth Conference, it was Sessions Judge Mir Sainuddin Sahib. See Aboobacker, Kathiyalam (ed.), Kodungallur Directory, Vartha Publications, P.Vemballur, 1992, p. 598.
4. K M Moulavi, who wrote the book *Islamum Sthreekalum* (Islam and Women) however, was the only exception to this. His book can be seen more or less as a predecessor to the thoughts of Wadud.See K M Moulavi, *Islamum Sthreekalum* (Mala.). (trans., Islam and Women), Ishaath Committee, Aleppey, 1936.
5. *Skandapurana* is one of eighteen Hindu Purānās.
6. Before the legislation was made in 1870 to grant property right to married women, the property earned by a woman instantly would become the money of her husband, except that of dowry. The Act granted married women to be the legal owners of the money they earned and right to inherit property.See. Combs, Mary Beth, "A Measure of Legal Independence: The 1870 Married Women's Property Act and the Portfolio Allocations of British Wives",*The Journal of Economic History*, December 2005, 65 (4):1028–1057.Link: doi:10.1017/s0022050705000392. JSTOR 3874913.
7. *Rajabhakthiyum Deshabhimanavum*which means "Loyalty to the King and the National Pride" is a Malayalam booklet written by Makti Thangal.
8. It may be noted that the nationalism and Hindutva discourses were closely linked with one another.

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Colonial Affiliations and Modern Cosmopolitanism: Architectural Heritage of the Keyi Muslims

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Abstract

Architecture is not about utility and aesthetics alone; it is a medium to explicate social attitudes and collective mentalities. The Keyi Muslims inaugurated [colonial]modernity in the architectural tradition among Thalassery Muslims, in the 18th century, synthesizing local, Islamic and colonial styles. But the act of assimilating colonial modernity in architecture was not simply a development towards cultural cosmopolitanism; collaborative role in colonial trade was crucial in the steadily growingmaterial prosperity of the Keyi family, which had led them to appropriate western/secularvalues in their cultural domain.However, the mode of appropriation was highly selective, leaving the sacred and [inner] domestic zones uncontaminated.
Keywords: British, Colonialism, Thalassery, Keyi, Architecture, Saracenic, *Odathil Palli.*

Introduction

Architecture is often studied against its cultural and aesthetic setting; the social ramifications are often ignored, though it has the potential to reveal the nature of social affinities and collective mentalities. Colonial era witnessed the appropriation of western architectural styles at varying degrees; the amount of which may explain the extent of consent/dissent towards colonial culture/indigenous tradition. It was a site for the engagement with the appeal of modernity, a bargaining for social power, and a demonstration of economic/social capital acquired through the network of colonial trade. Seigfried Kracaeur, the German architect and cultural theorist, viewed architectural space as a medium to understand society; within the 'realities' of the everyday and their suspension exist in a state of dialectical tension, enabling communities to attain a heightened consciousness of self, as individuals, group and collectivity (cited in Juneja, 2008:2). Against this background, through extensive fieldwork combining site visits and interview of various strata of people, the present paper examines the architectural (commercial, domestic and sacred) legacy of the Keyi Muslims of Thalassery. It would help examine the modes of their interaction with co-

lonial modernity and the manner by which they utilized the built environment to negotiate a space within the emerging [colonial]power structure.

Keyis were a family of traders who came to settle in Thalassery in the early decades of the 18th century when the British established their trade networks and factor-settlement there (Kuttu, 2014:23). As partners in colonial spice trade, the Keyis soon emerged into local elites and grew up in wealth and influence. Being located in the coastal-urban precincts of the fort-factory complex of Tellicherry, they constructed several villas/mansions and large number of warehouses; some of which still survive along the coastal belt of the town. While the storage halls were built with a utilitarian objective – and which initially served the twin purposes of family housing in the upper portions and storage on the ground floor, much like the structures built by other business classes of the west coast of India such as the Jews, Konkanis, Gujaratis, and Parsis (Abraham, 2017:160) – their house architecture evinced a fusion of the indigenous, Islamic and colonial styles. But the mosques (which are still stable and functional) are strictly Keralite-Islamic, heavily dominated by vernacular features, such as rich wood work and façade resembling a Brahmanical-Hindu temple, where typical 'Saracenic'architectural features like bulbous domes, tall minarets and arch-shaped entrances are missing. In fact, there is a harmonious fusion of style and utility, tradition and modernity, Islamic and local-vernacular features.

Keyi family in the Colonial Setting

Keyi is the name of a Muslim trader family, like the Koyas of Calicut, Sunni by faith and matrilineal by descent (Gough, 1972: 415-42; Miller, 1992: 251-2),[1] originally having their home at Chovva in present day Kannur, and specialized in spice trade under the Chirakkal and Arakkal kingdoms (Kurup and Ismael, 2014:18-19). When the British East India Company established their trade headquarters at Tellicherry (present Thalassery) in the early decades of the eighteenth century, the Keyi family, under Aluppi, transferred their centre of trading activity to the new colonial town and thereafter came to be known as *Chovvakkaran* (as belonging to Chovva) (Ibid).When settled in Tellicherry, they constructed a new homestead called Orkatteri – which was segmented into four branches (Valiya Orkatteri, Cheriya Orkatteri, Thayath and Keloth) and multiplied later on – but they could not gain respect and recognition among the traditional Muslim elite families, Vaniyambalam and Kunnath in particular – the former even declined a marriage proposal from Musa, the nephew of Aluppi (Ummer, 2019). However, the Keyis gradually grew up in wealth and power and constructed large number of warehouses on the shore, several houses near the British fort-factory

complex, and a few mosques in the heart of the town (Balakrishnan, 2011:218). [2] Musa later on became the most successful trader of the family who could acquire monopoly in supplying commodities like pepper, cardamom, copra and sandalwood to the British (Deepa, 2019:159-63). Close contact with the colonial power and the inflow of European capital – for the regular supply of spices to the Company throughеven advance payments as a token of trust and honour – helped the Keyis to emerge as unrivalled merchant, banker of local lords, Company middlemen and broker – while the Keyis considered them as "our own company" (Rahiman, 2016:95). The company, in turn, saw the Keyis, for being honest partners, as "protégée of the Company" (Sakkaria, 1996:529-30). Being matrilineal – which in fact ran counter to the *Sharia* law –and followers of the law of inheritance forbidding partition of joint family property, the wealth and resources of the Keyis remained stable which helped them to multiply their mercantile capital (Kurup and Ismael, 2014:40-1).

Throughout the period of colonial rule, Keyis maintained enduring friendship relations with, and loyalty towards, the British. When the Mysore rulers raided Malabar, and the Arakkal Rajas supported them, the Keyis sided with the British – they "remained with the Tellicherry Factory; there was no likelihood of their joining Mysore" (Abraham, 2017:154-55). They even helped in safely transporting the feudal lords and caste Hindus, who had taken refuge in the Tellicherry factory, to the state of Travancore (which had successfully resisted the Mysore forces) in cargo ships through the (Arabian) Sea. During the Pazhassi Revolts, though they maintained secret relations with the rebels, by purchasing pepper from the troubled areas and supplying rice and gunpowder to them (Kurup, 1988:107-08), their allegiance towards the British remained strong and stable. Keyis soon evolved in to intimate merchant partnersin colonial spice/timber trade – as a comprador class. Gradually, they extended their commercial activities far and wide on the east and west coast upto Masulipatanam, Mangalore, Bombay and Surat (Abraham, 2017:154). [3] Being a satellite state of the British in India, Travancore also provided opportunities for the Keyis to expand their trading activities there.

Close friendship ties with the British, and mercantile interests all over India,drove the Keyis to keep aloof from the Nationalist Movement and,in the early decades of the twentieth century, when minority politics led by the Muslim League took roots in Malabar, the Keyis emerged as active partners. Being a centre of English education and the modern printing press, pioneered by Basel Evangelical Mission, under Herman Gundert, and Port Officer and altruist Edward Brennen (Parvathi,

2017:40-1), large number of Mappilas attained modern education and early efforts were started for printing (Irikkur, 2019:110-12; Mangad, 2019:375-7). *Chandrika,* the mouthpiece of the Muslim League in Kerala, was published from Thalassery from 1934 till 1946 (Gangadharan, 2012:113); when its publication was shifted to Kozhikode. While most of the Mappila *tarawads* including the Keyis supported Muslim League politics, among whom Cheriya Mammukkeyi emerged as 'king-maker' in Kerala politics, a few others like the Maliyekkal stood behind the nationalist movement and gradually shifted towards Left-wing ideology. [4]

Built Environment of the Keyis

The architectural legacy of the Keyis is remarkable in both – secular (commercial and domestic) and sacred – domains which is evident in structures including their warehouses, Bungalow/villa houses and mosques. Houses and mosques were built as multi-floor, in two to three storeys. Being mercantile, the Keyis, like other Mappila Muslims, preferred to live usually in urban centres and crowded streets (See Innes, 1997:187) [5]

In the early phase of their settlement in Thalassery, and before constructing their tarawad houses in the town, the Keyis built large number of warehouses on the coast which had multiple roles of residential houses upstairs and commercial centres down. Several migrant communities in Kerala like the Gujaratis and Konkanis had carried out business in such commercial-residential houses located on the shore. It had ensured safety and security in trade, and space for care and attention, as shops/offices and residential spaces were combined together – family members could play labour and management roles simultaneously. Involved in maritime trade in spice goods with the British, their location was crucial in promoting coastal trade. The architecture of the warehouses were unique as they were constructed in the *nalukettu* style with a square/rectangular ground plan with a *nadumittam*/central open courtyard – in which the four rectangular rooms around the *nadumittam* functioned as storehouse/office which also would function as protective walls – for the whole building had only a single/front entrance (Kurup& Ismail, 2014:59-62). Extensive use of timber and glass, with wide ventilation, provided these warehouses a colonial/modernist touch.

The Keyis constructed their earliest houses in Thalassery in the second half of the 18th century – of which one or two [ruined] houses alone survive today. While traditional wooden motifs and masonry works were followed, they resembled European multi-storeyed villa houses and colonial traits including double columns, balcony, window-arch and tinted Belgian glass were extensively used. The traditional *nalukettu*

style of layout, with extensive wooden architecture, followed by the caste Hindus in their house architecture, especially by the Nambutiris/ Nairs, also by rich Muslim families of Malabar, was widely incorporated. While the traditional Hindu aristocratic style followed small window panes exclusively made of wood, in vertical tracery, appearing like 'pierced screens of wood' (Prabhu, 1999:280), the Keyis used arch-windows fitted with tinted coloured glass so that they provided a sculptural touch of Victorian England.The use of hanging chandeliers in houses as well as carved and ornamented staircases and handles are other examples of European influence. Long *verandahs* with double-columned pillars at the ground floor and extensive use of glass windows on both storeys gave them the glimpse of European villa houses. In short,"the distinctive features of Keyi architecture are visible in the combination of both indigenous expertise and European styles" (Abraham, 2017:161).

Public and private spaces within homes are clearly separated and scrupulously integrated – bedrooms are located around common halls, both upstairs and downstairs. Being matrilineal and following the joint family norm, houses had several bedrooms, connecting them with the central hall, which are large enough to accommodate nuclear families, within an extended one, and are provided with wide ventilation for the intake of fresh air and light. Floors were laid with imported tiles/specially made large cement blocks in granite-finish. Imported roofing tiles were used, to form the sloping, diagonal roof-top, capable of withstanding the heavy monsoon shower of the tropical climate. A raised, wide platform (*Karāthaṇa*) for daily prayer was built on the *verandah* for the men-folk and another one in the ground-floor central hall for the women indoors. Raised platform in the central hall of the ground floor had other ritual roles as well, like for conducting nikah, ratheeb or for *taravih* prayer during the Ramzan (Hamid,2019:30-1). The area also served as space for religious learning to girl children; an ustad sitting in the *verandah* gave them instruction through the crevice of the massive front window (called *thāppa*, on both sides of the massive front door, which had the additional function of a wooden sofa when opened inwards).Women's public and private spaces were spacious enough to accommodate the needs of an extended family and were designed strictly in tune with the (Islamic) concept of domesticity and seclusion. [6] Kitchen was large and multi-roomed; cooking area was segregated from grinding/cleaning/washing spaces; large vessels were kept in storerooms while costly porcelain table-wear pottery were showcased in richly carved almirahs placed in the dining area. Staircases built in the kitchen backyards provided access for women

to move upstairs without trespassing through the ground floor central halls. But no latrines or toilets (except simple wash areas) were attached to rooms inside; nor were there common toilets attached to the central hall; cultural conservatism, coupled with lack of amenity for running water, may have been the reason to abjure such amenities, in early times.

Religiously devout, the Keyis constructed several mosques within the limits of the town in the late eighteenth century. Mosques functioned not only as shrines of worship, and graveyard/*khabarstan* for the various branches of the family, but as centres of social power as it was their own private/family property – it was customary for elite Muslims to maintain private mosques as social capital (Kunji,2008:220-21) [7] . Being migrants, the Keyis were denied honour and respect, and space for burying the dead, in the existing mosques of Thalassery. They were thus forced to construct their own mosques – initially at the beach (Tayalangadi palli) and later on another one (Odathil Palli) in the heart of the present day town followed by a few others of which Muqadar Palli on the Holloway Road is notable. There are four sheltered tombs/khabar at the southern side of the Tayalangadipalli, of Aluppikakka, his wife and his two sisters while the tomb of Musa and his wife is well protected in front of the Odathil Palli. Being the veteran elders, and the mosque being the family property of the Keyis, all of them were buried near the front entrance. When Musa constructed the Odathil palli in a large five-acre expanse, on a plot purchased from the Dutch, which was their cane-farm, the Keyi family started burying all their deceased family members in its Khabarstan.

An inquiry into Keyi architectural construction on the Malabar Coast is also important in understanding the changing nature of Islamic architecture in South India. With regard to Islamic monuments in Calicut, especially mosques, Mehrdad Shokoohy has pointed out the combination of local influences and forms brought from other parts of the Islamic world. Shokoohy describes a fusion of pan-Islamic styles and local vernacular styles of architecture (Shokoohy, 2003:20). However, other scholars state that mosque architectural styles in Kerala largely resembled traditional Brahminical temples, common in the northern and southern parts of the Kerala coast. This is largely because"the work of mosque construction was done by the local artisans under instructions of the Muslim religious heads" whose immediate models for the places of worship were only the Hindu temples (*koothambalam*), the traditional buildings of the region (Prabhu, 1999:284). C.A.Innes has written in the first decade of the twentieth century that "Mappila mosques (palli) are rectangular buildings with sloping tiled roofs and ornamental gables in front like those of the Hindu temples;

some of them have gate houses, and a few of the oldest have circular towers attached" (Innes, 1997:189). These descriptions define the relationship between the context and style of early mosque architecture but it is also important that colonial features were absolutely absent in religious structures.

In its original plan, in the layout of the plinth, ornamental facade and roof, the Odathil Palli represented early style of mosque architecture current in Kerala. The plinth of the mosque is rectangular east-west and consists of two large prayer halls separated by a wall with four door openings; the mihrab is at the western end of the inner hall – a 4-5 meter tall dome-shaped small structure with a pointed top and an arch-entrance on the east (also with a carved wooden minbar right aside) [8] – the outer wall is dotted with several rectangular, sculpted, wooden door openings on all sides. The tall basement,about one meter in height, is similar to the adhisthana of a temple and wooden columns inside the hall are designed in square/ octagonal section. The walls are made of laterite blocks. The arch form is seen only exceptionally – like in Ponnani mosque – which is seen only on the mihrab and the outer walls where small, pointed arches are cut on lime plastering in the space between the several door-recesses. Wood is extensively used in the superstructure for the construction of the ceiling and upper roof-top (the entire walls of the first floor are also laid with wood), while the top roof is covered with sheets of copper incorporating finials in the ridge, with the sikhara/kalasa. There is also a gatehouse (Patippura) at the southern side which is not typical to mosques in Kerala but commonly found in temples and elite Nair/nambutiri homes. In style and decoration Odathil palli appeared almost like the Ponnani mosque, in its miniature form. The Arabic tradition of simplicity of plan had perhaps combined itself with the indigenous construction techniques giving rise to the unique style of mosque architecture, not found anywhere else in the world (Innes, 1997:285). [9] Though Arabic-Persian tradition had reached northern and central India by the 14-15 centuries, Muslims in Kerala followed vernacular style as is found in the early mosque architecture of Kerala (in particular the mosques of Calicut – Mishkal and Muccunti) (Ganesh, 2011:302-3).

Social Dimensions of *Keyi* Architecture

The Keyi architecture evinced multiple levels of 'absorption of and resistance to' (J.A. Page, cited in Juneja, 2008:26-27) traditional, Islamic and colonial styles in accordance with the pressures of their social and cultural preferences as a cosmopolitan, comprador, mercantile class during the confused early years of the foundation of British colonial empire. While the warehouses constructed by them in the modern style conformed perfectly to their mercantile and commercial interests,

the domestic architecture exemplified their aspiration to combine traditional, Islamic and Victorian styles as a means to incorporate utility and aesthetics through the local workmanship available during that time, and the space of sacred architecture, by eschewing colonial elements and insisting on synthesizing 'Indo-Saracenic' form, asserted their resolve to resist colonial intrusion into the religious domain. All these were integral to the 'deal' with the indigenous/colonial elite and were intended to carve a privileged space in the newly developing local social/power structure mediated by the precepts of colonial modernity.

The two periods in which the mosques were constructed showed different stages of the search for identity – during the former, the Keyis were not honoured within the local Muslim community and had to struggle for a dignified social space; whereas, by the time of the latter, they could gain command over the local Muslims and compete with the Hindu elite, as representatives of their own community. The structure of the Odalthilpalli resembled a structural temple, facing the east with a heavily ornamental façade, with elaborate wood carvings and with two layers of copper roofing adorned with four gold-plated *kalasa* – three of them at its east-west top roof line and one upon the richly decorated kiosk fitted over the façade at the eastern end – *kalasa* was unique to Hindu temples alone and it was affixed on the mosque after a tussle with the Hindu elite (Ummerkutty, 1916). The successful completion of the mosque marked their victory over the local elites – both Muslim and Hindu – for in size and design it excelled all the existing mosques of the town as well as the Sri Ramaswamy temple owned by the caste Hindus, situated just a mile away.

The tendency towards architectural cosmopolitanism is viewed from different perspectives –as a resolve to maintain secular spirit (Marar: 2019) and as a cultural expression of comprador condition (Abraham: 2017). While the first does not consider the colonial context, the second fails to explain the polar character of the sacred and the profane spaces. Taking into consideration the astonishing growth of the Keyis through colonial trade network, as a new elite class, and the extremely unfriendly attitude of the traditional Muslim elite towards them, it is probable to argue that the Keyis were trying to choke out a space within the complex social structure, mediated by modernity and tradition, through a play of cultural symbols – both modern and the traditional. Palatial villa houses with European exterior styles guaranteed respect and awe among the natives while adherence to traditional style in mosque architecture and interior designing of homes reaffirmed their resolve to safeguard traditional/religious norms. Profuse use of vernacular idioms pointed to the symbiotic values maintained by the

Mappila Muslims in a plural/traditional society while the unavailability of skilled [local] architects in Saracenic techniques drove them to follow vernacular/non-Islamic architectural forms. Being comprador, and as portfolio capitalists (Subrahmaniam&Bayly, 1988), affinity towards the British was important, which was expressed outwardly, while expansion of western values were not allowed to intrude into the religious and domestic domains.

Conclusion

The glorious tradition of the Keyis is a thing of the past now; the spectacular prosperity of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has retreated to steady decline afterwards. While trading families flourished into corporate groups in other parts of India and the world, the Keyis invested their wealth in sterile landed property and with the land reform legislation of the 1950/60 they grew almost pauper (Kurup&Ismael, 2014:90-3). With the decline of matriliny and the enactment of *Mappila Marumakkathayam* Act, the old joint houses also ruined; nuclear, fragmented, families moved to various quarters of the town. The mosques are still functional and stand erect as the symbols of past heritage and cultural harmony. However, this [cultural] legacy is not welcomed now, and increasingly being reversed; because relationship between communities is not as cordial as earlier. New architectural styles have developed all over Kerala, following the true Saracenic model, eschewing local vernacular influences, and barring a few early mosques have been either rebuilt or undergone a facelift. This trend was brought about by several factors in combination – the growth of puritan movements among Muslims obliging them to recast ritual practices and institutional structures in tune with the Arabian/universal system; defensive response to the aggressive Hindu right claiming mosques with native features as temples captured/converted during Mysore raids; as well as the cultural influence of Gulf migration of Malayalee Muslims enabling them to renovate sacred structures utilizing Gulf money. The frontage of the Odathil Palli is now attached with a new concrete hall, showcasing Moosa's burial tomb at the south-east corner of it, hiding the classic façade of the mosque.

Having been located in the heart of the town, and threatened by conflicting claims from the hostile matrilineal descent groups, all the Keyi *tarawads* – except Thayath and Puthiya Valappil – are sold out/demolished for constructing shopping malls/commercial centres. The two remaining houses are already abandoned and are waiting demolition. While the Maliyekkal and Bengala houses have survived till now and are kept in good condition as they are still occupied and inhabited, the case of the Keyi houses present a bleak picture. Immense and infinite volume of

property, steadily proliferating lineages, loss of landed property through land reforms and increasing pressure on urban land mass, rapidly changing lifestyles and discomfort with old structures, indifference towards cultural heritage, absence of a fatherly/commanding figure in the family – all have led the Keyi heritage to an inevitable collapse. From the cultural point of view, this is saddening, more so in the context of the stability and survival of other buildings of the colonial era of the town such as villas, churches/mosques and business houses. As Naman Ahuja has observed, unless monuments become part of our communities, part of our habitats, conservation of heritage would be most difficult (cited in Gupta, 2018:36).

Notes

1. It is an aberration from the great Islamic tradition, and was followed by the Mappila Muslims of Malabar in a few settlements like Ponnani, Kozhikode, Thalassery and Kannur. (For details see Gough, 1972: 415-42; Miller, 1992: .251-2).
2. The Keyis even constructed a 'rubath' at Mecca called Mussafar Khana (Keyi Rubath), by Mayin Kutty Keyi in 1877, a rest house for Haj pilgrims from Kerala with 21 rooms and 2 halls. It was demolished by the Saudi government in the 1960s for providing more facilities for the increasing number of pilgrims. The compensation amount of Rs. 400 crore set aside has multipled over the ages amounting to about 5000 crores now but due to conflicting claims with Arakkal family (Keyis used to marry from them) it remains unpaid. (Balakrishnan in Mathrubhumi Daily, 29 November 2017).
3. The mosque constructed by the Keyis in Mumbai remains still under their proprietorship and is functional even today; and the family members do not have a clear idea about the nature and extent of property they still possess in various parts of the world (Personal Conversation, Haneefa, Thalassery, 22April, 2019.
4. Maliyekkal Mariyumma, Personal Conversation, Maliyekkal House, Thalassery, 4thMay, 2019.
5. "…and is content with a very minute back garden, if he has one at all, surrounded by a high wall to protect his women from the public gaze."
6. Keyis were keen in keeping their women indoors, and refused to provide them modern education. Even in recent times they do not allow their women enter the public life, either in modern professions or in politics. Haneefa defined the supremacy of Keyi women, against others (especially Maliyekkal, who taught them and gave them freedom), with reference to their trait of domesticity (Personal conversation with Haneefa, 22April, 2019).

7. Vaniyambalam family had chalil mosque as their family property (where Keyis were denied worship)
8. The qazi used to give Friday sermon here, with a sword in his hand,which is still kept on the minbar.
9. The austere architectural features of the old mosques are in the process of being replaced recently, with actuated forms, domes and minar-minarets, as visible symbols of Islamic architecture. See Balagopal T. S. Prabhu, 1999:285.

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© 2019 *Social Orbit* ISSN 2395-7719, Vol.5, No.1, pp.200-204

BOOK REVIEW

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M.P Mujeebu Rehiman, 'Malabar in Transition: State, Society and Economy in Malabar 1751-1810', New Delhi: Gyan Books, pp.1+192, Rs.720.

The transitional phase of eighteenth century is a rather un-explored area in the historiography of Kerala. Though the debates have been very lively with regard to the eighteenth century India, it has not been seriously addressed by the historians of Kerala, with exceptions of a very few names. The period is significant as it marks the clear shift from the pre-colonial state, social structure, economy and relations of production and indigenous resistance in the context of colonization process. Interestingly, the scholars are very much comfortable to follow the already established 'truths' of colonial writers or the so called nationalist historians rather than asking new questions and finding fresh answers. In such a way, M.P.Mujeebu Rehiman's recently published book titled, *Malabar in Transition: State*, *Society and Economy in Malabar 1751-1810*, becomes a significant contribution to the history of eighteenth century Kerala. In this exhaustive work, Rehiman critically examines existing perspectives and different stances on the eighteenth century Malabar region of Kerala and bring forth a rich account on the society and economy of Malabar with a specific focus on the British interventions and changing land relations. The book is divided into five chapters apart from introduction and conclusion, along with a list of Maps including that of Malabar in eighteenth century and storm centres of Pazhassi insurrections. The first chapter, which is the background chapter, actually surveys the pre-colonial social and economic structure of Kerala. The author provides a detailed account of how the land became the central force of the process of production which determined the relations of the production in society. He is successful in offering interesting insights on the role of caste, class and other regional power relations involved in the economic process in the pre-colonial society. Further, the chapter also sheds light into the emergent trade relations of the region with other parts of the world.

The second chapter,"Battle for 'Pepper State': Mysore State's Interventions and Transformation of Society", starts with a critical analysis of

the nationalist historiography (as a more convenient term for indigenous historians) and their assumptions on the invasion of Mysore state during the eighteenth century. By critiquing the existing strands, Rehiman explores interesting sources and compels the readers to rethink the nationalist position on the invasion of Mysore sate in the eighteenth century. He argues that the nationalist writers influenced by the colonial historiography reiterated the 'religious bigotry' image of the Mysore rulers and popularized the idea that Malabar in the eighteenth century witnessed massive religious persecution by Mysore rulers. The author contests these conventional assumptions as baseless and devoid of any critical analysis on the political and economic aspects of the Malabar during that period. For example, by referring a Brahmin chronicle of eighteenth century named 'Vellayute Charitham', he asserts, "of course, Hydar Ali was an ambitious ruler whose prime motive behind the invasion of Malabar was purely economic"(p:56). This prompts us to understand how historians have misinterpreted the pre-colonial Malabar history and followed a communalized narrative. This chapter also explicates on the political and social context of Malabar; the struggle of the Mysoreans to claim their monopoly over the spice trade; the influential role of Muslim traders; and the resistance of Muslim traders and British company officials to the monopoly and establishment of Tipu Sultan and his attempt to establish a capital city for Malabar region. He also reminds us that the Mappila rebel leaders such as Gurukkals of Manjeri and Hydros Kutty of Chavakkad and Mappila merchants were also the staunchest enemies of Hydar and Tipu Sultan. The author characterizes eighteenth-century Malabar state as a 'pepper state'. In his view, the whole political activities which later termed to be 'pepper politics' involved by influential Mappila traders, Rajas and the Nairs of Malabar, and the political invasion in the Malabar state during the eighteenth century was mainly for the monopoly of this pepper state.

In the third chapter, "The British Power in Malabar: Genesis of Transition to a Colonial Structure", the author carefully examines the first phase of the establishment of the colonial state in Malabar by critically examining the existing theories of 'conquest' and 'intrusion' of the British annexation of the Malabar. While scholars such as Pamela Nightingale, K.K.N.Kurup, N. Rajendran, Margret and others argue that the British conquered Malabar during the year of 1792, Rehiman rejects this view and shows that Malabar was neither conquered nor consolidated by the British in the year 1792, and the British could only make some arrangements for the fulfillment of the spice trade. The author demonstrates that the British failed to claim the legitimate authority over Malabar with the

Srirangapatanam treaty in the year of 1792 that forced British to imitate the *Jamabandy System* of the Mysore state instead of introducing their revenue policy. The author notes factors such as the immaturity of the company policies often characterized as 'policy of mild language', and nullification of once declared pepper monopoly in Malabar as lack of confidence of British offices in claiming their monopoly over the Malabar. He also points out how the British used the new establishment of the courts of justice to legitimize their new class of collaborators, a new landed aristocracy called *Janmis* in Malabar. The author also states that "the British were puzzled as they failed to tackle with the claims of Tipu over Waynad and intermittent challenges posed by Pazhassi raja and other rebels".(p:103). This chapter also provides a detailed description of East India Company during this period including details about the appointment and dismissals of their officials, their interests, dismissal of second Malabar commission and so on. All these historical factors are used to substantiate that the British failed to establish their sovereign power in Malabar in the year 1792.

The fourth chapter entitled, "Land Rights and Relations in Malabar: Problematizing British Perceptions" analyses the land ownership rights and land tenure reforms introduced by British in Malabar and carefully observe the ideological influences and various theoretical and knowledge foundations that influenced and provoked the British to frame their policies in various parts of India. The author highlights that the British revenue legislation during the nineteenth century is moulded by the ideas such as utilitarianism, liberalism and the Doctrine of Rent by Malthus, James Mill and Ricardo. The ideological debates on the property rights in Europe revolved around the writings of Physiocrats, Hobbs, Locke and mercantilists too have a heavy influence on British policies. A detailed account of the various land settlements such as *Zamindari, Mahalwari,* and *Ryotwari* systems established by the British in India deserves a special mention. The author demonstrates the exploitative nature of the British land settlements with a new concept of ownership of land and land relation as these were assured by the introduction of a strong judiciary of British origin. The author observes "Declaration of the right of property to *Zamindar* was a gesture towards the capitalization of land relations."(p:130). The work shows how the British had transformed land to a commodity with the help of their administrative class under the protection of the colonial legal system. Further, it shows the existence of land tax in the form of land rent which was a share of rent divided between the landlord and state in pre-modern Malabar. This point is highlighted to prove that the colonial interpretation of the absence of the tax system in Malabar during the

pre-colonial Kerala is a misguided one.

The final chapter of this book, "Anti-colonial Resistance and Consolidation of British Power" critically scrutinizes the nature of the protests against the British state led by the indigenous chiefs such as Kerala Varma Pazhassi Raja and Mappila Chiefs of South Malabar such as Athan Gurukkal, Unnimootha Moopan, Chemban Pokker and Hydros Kutty during the eighteenth century. To understand these revolts and their leaders, the author first offers an account on the available perspectives and theories in the prevalent literature. Colonial historians have studied these revolts and leaders with the utmost contempt. For example, the colonial records referred the Mapppila leaders as bandits and robbers, colonial commission reports mention them as 'jungle Mappilas' and 'robbing Mappilas'. While the colonial commissions epitomized Pazhassi Raja as the most intractable and unreasonable of the rajas, the indigenous authors portray him as the 'Hindu peasant nationalist' (K.K.N. Kurup) and his revolt as the first war of Independence. The author challenges both of these positions, and argues that there were no traces of the idea of nationalism during that period and how could then be one referred to 'a nationalist'.

The author reminds us of the historical fact that Pazhassi Raja initially joined with the British to fight against Tipu Sultan with an expectation that he would be reinstated as the ruler of Kottayam with the help of British. The author also refutes the theory of 'restorative revolts' established by Kathleen Gough as he states "the revolt led by Pazhassi and others were not aimed at restoring the previous system as such; instead they were fighting for maintaining their position under the British revenue regime". (p:149). He also warned against the communal theory as it wrongly propounds the idea that only Hindus supported the Pazhassi's revolt, but the Mappilas did not act in favour of such anti-British uprisings. The work brings evidence of the history of Mappila chiefs and Mappila merchants who have extended their support to Pazhassi Raja in terms of soldiers, arms, money and food. On the other hand, Revisionist historians argue that ordinary people were the collaborators of the British colonial state and never fought against the colonial power. However, this theory is challenged as the author notes that there were uprisings in almost every locality of Malabar and people irrespective of caste, class and religion participated in it. For him, the British state in its initial phase was a 'vulnerable state'.

To be precise, this book is marked by scrupulous accuracy and comprehensive knowledge. The monograph is a very relevant contribution to the study eighteenth-century Kerala, remarkably significant as it is the first work which deals with the transition process of Malabar during the period. By using original sources

and following a critical analytical lens, the author demands the readers, especially the young historians, to rethink the existing understanding about the colonial history of Malabar. The work is crafted with a critical Marxist framework which enables the readers to understand the local dynamics of colonial time in Malabar from a broader political economy perspective. Considering the historiographical significance of the themes deliberated, the present work is a potentially powerful to flare-up a debate on the transition process of eighteenth century Malabar, the northern part of Kerala. #