

**GEO-POLITICAL FORMATION OF NADUS IN NORTH  
KERALA: A STUDY OF KADATHANADU**

*Thesis*

*Submitted in partial fulfilment  
of the requirements for the Degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

**IN**

**HISTORY**

*By*

**ANJANA V.K.**



**DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY  
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT  
KERALA – 673 635, INDIA**

**2020**

**Dr. V.V. HARIDAS**  
Associate Professor  
Department of History  
University of Calicut  
Kerala – 673635

## **CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the thesis titled **GEO-POLITICAL FORMATION OF NADUS IN NORTH KERALA: A STUDY OF KADATHANADU** is the result of bonafide research carried out by ANJANA.V.K, at the Department of History, University of Calicut, under my supervision and submitted to the University of Calicut in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY and that the thesis has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma or other similar titles.



**Dr. V.V. HARIDAS**  
(Supervising Teacher)

C.U. Campus,

15/06/2020.



**ANJANA. V.K**  
Research Scholar  
Department of History  
University of Calicut  
Kerala – 673 635

## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled **GEO-POLITICAL FORMATION OF NADUS IN NORTH KERALA: A STUDY OF KADATHANADU** is a bonafide record of research work done by me under the supervision and guidance of Dr. V.V. Haridas, Associate Professor in History, University of Calicut and it has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma or any other similar title or recognition.



C.U. Campus,  
15/06/2020.

ANJANA V.K.

## Acknowledgement

Completion of this Ph.D. thesis was possible with the support of several people and institutions. I take this opportunity to extend my sincere gratitude and appreciation to all those who made this possible. First of all, I am extremely grateful to my supervising teacher Dr. V.V. Haridas, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut, for his valuable guidance, scholarly inputs and consistent encouragement received throughout the research work. The work was possible only because of his support. He has always made himself available to clarify my doubts despite his busy schedule and I consider it as a great opportunity to do my research under his guidance and learn from his research expertise. I thank him for his help and support. I thank Dr. Muhammed Maheen, Head of the Department of History, for the academic support and facilities provided to carry out the research work at the Department. Dr. K.N.Ganesh, former Professor of the Department, has been very encouraging and supportive, and I express my gratitude to him.

Faculty members of the Department were kind enough to extend their help at various phases of this research, whenever I approached them, and I do hereby acknowledge all of them. I thank Dr. K.S. Madhavan, Dr. MujeebuRehiman, and Dr. P. Sivadasan, for their valuable suggestions. I thank K.P.Rajesh, Assistant Professor, NSS College, Manjeri, for his suggestions during the time of analysis of data. I must make special thanks to N.K. Ramesh, for the help in the field study. I especially acknowledge Ramakrishnan

Master and his family members for providing me good support in the field works in Nadapuram area. The help of the members of ParolliIllum, NeerveliIllum and the Devaswam Board Presidents of Lokanarkavu Temple and Kaliyampalli Temple are also thankfully recorded. I also thank administrative officers and staffs of various local libraries and Panchayaths for their support in the field works.

No research in History is possible without the Library, the centre of learning resources. I take this time to express my gratitude to all the Library staff of the C.H.M.K. Library and History Department Library of University of Calicut, Kerala University Library, Appan Thampuran Smaraka Library, Azad Library, Keluvettan Padana Gaveshana Kendram, and Centre for Heritage and Development Institute Vadakara for their services. My heartfelt thanks to the staffs of Regional Archives, Kozhikode and District Court Archives, Thalasseri for their service. Sincere thanks are also extended to every staff of Bina, Calicut University for setting the thesis and to Padinjarekkandiyil Super Tech, Kannur for map setting.

I also lovingly extend my gratitude to my friends Deepa N., who helped in the proofreading of the work, Sonima R., ShijiK.P., Varsha Biju, Anjumon, Jidhu M.U., Shana Parveen, for their support during different stages of the study. My special regards to my teachers whose teaching at different stages of education made it possible. I owe my deepest gratitude to my husband Roshil T.K .for his eternal support and understanding of my goals and aspirations. Without his help, I would not have been completed my work. I

am thankful to my daughter Nithaliya for the warmth and affection during the period of research. A special thanks to my brother Subeesh for his encouragement and moral support.

I feel a deep sense of gratitude for my parents, who formed part of my vision and taught me good things that really matter in life. Their infallible love and support have always been my strength. I am also very much grateful to all my family members for their constant inspiration and encouragement.

Above all, I owe it all to almighty God for granting me the wisdom, health and strength to undertake this research task and enabling me its completion.

**Anjana. V.K**

## Contents

	<b>Introduction</b>	1 – 26
Chapter 1:	<b>Historicising the Locale: Agrarian Expansion and Regional Formation in Kadathanadu</b>	27 – 82
Chapter 2:	<b>Urbanising Nāṭu: A Study of Trade Networks and Markets</b>	83 – 132
Chapter 3:	<b>Political Formation of Kadathanadu</b>	133 – 200
Chapter 4:	<b>Cultural Geography of Kadathanadu</b>	201 – 254
	<b>Conclusion</b>	255 – 272
	<b>Bibliography</b>	273 – 308
	<b>Glossary</b>	309 – 313
	<b>Appendices</b>	i – xxiv

## List of Tables

<b>Table No.</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Page No.</b>
1.	Agrarian fields and the crops in Kadathanadu	50
2.	Major hills in Kadathanadu	52
3.	Water sources in Kadathanadu	60
4.	Major articles of consumption in Kadathanadu	101
5.	Important Water Sources and their Location	103
6.	Ferries in Kadathanadu	104
7.	<i>Attāṇis</i> found in Kadathanadu	106
8.	Measurements Used in North Malabar	127

## **List of Maps**

- Map 1: Political Boundaries of Kadathanadu
- Map 2: Mullai Tracts of Kadathanadu
- Map 3: Trading Centres and Markets in Kadathanadu
- Map 4: Port Towns in Kadathanadu
- Map 5: Trading Centres and Markets in Kadathanadu referred in Northern Ballads
- Map 6: Hobalis of Kadathanadu
- Map 7: Amsams of Kadathanadu
- Map 8: Megalithic Sites of Kadathanadu
- Map 9: Divisions of Cēra Kingdom and Early Aryan Settlements (C. 800 – 1125AD)
- Map 10: Worshipping Centres of Kadathanadu Referred in Northern Ballads
- Map 11: Malabar District Nadus
- Map 12: Political Boundaries of Kadathanadu before 1800

## **Introduction**

Geography has an important role in shaping the history of a region. A region is a geographical unit and it transformed into a habitat with human interaction on its resources. The formation of a region depends upon geographical and cultural forms. The present study entitled *The Geo-Political Formation of Nadus in North Kerala: A Study of Kadathanadu* is an attempt to study the regional formation of Kadathanadu based on its geographical features. Here is an attempt to analyse how human beings interacted with nature to create a livelihood pattern, modes of production and distribution, their social economic and cultural life, and their institution of power and domination. The study of the geographies of the past times, through the imaginative reconstruction of the phenomena and process centred on our geographical understanding of the dynamism of human activities within a broadly conceived spatial context. Such as the uses of human and natural source in the form as well as functions of human settlement and built environment, the advances in the amount and forms of geographical knowledge, the exercising of power and



control over territories and people.<sup>1</sup> Shortly the physical geography of a region determines the formation of the region.

### **Importance of Regional Studies in History**

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the study of regional history sprang up in many parts of the world. The eagerness that every human being should know about the environment and the place in which he lives has become the focus of this study. This period witnessed the development of an interdisciplinary approach in history. The historians understood the role of geography in historical formations. The concept of historical geography is accepted by scholars all over the world. According to E.W. Gilbert, it is the descriptive geographical account of a region at some past period.<sup>2</sup> Many historical writings began to appear in the world influenced by this concept. Micro-level historical studies became more prominent despite macro-historical studies. W.H.G. Hoskins *The Making of the English Landscapes*<sup>3</sup> and Fernand Braudel's *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*<sup>4</sup> were the best examples of such studies.

---

<sup>1</sup> R.A. Butlin, *Historical Geography through the Gates of space and time* cited by Dilip K. Chakrabarti, *Archaeological Geography of the Ganga plain*, New Delhi, 2001, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> W.H.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English landscape*, London, 1955.

<sup>4</sup> Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean world in the age of Philip II*, London, 1972.

This kind of regional historical writings is recently developing in India, as a part of nationalist historical writings.<sup>5</sup> But all such studies highlighted the political formation of the region and excluded other factors that influenced the formation. The regional history is important because such studies led to the discovery of new sources and interpretations.<sup>6</sup> It helps to give a fresh understanding of the past.

In the last fifty years, there were many regional historical studies published in South India. The most important works among them are Y. Subbarayalu's *Political Geography of the Cōḷa country*,<sup>7</sup> Malini Adiga's *The making of Southern Karnataka: Society, Polity and Culture in the early medieval period 400 – 1030*<sup>8</sup> and S.J. Mangalam's *Historical Geography and Toponymy of Andhrapradesh*.<sup>9</sup>

In the 1990's regional historical writings developed in Kerala. Many taluks, panchayats and educational institutions began to write about the historical formation of their locality. *Vāṇiyamkuḷam Panchayat Vijñānīyam*,<sup>10</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Romila Thapar, 'Regional History: The Punjab', *Cultural pasts: Essays in early medieval Indian History*, New Delhi, 2015, p.96.

<sup>6</sup> Romila Thapar, 'Regional History with reference to the Kokan', in *Cultural Pasts*, New Delhi, 2015, p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Cōḷa Country*, Madras, 1973.

<sup>8</sup> Malini Adiga, *The making of Southern Karnataka*, Chennai, 2006.

<sup>9</sup> S.J. Mangalam, *Historical Geography and Toponymy of Andhra Pradesh*, New Delhi, 1986.

<sup>10</sup> *Vāṇiyamkuḷam Panchayat Vijñānīyam*, Trivandrum, 2001.

*Ajānnūrinte Charitram*<sup>11</sup> are the best examples of such initiations in Kerala. Apart from these local historical studies major research works also concentrated on the regional formation of localities. A. Greeshmalatha's *Historical Geography of Valluvanadu*<sup>12</sup> and K.P. Rajesh's *The Historical Geography of Kōlattunāṭu*<sup>13</sup> are examples of such serious studies. The work called *Locality and Culture in the case of Thirurangadi*<sup>14</sup> by K.N. Ganesh also examines the local history of Thirurangadi based on human geography.

### **Kadathanadu: A Geographical Unit**

*Nāṭus* are primarily agrarian in origin. *Nāṭu* simply termed as a planted, cultivated country as opposed to the forest.<sup>15</sup> The formation of *Nāṭu* is a complex process. *Nāṭus* are an agrarian landscape and it was also a geographical unit that developed after the early historic period (3<sup>rd</sup> century BC to 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD). During the Cēra period (c.AD 800-1124), there existed many *Nāṭus* and their subdivisions.<sup>16</sup> Later Cēra period (11<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century AD) witnessed the development of *Nāṭu* as an independent political power.

---

<sup>11</sup> *Ajānnūrinte Charitram*, Koothuparambu, 2003.

<sup>12</sup> A. Greeshmalatha, *Historical Geography of Valluvanadu*, Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 2008.

<sup>13</sup> K.P. Rajesh, *Historical Geography of Kōlattunāṭu: A Study of Regional Formation in North Kerala*, Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 2012.

<sup>14</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Locality and Culture in the Case of Thirurangadi*, Calicut University, 2010. p.42.

<sup>15</sup> Malini, Adiga, *Op. cit.*, p. 432.

<sup>16</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumāls of Kerala: Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual monarchy*, (1990), Thrissur, 2013, p. 177.

Every *Nāṭu* passed through a long historical process to become a geopolitical unit. The early studies concentrated on the political formation of *Nāṭus* in Kerala, and gave the least importance on agriculture, economy and political features which help the formation of *Nāṭus* in Kerala.

The *Nāṭus* had no clear-cut boundaries and they formed in the river banks or surrounded by forest or hillocks.<sup>17</sup> The expansion of agriculture and exchanges cause the emergence of *Nāṭu* as a centre of power. How the *Nāṭus* formed is debatable. Physical geography and human habitation of a region help in the formation of a *Nāṭu*. Like other *Nāṭus* in Kerala, the regional formation of Kadathanadu also is shrouded in mystery.<sup>18</sup> From the 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards the inscriptions speak of *Nāṭus*. Each *Nāṭu* had its characters.

Kadathanadu is a small tract of land situated in the northern part of the Kozhikode district, in North Kerala. Geographically the region situated between the Mayyazhi river in the north and Kōṭṭa river in the south, the Arabian Sea in the west and the hill ranges of the Western Ghats in the east.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>17</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Kēraḷathinte Innalekaḷ*, Trivandrum, 1993, p.11.

<sup>18</sup> The place names such as Kadathanadu (Kaṭattanāṭu), Kozhikode (Kōḷikkōṭu) and Mayyazhi (Mayyaḷi) are used in the thesis without diacritics as we have retained the original spelling of the well-known places for easy understanding. But in the case of many places which are not much known we have used diacritics for easy comprehension.

<sup>19</sup> See below Map 1.

Kadathanadu is a land that is familiarly referred to in the 18<sup>th</sup>-century European records and northern ballads. During the colonial period, this small geographical tract became famous through the regional trade with the Europeans, especially the pepper trade. The Anglo-French rivalry regarding the pepper trade in Kadathanadu was considered important in the colonial history of Kerala.<sup>20</sup> Kadathanadu became an important geographical unit in north Kerala because of its spice trade with foreign countries. Inscriptions discovered from Kadathanadu do not provide any ample evidence about Kadathanadu in the medieval period. M.G.S. Narayanan listed the *Nāṭus* existed in the Cēra period, where Kadathanadu is not mentioned.<sup>21</sup> Accounts of foreign travellers mention Kadathanadu as the land of Nāyar chieftains. The ruler of Kadathanadu is referred to as Vaṭakara *Vāḷunnavar* or vassal of Kōlattiri.<sup>22</sup> Kadathanadu remained as an independent polity for 50 years (1750 - 1800). As a result of the Mysorean war, Malabar including Kadathanadu came under the control of the British administration.<sup>23</sup> The British in 1800 coupled Kadathanadu with Kuṛumbranāṭu and jointly maintained it as a revenue division.

---

<sup>20</sup> Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi 2013, P.14

<sup>21</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, p.178.

<sup>22</sup> *Kadathanadu manuscript letters* and *Thalasseri Rekhakal* etc., mention the ruler of Kadathanadu as Kadathanadu Pōrlātiri Rāja.

<sup>23</sup> *Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar* and other colonial records give information about the transfer of power in the Malabar region.

Kadathanadu became a prominent region during the colonial period. We get more sources on the political history of the region. There is no serious attempt to study the socio-cultural and economic importance of the region, which led to the political formation of the region comprising Kadathanadu.

There are various stories of the *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition associated with the origin of the Kadathanadu ruling family. This *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition mentions the rulers of Kadathanadu as the descendants of the Pōrlātiris of Pōlanāṭu.<sup>24</sup> After the disintegration of the Cēra state, Calicut and its surrounding areas formed part of the kingdom of Pōlanāṭu. Pōlanāṭu was ruled by a local chieftain with the title of Pōrlātiri. Their capital was at Panniyankara. There is no clear-cut evidence to prove the existence of Kadathanadu in the medieval period. The evidence of pre-historical cultural remaining was discovered from Kadathanadu. The geographical peculiarities helped in the development of trade in the region. Agriculture and trade were important activities of the region. The economic stability of the region was based on trade, especially the spice trade with the foreign countries. As a result of trade, many local markets developed in the areas which are studied in the ensuing chapters. The trade became a reason for the emergence of many communities in the region. The region is also rich in cultural traditions. It was the land of oral songs and oral

---

<sup>24</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier's *Kēraḷōlpatti Kolathunadu tradition*, Gundert edited *Kēraḷōlpatti* and Velayudhan Panikkasseri's *Kēraḷōlpatti* traditions also mention about Kadathanadu Pōrlātiris as the descendants of the Pōrlātiris of Pōlanāṭu.

traditions. The study mainly focuses on the origin of Kadathanadu from the early historical period to the 18<sup>th</sup> century *Nāṭu* form.<sup>25</sup>

### **Objectives of the Study**

The main objective of the present study is to analyse the process of the evolution of Kadathanadu from the early historical period to the 18<sup>th</sup> century *Nāṭu* form. It also intends to analyse the geographical, cultural, economic and political factors in the formation of Kadathanadu. We also attempt to analyse the agricultural, trade and cultural geography of the region which contributed to the formation of Kadathanadu. It is a micro-level study of a small region in north Kerala.

### **Methods**

The methods used in this study is multidisciplinary, analytical and interpretative. Textual criticism of *Granthavaris*, Inscriptions, Settlement records, *Northern ballads*, Archival records, travel accounts, *Maṅipravāḷa literature*, and oral traditions are used in the study. Apart from these interviews, field trip and exploration of archaeological sites are useful in this study. Geographical, Sociological and Anthropological studies helped to have insights

---

<sup>25</sup> This study mainly focuses on the formation of Kadathanadu from early historical period into the colonial period, especially until the region came under the direct administration of British rule. After 1800 the rulers became nominal and the power and administration came under British control. After 1800 the traditional *Nāṭus* disappeared from the administrative set up of Kerala.

into various aspects of the society and culture. Onomastics and topographical mapping are also helpful in the study.

### **Sources**

Both primary and secondary sources are used in the study. A monograph on Kadathanadu is scarce. Primary sources used for the study are inscriptions, Granthavaris, early Tamil literature, Northern ballads, *Maṇipravāḷa* literature, foreign traveller accounts, archaeological remains and archival records.

### **Inscriptions**

The Cēra inscriptions available from north Malabar from 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards are used in the study. The terms in the inscriptions are analysed for the reconstruction of the historical geography of Kadathanadu. It indicates the emergence of an agrarian settlement unit in the region. Chempra inscription discovered from the Chempra Subrahmaṇyan temple, situated in the Chālakkara Amsom of Mahe.<sup>26</sup> This inscription is a record of the 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year of the Cēra ruler Indu Kōta Varman. The Chempra Subrahmaṇyan temple is situated on the banks of the river Mayyazhi.

---

<sup>26</sup> The inscription was firstly noticed by prominent historian M.R. Raghava Variar from Chempra Subrahmaṇyan temple at Mahe. This inscription at present preserved at the temple. As part of the study the researcher also conducted field visit to the temple.



Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription discovered from the courtyard of Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple at Kadathanadu.<sup>27</sup> The Cēra ruler is not mentioned in the inscription. The inscription belongs to 11<sup>th</sup> century AD records a temple committee resolution. Tirunelli inscription discovered from the courtyard of Tirunelli temple of north Malabar.<sup>28</sup> The inscription is dated in the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year of Cēra ruler Bhāskara Ravi Varman. Another inscription discovered from the courtyard of the Tirunelli temple was in *Vaṭṭeluttu* script. The inscription dated 1021 AD mentions the Cēra ruler Bhāskara Ravivarman. An inscription discovered from Veḷḷikuḷangara Śiva temple is in old Malayalam character.<sup>29</sup> It is recorded during the period of Udayavarma Raja (1880-1909) of Kadathanadu, which mentions the gift to the temple by the ruler.

### ***Granthavaris***

*Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition is considered as the major source for tracing the origin of every *Nāṭus* of Kerala. The *Kēraḷōlpatti Granthavari* of Kōlattunāṭu tradition discusses the origin of Pōrlātiri rulers of Kadathanadu. *Granthavaris* is considered the main source for understanding medieval society. *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, an unpublished palm leaf chronicle, contains 67 palm leaves

---

<sup>27</sup> The inscription discovered by M.G.S. Narayanan and M.R. Raghava Varier from Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple at Edachēri.

<sup>28</sup> Tirunelli inscription discovered from Tirunelli temple at Wayanad also give information about the medieval north Malabar region.

<sup>29</sup> Inscription discovered from Veḷḷikuḷangara Śiva Temple published in V. Rangacharya, *A Topographical List of the Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. 2, New Delhi, 1985.

preserved at Thunjath Ezhuthachan Manuscript Library at Calicut University.<sup>30</sup> It is a collection of palm leaves containing the information related to land and property given to the *Lōkanārkāvu* temple in Kadathanadu. This *Granthavari* provides information about the land grants and properties related to *Lōkanārkāvu* in Kadathanadu. *Kōḷikkōṭan Granthavari* also used for the study.<sup>31</sup>

### **Early Tamil Literature**

The works like *Akanānūru*,<sup>32</sup> *Puranānūru*<sup>33</sup> and *Pattupāṭṭu*<sup>34</sup> in Early Tamil literature were found useful for analysing the socio, cultural and political life of the early historical period of South India.

### **Northern Ballads**

Oral traditions are considered an important source to understand the socio-cultural and political life of Kadathanadu. These are songs orally transmitted from one generation to another. Kadathanadu is the region of

---

<sup>30</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Unpublished palm leaf manuscript volume, Preserved at Thunjan Manuscript Library, University of Calicut.

<sup>31</sup> *Kōḷikkōṭan Granthavari*, Unpublished Palm leaf documents, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Edappal.

<sup>32</sup> Nenmara P Viswanathan Nair, ed., *Akanānūru*, Vol.II, Kerala Sahithya Accadamy, Thrissur, 1987.

<sup>33</sup> V.R. Parameswaran Pillai, *Puranānūru*, Kerala Sahithya Accadamy, Thrissur 1969.

<sup>34</sup> J.V. Cheliah, *Pattupāṭṭu: Ten Tamil Idylls*, The South Indian Siva Sidhanta works, Thirunelveli, 1962.

Northern ballads. Both Puttūram and Tachōḷi songs discuss the life of Kadathanadu from 14<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Or̄ra songs are also included in the ballads. Later these oral songs are collected and compiled into a written format. *The ballads of north Malabar*<sup>35</sup> by S.K. Nair, *24 Vaṭakkan pāṭṭukaḷ* of K.V. Achuthanandan<sup>36</sup> *Vaṭakkan pāṭṭukaḷ* of M.C. Appunni Nambiar<sup>37</sup> and M.R. Raghava Varier's *Vaṭakkan pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*<sup>38</sup> are the important collections used for the study.

### **Travel Accounts**

Foreign notices are considered an important source for understanding the socio-cultural and political system of the region. Travel accounts of Ibn Battuta,<sup>39</sup> Idrisi,<sup>40</sup> Ludovico Varthema,<sup>41</sup> Walter Hamilton,<sup>42</sup> Francis Buchanan,<sup>43</sup> and Duarte Barbosa<sup>44</sup> are used for the study.

---

<sup>35</sup> S.K. Nair, *Ballads of North Malabar*, Madras, 1957.

<sup>36</sup> K.V. Achuthanandan, *24 Vaṭakkan pāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 1990.

<sup>37</sup> M.C. Appunni Nambiar, *Vaṭakkan pāṭṭukaḷ*, Vadakara, 1998.

<sup>38</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vaṭakkan pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*, Sukapuram, 1982.

<sup>39</sup> Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Ibn Battuta kaṇṭa Kēraḷam*, Kottayam, 2014.

<sup>40</sup> Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India*, Kottayam, 2011.

<sup>41</sup> R.C. Temple, ed., *The Itinerary of Ludovico Di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508*, New Delhi, 1997.

<sup>42</sup> Walter Hamilton, *A Geographical Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan and the adjacent countries*, Vol.II, New Delhi, 1971.

<sup>43</sup> Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar*, New Delhi, 1988.

<sup>44</sup> M.L. Dames, ed., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1989.

## ***Maṇipravāḷa* literature**

*Maṇipravāḷa* literature gives information about the society of medieval Kerala. *Uṇṇiyacci caritam*,<sup>45</sup> *Uṇṇiccirutēvi caritam*,<sup>46</sup> *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*,<sup>47</sup> *Uṇṇiyāṭi caritam*<sup>48</sup> and *Kōkasandēśam*,<sup>49</sup> discuss trade, trading centres and commodities sold in the markets of medieval Kerala.

## **Archival Records**

Archival records are also used for this study. Archival sources helped to understand the places, culture, and physical Geography of the region. Settlement Register of Kuṛumbranāṭu taluk is a collection of records preserved in regional archives Kozhikode which provides information about *Dēśams* of Kadathanadu, which is a part of Kuṛumbranāṭu taluk.<sup>50</sup> It also helps to understand the geographical area, agriculture, etc. of the area under study. The Paymash account of Kadathanadu collected from the regional archives of Kozhikode contains the details of the revenue collection of Kadathanadu during

---

<sup>45</sup> N. Gopinathan Nair, ed., *Uṇṇiyacci caritam*, Kottayam, 2016.

<sup>46</sup> Chathanath Achuthanunni and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Uṇṇiccirutēvi caritam*, Kottayam, 2017.

<sup>47</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Uṇṇunīli sandēśam*, Kottayam, 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Sundaran Danuvachapuram, *Uṇṇiyāṭi caritam*, Trivandrum, 2000.

<sup>49</sup> Kodangallur Kunjikuttan Thampuram, *Raṇṭu Sandēśangal: Śukasandēśavum Kōkasandēśavum*, Kottayam, 2014.

<sup>50</sup> *Settlement Records of Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk*, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

the Mysorean period.<sup>51</sup> It also mentions the hobalies (a group of villages collected together for revenue purpose) of Kadathanadu. Joint Commissioners report on Malabar is a good source of information about the crops cultivated in Kadathanadu and the revenue collection system of the region under British rule.<sup>52</sup>

Thalasseri Consultancy Records is a bundle of civil case records containing property disputes of the Kadathanadu royal family.<sup>53</sup> These records are preserved in the archives of Thalasseri district court and the regional archives of Kozhikode. Kadathanadu Manuscript letters are a collection of correspondences between Kadathanadu Raja and British officials.<sup>54</sup> These letters give information about the political situation of Kadathanadu during the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These unpublished letters are preserved at the archives of the Department of History, University of Calicut. *Thalasseri Rēkhakaḷ* is a collection of letters edited by Scaria Zachariya. It contains 1429 letters between the British and the *Nāṭuvalis* and *dēśavalis* of north Malabar from 1796 to

---

<sup>51</sup> *Paymash Accounts*, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

<sup>52</sup> J. Rejikumar, ed., *Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792 -1793*, Kerala State Archives, Trivandrum, 2010.

<sup>53</sup> *Thalasseri Consultancy Records*, Preserved at Thalasseri District Court and Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

<sup>54</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript letters*, Preserved at Department of History Archives, University of Calicut.

1806.<sup>55</sup> Letters between the Kadathanadu Raja and the British were included in it.

Manuals and Gazetteers of Malabar district also give information about the physical geography, flora and fauna of the region.<sup>56</sup> Kerala district gazetteers also give information about the population, soil, and vegetation etc. of Kadathanadu.<sup>57</sup> Census reports of 1991 give information about the population of the region.<sup>58</sup> Soil survey reports of Kerala 1967 provide information about the soils of Kadathanadu.<sup>59</sup> Micro Watershed Atlas of Kerala discusses water bodies of the region.<sup>60</sup>

### **Archaeological Explorations**

Many archaeological sites in Kadathanadu are visited as part of the present study. The megalithic sites of Vaḷayam, Nādāpuram, Eṭachēri, and Perumuṅtachēri visited and collected information regarding the research

---

<sup>55</sup> Scaria Zachariya, ed., *Thalasseri Rēkhakaḷ*, Kottayam, 1996.

<sup>56</sup> C. A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteers*, Trivandrum, 1977.

<sup>57</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers*, (Kozhikode District), Trivandrum, 1969.

<sup>58</sup> *Census Report of 1991*, Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

<sup>59</sup> *Soil survey report of 1962*, Soil survey report of National Centre for Earth Studies.

<sup>60</sup> *Micro Watershed Atlas of Kerala, Ground water information Booklet of Kozhikode District*.

work.<sup>61</sup> *Kozhikode Jilla Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*,<sup>62</sup> *Panchayat Vijñānīyam* published by various panchayats of Vaṭakara taluk,<sup>63</sup> Maps, Souvenirs, proverbs, onomastics and articles related to the local history of Kadathanadu are also found useful in the study. Apart from these sources interviews and field works are also conducted for the study.

### **Historiography**

Many historians studied the *Nāṭu* formation in south India. The historians put forward their perspectives regarding the formation of *Nāṭus*. The pioneering works in South India were related to the formation of Cōḷa, Cēra and Pāṇḍya countries. Earlier studies considered *Nāṭu* as an administrative set-up of the country. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri's works *The Cōḷas*<sup>64</sup> and *A History of South India*<sup>65</sup> put forward the argument that *Nāṭu* is the central administrative unit of the kingdom. C. Meenakshi in her work *Administrative and Social Life Under Pallavas of Kanchi*<sup>66</sup> supported Sastri's argument about *Nāṭus*. T.V.

---

<sup>57</sup> Archaeological explorations conducted in Vaḷayam, Nādāpuram, Edachēri regions of Kadathanadu. These explorations help us to understand the pre-historic cultural life of the region.

<sup>62</sup> *Kozhikode District Development Records*, 1991.

<sup>63</sup> *Panchayat Vijñānīyam* collected from various panchayats of Vaṭakara Taluk.

<sup>64</sup> K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, University of Madras, 1955.

<sup>65</sup> *Idem*, *A History of South India from pre-historic times to the fall of Vajayanagar*, Madras, 1958.

<sup>66</sup> C. Meenakshi, *Administrative and Social Life under Pallavas of Kanchi*, Madras, 1938.

Mahalingam's *South Indian Polity*<sup>67</sup> also analysed the formation of *Nāṭus*. According to him the *Nāṭus* are village organisations and were agrarian units.

In Kerala, many studies conducted related to the *Nāṭus* in Cēra state. Elamkulam Kujan Pillai in *Studies in Kerala History* states that *Nāṭus* are the local kingdoms under the administrative control of the local vassals of the Cēra rulers. For administrative convenience, *Nāṭus* were divided into *Dēśams* under *dēśavāḷis*. Elamkulam listed thirteen *Nāṭus* of the Cēra period.<sup>68</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan made a detailed analysis of the inscriptions of the Cēra period. He analyses the political structure of the Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷs. M.G.S Narayanan wrote the work *Perumāḷs of Kerala*.<sup>69</sup> According to him, *Nāṭus* were the districts of the Cēra kingdom and *Nāṭtuṭayavar* were the governors of *Nāṭu*. He states that *Nāṭtuṭayavars* were the feudatories of Perumāḷs. All these studies assume *Nāṭu* as a part of the centralised administrative system of the kingdoms and it functioned as institutions to extract surplus from various regional units.

A major shift from these conventional studies was taken by Y. Subbarayalu in his work *Political Geography of the Cōḷa country*.<sup>70</sup> He studies the Cōḷa inscriptions and argued that *Nāṭus* was agricultural regions formed by

---

<sup>67</sup> T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, Madras, 1995.

<sup>68</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala, History*, Kottayam, 1970.

<sup>69</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumāḷs of Kerala: Brahmin oligarchy and ritual monarchy*, Thrissur, 2013.

<sup>70</sup> Y. Subbarayalu, *Political geography of the Cōḷa country*, Tamil Nadu, 1973.



a grouping of agricultural settlements. He argued that *Nāṭus* comprised of Veḷḷan Vagai village which functioned collectively under *nāṭṭar* assembly. He strongly rejected the argument that *Nāṭus* were the state made political divisions.

Historians like Rajan Gurukkal, Raghava Varier, and K.N. Ganesh supported the argument of Subbarayalu. They argued that *Nāṭus* are a grouping of agrarian settlement unit. K.N. Ganesh in *Kēraḷathinte Innalekaḷ*<sup>71</sup> argued that in the case of Kerala *Nāṭu* developed as a production unit starting from paddy cultivation and later expanded as garden land, cash crop areas and forest. He presents a human geographical perspective in his studies. Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal in their combined work *Kerala Charitram*<sup>72</sup> considered *Nāṭu* as a grouping of agrarian settlement unit. Their work *Cultural History of Kerala*<sup>73</sup> traced back the *Nāṭu* formation up to the early historic age. They explained the formation of *Nāṭus* concerning the *tiṇai* concept.

Burton Stein introduced new concepts regarding the nature and character of *Nāṭus* in his work *Peasant state and society in medieval South India*.<sup>74</sup> He

---

<sup>71</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Kēraḷathinte Innalekaḷ*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997.

<sup>72</sup> Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier, eds., *Kerala Charitram*, (1991), Sukapuram, 2013.

<sup>73</sup> Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier, eds., *Cultural History of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1999.

<sup>74</sup> Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in medieval South India*, New York, 1980.

considered *Nāṭu* as a micro-regional unit and he rejected the concept of the centralised state of Sastri and introduced segmentary state theory in Cōḷa studies. Stein argued that *Nāṭus* were the real centres of power and the Cōḷa ruler functioned as ritual sovereign. He also supported the agrarian character of the *Nāṭus*. He adopted the theory of Aiden Southall, who studied the Alur society in Africa.<sup>75</sup> According to Stein the *Nāṭus* were the basic segments of the South Indian medieval segmentary political system and they were under the leadership of chiefs. He introduced three-level structures in a segmentary system. They are the central zone, peripheral zone and intermediate zone.

Kesavan Veluthat criticised Stein's theory of the segmentary state system. He argues that *Nāṭu* was chiefdom ruled by feudatories or feudal monarchs. Kesavan Veluthat introduced the concept of South Indian feudalism. In his work *The Early Medieval in South India*,<sup>76</sup> he describes the formation of *Nāṭus* in medieval Kerala. According to him, plough agriculture results in the emergence of these political powers. Noboru Karashima also supported the argument that *Nāṭus* are agrarian units.<sup>77</sup> Rajan Gurukkal also considers *Nāṭu* as an agrarian unit. He argues *Nāṭu* as agrarian localities of hierarchically structured social relations, which acquired great political importance in the

---

<sup>75</sup> Aiden Southall, *Alur Society: A Study in Process and Types of Domination*, 1956.

<sup>76</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The early medieval in South India*, (2009), New Delhi, 2011.

<sup>77</sup> Noboru Karashima, *A Concise History of South India: Issues and interpretations*, New Delhi, 2014.

monarchical system.<sup>78</sup> Recently M.G.S. Narayanan states that *Nāṭus* are autonomous political unit and Perumāḷs did not possess direct authority over any considerable part of the territory outside the capital city of Mahodayapuram. According to M.G.S. Cēra kingdom was under the sway of Brahmin oligarchy and they used Perumāḷ as a ritual sovereign and the ritual sovereignty in Kerala was different from the concept of Burton Stein.<sup>79</sup>

Apart from these works K.N. Ganesh's *Agrarian relation of medieval Travancore*,<sup>80</sup> A. Greeshmalatha's *Historical geography of Valluvanadu*,<sup>81</sup> K.P. Rajesh's *Historical geography of Kōlattunāṭuu: A Study of Regional Formation in North Kerala*,<sup>82</sup> etc. are the recent studies related to the *Nāṭu* formation in Kerala. These studies forward the argument that *Nāṭus* are a grouping of agrarian settlements and they discussed the process of the formation of *Nāṭus* as a geo-political entity. In the south Indian historical

---

<sup>78</sup> Rajan Gurukkal, *Social formation in early medieval South India*, New Delhi, 2010.

<sup>79</sup> Noboru Karashima cited M.G.S. Narayanan's argument in his article 'State in the Deccan and Kerala' in *A concise history of South India: Issues and interpretations*, *Op. cit.*, p.143.

<sup>80</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Agrarian relations and political authority in medieval Travancore (AD1300-1750)*, Ph.D. Thesis, JNU, New Delhi, 1987.

<sup>81</sup> A. Greeshmalatha, *Historical geography of Valluvanadu*, Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 2008.

<sup>82</sup> K.P. Rajesh, *Historical geography of Kōlattunāṭuu: A Study of regional formation in north Kerala*, University of Calicut, 2011.

context, many works discuss the formation of *Nāṭus*. But in the case of Kadathanadu secondary sources are very few.

The work *Malabar* by William Logan explains the physical and cultural features of Malabar.<sup>83</sup> Logan discusses Kadathanadu which was a part of Kuṟumbranāṭu Taluk. He states about the boundaries, trading centres and cultural institutions of the region. He also describes the political history of Pōrlātiris of Kadathanadu. The work called *Malabar District Gazetteers*<sup>84</sup> by C.A. Innes also refers to Kadathanadu. He explains the physical features of the region. He mentions the trading centres and cultural institutions of the region. K.P. Padmanabha Menon's work *History of Kerala*<sup>85</sup> mentions of Kadathanadu region. He mentions the ruler of Kadathanadu as 'Bayanore of Badagara'.

A. Sreedhara Menon's work *A Survey of Kerala History*<sup>86</sup> gives details of Kadathanadu. According to him, Kadathanadu was a region situated between Kōṭṭa and Mayyazhi rivers. He traces the origin of the Kadathanadu ruling family from the union between a Kōlattiri prince and a female descent of the royal house of Pōrlātiri. He states that the original seat of the Pōrlātiri was at Varakkal. The work called *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*<sup>87</sup> by M.R. Raghava

---

<sup>83</sup> William Logan, *Malabar*, Vols. I and II, Trivandrum, 1981.

<sup>84</sup> C.A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteers*, Vols. I and II, (1905), Trivandrum, 1997.

<sup>85</sup> K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1984.

<sup>86</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, (1967), Kottayam, 1976.

<sup>87</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*, Sukapuram, 2007.

Varier makes a study of northern ballads. Raghava Varier discusses the social, cultural and political features of the region found in the ballads. He argues that these oral songs represent the social life of the people of Malabar, especially Kadathanadu and its surroundings.

M.P. Mujeebu Rehiman's edited work *The Locale Speaks*<sup>88</sup> analyse the agriculture, trade and exchange system that existed in pre-modern north Malabar. Ward and Conner's *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*<sup>89</sup> gives a detailed description of the physical geography of Kadathanadu. C.K. Kareem in his work *Kerala Under Hyder Ali and Tipusultan*<sup>90</sup> analyse the Mysorean invasion in Malabar. In this work, he also mentions the Mysorean invasion in Kadathanadu and how the ruler reacted against the invasion. K.K.N. Kurup's work *The History of Tellicherry Factory (1683-1794)*<sup>91</sup> deals with the colonial interventions in north Malabar and the reaction of local rulers to British intervention.

K.N. Panikar's edited work *Pradesham, Rashtram, Lokam: Kadathanadinte Sahithya Paramparyam*<sup>92</sup> discusses the role of Kadathanadu in the socio-cultural life of the north Malabar. This work also analyses the

---

<sup>88</sup> M.P. Mujeebu Rehiman, ed., *The Locale speaks*, Calicut, 2004.

<sup>89</sup> Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Trivandrum, 1995.

<sup>90</sup> C.K. Kareem, *Kerala Under Hyder Ali and Tipusultan*, Kochi, 1973.

<sup>91</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, *The History of Tellichery factory (1683-1794)*, Calicut, 1985.

<sup>92</sup> K.N. Panikkar, ed., *Pradesham Rashtram Lokam: Kadathanadinte Sahitya paramparyam*, Kottayam, 2007.

condition of Kadathanadu during the colonial period. The work called *Kadathanadan Samskarikata: Charitravum Varthamanavum*<sup>93</sup> edited by M. Lineesh analyses the history of the region from socio-political and cultural perspectives. This work includes a collection of articles related to the socio-cultural and political life of Kadathanadu.

The work *The Origins of Mahe of Malabar*<sup>94</sup> by Alfred Martineau discusses the French intervention in Mayyazhi, which was earlier a part of Kadathanadu. Anglo-French rivalries regarding the pepper trade of Kadathanadu are also discussed in the work. Margret Frenz's *From Contact to Conquest Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, analyse the colonial invasion in Malabar. This work also discusses the Anglo-French rivalries in Kadathanadu.<sup>95</sup>

### **The organisation of the study**

The present study titled **The Geo-political formation of Nadus in North Kerala: A study of Kadathanadu** is organised into six chapters, including introduction and conclusion. The analytical tools of history and human geography are used in the study. The first chapter **Historicising the**

---

<sup>93</sup> M. Lineesh, ed., *Kadathanadinte Samskarika Charitravum Varthamanavum*, Mokeri, 2017.

<sup>94</sup> Alfred Martinue, *The Origins of Mahe of Malabar*, Thayyil Sadanandan (Trans.), Mahe, 2004.

<sup>95</sup> Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, New Delhi, 2003.

**Locale: Agrarian expansion and Regional formation in Kadathanadu**

analyses the formation of the agricultural unit in the region. How the expansion of agriculture results in the formation of settlement unit in the region which ultimately led to the formation of the settlement pattern is the major aspect discussed in the chapter.

The second chapter titled **Urbanising Nāṭu: A study of trade networks and markets** discusses how agricultural expansion led to the emergence of urbanisation in Kadathanadu. How physical geography helps in the emergence of trade and urbanisation in the region are the major aspects studied in the chapter. Important trading centres, markets, port towns, and commodities sold in the markets, important trade routes of the region, how the trade helps to create a subsistence economy in the region, types of weights and measurement, currency system etc. are discussed in this chapter.

The third chapter **Political formation of Kadathanadu** is an attempt to analyse the political formation of Kadathanadu from the early historical period to the 18<sup>th</sup> century *Nāṭu* form. This chapter mainly concentrates on the establishment of political authority in the region. How the Pōrlātiris controlled the power of the region, how their power transformed from that of a chieftain to an independent ruler, how the Pōrlātiris reacted against the colonial rule, are the major problems analysing in the chapter. Apart from it the Anglo-French rivalries in the region and the Mysore invasion also created political instability

in the region. In the case of political formation in Kadathanadu the concept of 'Little Kingdom' is also applicable. How the concept of 'little Kingdom' is suitable to explain the political formation of the region is also taken up in the chapter.

The fourth chapter **Cultural Geography of Kadathanadu** discusses the cultural formation of the region. What are the important cultural forms of the region, how these cultural forms differentiate Kadathanadu from other regions, how these cultural forms help to create specific cultural geography of the region are the major issues addressed in the chapter.

The concluding parts of the thesis summarize the findings of the regional formation of Kadathanadu based on a theoretical concept.

### **The period of the study**

The standardised periodisation of historical writings is not applicable in the process of *Nāṭu* formation. The more suitable method for the study is to trace out the region as an agrarian production land unit that corresponds to the development of human habitat and later to the development of surplus production and its distribution. The present study traces out the process of the regional formation of Kadathanadu from the early historical period to the 18<sup>th</sup> century *Nāṭu* form. During the colonial period, Kadathanadu became more prominent in the socio-political scenario of North Malabar.



As part of the study firstly taken up the *Dēśams*, *Amsams* and Hobalies of Kadathanadu, which are part of Kuṛumbranāṭu taluk and mapping it. The political boundaries of the region are changed by the passing of time but the socio-cultural milieu of the region around Vaṭakara and its nearby areas remained intact.

### **Relevance of the study**

This study helps to understand the process of formation of a micro-region. It also helps to understand the general pattern of regional formation in Kerala.

## Chapter 1

### **Historicising the Locale: Agrarian Expansion and Regional Formation in Kadathanadu**

The geographical setting of a region contributes significantly to its historical and cultural traditions. The environment had a major role in the development of socio-cultural life in the region. Culture owes much to agriculture as the settled life paved way for the development of all social institutions and what we call human civilization. Regional identities are a part of the social formation process. The identity of Kadathanadu passes through various stages before consolidated to a particular *Nāṭu*. In the present chapter, an attempt is made to analyse the environmental and human intervention in the regionalisation of Kadathanadu.

Agriculture is the backbone of every society. The development in agricultural practices makes changes in the entire human society. Agriculture developed in the Neolithic period. River beds and alluvial plain were the early settings of agriculture. Forests were cleared for agricultural purpose. The migration of people from different parts of the world resulted in the expansion of agriculture. As a result, a new civil society was created. The discovery of new types of implements, irrigation techniques, seeds helps for increasing agricultural production. The Neolithic people practised slash and burn

cultivation. The expansion of agriculture changed the life pattern of human beings, as they began to lead a settled life. Physical features of a region played a very significant role in the development of agriculture. Mountains, rivers, soil, climate, etc. mainly determine the agricultural geography of a region. The growth of flora and fauna in a region largely depends upon the physical features of the region. The interrelationship between human beings and the environment lay at the core of the historical process in the region. Braudel has developed the concept of geological time to historicise human-nature interactions.<sup>1</sup>

The present chapter is an attempt to analyse the development of agriculture in the emergence of Kadathanadu. The transformation of an agrarian unit to a *Nāṭu* form is also attempted to analyse here. The physical geography of the region including mountains, valleys, hills, rivers, forest, plains, coastal areas, vegetation, soils and types of crops cultivated in the area under study is also taken into account in this chapter.

### **Agricultural Practices and Livelihood Pattern**

Geographically and culturally Kerala was a part of Tamiḷakam until the eighth century.<sup>2</sup> In the early historical period, the people of Kerala spoke in *Koṭum Tamil*. Generally, the region in between Tirupati to Kanyakumari and

---

<sup>1</sup> Fernand Braudel, *On History*, London, 1980, p.14

<sup>2</sup> Jacob Nayathod, *Sanghakālatte Janajīvitam*, Trivandrum, 2016, p.17.

in between the Arabian Sea and Bengal Sea is called Tamiḷakam.<sup>3</sup> In early Tamil literature, Tamiḷakam was divided into five geographical units or *tinai*s.<sup>4</sup> During the early historic period, Kerala was a part of Cēranāṭu. Vēnāṭu, Kārkkaraināṭu, Kuṭṭanāṭu, Kuṇṭanāṭu, and Pūḷināṭu were part of Cēranāṭu.<sup>5</sup> During the early historic period, north Malabar was a part of Pūḷināṭu. The name of the Nāṭu indicates the soil type that existed in the region. The boundaries of Pūḷināṭu extended up to Mangalore in the north and the Western Ghats in the east.<sup>6</sup> The early Tamil literature mentions the ruler of Pūḷināṭu as Nannan of Ēḷimalai. Kōlattunāṭu, Kottayam and Kadathanadu were a part of Pūḷināṭu during the early historic period.

The Tamil classical literary works *Akanānūru*, *Puranānūru*, *Kuruntokai*, *Naṭṭinai*, *Madurai Kāñci* and *Pattupāṭṭu* mention ancient Kerala.<sup>7</sup> It mentions the physical geography and agricultural practices of early Kerala.<sup>8</sup> Tamiḷakam was divided into five *Tiṇais* or five micro eco zones viz. *Kuṛiñci*, *Mullai*,

---

<sup>3</sup> Nenmara P. Viswanathan Nāyar, ed., *Akanānūru*, Vol. II, Thrissur, 1987, p.7; M.K. Muraleedharan, ‘Sanghakāla Sāhityavum Kēraḷathinte Sāmskārika Caritravum’, *Vijñānakairāḷi*, Vol.44, Trivandrum, 2013.

<sup>4</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Kēraḷam Añcum Ārum Nūrrāṇṭukaḷil*, Kottayam, 1961, p.6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 8.

<sup>7</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1970, p. 159; R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade Ideology and Urbanisation in South India 300 BC to 300 AD*, New Delhi, 1996, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, *Op. Cit.*, p.160.

*Marutam*, *Pālai* and *Neytal*.<sup>9</sup> *Kuṛiñci*, the hilly region, was occupied by Kuṛavar. Hunting and gathering was the main occupation of the region. *Mullai*, the pastoral tracts, was occupied by Iṭayar, a pastoralist group. *Pālai* was not suited for cultivation and the Maṛavar community who lived on plunder inhabited the region. *Neytal* was the littoral tracts and coastal region of Tamiḷakam. Paratavar or Paratiyar who were fishermen lived in *Neytal*. Each *Tiṇai* had its deities. *Marutam*, abundant in water sources and fertile soil, was suitable for cultivation.<sup>10</sup> It resulted in the expansion of agriculture in *Marutam*.<sup>11</sup> The early Tamil literature gives evidence of agricultural practices that existed in Tamiḷakam.<sup>12</sup> The cultivation techniques introduced by the early people continue till the present day. The Uḷavars and Toḷuvars of *Marutam* cultivated paddy, sugarcane, millet etc.<sup>13</sup> The early people used iron ploughshare for ploughing the land. *Nukam*, *meḷu*, *mañci*, and *koḷu* were the terms denoting implements used in agricultural practices.<sup>14</sup> Water sources like

---

<sup>9</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Kēraḷam Añcum Ārum Nūrrāṇṭukaḷil*, p.7; K. Kailasapathi, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, London, 1968, pp.11-13.

<sup>10</sup> K. Kailasapathi, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, pp.11-13; P.T. Sreenivasa Ayyangar, *The Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture*, 1985, New Delhi, Reprint 1995, p.27.

<sup>11</sup> Burton Stein, *Essays on South India*, New Delhi, 1976, pp.16-17.

<sup>12</sup> M. Sreenivasa Ayyangar, *Tamil Studies: Essays on the History of People, Language, Religion and Literature*, (1914), New Delhi, 1982, p.344.

<sup>13</sup> ElamkulamKunjan Pillai, *SamskārattinteNāḷikakallukaḷ*, Kottayam, 1964, p.16.

<sup>14</sup> V.R. Parameswaran Pillai, ed., *Puṛānānūru*, Thrissur, 1969, p.9.

pond and bunds are mentioned in the songs. Various kinds of baskets used in irrigation are mentioned in *Pattupāṭṭu*, which depicts in detail *Marutam* tracts.<sup>15</sup>

In the *Kuṛiñci* songs, the fine picture of the cultivator guarding his crops against a wild animal with his weapons and girls being employed to drive away birds with slings, corn cracks and drums are mentioned.<sup>16</sup> The early people used techniques to prevent the salination of the fields. Paddy was the staple crop cultivated in the *Marutam* tracts in the early historic period. They also cultivated sugarcane, pepper, peanut, etc. The early Tamil texts mention the cultivation of sugarcane in the fields, the people drying seeds on the rocks, and the girls reaping paddy.<sup>17</sup> Varieties of paddy are mentioned in early Tamil literature. *Vennellu*, *Cennellu* and *Kalanellu* are mentioned.<sup>18</sup> Pepper mostly exported to foreign countries. In early Tamil songs, pepper gardens are explained as *Karippadai*.<sup>19</sup> The *Kuṛiñci* songs in *Akanānūru* describe the pepper garden of the hilly region.<sup>20</sup>

The five *Tiṇais* of the early historic period are also found in north Malabar. Kadathanadu was part of *Pūlināṭu*. Place names exist in Kadathanadu

---

<sup>15</sup> J.V. Chelliah, *Pattupāṭṭu Ten Tamil idylls*, Thirunelveli, 1962, p.226.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p.227.

<sup>17</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Kēraḷam Añcum Ārum Nūrrāṇṭukaḷil*, p.9.

<sup>18</sup> Nenmara P. Viswanathan Nāyar, ed., *Akanānūru*, Vol.I, Thrissur, 1987, p.7.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8

<sup>20</sup> K. Sivaraja Pillai, *Chronology of the Early Tamil*, Madras, 1932, pp. 192-93.

implies the historical continuity of the region. The place names suffixed or prefixed with *paḷḷi*, *patti*, *katti*, indicate the villages. Kakkattil, Kaivelli, Vilyāpaḷḷi, Kārthikappaḷḷi and Kaliyāmpaḷḷi were the major agricultural tracts in Kadathanadu.<sup>21</sup> The place names indicating *Kāṭu* or forest stand for *Mullai* tracts. The place names like Valikkāṭu, Ayāṭu, Karakkāṭu, Valliyāṭu, Chekkiyāṭu, Kuttikkāṭu, Kuningāṭu and Vilangāṭu signify the *Mullai* region of Kadathanadu.<sup>22</sup> The place names related to *Kunnu* or hill also denotes its relation with the *Kuṛiñci* region. Kunnumal, Kunninpuṛam, Ērāmala, Kunnumakkara, and Kallamala are place names infer *Kuṛiñci* region.<sup>23</sup> The five *Tiṇais* namely *Kuṛiñci*, *Mullai*, *Marutam*, *Pālai* and *Neytal* zones are found in Kadathanadu. The *Marutam* tracts are found in the Mayyazhi and Kuttiyadi river basin of Kadathanadu. The *Neytal* region of Kadathanadu extends from Aliyūr to Putupaṭṭaṇam.

### **Agricultural Practices in Early Historic Culture**

A large number of the sites of Iron Age culture are discovered from the area under study. The burial remains of Iron Age culture discovered from Kadathanadu denote the presence of human habitation there. Iron implements and black and redware pottery found in the region indicate the practice of

---

<sup>21</sup> Settlement records of Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk, Bundle No: 24.

<sup>22</sup> Field visit conducted at these places on 5/11/14, see below, Map 2 showing the *Mullai* tracts of Kadathanadu.

<sup>23</sup> Field visit conducted at these places on 9/12/14.

agriculture and habitation in Kadathanadu. Iron Age culture is considered an important period in the development of agriculture and technologies. The megalithic remains discovered from different parts of South India indicate the expansion of agriculture in the region.

The grains and iron implements discovered from the megalithic sites prove that they cultivated land for their livelihood. Plough discovered from many Iron Age burial sites of Kerala indicates the practice of agriculture there.<sup>24</sup> The Megalithic people used iron implements and with them, they brought into use more lands under cultivation. They also followed the slash and burn cultivation. The Megalithic sites discovered from Kadathanadu situated at the hilly regions and midlands adjacent to the slopes and coastal areas are excluded from it. Attiyōṛakkunnu, Kuyithēri, Vāṇimēl, Perumuṇṭacēri, Vilangāṭu and Nādāpuram were the major Megalithic sites discovered from the region.<sup>25</sup> It indicates the practice of mountain agriculture. According to K.P. Rao, the availability of agricultural tools like sickle, hoes etc. indicate the agricultural background of the people settled there.<sup>26</sup> Iron

---

<sup>24</sup> T.R. Ramaswami, 'Material Culture of the Megalithic People in Tamil Nadu', *South Indian History Journal*, Calicut University, 2010, p.414.

<sup>25</sup> Field visit at these places on 2/12/2015.

<sup>26</sup> K.P. Rao, *Study of Megalithic Culture in South India: Problems and Prospects*, Proceedings of Andhra History Congress, Ananthpur, 1995, p.109.



played a dominant role in the expansion of settled life and agriculture. The *punam* cultivation practised even today in the Vilangāṭu and Vāṇimēl regions.

### ***Kāvus* as centres of Agrarian Society**

*Kāvus* found in Kadathanadu indicates the continuation of the ancient worship system. *Kāvus* or sacred groves are worshipping centre, acts as enclosure or garden.<sup>27</sup> This system seems to be a vestige of tree and animal worship of early people. *Kāvu* is considered a sacred centre, where the mother goddess is worshipped. Generally, *Kāvus* is situated near agricultural tracts. There are many rituals related to agricultural practices and *Kāvus*. During the time of sowing seeds, the people performed certain rituals in *Kāvus*. Firstly, growing paddy was given to the deity as offerings. It recalls ancient fertility rituals. It is commonly believed that the deities worshipped in *Kāvus* protect people and their land from calamities. *Kuruti* or animal sacrifice was another important ritual in *Kāvus*. *Kuruti* is a Tamil word that indicates the blood in sacrifice. In *Akanānūru* and *Madurai Kāñci* references are found of *Kuruti*.<sup>28</sup> *Niṛa*, *Puttari*, *Kuruti*, and *Tiṛayāṭṭam* are rituals in *Kāvu* closely related to the agricultural practices of Kadathanadu. In the early period, *Kāvu* was a non-

---

<sup>27</sup> Hermann Gundert, *Malayalam-English Dictionary*, (1872), Kottayam, 2013, p.251.

<sup>28</sup> Nēnmarā P. Viṣvanathan Nāyar, *Op. Cit.*, p.46

Brahmanical worshipping centre.<sup>29</sup> The migration of Brahmins brought changes in the social system. Many *Kāvus* were transformed as structural temples. Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava cult became prominent instead of local deities as a result of Brahmanisation. Neem, Pipal, Sandal, Akil and Tamarind were the main trees found in the *Kāvus*. *Kāvus* are not only a worshipping centre but also an ecological system. The *Kāvus* found in Kadathanadu mark the bio-diversity of the region. Kōrōth Nāgabhagavati *Kāvu*, Āyikkara Nāgakkāvu, five *Nāga Kāvus* situated at Thiruvallūr, Kuttiyadikkāvu, Pālāṭṭu Kōmankāvu, Vaṭṭōḷi *Kāvu*, Kaḷariyambalam Nāgakkōṭṭa, Chāttankōṭṭillam *Kāvu* and Eḷayaṭattu Payamballī *Kāvu* are important *Kāvus* existed in the region.<sup>30</sup> The rites and rituals practised in these *Kāvus* indicate the continuation of the ancient belief system. Kinship relations are an important factor in this society.

### **Brahmin Migration and Nāṭu formation**

The sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries witnessed the migration of people from different south Indian regions to Kerala. Brahmins came to Kerala to settle there. As a result, more and more forests cleared for cultivation paved the way for the emergence of Nāṭus in Kerala. The inscriptions of the Ninth

---

<sup>29</sup> V. Lisy Mathew, *PoṭṭanTeyyam: AtijīvanathinteAnuṣṭānam*, Trivandrum, 2013, p.4.

<sup>30</sup> Field visit conducted at these *kāvus* on 6/11/15.

century onwards speak of Nāṭus.<sup>31</sup> The ruler of Nāṭu is called as *Nāṭṭuṭayavar* or *Nāṭuvāli*. Tarisāpaḷli copper plates of 849 AD mention *Nāṭṭuṭayavar* or *Nāṭuvāli*.<sup>32</sup> Jewish copper plates of Bhāskara Ravivarman mention Nāṭus namely Vēṇāṭu, Vempolināṭu, Ēṛanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu and Neṭumpuṛayūrṇāṭu.<sup>33</sup> The *Nāṭuvālis* of the Nāṭus accepted the overlordship of Perumāḷs from ninth to the twelfth century. After the disintegration of Perumāḷ rule, the Nāṭus become independent political units. Agrarian expansion led to the emergence of Nāṭus. Nāṭus are primarily an agrarian unit related to the growth of an agrarian order. The Nāṭu formation in Kerala was a result of a complex process. The physical geography of the region influenced the Nāṭu formation. In Tamil Nadu, Nāṭus are formed in the large fertile plains. But in the case of Kerala major Nāṭus formed in Bhārata Puḷa and Pampa river basins. Vēṇāṭu and Vaḷḷuvanāṭu were examples of such Nāṭus. In north Kerala Kōlattunāṭu, Puṛakiḷārnāṭu, and Kuṛumpoṛayūrṇāṭu were major Nāṭus during the Perumāḷ period. After the disintegration of Perumāḷ rule, many Nāṭus disappeared and new Nāṭus emerged. Kōlattunāṭu, Kottayam, and Kadathanadu were the Nāṭus developed during the medieval period. These Nāṭus developed mainly in the

---

<sup>31</sup> Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Charitram*, (1991), Sukapuram, 2011, p.115.

<sup>32</sup> T.A. Gopinatha Rao, *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vols.2 and 3, Trivandrum, 1920, pp. 61-81; Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, pp. 370-77; Kesavan Veluthat and M.R. Raghava Varier, *Tarissāpaḷli Paṭṭayam*, Kottayam, 2013, pp.26-27

<sup>33</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1970, pp.377-88.

slopes of Western Ghats. The formation of Nāṭus in north Kerala is related to the development of agriculture and the production of forest resources. The Nāṭus were not developed in the coastal areas. The Nāṭus developed in the interior areas later conquered coastal areas. The economic development of Nāṭus in north Kerala highly depended on the spice trade with foreign merchants. The word Nāṭu simply means cultivated land, whereas its antonym *Kāṭu* means forest. In early Tamil literature, the term Nāṭu is used in twin senses. Firstly, a large inhabited or cultural space, in contrast to forest. Secondly, *Nāṭu* was used in a precise sense of the territory of a ruling lineage, for example, Cōḷa Nāṭu. Nāṭus occur in two contexts, larger territory and microhabitat. Sittanavasal Brahmi inscription of the first century BC mentions Nāṭus.<sup>34</sup> *Nāṭu* is a group of settlement units that give importance to food production.

Historians have different views regarding the origin of Nāṭus. K.N. Ganesh says that the expansion of agriculture in the fertile river valleys led to the rise in production which paved way for the emergence of Nāṭus.<sup>35</sup> The term *Ūr* and Nāṭu mentioned in inscriptions indicate agricultural production. In early Tamil literature, Nāṭu signified as a production unit and *Kāṭu* as a collection centre of resources. According to *Akam* and *Puṛam* songs, Nāṭu and

---

<sup>34</sup> U.N. Version, ed., *Sittanavasal*, Sudarsanam: A centre for Arts and Culture, Pudukkottai, p.37

<sup>35</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Kēraḷathinte Innalekaḷ*, (1990), Trivandrum, 1997, p.10.

*Kāṭu* are two different geographical divisions.<sup>36</sup> *Nāṭu* formed at the centre of the settlement of occupational groups related to agriculture. The eighth to twelfth centuries witnessed the expansion of *Nāṭu* as a production unit.

The Brahmin settlements developed in the fertile river tracts heightened the growth of *Nāṭu*. *Ūr* and *sabha* are considered as village assembly of Brahmins in Kerala. The *Nāṭu* emerged from the settlement in the hill slopes and riverine plains and the *kuṭis* who settled in the *Nāṭu* organized into *patis* and *vālkais*. The *Nāṭu* was under the control of an *Uṭayavar* who was not a Perumāḷ and sometimes possessed a genealogy.<sup>37</sup> According to, Subbarayalu *Nāṭu* are a cluster of villages (*Ūr*) formed around an irrigation source like channel, tank and it was ethnically a cohesive territory in the initial stages having an area ranging from 20 to 100 square kilometres.<sup>38</sup> Burton Stein argued that *Nāṭu* is the term which designated the micro-region; it refers to agricultural land in contrast to *Kāṭu* a word for forest or land unsuitable for cultivation.<sup>39</sup>

---

<sup>36</sup> N.M. Nambuthiri, *Kēraḷa Samskāram: Akavum Puṟavum*, Calicut University, 1983, p.31.

<sup>37</sup> K. N. Ganesh, 'Writing the history of pre-modern Kerala: A Study in the transition of historical consciousness', in M.P. Mujeebu Rehimani and K.S. Madhavan, eds., *Exploration in South Indian History*, Kottayam, 2014, p.50.

<sup>38</sup> Y. Subbarayalu, *South India under Cōḷas*, New Delhi, 2012, p.24; Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Cōḷa country*, Madras, 1973, p 10.

<sup>39</sup> Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in medieval South India*, New Delhi, 1980, p.90; Y. Subbarayalu, 'Historical Geography of Ancient and Medieval India: A Comparative Study of *Nāṭu* and *Vishaya*', in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol.73, 2012, pp.1-17.

Champakalakshmi explains Nāṭu as an agrarian region.<sup>40</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier observes that Nāṭu of Kerala was made up spontaneously of the agrarian settlement in a territory grouped for various economic and social needs.<sup>41</sup> Kesavan Veluthat says that Nāṭus are territorial divisions and the pattern of settlement may have been responsible for their variations.<sup>42</sup>

### **Brahmin settlements and Kadathanadu**

The inscriptions discovered from different parts of Kerala from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries mention early Brahmin settlements of Kerala. According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, Paraśurāma brought Brahmins from outside Kerala.<sup>43</sup> The Brahmins established sixty-four Brahmin settlements; of this half, each is in Kerala and Tulunadu. The thirty-two Brahmin settlements in Kerala are located near the fertile river valleys.<sup>44</sup> The Brahmin immigrants to Kerala cultivated in virgin soil and initiated wetland agriculture. The superior knowledge in seasons and management practices helped them in the development of a Brahmin dominated agricultural society. This explains why the Brahmin settlements are developed in river valleys than

---

<sup>40</sup> Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T.R. Venugopalan, eds., *State and Society in premodern South India*, Thrissur, 2002, p. 223.

<sup>41</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Village Communities in Pre-colonial Kerala*, New Delhi, 1994, p.28.

<sup>42</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, New Delhi, 2009, p. 80.

<sup>43</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷōlpatti: Kōlattunāṭu Traditions*, Calicut University, 1987, p.10.

<sup>44</sup> Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahmin Settlements in Kerala*, (1978), Thrissur, 2013, p. 25.

in hilly or coastal areas. The growth of population necessitated the use of additional lands for cultivation. The Brahmins cleared forests, which resulted in the expansion of agriculture. Agricultural production rapidly increased after the establishment of Brahmin settlements. It resulted in the emergence of a temple-oriented society in Kerala. A village assembly was formed to control the temple property and Brahmin settlement.

The northernmost Brahmin settlement in Kerala was at Payyannur. Among the thirty-two early Brahmin settlements, Payyannur and Perumcellūr are the only Brahmin settlements found in North Malabar. Other Brahmin settlements are found at South Malabar and further south. The geographical distribution of Brahman settlements in the medieval Nāṭu divisions such as Kōlattunāṭu, Kadathanadu and northern Kottayam regions indicate that they were excluded from Brahmanisation. Eṭannūr is the place situated on the banks of the Mayyazhi river. The Chempra inscription of tenth century A.D. discovered from the border area of Kōlattunāṭu refers to the *Ūr* and *Sabha* of Eṭannūr as part of a temple committee resolution.<sup>45</sup> This inscription shows the emergence of a Brahmin settlement in the region. *Mangalam*, *Illam*, and *Mana* are the terms used to denote Brahmin residence.<sup>46</sup> The term *Tirumangalam*

---

<sup>45</sup> Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Charitram*, (1991), Sukapuram, 2013, p.116.

<sup>46</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Madhyakāla Kēraḷam: Sampattu Samūham Samskāram*, Trivandrum, 1997, p.12.

found in the Chempra inscription indicates the existence of a Brahmin settlement in the region.<sup>47</sup> The Chempra inscription is found from the Chempra Subrahmaṇya temple.<sup>48</sup> This temple located at the slopes of the Chempra hills, where the Mayyazhi river flows. This Brahmin settlement is not among the early thirty-two Brahmin settlements in Kerala. The discovery of the Chempra inscription implies that more Brahmin settlements established after the initial phase in the North Malabar region. The Chempra inscription mentions the paddy given to the temple from Aḷiyūr *Dēśam* of Kadathanadu. The inscription names a paddy field in Aḷiyūr as *Kumāravēliyakam*. At present this wetland is named *Karuvāraḱkōṭu Nilam*.<sup>49</sup> According to the settlement records the total area of the *Karuvāraḱkōṭu Nilam* is 4.19 square kilometres. *Kongu Naḷi* was the measurement unit mentioned in the inscription.

Before the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD, Brahmin settlements are not established in the region. The Chempra inscription of the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD mentions the emergence of Brahmin settlement in the Mayyazhi river basin. The Kaliyāmpaḷli inscription of 11<sup>th</sup> century AD also mentions the emergence of Brahmin influence in the region. During the period temple structures were constructed in the region. Brahmins became the *uralars* of the temple.

---

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p.13.

<sup>48</sup> Field visit at Chempra Subrahmaṇya Temple on 2/11/17.

<sup>49</sup> Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷīyata: Charitra Mānangaḷ* (1990), Sukapuram, 2009, pp. 116-117.



However, the majority of the land in Kadathanadu was not under the control of the temple during the medieval period. The Brahmins controlled the temple and its property. But large temple structures are not found in the region. For these reasons, the Brahmin influence was meagre in the region. The Kuttiyadi river basin of Kadathanadu was a fertile region. Agricultural activities of Kadathanadu concentrated in this area. There are place names recorded in the settlement register of Kuṟumbranāṭu which provide information regarding the Brahmin settlements of Kadathanadu. The terms *Illam*, *Paṟambu*, *Mana Paṟambu*, *Mangalam* and *Cēnnamangalam* signify the presence of Brahmin settlement in the area.<sup>50</sup> Erāncēri, Parōli, Kakkōrattu and Nellyōṭṭu were important Brahmin houses in Kadathanadu.<sup>51</sup>

The dominant social groups of the region were Nāyars and Tiyyas. The historians argue that the foremost reason for the lack of early Brahmin settlements (c. AD 800-900) in the region was its geography.<sup>52</sup> The soil of the region is not much fertile and the rivers in Kadathanadu were short in length. It is argued that the rivers reached in the mouth of the Arabian Sea created lagoons. The saline coal fields are not conducive to cultivation. This seems to be the prominent cause for the omission of north Malabar by the Brahmins in

---

<sup>50</sup> Settlement Records of Kuṟumbranāṭu Taluk Bundle No.9.

<sup>51</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, Unpublished records, Department of History, University of Calicut, No.51.

<sup>52</sup> Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Op. Cit.*, p.118.

establishing their settlements. Kadathanadu situated in the midland where the laterite soil is largely found. Many small hills and valleys are the main physical feature of the region. The physical geography of the region was not suitable for large scale paddy cultivation. This was the major cause of the lack of Brahmin settlements in the region. The physical geography of the region was suitable for mixed crop cultivation. The Chempra and Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscriptions mention the garden crop cultivation in the region. Huge temple structures are not found in Kadathanadu. The main reason for it was that the economic stability of the region was not based on paddy cultivation. It was based on the mixed crop cultivation. Apart from paddy garden crops like pepper, coconut, plantain and areca nut are largely cultivated in the region. The Chempra and Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription implies that before the 10<sup>th</sup> century garden crop cultivation was expanded in the region.

The term like *Kuṭi* and *Kuṭimakkal* (agricultural labourers) implies the kin-based production units.<sup>53</sup> Inscriptions from South India use the term *Kuṭi*. The occupants of the land were also called *Kuṭis*.<sup>54</sup> The Cēra records refer to the transfer of agricultural labourers along with land when the transaction of land was effected. Such labourers are called *Āḷ Aṭiyār*. The *Āḷ Aṭiyār* had no

---

<sup>53</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *State Formation in Kerala: A Critical Overview*, Bangalore, 2010, p.28; M.R. Raghava Varier, *Madhyakāla Kēraḷam: Swarūpanirmityuṭe Charitra Pāṭaṅgaḷ*, Kottayam, 2014, p.27.

<sup>54</sup> KesavanVeluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, New Delhi, 2009, p.288.

claim on the produce, except what was generously granted by their master.<sup>55</sup> The term *Kuṭi* also indicate the settlement of the settlers and occupational groups inhabited in the region. The cultivators, craft collectives, and other occupational groups also called *Kuṭi*. An inscription discovered from north Malabar mentions occupant groups like carpenter, blacksmith and the gold smith who works in the temples. The Chempra inscription recorded a carpenter named Velvakkāṭṭu Perumtaccan, who done artisan works in the temple.<sup>56</sup> The inscription also mentions about *puraiṭams*, which was considered a non-Brahmin settlement unit in the region. Mayilkkara *puraiṭam* and Tirumaleri *puraiṭam* were the non-Brahmin settlement units mentioned in the inscription.

The plot names or house names mentioned in settlement records show the kin-based production units of Kadathanadu.<sup>57</sup> The land names like *Āśārikkāṇṭi*, *Taṭṭānraviṭe*, *Vāṇiyanvīṭu*, *Kollantoṭi*, *Mūśśārikkāṇṭi*, *Mārānvīṭu*, *Cāliyateru* etc. indicate kin-based production units.<sup>58</sup> These kin-based production units lived around the agricultural units. *Kuṭi* was also non-Brahmin in character. Inscriptional evidence indicates that *Kuṭimakkal* were the agricultural labourers as in Chempra inscription of 10<sup>th</sup> century AD

---

<sup>55</sup> R. Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T.R. Venugopal, eds., *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*, Thrissur, 2002, p.124.

<sup>56</sup> K.P. Rajesh, *Vaṭakkan Malabar: Samūhavum Charitram*, Kottayam, 2014, p.45.

<sup>57</sup> Settlement Records of Kuṟumbranāṭu Taluk, No.25.

<sup>58</sup> Field visit on 25/3/16.

mentions a resolution instructing *Kuṭittalapakukkarutu*.<sup>59</sup> The epithet indicates the importance of cultivating *Kuṭis* settled in production localities of the non-Brahmin settlement units landholding households developed in such settlements that must have been represented in *Ūr* assembly.<sup>60</sup> Expansion of mixed crop cultivation led to the development of compound sites in the midland area of Kadathanadu. The production localities of non-Brahmin cultivator largely widened along with the development of compound sites and expansion of *Paṛambu* cultivation in the region. Laterite soil found in Kadathanadu was suitable for mixed crop cultivation where the compound sites usually appear. The landholding households of non-Brahmin origin found to have developed in these production localities and certain *Ūr* assemblies were developed to protect their interest.

*Ūr* is a term closely associated with clan settlement.<sup>61</sup> In the case of Tamil Nadu *Ūr* is considered as a non-Brahmanical character. *Ūr* is primarily an agrarian settlement unit. The later period witnessed the transformation of *Ūr* as a Brahmin settlement unit. *Sabha* is Brahmanical in character. In the Chempra inscription, both *Ūr* and *Sabha* are mentioned. The *Ūr* assembly of

---

<sup>59</sup> It means that when the *Ūrāḷars* granted land to the temple the settlement of the *Aṭiyāḷars* or *Kuṭis* were excluded from the grant.

<sup>60</sup> K.S. Madhavan, 'Kuṭis and Agrarian Production in Early Medieval Kerala', in *Journal of South Indian History*, Vol.5, Issue 2, University of Calicut, May 2019, p.65.

<sup>61</sup> K.P. Rajesh, *Vaṭakkan Malabar: Samūhavum Charitavum*, p.36.

Eṭannūr settlement is mentioned in the Chempra inscription. The term *Eṭannūrum Tapayum* mentioned in the Chempra inscription reveals the joint decision taken by both assemblies in Eṭannūr regarding the cultivation of certain lands given to the temple. *Ūr*, *Dēśam* and *Nāṭu* are agrarian units. A grouping of *Ūr* is called as *Dēśam* and many *Dēśams* comes together and formed *Nāṭu*.<sup>62</sup> The place names prefixing or suffixing with *Ūr* certainly signify the prevalence of agrarian settlements in Kadathanadu. Veḷḷūr, Tiruvaḷḷūr, Iringaṇṇūr, Tōṭannūr, Chemmarattūr, Tanakkōṭṭūr, Ummattūr, Veḷakkōṭṭūr, Tinūr, Neṭumaṇṇūr, Cheruvaṇṇūr, Aliyūr, Puttūr, Mayyannūr, Māṇiyūr, Mutuvaṭattūr, Atiyūr, Peringattūr, etc. are the place names suffixing *Ūr*.<sup>63</sup> The place names found in Kadathanadu indicates the dominance of *Ūr* settlements in the region.

The place names suffixed or prefixed with *cēri* imply a settlement unit of technical occupant groups. It was also a settlement unit of different castes and occupational groups. The *cēris* are mainly formed near the trading centres and temples. Place names prefixed or suffixed with *cēri* found in Kadathanadu are Eṭacēri, Puṇamēri, Mokēri, Kuyithēri, Perumuṇṭacēri which are non-Brahmin settlements.<sup>64</sup> The formation of temples, Brahmin settlements, non-Brahmin settlements and settlements of occupant groups developed within the

---

<sup>62</sup> William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. II, (1887), New Delhi, 2010, p.18.

<sup>63</sup> *Settlement Records of Kuṟumbranāṭu Taluk*, No. 25.

<sup>64</sup> Field visit on 3/5/16.

same agrarian system. There existed mutual dependence between these settlement units. Due to its geographical peculiarities, the landholding households of non-Brahmin origin found to have developed in these production localities. The inscriptions from Chempra, Kaliyāmpaḷḷi and Vilyāppaḷḷi indicate the emergence of an agrarian settlement around the Kuttiyadi river basin.<sup>65</sup> Two Brahmin settlements mentioned in these inscriptions are Eṭannūr and Karayannūr. But little evidence is found regarding the settlements and their impact in the Nāṭu.<sup>66</sup> The development of Nāṭus in the midland regions and consolidation of political authority of the Nāṭus were also related to the development of temple centred Brahmin *Ūr* settlements. The later period witnessed the dominance of non-Brahmin settlement units and households in the region.

### **Agrarian Festivals and Fairs in Kadathanadu**

Fairs, festivals and rituals related to agricultural practices exist in Kadathanadu, such as *Tīra*, *Pūrakkāḷi*, *IllamNīra-Puttari*, *Viṣu*, *Tulāppattu*, etc.<sup>67</sup> *Tīra* is an art form performed as a part of the festival at *Kāvus* of North Malabar. It begins in the Malayalam month of *Kumbham* (February-March).

---

<sup>65</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers*, Kozhikode, 1962, p.105.

<sup>66</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷīyata: Charitra Mānangaḷ*, (1990), Sukapuram, 2009 p.118.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Matha Amma on 11/6/17.

*Illam Niṛa* and *Puttari* celebrated in *Chingam* (August-September). In *Puttari* cooked rice prepared of the freshly harvested paddy was offered to the deity.

### **Physical Geography of Kadathanadu**

Geographically Kadathanadu is divided into three physical units viz. *Malanāṭu*, *Eṭanāṭu* and *Tīrapradēśam* (Highland, midland and coastal area).<sup>68</sup> In the case of north Malabar, the distance between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats is minimum. The midland in Kadathanadu, for this reason, is surrounded by small hills and valleys. Large plains are non-existent in the region. The hills and dense forest of the region is part of Western Ghats. The highland is located 800 metres above the mean sea level (hereafter MSL).<sup>69</sup> Naripparra, Kāyakkōṭi, Maruthōmkara, Kāvilumpāra and Kunnummal are major places situated as part of Western Ghats. The foothills of the Western Ghats comprise the rocky area from 200 to 600 metres above the MSL. It is a transitional zone between the high ranges and midland. Midland is the area of undulating topography with hillocks and mounds. The low, flat-topped, hillocks forming the laterite plateau range in altitude from 30-200 metres and situated between coastal lowland and foothills.<sup>70</sup> The midlands consist of

---

<sup>68</sup> P.J. Cherian, ed., *William Logan's Malabar*, Trivandrum, 2000, p.20.

<sup>69</sup> *District Survey Reports of Minor Minerals except River Sand*, Trivandrum, November 2016, p.11.

<sup>70</sup> Kunnummal Panchayat, *Ila-Bhūmiśāstra pratyēkatakaḷ*, Block Resource Centre, Kunnummal, 2010, p.15.

gardens or *Paṛambu* and wetlands or *pāṭam*. The midland also contains a rocky elevated region (*Pāra*), the slopes (*cherivu*), and the wetland (*Nīrnilam*). The elevated region is called as *Kunnu*, elevated slopes as *Mēṭu*, the middle slopes as *Cherivu*, the lower slopes related to the field is called as *pāṭam*, the muddy wetlands are called as *Nilam*.

The coconut growing land of clay sand is termed *Paṛambu*. *Pāṭam* is the paddy cultivated region. Generally, gardens are found on slopes, low, middle or elevated geography. *Kāṭu* was transformed as *Paṛambu* as a result of human intervention in nature. In Kadathanadu land with clay sand and alluvial soil supports paddy cultivation and coconut cultivation.<sup>71</sup> *Nilam* found on the ridges of river and streams. *Turutti* is the only settlement unit in the *Nilam*. *Turuttimukku* is a waterlogging area situated in the Kaliyāmpaḷli River.<sup>72</sup> Agriculture mainly concentrated in the wetland and garden land in Kadathanadu.

The area of garden cultivation is larger than wetland cultivation in Kadathanadu. Many wetlands are transformed into garden lands as a result of human intervention. Many wetlands mentioned in *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* are not found at present. The table given below shows the transformation of

---

<sup>71</sup> *EnteGrāmam*, Narippaṛa Grama Panchayat, 2010, p.10.

<sup>72</sup> Settlement Records of Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk, Bundle No.11.



lands.<sup>73</sup> The table shows that human intervention in the physical geography of the region resulted in the transformation of many paddy fields into plots. It indicates the transformation of the paddy economy to a cash crop economy.

**Table 1**  
**Agrarian fields and the crops in Kadathanadu**

<b>Place Name</b>	<b>Name of the field</b>	<b>Type of cultivation at present</b>
Chemmarattūr	Chemmaravayal	Coconut and areca nut
Vilyāppaḷi	Kolari thāḷa	Coconut, tapioca and plantain
Naṭakkutāḷa	Challivayal	Plantain and vegetables
Pathiyārakkara	Kōṭerivayal, Puttalattuvayal	Coconut and areca nut
Vaḷḷikkāṭu	Puñcappāṭam	Coconut and plantain
Oñciyam	Putiyēṭattu Tāḷe Nilam	House plot
Aḷiyūr	Ramathepumulli nilam	Areca nut and tapioca
Vellūr	Kanninaṭa	Coconut and areca nut
Nādāpuram	Chiyūrvayal	Coconut and areca nut
Kāyakkōṭi	Paṭivayal	House plot
Kuttiyadi	Urathvayal	Coconut and areca nut
Vēḷam	Thekkuni Vayal, aṭivayal	Tapioca and cashew
Narippaṛra	Chekkunnuvayal	Rubber and coffee

The coastal area contains alluvial plains, alluvial stretches, abraded platforms, beach ridges, lagoons and estuaries. The coastal area has sandy soil

<sup>73</sup> *Lōkanārkkāvu Granthavari*, Unpublished Manuscripts, Thunchath Ezhuthachan Manuscripts Repository, Calicut University, Palm leaves. Nos.1-67.

and saline water which are unfavourable for food grain cultivation. The lowland and the plains are less than 10 metres above MSL.<sup>74</sup> The foothills of Western Ghats are parts of the Western boundary of Kadathanadu. It comprises a rocky area from 200 to 300 metres MSL. The foothills are the transitional zone between the high ranges and midland. The coastal area of the region starts from the mouth of the Kōṭṭa river to the mouth of the Mayyazhi river. The climate of Kadathanadu is a mixed one. Approximately 300 centimetres of annual rainfall is received in Kadathanadu. The temperature of the region is approximately 30°C.<sup>75</sup>

The Forest area of Kadathanadu is situated in the eastern part of the region. Marutōmkara, Kāyakkōṭi, Kāvilumpāra, Naripparra and Vānimēl are forest area of Kadathanadu. 13km dense forests in Marutōmkara were a part of Western Ghats.<sup>76</sup> The hills of the region are situated 800 metres above the MSL. 300-450 centimetres annual rain received in the region. Teak, Ebony, and Sandal are the trees found in the dense forest. Kuttiyadi forest range extends 48.2 km is part of the Kunnummal region. Paśśukkaṭavu, Jānakikkāṭu, Chāttankōṭṭunaṭa, Muṛratteplāvu, Marutōmkara, Kuningāṭu and Vilangāṭu were main zones in the forest division.<sup>77</sup> These places situated 800 metres

---

<sup>74</sup> *Kāyakkōṭi Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 2012-2017, p.5.

<sup>75</sup> *Settlement Records of Kurumbranāṭu Taluk*, p.15.

<sup>76</sup> *Marutōmkara Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 2010, p. 22.

<sup>77</sup> *Narippatta Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 2005, p.10.

above the MSL. These forest regions are abundant with spices, like cardamom, sandal, teak, ebony, and cloves.<sup>78</sup> Large plains are not seen in the region. Small hills and elevated slopes are found in the midland region. The important hills found in the area under study are given below in the table.<sup>79</sup>

**Table 2**  
**Major hills in Kadathanadu**

Region	Important hills
Naripparra	Vālayāṭu, Valukke, Valiyakunnu, Kappimala, Kaippakolli, Palayaṭukku, Ayanikunnu, Thaikāṭikunnu
Kuttiyadi	Kōṭṭakunnu, Ñallarakkunnu, Mullaḷikunnu, Kīyarkaṭikunnu, Ammaccikaṭikunnu,
Kunnummal	Madhukunnu, Kaṇṇankunnu, Kōṭṭakunnu, Tūvakunnu, Peruvanikunnu
Marutōmkara	Māmbilakunnu, Mappurattukunnu, Marutērikunnu, Tiruvakunnu, Nellikkunnu, Tiyyarkaṭikunnu
Onchiyam	Maccinārikunnu, Vallattukunnu, Eṭakaṭikunnu

The soil found in the region is red, red sand soil, sand soil and clay. According to the Soil Survey Report of 1967, the percentage of oxide and sand is very high in the soil.<sup>80</sup> During the summer season, the moisture of the soil is reduced. The cultivation of the soil was very difficult. The soil of Kadathanadu was divided into many categories such as Nādāpuram *parampara*, Nanmanda

<sup>78</sup> *Edacheri Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, Vol. 126, November, 1996.

<sup>79</sup> *Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, Kunnummal Block, 1990, p.12.

<sup>80</sup> *Soil Survey Report of 1962; Soil Survey Report of National Centre for Earth studies.*

*parampara*, and *Puṛamēri parampara*.<sup>81</sup> Buchanan reports that the structure of the soil in Kadathanadu was not suited for cultivation. The produce was not sufficient for the people so they imported food items.<sup>82</sup> Kadathnadu imported rice, sugar and salt from foreign countries. Coconut is largely cultivated in Kadathanadu due to the sandy soil found in the coastal area. The percentage of oxide is very high in the soil of Kadathanadu. Laterite soil is mainly found in Kadathanadu. The soil erosion, floods and droughts caused the reduction of cultivation. According to the soil survey report of 1967, the soils of *Nādāpuram parampara* contain iron content and red soil mixed with clay.<sup>83</sup>

Highlands of the Kadathanadu region include *Valāyam*, *Vāṇimēl*, *Mokēri*, *Kakkaṭṭil*, *Kayvēli*, *Naripparra*, *Vilangāṭu*, *Pātirapparra*, *Arūr*, *Kuyithēri*, *Bhūmivātukkal* and *Chekyāṭu*. Midland regions include *Kuttippuram*, *Taṇṇīrpantal*, *Nādāpuram*, *Puṛamēri*, *Eṭachēri*, *Ōrkkāṭṭēri*, *Vilyāppalli*, *Āyanchēri*, *Valliyāṭu*, *Kaliyāmpalli*, *Kārthikappalli*, *Oñciyam*, *Chōrōṭu*, *Puttūr*, *Tūṇēri*, *Iringaṇṇūr*, *Pārakkaṭavu*, *Vellūr* and *Kūmankōṭu*. The staple crops in the midland are paddy. Arecanut, coconut, plantain, jackfruit,

---

<sup>81</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Op. Cit.*, p.18.

<sup>82</sup> Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through Mysore Canara and Malabar*, Vol.2, New Delhi, 1988, p.515.

<sup>83</sup> *Soil survey report of Kerala*, Department of soil survey and soil conservation (www.Keralasoils.gov.in).1969.

tapioca, cucumber also cultivated. Coastal area includes Putuppaṇam, Vadakara, Muṭṭungal, Cōmbāla, Kannummakkara, Madappally and Aḷiyūr.<sup>84</sup>

The majority of places in Kadathanadu belong to the midland region. Paddy was cultivated in the midland region of Kadathanadu. Eṭachēri, Puṛamēri, Āyanchēri, Puttūr, Chōrōṭu, Kaliyāmpaḷli and Vilyāppaḷli were the regions where mainly paddy cultivated in Kadathanadu. The majority of the people live in the midland region in Kadathanadu. Nallōmvayal and Puñcavayal are the major fields in the region. Puñcattōṭu was an important water source of the region. Puṛamēri, a place name in Kadathanadu, denotes a water reservoir or water source. Nallōmvayal was extended from Puttūr to Velliḷikuḷangara.<sup>85</sup> Puñcattōṭu was later linked with Kaliyāmpaḷli river. Nallōmvayal was surrounded by a hilly region which is called as Māngāṭṭupāra. The place-name Mēmuṇṭa denotes a field where the high-quality paddy (*muṇṭakan*) was grown.<sup>86</sup> The place names like Chillivayal, Kuṛumpoyil and Mēppayil were paddy growing regions in Kadathanadu. The place-name Chemmarattūr means (good water covered region) the land of good peasants.<sup>87</sup> Puttūr, Tōṭannūr and Kārttikappaḷli were also the agrarian regions of Kadathanadu. The place names related to 'Ēri' indicates the availability of

---

<sup>84</sup> *Settlement Records of Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk*, No. 19.

<sup>85</sup> *Onchiyam Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 1992, p.3.

<sup>86</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Palm leaf No.54.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, Palm leaf No.59.

water. It denotes a pond, tank or boundary. The place names such as Puṛamēri and Ōrkkāṭṭēri, substantiate the view. Cōlamvayal was a place situated near Vadakara.<sup>88</sup> Sometimes it was famous for corn (*chōlam*) cultivation. Tiruvaḷḷūr, another place in Kadathanadu, indicates that it was the land of Vaḷḷuvars or Veḷḷālas. Kuṭṭōttu is situated seven kilometres away from Vadakara. This place was also famous for paddy cultivation. Important hills of Kadathanadu are Kinabra, Attiyōra, Pālaccōla (Nādāpuram), Tayyullaṭil, Kakkamveḷḷi, Īyyamkuṭi, Kunnummal, Panakkumīttal, Vallattukunnu, Eṭakkaṇṭikunnu, Kināśśērikunnu, Kaṇiyānkunnu etc.

Rocky regions of Kadathanadu are Iringalpāra, Māngāṭṭupāra, and Kuningāṭupāra. The Kunnummel region of Kadathanadu has seventeen hills. The Highland regions of Kadathanadu are Vaḷayam, Kuttiyadi, Vēlam, Vāṇimēl, Vilangāṭu, Chekyāṭu, etc. The ancient people of this region conducted *punam* cultivation. They cultivated paddy, millet, pumpkin and cucumber for their livelihood. The northern border of Vāṇimēl is the Kaṇṇavam forest. The hilly regions of Kadathanadu were famous for spice cultivation. Pepper, cardamom, cloves, areca nut, and betel are chiefly cultivated in the region. Later rubber and coconut also cultivated. Kuttiyadi is famous for coconut cultivation. The coastal area of Kadathanadu was famous

---

<sup>88</sup> *Settlement Records of Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk*, p. 23.

for coconut cultivation, as the sandy soil favour coconut cultivation. The Chempra inscription mentions the spread of coconut cultivation in the region.<sup>89</sup>

### **Water Sources and Irrigation system**

Kuttiyadi river and Mayyazhi river are two important rivers in the region. These two rivers originate from the hills of Wayanad, which is a part of Western Ghats.<sup>90</sup> These two rivers have many minor tributaries. These tributaries flow through the plains of Kadathanadu and finally reached the Arabian Sea. The agricultural practices of Kadathanadu mainly depended on the water sources from these two rivers and their tributaries. Evidence shows that human inhabitation and agrarian settlements in Kadathanadu primarily emerged on the banks of the Kuttiyadi and Mayyazhi rivers. These river belts caused the development of agricultural practices in the region. The major agricultural settlements of the region like Vilyāppalli, Puttūr, Chemmarattūr, Eṭachēri, Puṛamēri and Kārttikappalli are situated on these river belts. Kuttiyadi river at Tuṛayūr flows north at first and shift to the southwest direction.<sup>91</sup> At Tuṛayūr the river joins Agalappuḷa, further, it takes U-turn and flows northwest to the Mūrāṭu river and forms a lagoon and join the sea at Kōṭṭakkal near Vada kara. The river is dammed at Kakkayam for the hydraulic project and uses this water at Peruvaṅṅāmūḷi dam for irrigation. Kōṭṭa river at present known as

---

<sup>89</sup> K.P. Rajesh, *Vaṭakkan Malabar: Samūhavum Charitram*, Kottayam, 2014, p.34.

<sup>90</sup> C.A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteers*, Trivandrum, 1977, p. 126.

<sup>91</sup> *District Survey Report of Minor Minerals, Op. Cit.*, p.13

Kuttiyadi river is variously called in different parts as Mūrāṭu river and Putuppattānam river. It gets its name from the fort which was built on the mouth of the river flowing to the Arabian Sea. Kōṭṭa river takes its origin from the thick forest on the western slopes of the hills of Wayanad from an elevation of 300 metres above MSL. It has a total length of about forty-six miles and drains into the Arabian Sea at the historical place known as Kōṭṭa, about two miles south of Vadakara. The Kōṭṭa river after taking its sources at an elevation of +3000, flows southwards for a distance of about two and a half miles, and then turn westwards towards Kuttiyadi.<sup>92</sup>

During the course the river bed falls by about 2000 feet within a length of about two miles this waterfall at this site is locally known as Ūrakkuḷi falls. From Kuttiyadi the river flows in a south-west direction and passes through the village of Tiruvaḷḷūr, Muyippōttu, Māṇiyūr, and Karuvānchēri before joining the sea. The river basin downstream of Kuttiyadi is thickly populated and different kinds of crops are growing there. The river originates from the place called Narikkōṭṭa. The river is navigable up to Kuttiyadi. Vaṇṇāttippuḷa, Onipuḷa and Kaṭiyangāṭupuḷa were its tributaries. The Kaṭiyangāṭupuḷa originates from Arikunnu and Kaṭiyangāṭu at an altitude of about 3500 and it flows mostly through the regions and joins the main river about seven miles upstream of Kuttiyadi ferry.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>92</sup> C.A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteers, Op. cit.*, p.128.

<sup>93</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers, Op. cit.*, p.4.



Mayyazhi or Mondal river is another major river in Kadathanadu. The river originates from the hills of Wayanad. The river flows fifty-five kilometres and finally reaches the Arabian Sea. Mondal river, Peringattūr river, Kaliyāmpalli river, and Vāṇimēl river are its major tributaries. Many small streams fill the river and it becomes a huge water flow.<sup>94</sup>

The relationship between water sources and habitation are important. The terms like *kuḷam*, *chiṛa* and *tōṭu* indicate the presence of water bodies in the region.<sup>95</sup> These water bodies sustained cultivation and habitation. Apart from two major rivers canals, ponds and other small water sources existed in the area.

Canals of the Kuttiyadi irrigation project passed through the region, many small water sources like *Tōṭus* (water channels) are seen in Kadathanadu for irrigation purpose.<sup>96</sup> Kaliyāmpalli *tōṭu*, Kōṭṭāmpalli *tōṭu*, Kappuḷatōṭu, Puñcatōṭu etc. were important water sources used for agriculture practices in the region.<sup>97</sup> Related to Nāyar *taravāṭus* and temples many ponds are found in the region. Public and private ponds existed in Kadathanadu. The lower caste people had no right to use ponds for bathing and other activities in the medieval

---

<sup>94</sup> K. Vinod Kumar, *Kēraḷatte Kuriccu Ariṇṇirikkēṇṭa Kāryangaḷ*, Kottayam, 2008, p.250.

<sup>95</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Locality and Culture in the case of Tirurangadi*, University of Calicut, 2010, p.39.

<sup>96</sup> *Ground Water Information Booklet of Kozhikode District*, Trivandrum, December 2013.

<sup>97</sup> *Edacheri Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, November 1996, Vol. 126.

period. Lōkanārkāvu temple pond and Rāmattu pond were important among them. The place-name related to pond, tank or other water resources shows the presence of water in the region. Kuḷangarattu, Kuḷangāṭṭu, Veḷḷikuḷangara, Tōṭannūr, Tōṭṭummal, Kuḷavakkiletōṭu indicate the presence of water in the region.<sup>98</sup> At present many water bodies are transformed into house site. The important water bodies of Kadathanadu and their present status is given in the table below.

---

<sup>98</sup> Field visit at these places conducted on 9.5.2015.

**Table 3**  
**Water sources in Kadathanadu**

Region	Water sources	Types of water sources	Length (in metre)	Present status
Kumbalāchōla	Kumbalāchōla	Stream	500	Dried up
	Ettukāṭu	Stream	500	Dried up
	Paliymapara	Stream	300	Dried up
	Vāṇimēl	River	300	Filled up
Valukku	Tharipa	Stream	500	Partly dried up
	Olikkal	Stream	1500	
	Kavadi	River	5400	
Mullabath	Vāṇimēl	River	3820	Dried up
	Peruvamkuni	River	1500	
	Kūvakolli	River	6190	
Naripparra	Naripparra	Stream	1338	Dried up
	Thalapolli	Stream	1356	
	ĒlattūrTāle	Stream	448	
Vaḷayam	Nellikandi	Stream	3345	Dried up
	Kodichikandi	Stream	1800	
	Kelamkandi	Stream	1250	
	Chakkolakandi	Stream	1200	
Oorath	Kappukkara	River	3075	Dried up
	Valayanūr	Stream	200	
Nittur	Vellōlitalē	Stream	256	Filled up
	Kuttiyadi	River	500	Dried up
Valayannūr	Vaḷayannūr	Pond	-	Dried up
Nattikotta	Naduvil	River	3100	Dried up
Churnithadam	Chūrṇi CheriyāChūrṇi	River	2750	Dried up
Vachal	Arūr	River	4970	Dried up
	Theekkuni	River	---	
Kakkuni	Vaikillaśśēri	Stream	6	Dried up
	Kandil	Stream	---	Filled up
Eṭachēri	Kaliyāmpaḷḷi	River	---	Filled up
	Kaliyāmpaḷḷi	Stream	---	
Vadakara	Karimbana	Stream	---	Filled up

Nādāpuram Kunnammal, Chekyāṭu, and Ummattūr region are the table land of Kadathanadu.<sup>99</sup> The remains of megalithic culture are discovered from the region. The western border of Kadathanadu is the Arabian Sea. The Mūrāṭu and Mayyazhi rivers originate from the Western Ghats and finally reaches the Arabian Sea. The 10km long area from the mouth of rivers at the Arabian Sea was filled with saline water. These regions are not suitable for the cultivation of crops. Pakkayil and Arakkilāṭu region in Kadathanadu are salinized water-filled region. These two regions are the *Kol* fields in the region.<sup>100</sup>

### **Inscriptional Evidence of Agricultural System**

The inscriptions discovered from the northern parts of Kerala give information about a mixed crop economy. The Kaliyāmpaḷḷi, Chempra, and Tirunelli inscriptions give details of the agricultural practices and crops cultivated in Kadathanadu. Paddy is mentioned in Tirunelli inscription as products from the field. Apart from rice or paddy, plantain, jackfruit, coconut and pepper were the garden products mentioned in Tirunelli inscriptions.<sup>101</sup> Evidence from Tirunelli inscriptions shows that *vayal* and *Paṛambu* (fields and garden land) are considered equal production units. Chempra inscription mentions rice, betel and areca nut as field products. Inscriptional evidence

---

<sup>99</sup> *Nādāpuram Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 2014, November, p. 21.

<sup>100</sup> Field visit on 15.6.2015.

<sup>101</sup> Puthusseri Ramachandran, *Kēraḷa Charitrattile Aṭisthāna Rēkhakaḷ*, Trivandrum, 2007, pp.75-79.

indicates that paddy was cultivated on land also.<sup>102</sup> These inscriptions show the expansion of *Paṛambu* cultivation in Kadathanadu. *Aranāli* is a measurement mentioned in Kaliyāmpaḷli inscription.<sup>103</sup> Kaliyāmpaḷli inscription implies the expansion of garden crops in the region. Chempra inscription mentions cultivation in *Paṛambu*. It also indicates that the articles paid to the temple are also in the form of agricultural products.<sup>104</sup> One coconut for a coconut tree and one jackfruit for a jack fruit tree is mentioned. The terms like *Kamukurai*, *Kamukedayon*, *Kamukinpurai*, and *Āṛruvaḷkai* indicate the areca nut gardens of the region. Kaliyāmpaḷli inscription mentions agricultural products like jackfruit, areca nut, betel, etc. These inscriptions show the expansion of *Paṛambu* cultivation in the region, which resulted in the emergence of the money economy. Many place names indicate the expansion of *Paṛambu* over *Kāṭu* or forest, for instance, *Karakkāṭu*, *Valikkāṭu*, etc.<sup>105</sup> The transformation of the field as garden land or *Paṛambu* is evident in the *Granthavaris* of the medieval period. Paddy, areca nut, coconut, betel and tapioca were cultivated in the *Paṛambu* or garden land. It indicates the shift from a paddy economy to a *Paṛambu* or cash crop economy. In the case of Kadathanadu apart from these crops pepper and cardamom are cultivated. Later the demand for pepper led to

---

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 80.

<sup>103</sup> K.P. Rajesh, *Op. Cit.*, p.36; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol.7, p. 46.

<sup>104</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷīyata: Charitra Mānangaḷ*, *op. cit.*, p.14.

<sup>105</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Agrarian Relations in Kerala: An Overview*, Mangalore University, February 1989, p.24.

conflict between the European powers to establish their political authority in the region. The inscriptions indicate a mixed economy based on both *Parambu* and *nilam* cultivation that existed in the area under study.

### **Agriculture in *Maṇipravāla* literature**

*Sandēśakāvya*s and *Champukāvya*s of the medieval period mention the agricultural practices of Kerala. *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam* composed in the 13<sup>th</sup> century mention Nāṭus such as Purakiḷānāṭu, Kuṟumpuṟaināṭu and Kōlattunāṭu in north Malabar.<sup>106</sup> *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam* describes the cultivated land as *pulam*. In this *kāvya* dried pepper is called as *Polḷamuḷaku* (dried pepper), *thappam*, *māvu* and *kāṇi* are the measures in transactions.<sup>107</sup> Paddy, rice, coconut, plantain and betel are mentioned in *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam*. It also mentions brinjals cultivated on the borders of paddy fields.

*Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam* composed at the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century also mentions the agricultural practices of Kerala. Mango, coconut, sugarcane, tamarind, plantain, brinjal, drumstick, corn and pulses are mentioned in *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam*.<sup>108</sup> Apart from it in the description of market places medicines

---

<sup>106</sup> N. GopinathanNāyar, *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam*, Kottayam, 2016, p.67.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p.68.

<sup>108</sup> Sundaran Danuvachapuram, *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam*, Trivandrum, 2000, p.22.

like cumin, onion, cloves, *Takkōlam*, and *Śatakuppa* are mentioned. *Uṅṅiyāṭicaritam* also mentions on areca nut gardens in the region.<sup>109</sup>

*Uṅṅicirutēvicaritam* discusses the *puñca* fields near Tōṭṭuvāypalli region.<sup>110</sup> The *Uṅṅicirutēvicaritam* discusses the betel grown on the areca nut trees. The *puñca* field in Tōṭṭuvāypalli describes as *pallam*. The poet narrates on sugarcane, mango tree and jackfruit tree found in the region. Pepper cultivation is also narrated. In *Uṅṅiyaccicaritam* variety of paddies like *Varinellu* and *Kayama* are mentioned.<sup>111</sup>

*Uṅṅunīlisandēśam* is composed in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. It helps us to understand the socio-cultural life of people who lived in the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>112</sup> During this period varieties of seeds are used for paddy cultivation. *Uṅṅunīlisandēśam* describes different kinds of paddy cultivated in medieval Kerala viz. *Kūran*, *Chōlan*, *Paḷavari*, *Kāraṅkaṅṅan*, *Veṅṅakkaṅṅan*, *Mōṭan*, *Kāṭan*, *Kuruva*, *Koṭiyān*, *Panki*, *Ponkāli*, *Chēnnan*, *Annakkōṭan*, *Kiliyara*, *Kannangariyan* and *Vīravittan*.<sup>113</sup>

---

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p.23.

<sup>110</sup> Chathanath Achuthanunni and M.R. Raghava Varier, eds., *Uṅṅicirutēvi caritam*, Kottayam, 2017, p.30; M.R. Raghava Varier and Kesavan Veluthat, *Maṅipravāḷa Carcca*, Kottayam, 2016, p.7.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p.31.

<sup>112</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Uṅṅunīlisandēśam*, (1954), Kottayam, 2016, p. 87.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p.88.

*Kōkasandēśam* narrated the rice fields, ploughing and gliding of soil in the region. It also mentions fertile fields where two or three crops in a year are possible.<sup>114</sup> The peasants cultivated sugarcane and plantain after the paddy cultivation is over. The *Maṇipravāḷam* works like *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, *Uṇṇiyaccicaritam*, *Uṇṇicirutēvi Caritam*, *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam* and *Kōkasandēśam* narrate the cultivation, crops, plants and fruits of the described region. These works help us to understand the agriculture practices that existed in medieval Kerala.

The major paddy seeds cultivated in Kadathanadu are *Muṇṭōn*, *Kuruva*, *Kayama*, *Tavaḷakkaṇṇan*, *Cirreṇi*, *Veṇṇakkaṇṇan*, *Vīravittan* etc. Apart from paddy, they cultivated vegetables and fruits on the slopes of the valley. Turmeric, ginger, mustard, millet etc. were also cultivated. Cucumber, brinjal and ladies' finger were the main vegetables cultivated in the region.<sup>115</sup> Jackfruit, mango and banana were the major fruit items cultivated in Kadathanadu. Pulses like peanuts and groundnuts were also cultivated.

*Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam*, a medieval text of 12<sup>th</sup> century, mentions the agricultural practices in Kerala.<sup>116</sup> Clear cut indications about the agricultural

---

<sup>114</sup> Kodungallur Kunjikuttan Tampuran, *Raṇṭu Sandēśangal: Śukasandēśavum Kōkasandēśavum*, p. 16.

<sup>115</sup> Interview with K. Kumaran on 5/6/17.

<sup>116</sup> It is an independent translation of *Arthaśāstra* in to Malayalam.



seasons are found in the work.<sup>117</sup> The pattern of paddy cultivation is *virippu*, *muṇṭōn*, *kārttika* etc.<sup>118</sup> *Nejilnukam*, *kayar* (coir), axe, and sickle are the agricultural equipment mentioned in *Bhāṣā Kauṭalīyam*. The land ploughing with the use of oxen is called *Talamērunnoru*. In the early period agricultural practices commences based on *Ñārruvēla*.<sup>119</sup> *Ñārruvēla* means the time based on the zodiac and the agricultural year started with *Mētam*. The *Ñārruvēla* is calculated depending on twenty-seven stars, from *Aswati* to *Revati*. The paddy cultivation is related to fifteen stars of *Ñārruvēla*.<sup>120</sup> *Tiruvātira Ñārruvēla* is suitable for pepper cultivation. Two rainy seasons exist in Kerala. They were *Eṭavappāti* (South-West Monsoon) and *Tulāvarṣam* (North-East Monsoon). *Tiruvātira Ñārruvēla* is approximately in between 7<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> Mithunam.<sup>121</sup>

---

<sup>117</sup> Somasekharan, *Kēraḷa Paḷama: Oru Charitra Sanchāram*, Thrissur, 2016, p.20.

*Kārttike tinkaḷ koḷḷumiṟayum*  
*Cittire tinkaḷ koḷḷumiṟayum*  
*Irayōṭu kūṭe Koḷḷumatu koṇṭāl*  
*Cittare Viṣuvallō Aṅṅinutal*  
*Cittarayil Ārambhikkalatu Kārttike*  
*tinkaḷallō Viḷavōṭunguvitu*  
*Atinakam virippuḷḷa Naṭuka*  
*Muṇṭakamaswāti Jayaruḷḷō Vitappitu*  
*Makara ṅāyarril Kalam tūkiyāl Avīṭe pattu tinkaḷuṇṭu*

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p.20.

<sup>117</sup> S.A. Achutha Varier, *Kēraḷa Samskāram*, Trivandrum, 2012, p.348.

<sup>120</sup> K.V. Babu, *Malabar Charitram: Mittum Mithyayum*, Kannur, 2017, p.11.

<sup>121</sup> Muraleedharan Tazhakkara, *Kriṣiyile Nāṭṭarivu*, Trivandrum, 2013, p. 348.

There are many proverbs related to agricultural practices. These proverbs give evidence of the agricultural practices especially the crops cultivated in the region, climatic condition, manure, seeds etc. used in the region. Buchanan lists varieties of paddy seeds cultivated in North Malabar. *Vākkal*, *Aḷikkāṇam*, *Kuṛuma*, *Cirōtu*, *Taval*, and *Muṇṭagan*, are mentioned in the text. Cow dung, ashes and leaves of particular trees were used mainly as manure. Plough, spade, and hoe were the normal implements used in the cultivation. *Ēttam* and *Tēkkukoṭṭa* and water wheel are used for irrigating the fields.<sup>122</sup>

Proverbs related to the agricultural practices of Kerala are as follows.<sup>123</sup> *Pūyyattil Naṭṭāl Puḷukkēṭu*, *Tiruvātirayil tirimuṛiññolukaṇam*, *Pūyyattil Maḷapeytāl Pullum nellu*, *Cōtivarṣiccāl Cōrinupaññamilla*, *Āyilyattilpāki Attattil Paṛiccunaṭām*, *Tiruvātirayil Tirimuṛiyāte Peyyaṇam*, *Ñārril Piḷaccāl Cōrril Piḷaccu*, *Ñāṛuraccāl Cōruṛaccu*, *Añcāmāñṭil Tēngapattāmāñṭiltēkku*, etc. These proverbs indicate the agricultural system that existed in Kerala, the types of paddy cultivated and the climate conditions favourable for the cultivation.

<sup>122</sup> K.N. Ganesh, 'Agrarian Society in Kerala (1500-800)', in P.J. Cherian, ed., *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Trivandrum 1999, p.123.

<sup>123</sup> M.V. Vishnu Nambuthiri, *Nāṭṭarivu Paṭhanagaḷ*, Kozhikode, 2018, p.126.

## Agriculture in Foreign Notices

The travel accounts of foreigners give a vivid picture of the agricultural practices and cultivation in Kerala. Marco Polo describes the pepper growing country of Malabar. He also mentions the multi-crop gardens of Malabar.<sup>124</sup> Ibn Battuta visited Kerala in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In his accounts, Battuta mentions the pepper growing coconut trees of Malabar. It is argued that the pepper garden was developed in north Malabar by the 10<sup>th</sup> century A.D.<sup>125</sup> According to Philip Baldous, the chief products cultivated in Malabar are pepper and cardamom.<sup>126</sup> Varthema refers to pepper, ginger and jackfruits cultivated in north Malabar.<sup>127</sup> Buchanan describes the cardamom cultivation of Kadathanadu.<sup>128</sup> He points out that after clearing the forest, the land was prepared for cardamom cultivation. Mahuan describes on coconut cultivation of Malabar. Marco Polo and Barbosa give details of ginger cultivation in the region. Arab travellers like Idrisi and Yakuth mention the pepper growing regions of Malabar.<sup>129</sup>

---

<sup>124</sup> Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Marco Polo Indiyil*, Kottayam, 2002, p.87.

<sup>125</sup> Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Saṅcārikaḷ Kaṅṅa Kēraḷam*, Kottayam, 2012, p.217.

<sup>126</sup> Philip Baldous, *A True and exact description of the most celebrated East India coasts of Malabar and Coramaṅḍal alfo to the life of Ceylon*, Vol.III, New Delhi, 2000, pp.621-22.

<sup>127</sup> R.C. Temple, ed., *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508*, (1963), New Delhi, 1997, p.163.

<sup>128</sup> Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar*, Vol.III, (1807), New Delhi, 1988, p.215.

<sup>129</sup> S.M.H. Nainar, ed., *Arab Geographers Knowledge of South India*, (1992), University of Madras, Madras, 2011, p.56

The black coloured soil and winter climate are suitable for cardamom cultivation. According to Buchanan approximately two or three *Kandi* cardamoms annually produced in Kadathanadu. Buchanan points out that a major part of the land in Kadathanadu was covered by paddy fields. Barbosa's travel accounts give a detailed analysis of agricultural products in North Malabar. Barbosa narrates on the ginger cultivation of north Malabar. Apart from it, he mentions cinnamon, turbot's cultivation etc.<sup>130</sup> According to Walter Hamilton, the valleys in Malabar contain rivulets that take away the superfluous water, but in some places, declination is not sufficient and in the rainy season the ground is much overflowed. The soil in these valleys is extremely fertile.<sup>131</sup> The plains below the low hills are mostly level and they are best fittled for the cultivation of rice. Ward and Conner say that the cultivation in Kadathanadu was largely dependent on periodical rains.<sup>132</sup> The Peringalam peak and Kunningattu peak in Kadathanadu were suitable for paddy cultivation. The low hills are cited into deep terraces for the cultivation of coconut and other plants. The term *Malabar* is firstly mentioned in Alberuni's work. The early settlements in North Malabar were developed in the valleys and fertile river tracts. Mahuan's travel accounts points that in addition to paddy millet was

---

<sup>130</sup> Mansel Longworth Dames, ed., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol.II, New Delhi, Reprint 1989, pp. 84-85.

<sup>131</sup> Walter Hamilton, *A Geographical Statistical and Historical description of Hindustan and the adjacent countries*, Vol. II, (1488), New Delhi, 1971, p. 293.

<sup>132</sup> Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoire of Malabar*, Trivandrum, Reprint 1995, p.70.

also cultivated in Malabar.<sup>133</sup> During the 15<sup>th</sup> century, sugarcane was also cultivated.

### **Agriculture in Northern Ballads**

The northern ballads mainly deal with the stories of heroes belong to Kadathanadu. There are ballads related to agricultural practices like *nārrupāṭṭu* and *Tēvupāṭṭu* which give information on the agricultural geography of the region. The ballads mention the paddy seeds used in the Kadathanadu region.<sup>134</sup> These ballads are called as *Nāṭṭipāṭṭu*, *Paṇipāṭṭu* and *Vittukiḷapāṭṭu* generally known as *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ* or Northern ballads. *Punam* cultivation songs in north Kerala is also called *Vittupāṭṭukaḷ*.<sup>135</sup>

Both Taccōḷi and Puttūram songs of Kadathanadu give a vivid picture of the agricultural practices that existed in the region. Puttūram songs mention the paddy fields and *Paṛambu* donated by Kōlattiri to the Puttūram family. It also refers the paddy and coconut cultivation in Kadathanadu.<sup>136</sup> Paddy is mentioned as an article of exchange in Northern ballads. Taccōḷi songs refer to the paddy fields and coconut gardens in Kadathanadu. The paddy fields are mentioned in the ballads as *Puñcappāṭam*. *Punnellincōru* (cooked rice of

---

<sup>133</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Madhyakāla Kēraḷam: Sampattu Samūham Samskāram*, Trivandrum, 1997, p.12.

<sup>134</sup> A. Anantha Marar, *Oṛrappetta Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, Vadakara, 2000, p. 11.

<sup>135</sup> M.V. Vishnu Nambuthiri, *Op. Cit.*, p.12.

<sup>136</sup> K.V. Achuthananadan, *Irupattinālu Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 1990, p.26.

newly harvested paddy) is the chief food mentioned in the ballads.<sup>137</sup> Plantain garden and areca nut garden are described in the songs. Taccōḷipāṭam and Puttūrampāṭam are mentioned in the ballads, which imply that paddy was the staple crop in the region.<sup>138</sup> But apart from it both garden cultivation and *Paṛambu* cultivation had also given importance. The expansion of the coconut garden over paddy fields is mentioned in these ballads.<sup>139</sup>

### **Agrarian life in *Granthavaris***

The *Granthavaris* indicate the expansion of *Paṛambu* cultivation in Kerala. The *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* discovered from the Lōkanārkāvu temple in Kadathanadu throw light on the socio-economic history of the region.<sup>140</sup> It mentions the property of the temple during the 16<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>141</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* contains 68 palm leaves. It is evident from the *Granthavari* that during the period apart from socio-cultural activities temple acted as a centre of the economic life of the people. Temple functioned as a bank in the medieval period. Cangarōttu Tāḷe Cakēri Kappalḷi Rāru Kuṛuppu granted five hundred measuring paddy fields in Cangarōttu Tāḷe to

---

<sup>137</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*, Sukapuram, 2003, p.31.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>139</sup> M.C. Appunni Nambiar, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, (1983), Vadakara, 1998, p.17

<sup>140</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Unpublished Manuscript, preserved at Thunchath Ezhuthachan Manuscript Repository, University of Calicut.

<sup>141</sup> K. C. Vijayaraghavan and K. M. Jayasree, *Lōkanārkāvu*, Lōkanārkāvu Devaswam, Vadakara, 2007, p.85.

*Kāvil Bhagavati* as *Janmam* right.<sup>142</sup> A few documents mention the donation of their land to the temple by the people who lived around the temple.<sup>143</sup> The people who donate their entire property to the deity as a gift are also found in the record. The temple receives property as fine as evidenced from the *Granthavari*.<sup>144</sup> It indicates the existence of a temple centred agrarian system in the region.

*Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* shows that the properties given to the temple are in the form of money and paddy fields. Chemmarattūr, Mēmuṇṭa, Māyannūr, Naṭakkutāle and Nālōm Vayal are paddy fields granted to the temple. Tiruvaḷḷūr and Patiyārakkara were chief places in Kadathanadu from where the people mainly granted lands to the temple. Apart from this the major Nāyar *Taravāṭus* of Kadathanadu gives paddy to Lōkanārkāvu temple during the time of offerings in *Vriścikam* (fourth Malayalam month of Kollam Era corresponding to November-December). The landlords also give their land to the temple during the *Tripputtari* festival in the Malayalam month *Cingam* (August-September). All castes and communities in Kadathanadu granted their land to the temple. Kaṇṭamalachēri Ekkarakkara Kuṟuppu granted paddy fields to the *Bhagavati* as offerings.<sup>145</sup> During this period people borrowed money

---

<sup>142</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Palm leaf No.1.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, Palm leaf No.5.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, Palm leaf No.2

<sup>145</sup> Interview with UnnikrishnanNāyar, on 03/05/2015.

from the temple. When they failed to repay the money in the stipulated period, they forfeited their land to the temple. The people paid in kind to the temple as interest accrued for the money they borrowed from the temple. In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Lōkanārkāvu temple became a centre of the socio, political and economic activities of people in Kadathanadu.<sup>146</sup> During this period the wealth of the temple reached its zenith.

The major donors of properties were the people who lived around the temple and mainly Brahmins. Apart from the economic centre, the temple was also a centre of judicial practices of Kadathanadu.<sup>147</sup> In Lōkanārkāvu *Satyaparīkṣa* (trial by ordeal) was conducted under the supervision of Kadathanadu Raja. The evidence of such activities is found in the *Granthavari*. The people who found guilty in *Satyaparīkṣa* handed over their paddy fields to the temple as fine.<sup>148</sup> Income of the temple from coconut and areca nut plantations is mentioned in the *Granthavari*.

Many place names and paddy fields are mentioned in *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, which still exist. Mēmuṇṭa, the place where the good quality of paddy cultivated, is mentioned. Challivayal is a water-covered region.<sup>149</sup> Māyannūr, Kurumbayil, and Mēppayil were places near Lōkanārkāvu. Many

---

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>147</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Palm leaf No.1.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, Palm leaf No.1.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, Palm leafNo.1.



paddy fields exist in the region. The Nāyar *Taravāṭus* mentioned in northern ballads like *Taccōḷi Māṇikkōttu* and *Kappaḷḷi Pālāṭṭu* is also mentioned in the *Granthavari*. These two Nāyar *Taravāṭus* are two major landlord families in Kadathanadu. They also donated land to the Lōkanārkāvu temple. The last palm leaf of the *Granthavari* mentions the practice of money lending in the temple.<sup>150</sup> People borrowed money from the temple authority on a fixed interest. The *Granthavari* gives details of the landed property owned by the temple from Aḷiyūr to Kuttiyadi. It indicates the expansion of a mixed economy in the region. Kadathanadu ruling family also borrowed money from the temple. The ruler of Kadathanadu Udayavarma Raja borrowed money from the temple.<sup>151</sup> He also gave his *janmam* property to the temple. The ownership of major part of land from Arakkuḷangara, Koṭṭiyāmpaḷḷi, Māṇiyūr, Oñciyam, Chēnnamangalam, Vaḷḷikkāṭu, Mēmuṇṭa, Mēppayil, Kuttiyadi, Chemmarattūr, Putuppaṇam, Nādāpuram, Āyanchēri, Eṭachēri and Kurikkilāṭu, were under the *janmam* rights of Lōkanārkāvu temple. Āyanchēri, Valliyāṭu, and Naṭakkutāḷe are the major centres of paddy cultivation in the region. There are references about Lōkanārkāvu *Swarūpam* in the *Granthavari*.

*Granthavaris* is considered an important source for analysing the agriculture and economy of Nāṭu. *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* is an unpublished

---

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, Palm leaf No. 67.

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, Palm leaf No. 35.

source for studying the economy of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries. *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* gives information about the paddy fields in the region. During this period temple acted both as a landlord and functioned as a bank. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, temples acted as a centre of economic power. The Brahmin dominated caste hierarchy system controlled and managed the temples and their properties. As a part of their beliefs and customs, the people granted their property to the temple.

### **Colonial intervention in the Agrarian system**

Joint Commissioner's report on Malabar describes the agricultural practices of Kadathanadu. The main agricultural products in the area are pepper, paddy, ginger and tapioca.<sup>152</sup> The report mentions a kind of paddy grown in the slopes of the Kadathanadan hills ranging from 800 to 2000MSL. The type of paddy was called *Munṭōn*. Coconut, jack, plantains, palm trees, mango trees and cashew nuts cultivated there. This report gives details of the agricultural system in the region during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

*Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters* also give information about pepper cultivation in the region.<sup>153</sup> Kadathanadu was famous for pepper cultivation. Good quality pepper was cultivated in the region. This was the main attraction

---

<sup>152</sup> J. Rejikumar, ed., *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar, 1792-1793*, Trivandrum, 2010, p.31.

<sup>153</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, Unpublished Manuscripts, Dept. of History, University of Calicut, No.58.

for Europeans in establishing their political authority in Kadathanadu. The *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters* mention the pepper trade between the English East India Company and Kadathanadu Raja. The western part of Kadathanadu was famous for high-quality pepper and cardamom cultivation. The British buy 100 Kandis of pepper annually from Kadathanadu Raja. Before the European arrival pepper, areca nut and cardamom from Kadathanadu were exported to China and Gulf countries. European intervention changes the agricultural system of the region. The brisk trade between Kadathanadu and European powers resulted in the expansion of spice cultivation in the region. During this period instead of paddy cultivation *Paṛambu* cultivation became prominent. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Kadathanadu imported rice for its daily use. The eastern parts of Kadathanadu were famous for good quality cardamom cultivation. During the colonial period, many lands of this area were cleared for the cultivation of rubber and cardamom. This period witnessed the development of the money economy in Kadathanadu.

### **Agrarian Settlement to Nāṭu**

Expansion of agriculture and the emergence of settlement unit leads to the emergence of Nāṭu in North Kerala. Population increase by natural growth and migration also results in the expansion of agriculture. More forest areas were cleared for cultivation. The region later came to be called Kadathanadu

also emerged in this context. Agricultural expansion results in the increase of trade and the consequent emergence of political authorities in the Nāṭus.

Kadathanadu was a small Nāṭu division that emerged after the disintegration of the Cēra power. There is no inscriptional reference on the existence of this Nāṭu during the Cēra period. Geographical features, climate etc. played an important role in the formation of the Nāṭu. The Western Ghats, the Arabian Sea and the two rivers flowing through the region helped in the evolution of the region as a separate entity. The megalithic remains discovered from Kadathanadu indicate the early human settlement in the region. Neolithic and Iron age remains were discovered from Kadathanadu. The remains of historical ages are mainly discovered from the high tabletop land of the region. The Iron age people cultivated land with the use of iron implements. The evidence for the cultivation is the grains found in the burial sites. They also practised slash and burn cultivation.

During the early historical period, Kadathanadu was part of Pūḷināṭu. The name indicates the sandy character of the soil in that region. In the early historical period, people practised agriculture. According to the geographical peculiarities, Tamiḷakam was divided into five micro eco zones or *Tiṇai*. The occupation of these *Tiṇai* was based on the physical features of the land. The *Kuṛiñci*, *Mullai*, *Marutam Neytal* and *Pālai* are these geographical divisions that existed in Tamiḷakam. The continuity of these micro ecozones is also

found at present. The place names start with *Kāṭu* indicates the *Mullai Tiṇai*. The place names indicating water bodies or water sources are called *Marutam* tracts. Such place names largely found in Kadathanadu. It signifies the historical continuity of the region.

Historians have argued that *Kāvus* or sacred groves are established in Kerala as part of the expansion of Buddhism and Jainism. *Kāvus* are worshipping centres covered with trees and plants. It was the continuation of local worshipping system. *Nāgas* (serpents) and *Yakṣis* (spirits) are worshipped in the centre. A large number of trees and plantations are grown in the region. Many groves are found in the area under study. *Yakṣis* and *Yakṣas* were worshipped in the *Kāvus* in the Kadathanadu. These deities also worshipped in the Buddhist and Jain tradition. Later these Buddhist and Jain worshipping centres were Brahmanised. Evidence proves that major *Kāvus* of the region was a part of Buddhist and Jain tradition and later it came under Brahmin control. It is argued by the scholars that the influence of Buddhist and Jain tradition is said to have found in the temples of *Lōkanārkāvu* and *Kaliyāmpaḷli*

As a result of migration Brahmins, Chettis, Thiyyas and Nayars came and settled in Kerala. This led to the growth of population and more forest land was converted to agricultural lands. Expansion in agriculture resulted in the emergence of settlements there. Brahmins are considered as more prominent among the immigrants. They cultivated the fertile river tracts which helped in

the emergence of Nāṭus in Kerala. Their superior knowledge in agricultural practices helped them in creating a Brahmin dominant society in Kerala. Both Brahmin and non-Brahmin agrarian settlements emerged in Kerala. *Ūr* and *Sabha* were Brahminical in character. There are many place names related to *Ūr* in Kadathanadu. Tiruvaḷḷūr and Chemmarattūr were an example of it. A kinship and clan-based production unit emerged there. Chempra (10<sup>th</sup> century AD) and Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscriptions (11<sup>th</sup> century AD) give information on the Brahmin agrarian settlements of the region. Eṭannūr and Kariyannūr Sabha mentioned in the inscriptions show the Brahmin influence of the region. The term *Tirumangalam* indicates the existence of Brahmin residential area in the region. The agrarian settlements in Kadathanadu emerged in the fertile river tracts of the Kuttiyadi river basin. From this river basin, the agrarian settlement unit expanded. Brahmin influence seems to be so meagre in the region. We have little evidence of their influence over these agrarian settlement units.

The main agricultural settlements in Kadathanadu are founded in the midland area. Paddy was the staple crop cultivated in the region. Vilyāppaḷḷi, Kaliyāmpaḷḷi, Chemmarattūr, Puttūr, Mēmuṇṭa, Āyanchēri and Kaṭamēri were the major agrarian tracts in Kadathanadu. During the medieval period, Brahmins acquired more property under their control. They established temples or *Sankētams* for controlling the property of the agrarian settlements. Lōkanārkāvu temple, Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple and Ponmēri Śīva temple were important temples of Kadathanadu. These temples acted as landlords

during the medieval period. The majority of the paddy lands were under the control of these temples in Kadathanadu. Inscriptions give information about the mixed crop cultivation of the region. The physical geography of the region was not suitable for the large cultivation of paddy. This led to the predominance of non-Brahmin settlement units in the region.

The expansion of agriculture resulted in the emergence of Nāṭus. *Nāṭuṭayavar* was in control of Nāṭu. During the Cēra period, the *Nāṭuṭayavar* accepted the suzerainty of Cēras. During the Cēra period, Kadathanadu did not emerge and it was a part of Kōlattunāṭu and Puṛakiḷārnāṭu. Kaliyāmpaḷli inscription mentions the title *Polaivar*. Sometimes he was the governor of *Polaināṭu* or *Puṛanāṭu*. After the disintegration of the Cēra state, these Nāṭus became independent. The term Nāṭu appears only in the epigraphic evidence from the eighth century AD.

An agrarian system or economy becomes manifest with the growth of Nāṭu. Except for Vēṇāṭu and Kōlattunāṭu, all other Nāṭus formed in the region between the hills and the coastal area. The Nāṭus developed in the midland area due to the location of temples and early trade centres. Later the political authority called *Swarūpams* emerged there. Tirunelli and Tiruvalla copper plates mention Puṛakiḷārnāṭu. The inscriptions that appeared in the southern part of Puṛakiḷārnāṭu like Chempra, Mēnapram, and Kaliyāmpaḷli shows the emergence of agrarian settlements around Kuttiyadi river basin. Kadathanadu was a separate agrarian region that formed in the later period with a large

coastal area. Muslims were the major population in the coastal region, who intermingled with the midland local caste groups based on Varna ideology by the growth of Brahmanism and temple *Bhakti* traditions. As a result of the emergence of an agrarian society and its manifest referred to as Nāṭu different group settled in the Nāṭus. The cultivators, labourers, and craftsmen absorbed into the emerging order of the Nāṭu.

The development of trade and exchange in the Nāṭus resulted in the emergence of trading centres in the region. Scholars argued that wetland paddy cultivation was the result of Brahmin migration. But in the case of Kadathanadu where the Brahmin population is less in the number indicates the introduction of collective kin-based labour of the *kuṭis* in such tracts. The emergence of agriculture contributed to the development of midland in the region. The Nāṭu formation was related to the emergence of agricultural practices. *Ūr* and *kuṭi* were the terms related to agricultural settlements. Paddy cultivation was major production in the midland of Kadathanadu whereas coconut cultivated in the coastal areas of the region. Apart from paddy cultivation *Paṛambu* cultivation was also done in the region. The evidence from *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* indicates the donation of paddy fields to the temple. The Kaliyāmpaḷḷi and Chempra inscriptions mention the *Paṛambu* cultivation. It mentions the *Paṛambu* products like areca nut, jackfruit and coconut.

In the case of Kadathanadu, the formation of Nāṭu was more complex. Agricultural settlements like *Ūr* and *kuṭi* existed in the region. But the absence of Brahmin domination led to kin-based labour of the *kuṭis* in such tracts. It is



evident that in the growth of Nāṭus in North Malabar the Brahmana *Grāmas* did not act as the nodal centres. The early settlements of this region are developed in the fertile tracts of the Kuttiyadi river and Mayyazhi river. The fertile tracts in the region were controlled by Pōrlātiri. The expansion of agriculture led to the emergence of trade and urbanisation in the region, which is taken up in the next chapter.

## Chapter 2

### **Urbanising Nāṭu: A Study of Trade Networks and Markets**

Urbanisation is considered a major factor behind the development of a society. Agricultural growth and surplus production resulted in the development of trade and the emergence of urban centres. The socio-economic forms generate Urban growth in India.<sup>1</sup> Harappan civilization was considered the first stage of Urban development in India.<sup>2</sup> Both internal and external trade existed in the Indus civilization. The second phase of Urbanization emerged in South India in its end phases. Geographical features, climatic conditions and surplus agricultural production of a region led to the emergence of Urban centres. Regional components played an important role in the Urbanisation process. The development of an Urban centre largely depends upon the locally available materials and the nature of resources.

Malabar coast has been acknowledged as one of the major centres of Indian Ocean trade during the medieval period.<sup>3</sup> Every Nāṭu had trade networks that help them to increase revenue. The development of trade resulted in the socio-cultural and economic development of the Nāṭu. This chapter is an

---

<sup>1</sup> R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade Ideology and Urbanisation*, New Delhi, 1996, p.16.

<sup>2</sup> Dilip K. Chakrabarthy, *The External trade of the Indus Civilization*, New Delhi, 1990, p.13.

<sup>3</sup> Champalakshmi, *Op. Cit.*, p. 17.

attempt to analyse the Urbanisation process in Kadathanadu. The major components that helped in the development of trade and Urbanisation in Kadathanadu and the role of a political system in it are the major problems analysed in the present chapter.

The geographical feature of Kadathanadu was an important factor in deciding urbanisation. As earlier mentioned, coastal area, midland and hilly region are three major geographical divisions of Kadathanadu. Historians argued that the name Kadathanadu was also related to trade. Kadathanadu otherwise called *Kaṭattuvāynāṭu*. The eastern boundary of Kadathanadu is a hilly region, which was a part of Western Ghats. The spices and other goods grown in the Wayanadan hills reached the coastal town by passing through Kadathanadu, for this reason, the place name is derived. It is argued that the name *Kaṭattuvalināṭu* later changed to Kadathanadu. In Malayalam, the word *Kaṭattu* means goods or commodities. The place or Nāṭu where the commodity passed through is called Kadathanadu.<sup>4</sup> The socio-political development of Kadathanadu largely depended upon trade. Kadathanadu had an important role in the trading activities of north Malabar.<sup>5</sup> Important trading centres of north Malabar situated in Kadathanadu.<sup>6</sup> Place names and trading centres in

---

<sup>4</sup> Raghavan Payyanad, ed., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut University, 2001, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p.16.

<sup>6</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *State formation in Kerala: A critical overview*, Bangalore, 2010, p.28.

Kadathanadu indicate the development of trade in the region. The medieval literature and northern ballads mention urban centres and markets in the region. Ancient period onwards north Malabar had trade relation with the Romans.<sup>7</sup> During the medieval period, Kadathanadu had trade relations with Arabia and China. Pepper and cardamom were the major products exported from the region. Expansion of trade resulted in the emergence of urban centres in Kadathanadu. The urbanisation process was started in the 14<sup>th</sup> century. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century trade and urbanization flourished in the region. The trade contact between Kadathanadu and European powers were the major factors behind the economic development of the region.

Three kinds of trade existed in the case of Kadathanadu such as local trade, long-distance trade and overseas trade. The rivers, streams and canals played an important role in the movement of goods and people from one place to another. These waterways helped in the process of urbanisation.

### **Local trade**

*Cantas*, *Angāṭis* and *Kaṭavu* (ferry) were the main centres of local trade. These components had a vital role in the development of Urbanisation in Kadathanadu. The agricultural surplus produced in the region reached the local market. From there the commodities reached the major marketing centres.

---

<sup>7</sup> Shamsulla Ghadiri, *Pracheena Malabar*, Other Books, Kozhikode, 2012, p.23

Four types of trading centres existed in Kadathanadu. Rural exchange nodes, periodic fairs frequented by itinerated and specialised traders, interior markets and small-scale bazaars, entering into a wider region and big emporia of foreign trade.<sup>8</sup> The main centres of every Nāṭu had situated in a place where the parts of the production were easily collected.

The Kōṭṭa and Mayyazhi river facilitated the development of trade in the region. These rivers and their tributaries helped very much for the easy movement of commodities, within the territories.<sup>9</sup> The hilly region of Kadathanadu was famous for spice cultivation. The goods from hilly regions of Kadathanadu reached the main trading centres through these rivers.

*Cantas*, *Angāṭis* and ferry were the nodal points of trade in Kadathanadu. *Canta* is a weekly market or fair.<sup>10</sup> It was a centre of local trade. People purchase and sell commodities from there. It was also a centre of exchange and communication. From there the commodities reached the *Angāṭis* and port towns. *Canta* also started as a part of festivals and other celebrations.<sup>11</sup> The people buy and sell locally available products in the *canta*. Barter system existed in the *cantas*. Early Tamil literature mention about various types of

---

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p.29.

<sup>9</sup> *Edacheri Grāmapanchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Vol. 2, Edacheri, 1997, p.3.

<sup>10</sup> Herman Gundert, *Malayalam - English Dictionary*, (1872), Kottayam, 2013. p.342.

<sup>11</sup> Interview with T.K. Sudheesh, Head master, Kadathanadu H.S.S. on 20.05.2017.

*cantas* and different type of goods sold in the *cantas*.<sup>12</sup> *Cantas* were of two types, namely, *Nāṅgāṭi* (morning and evening market) and *Anti canta*. Sometimes a flag hoisted in these *cantas*, which were the nodal centres of the local exchange system. Goods exchange and price bargain were the main features of these *cantas*. The goods exchanged in *canta* or *Angāṭi* were mainly the daily essentials. Grains, vegetables, fish, salt and banana were the major items sold in the market. It shows the temporary nature of the *cantas*. Tuesday fair at Vadakara and Friday fair at Kōṭṭappaḷi are important weekly fairs of Kadathanadu. The people from distant regions reached there for buying and selling their commodities.

Pulses, spices like cardamom, pepper and turmeric were the major goods sold in the *Angāṭi*. Pepper and cardamom exported to a foreign country for trade. Arab travellers describe the pepper growing regions of Malabar. *Śukasandēśakāvya* mentions the pepper growing coconut trees of Malabar. *Kōkila Sandēśa* describes the areca nut growing gardens of Puṛakiḷānāṭu. It also discusses the cardamom plantation of the region.<sup>13</sup>

The Tuesday fair, a weekly fair at Vadakara was an important fair in Kadathanadu. All types of commodities are sold in the fair. People from interior regions of Kadathanadu reached the Tuesday fair for buying and selling the

---

<sup>12</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Charitram*, Sukapuram, 1991, p.231.

<sup>13</sup> N.P. Unni, ed., *Kōkilasandēśa of Uddaṇḍa*, Trivandrum, 1972, pp.37-38.

products. A higgler type of trade existed there.<sup>14</sup> The daily using products like rice, sugar, salt, red chilli, pepper, cardamom, ginger, coconut etc., are the main commodities sold in *canta*. *Maṇipravāḷam* works like *Uṇṇunīli Sandēśam*, *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam*, *Candrōlsavam* etc., give detailed descriptions of the medieval trading centres.<sup>15</sup> *Uṇṇunīli Sandēśam* gives a description of the *Angāṭis* or *Cantas* in medieval Kerala particularly on a daily market situated in Tiruvalla.<sup>16</sup> This daily market opened up to midday. Tuesday fair conducted in the Vadakara Paḷayangāṭi region. Kadathanadu ruling family began this for providing commodities of daily use to the people. It was famous for selling Herbal products. Medicinal plants and herbs from other region reached the *canta* for trade. Aloe Vera, Turmeric, Neem, *Kayyōnni* (*Eclipta Prostrata*), *Kīlārmelli* (*Phyllanthus Niruri*), *Amukkuram* (*Withania Somnifera*), gooseberry (*Nellikka*), nutmeg (*Jātikka*), cinnamon, and cloves are the chief herbs sold in the markets.<sup>17</sup> All imported goods found their way to Tuesday market and from there to the distant areas of Kadathanadu. This *canta* had an important role in the trading activities of Kadathanadu.

---

<sup>14</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷīyata: Charitra Mānangal*, Sukapuram, 1990, pp.18-19.

<sup>15</sup> ElamkulamKunjanpillai, ed., *Uṇṇunīli Sandēśam*, (1959), Kottayam, 2016, p.88.

<sup>16</sup> “*Chūḷum vaykkum periya vibhavam nōkkināḷuccayōḷam, Kōḷikkōṭum punaratineṭō Kollavum tulyamalla*” (*This song describes about the daily markets situated in different parts of Kerala*). Elamkulam Kunjanpillai, ed., *Uṇṇunīli Sandēśam*, p.89.

<sup>17</sup> *Vadakara Merchant Association Golden JubileeSouvenir*, Vadakara, 2009, pp.97-99.

Saturday fair at Naṭuvaṅṅūr in Kadathanadu was also famous. Agricultural products, grains, coconut oil, utensils, coir products, cattle herds, clay pottery were the main attraction of the market.<sup>18</sup> People from Vilyāppalli, Taṅṅīrpantal, Kuṭṭōttu reached at the Saturday fair at Naṭuvaṅṅūr.<sup>19</sup> Apart from the weekly fair, monthly fair and fair related to temple festivals are also the nodal points of the trade.

Kadathanadu was a centre of cultural forms. Many temples and groves are seen in the region. During the period of temple festivals, *cantas* were conducted. Ōrkkāṭṭēri *canta*, Kallēri *canta* and Kuttiyadi *canta* are famous in Kadathanadu. Kallēri *canta* started as part of temple festival of Kallēri Kuṭṭiccāttan temple.<sup>20</sup> Kallēri situated in Āyanchēri Panchayat, in Vadakara Vilyāppalli route, eight kilometres away from Vadakara, border by Kallērikunnu to the west and Arūr mala to the east. Kallēri *canta* began as a part of *Tira* festival of Kallēri Kuṭṭiccāttan temple. The temple festival starts in December. It lasts for a week. During the period merchants settled in and around Kallēri temple. The main attraction of the festival was the use of toddy, which was offered to the deity.<sup>21</sup> Products of daily use like oil, maize, glass ware and pottery are the main products sold in the *canta*. The temple and the

---

<sup>18</sup> N.M. Nambudiri and P.K. Sivadas, ed., *Kēraḷa Charitrattile Nāṭṭuvaḷikal*, Kottayam, 2011, p.15.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Interview with Raghavan on 2.12.17.

<sup>21</sup> *Kallēri Kuṭṭichāttan Temple Souvenir*, Vadakara, 2002, p.5.



related festival began around the 15th century. All castes and communities participated in the festival. Tiyyas had their role in the festival. Pulayan, Paṛayan and Maṇṇān also participated in the temple festival.

Ōrkkāṭṭēri *canta* started as a part of the festival of two temples in Ōrkkāṭṭēri. Ōrkkāṭṭēri Śiva Pārvati temple situated five kilometres from Vadakara, at Ērāmala Panchayat.<sup>22</sup> The temple festival is also called as Tālappoli festival. The idol of the temple is Koṭṭiyūrappan and Koṭungallūramma.<sup>23</sup> Ōrkkāṭṭēri cattle fair (*Kannukālicanta*) is a famous fair in north Malabar. Ōrkkāṭṭēri cattle fair starts from 12<sup>th</sup> *Makaram* (January-February) and lasts for four days. The temple situated in a Chāliya *teruvu* (street of Chāliyas). People belonging to all castes and communities participate in the fair. The fair started with the *Cōppankottu* function. During the day a large number of *Kōmarams* (godmen) will be present in the temple. Simultaneous with the temple festival, Ōrkkāṭṭēri *canta* also starts with cattle fair, which lasted for four days.<sup>24</sup> Indigenous and imported cattle were brought for this fair. The cattle fair was controlled by the brokers who fix the price of the cattle. Cow and ox were the main cattle sold in the fair.<sup>25</sup> People from different regions reached to Kadathanadu for buying the cattle. When the cattle fair ends, *canta*

---

<sup>22</sup> Ērāmala Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ, 2000, p.10.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>24</sup> Ōrkkāṭṭēri Śiva Bagavati temple Souvenir, 2010, p.13.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p.14.

for various commodities would be started. This fair extends up to two weeks.<sup>26</sup> This *canta* is the best example of *Anti canta* or evening fair. *Ōrkkāṭṭēri canta* is organised in the trade route between Nādāpuram to Vadakara.

*Cantas* were situated at the nearby place of a trade route. The main commodities sold in the *cantas* are local productions. Paddy, dry fruits, herbs, jaggery, iron implements, coir products, spices, dried coconut and sweets were the main commodities sold in *Ōrkkāṭṭēri canta*.<sup>27</sup> The main attraction of the fair was different varieties of iron implements like a knife, sickle, and other kinds of weapons. Kadathanadu was a rich iron ore producing region.<sup>28</sup> Blacksmiths traditionally smelt the iron ore, made iron weapons and sold it in the local market. *Ōrkkāṭṭēri canta* was a confluence point of different castes and communities in Kadathanadu. The Vāṇiyan, Kollan, Chāliyar, Taṭṭān, Pulayan and Tiyyan have their own role in the fair.<sup>29</sup> Chāliyas settled in the temple compound. They had an important role in the temple festival. It is believed that they came from Kodungallur and later settled there.

Cardamom cultivated in Kadathanadu was renowned in foreign countries. Buchanan mentions hilly regions of cardamom growing at

---

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Kannan Kuruppu on 05.04.2017.

<sup>27</sup> Interview with Divakaran, temple president, 20.02.2017.

<sup>28</sup> Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Trivandrum, 1995, p. 70.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Divakaran, 20.02.17.

Kadathanadu.<sup>30</sup> Cardamom and pepper of Kadathanadu were sold at the fair. Kōṭṭappalli *canta* started in the place called Kōṭṭappalli. Kōṭṭappalli *canta* was a famous fair in Kadathanadu, which is a weekly fair. All types of seeds were sold in the *canta*. Varieties of rice seeds like *Cōlan*, *Muṇṭōn*, *Tavaḷakkaṇṇan* and *Cirreṇi* were sold in the market. Varieties of vegetable seeds are also sold in the *canta*. Herbal products are the main commodities sold in the market. These *cantas* are also situated in between the trade routes.

Kuttiyadi *canta* was another important fair at Kadathanadu. Kuttiyadi is the eastern boundary region of Kadathanadu, in the foothills of Western Ghats.<sup>31</sup> Spices from Wayanad reached the *canta* and from there the spices reached the coastal town for exports.<sup>32</sup> Bullock cart was the main mode of transportation of goods. *Mañcu* and *Kāvaṭi* are also used for the conveyance of goods from one place to another. Goods from Toṭṭilpālam, Marutōmkara and Pātiraparra reached at Kuttiyadi for trade. Kuttiyadi was the main region of coconut cultivation. From Kuttiyadi coconut reached the marketplaces of Kadathanadu for trading purpose.<sup>33</sup> Kuttiyadi was also a centre of the timber trade. Akil, sandal, and teak were the plants seen in the forest regions of Kadathanadu. The timbers from the hills of Wayanad reached the Kuttiyadi

---

<sup>30</sup> Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar*, Vol. III, New Delhi, Reprint 1988, p. 345.

<sup>31</sup> Field visit on 08.04.17.

<sup>32</sup> Interview with Gokulanmaster on 02.04.17.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Urath Nanu, a coconut cultivator of Kuttiyadi on 27.08.17.

river basin for trade.<sup>34</sup> From there through the Kuttiyadi river these timbers reached the mouth of the Kōṭṭa river, which was a major place of timber trade in Kadathanadu. The eastern boundary of Kadathanadu was famous for spice cultivation. Spices like Cardamom, pepper, ginger, rubber and coffee reached the major trading centres for long-distance trade. During the early period, a kind of barter system existed in Kadathanadu.

*Angāṭis* were another category of local trade. Place names with a suffix of *Angāṭi* give information about the presence of local trade.<sup>35</sup> Every Nāṭu had *Angāṭis* and *cantas*, which connected the people and helps the movement of goods from one place to another. Geographically *Angāṭis* situated in the trading routes. The *Maṇipravāḷa* work mentions the *Angāṭis* in North Malabar.<sup>36</sup> *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam* provides information about the nature of *Angāṭis*, different types of commodities sold in the *Angāṭis* and the communication between the people, who came to these *Angāṭis*.<sup>37</sup> *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam* describes a trading centre in Puṛakiḷārnāṭu which was called as Tirumarutūr.<sup>38</sup> Historians identified Tirumarutūr as a place near Kuttiyadi. The

---

<sup>34</sup> P.J. Cherian, ed., *The William Logan's Malabar*, Trivandrum, 2000, p. cccxii.

<sup>35</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Locality and Culture in Kerala History: The case of Tirurangadi*, University of Calicut, 2010, p.92.

<sup>36</sup> N. Gopinathan Nair, *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam*, Kottayam, 2016, p.75.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 77.

place is called Marutūrkkara or Marutōmkara, which is at present a part of Vadakara taluk.

In 18<sup>th</sup> century this place was under the control of Kadathanadu Raja. Marutūrkkara was an important urban centre during the medieval period. This place situated in the trade routes of Wayanad.<sup>39</sup> Remains of a temple discovered from this region support the argument. *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam* mentions the socio-political condition of north Malabar including Kōlattunāṭu and Puṛakiḷārnāṭu during the medieval period.<sup>40</sup> The work mentions the exchange process of the region. The woollen cloth was exchanged with *Cukku* (dried ginger), *Taḷutāma* (hogweed) exchanged with jaggery (*śarkkara*).<sup>41</sup> This indicates that during the period a kind of barter system existed there. Apart from this, it refers to gold coins and *Accu* coins.

Description of *Angāṭi* is found in the *Maṇipravāḷa* works.<sup>42</sup> Place names indicate the existence of trade in Kadathanadu. Nādāpuram is a village in

---

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Radhakrishnan Master on 19.05.17.

<sup>40</sup> N Gopinathan Nair, ed., *Uṇṇiyacci Charitam*, Kottayam, 2016.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.77.

<sup>42</sup> “*Vāṇiyamaḷakitu Vinniyavīṛrava*  
*Kōnniyavaikkavariyōnellō*  
*Piccaḷa nāṭinu pōkacarakki*  
*Veccatuvalla nammakkiyōnnam*  
*Poccatupuñcatiyumvallēnntān*  
*Triccariswarumā . . . rran*  
*Paccayatunnallacuḷaltarala ...*  
*... vaṭiyumillēlayu monṛarare-*  
*Yaccu peṛūṇre taccuñcollām*  
*Paṛeccappaṭaviva piṛecca ...*  
*... ḷarūya ninneccāl*

Vadakara taluk, which is in between Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam* and Puṇamēri *Kōvilakam*.<sup>43</sup> Nādāpuram situated in the North-eastern part of Kadathanadu, in the trade route between Vadakara-Kuttiyadi. Trade route from Kuttiyadi to Thalasseri also passes through Nādāpuram *Angāṭi*. The majority of the population of this region are Muslims. The main occupation of Muslims was trading. Coconut, pepper and chilly were the main commodities sold in the *Angāṭi*.<sup>44</sup> Coconut and pepper cultivated in the hilly region of Kadathanadu reached Nādāpuram *Angāṭi*.

Commodities from Kakkāṭṭil, Kaivēli, Vāṇimēl, Kumbaḷachōla, Vilangāṭu and Naripparra, also transported to Nādāpuram *Angāṭi* for trade. Dried coconut oil produced in Nādāpuram had high demand in Kadathanadu. The patronage of Kadathanadu Raja gave a fillip to the development of Nādāpuram as a trading outpost. In the early period from Nādāpuram to Vadakara, the commodities reached through bullock cart and river

---

*Paññaccēṛakkāṇma tarikkarivēr  
Kampīṭitarikakarumpaṭavumko!  
KampīṭiyorennuputunāpiEṛaṇṇātu  
Cempūnirattineyatatupōrum*

... ..

*Puṛattorupalamēvilkkutēra  
Ccarkkarataruvēntakkari tarukil*

*Pulkkaramūlamamukkiravumko!*”. N. Gopinathan Nair, *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam*, p. 98.

<sup>43</sup> William Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1877, p.386.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Muhammad Haji, Merchant of Nādāpuram Market, on 12.06.2017.

transportation.<sup>45</sup> Kallācci was another important trading centre in Kadathanadu.<sup>46</sup> Agricultural products are the main attraction of the *Angāṭi*. Iron implements were also found in the *Angāṭi*. Kallācci also situated in the trade route between Thalasseri to Kuttiyadi.

Pārakkaṭavu, a place situated on the banks of the Pārakkaṭavu river, which is a tributary of Mayyazhi river, was another important *Angāṭi* of Kadathanadu. Pārakkaṭavu *Angāṭi* situates in the trading route from Wayanad to Thalasseri.<sup>47</sup> Coconut, areca nut and pepper were the main products sold in the market. Mappilas and Chetṭis are the important trading groups in the region. At Chekkiyāṭu, a trading centre situated on the banks of the Peringattūr river remains of an old market are discovered.<sup>48</sup> This trading outpost situated on the trading route between Thalasseri to Wayanad. This town was famous for the dried coconut (*copra*) market. Export and import of the commodities were done through boat and bullock cart. *Angāṭis* were found in Kaṭamēri, Vilyāppallī and Puṛamēri. The remains of an old trading settlement were discovered from Putiyangāṭi, a nearby place of Eṭachēri. Goods from Mayyazhi

---

<sup>45</sup> Interview with Muhammad Haji, Merchant of Nādāpuram Market, on 12.06.2017.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with K. Kelappan, Peasant, on 05.07.2017.

<sup>47</sup> *Grama Panchayat Vikasana Report*, Vol. 126, Kozhikode district, p.7.

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

and Koyilandi reached Putiyangāṭi for trade.<sup>49</sup> As a result of the Mysorean invasion, many *Angāṭis* declined. Later a few *Angāṭis* reemerged here.

Vāṇimēl was also an urban centre situated in between the trade routes from Kuttiyadi to Wayanad. It is believed that it was a trading destination of *Vaṇikkukal* (merchants) that came from distant areas.<sup>50</sup> The place-name is derived from it. This place is situated on the banks of the Vāṇimēl river, which is the tributary of the Mayyazhi river. *Punam* cultivation existed in the region. Agricultural products like paddy, vegetables and fruits are the main commodities sold in the markets. A flag was hoisted in the trading centres of Vāṇimēl. The flag acted as a signal for the tribal people who came to the markets for selling their products.<sup>51</sup> The practice of hoisting flag indicates the instability of the trading centre. The eastern hilly region of Kadathanadu was a part of Western Ghats. This area is covered with thick forests. Tribes are the majority of the population of this area.<sup>52</sup> Among the tribes, Kurichyas and Paṇiyas are the major groups. A trading route joins the hilly regions of Vāṇimēl, Naripparra, Vaḷayam and Vilangāṭu began from Vadakara and reached Wayanad. The neighbouring place related to Vāṇimēl was Veḷḷiyōṭu.<sup>53</sup>

---

<sup>49</sup> *Edacheri Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Edacheri Panchayat, 2012, p.6.

<sup>50</sup> *Grama Panchayat Vikasana report*, Kunnummal Block, Vol.127, Kozhikode, p.143.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>52</sup> *Nādāpuram Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, 2014, p.16.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with K. Kelappan, on 05.07.2017.



Rāvāris were a merchant group settled at Veliyode. They are a subdivision of the Nāyar caste. Arabs and Christians came to Veliyode as part of their trade in the earlier period. Christians migrated from Travancore settled in the hilly regions of Kadathanadu. They cultivated rubber and coffee in the hilly areas.<sup>54</sup> The Arabs brought pepper and areca nut from the merchants in return for gold and silver. Kurichyas sold their spices in Veliyode *Angāṭi*, forest products and other resources from this region reached the trading out posts of Kadathanadu. The agricultural products from hilly regions reached the *Angāṭis* of Ōrkkāṭṭēri, Mūyannūr and Putiyangāṭi.

Tāḷe Angāṭi, situated in the Vadakara region was an important *Angāṭi* during the medieval period.<sup>55</sup> Copra (dried coconut) and areca nut were the main products sold in the market. Muslims were the major merchants of Vadakara. Huge ware houses (*Pāṅṭikaśālas*) were established for the preservation of coconuts. During the Portuguese period, they established warehouses for the collection and storage of coconuts.<sup>56</sup> From interior parts of Kadathanadu coconut were brought to Tāḷe Angāṭi. These coconuts were dried there and exported to other foreign countries. The dried coconuts were also used for extracting oil. Coconut oil was used for cooking and other purposes. The

---

<sup>54</sup> C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteers*, Vol. I and II, Trivandrum, 1997, p.4.

<sup>55</sup> *Merchant Association Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, p. 98.

<sup>56</sup> M.P. Mujeebu Rehimani, *The Locale Speaks: Papers in Local History*, Kozhikode, 2002, p.42.

waste of the dried coconuts after extracting oil was used for making coconut cake (*Tēnga Piṅṅākkū*). It was used as a food item for cow and ox. Sugar, salt and jaggery were the important products imported to Kadathanadu.<sup>57</sup> Approximately two lakhs of dried coconut reached daily at the ware houses of Tāle Angāṭi for export. For preserving salt godowns were constructed there. Coconut and paddy are the main crops cultivated in Kadathanadu. Mahuan in his travel accounts describes the coconut cultivation of the east coast.<sup>58</sup> The coastal region of Kadathanadu was suitable for coconut cultivation. The sandy soil seen in the coastal areas is suitable for coconut farming. Apart from its geographical peculiarities, Kadathanadu was suitable for garden cultivation. Paddy is mainly cultivated on the hill slopes. Absence of a large fertile river tract caused by a limited area of paddy cultivation. Francis Buchanan gives details about the rice cultivation of Kadathanadu.<sup>59</sup> But it was insufficient, so they imported rice from Mangalore. Kadathanadu royal family always encouraged trade. A major part of the income of Kadathanadu came from trade and tolls.

Peruvaṭṭamtāle was an important trading market centre of copra in Kadathanadu. Peruvaṭṭamtāle located in Vadaḱara Āyanchēri route.<sup>60</sup> Twenty-

---

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p.43.

<sup>58</sup> C.K. Kareem, *Francis Buchanan in Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1996, p.172.

<sup>59</sup> Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries for Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, New Delhi, Reprint 1988, p. 348.

<sup>60</sup> Interview with Chathu Master, on 08.06.2018.

two huge warehouses were constructed for the copra trade. Merchants from Kuttiyadi and Marutōmkara region reached Peruvaṭṭamtāle for coconut trade. Bullock carts and *cangātams* are used for the transportation of goods from one region to other.

An important feature of the area was that there flowed several rivers and small water outlets and streams. The rivers and streams played a vital role in the movement of certain commodities or articles. The products from inland regions were carried over to coastal areas through such rivers and small water outlets.<sup>61</sup> The formation of Nut Street in Vadakara was the result of such a process. Nut Street or Aṭakkāteruvu in Kadathanadu was famous for the Arecanut trade.<sup>62</sup> Arecanut produced in the inland regions of Kadathanadu reached the Nut street through the Kuttiyadi river. Tons of areca nut reached there for exporting to foreign countries. A large number of godowns was constructed at Nut Street for the consumption and preservation of areca nut. Arecanut was exported to China from Nut Street. In the map given below the important *Angāṭis* of Kadathanadu is shown.<sup>63</sup> Coconut, areca nut and timber are the major commodities used for international trade. The major articles used chiefly for consumption are listed below.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Chathu Master on 08.06.18.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with C. Kannan, Arecanut Merchant in Nut Street, on 4.9.2017.

<sup>63</sup> See below Map 3, which shows the important trading centres of Kadathanadu.

<sup>64</sup> Interview with Mathu Amma, on 16.7.17.

**Table 4****Major articles of consumption in Kadathanadu**

Commodities	Raw Materials
Coconut Oil	Dried Coconut
Coconut cake	Dried coconut
Copra (dried coconut)	Coconut
<i>Ōla</i> or leaf of a coconut tree	Coconut tree
Betel leaf	Betel wines
Tobacco	Tobacco plant
Cardamom	Cardamom plant
Gingelly	Gingelly plant
Plantain	Plantain tree
Lady's finger	Lady's finger plant
Green gram	Green gram plant
Cucumber	Cucumber wines
Elephant yam	Elephant yam plant
Melon	Melon wines
Jaggery	Sugarcane
Curd	Milk
Plate ( <i>Kiṇṇam</i> )	Copper
Stoup ( <i>Kiṇṭi</i> )	Bronze
Lime ( <i>Nūru</i> )	Limestone
Coir copes	Coir
<i>Urūi</i>	Bronze
Basket	Bamboo
Knife	Iron
Dagger	Iron
Cloth	Cotton
Umbrella	Palm leaves
Mats ( <i>Kaitōlappāya</i> )	Pandanus

These are the main commodities used by the people of Kadathanadu. From the settlement register, it is clear that a garden land was larger than paddy fields.<sup>65</sup> The geographical peculiarities of the region facilitated the growth of garden lands. The garden crops like coconut, areca nut, and pepper were the main crops cultivated in Kadathanadu. The cultivation of these crops helped in the development of a market economy in Kadathanadu. The major parts of income came from trade. We cannot see a deliberate involvement of the political authority to increase or curtail production.<sup>66</sup> Paddy was cultivated for home consumption. The family chiefs and *Nāṭuvālis* involved considerably in the production of paddy.

Rivers and water outlets of Kadathanadu had a major role in the development of trade. Two major rivers and their tributaries and small water outlets helped in the development of trade and the movement of commodities. Important water resources which facilitated trade in Kadathanadu are listed below.<sup>67</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Settlement records of Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk, Bundle No. 2.

<sup>66</sup> K. Sreejith, 'Socio-economic conditions of Medieval northern Malabar with special emphasis on local trade' in M.P. Mujeeb Rehman, ed., *The local speaks: Papers in Local History*, Perambra, 2009, p. 41.

<sup>67</sup> *Watershed Atlas*, Part II, Kerala State (micro-watersheds), 1996.

**Table 5**  
**Important Water Sources and their Location**

Water sources	Location
Kuttiyadi River	Wayanadan Hills – Arabian sea
Kaṭiyangāṭu Puḷa	Kaṭiyangāṭu
Vaṇṇāttipuḷa	Valiyad
Onnipuḷa	Kuningad
Kappuḷathōṭu	Kappuḷa
Karimpanathōṭu	Karimbanapālam
Mayyazhipuḷa	Wayanadan Hills – Arabian sea
Vāṇimēl Puḷa	Vāṇimēl
Moṇṭal Puḷa	Moṇṭal
Cheerpputhōṭu	Ōrkkāṭṭēri
Kaliyāmpaḷlipuḷa	Kaliyāmpaḷli
Kaliyāmpaḷliṭhōṭu	Kaliyāmpaḷli

*Kaṭavus* or ferries have more historical significance in the exchange process as a space for its development.<sup>68</sup> It was a centre of local trade. Ferry simply means a commercial service with terminals and boats for transporting persons, automobiles, across a river or other comparatively small body of water.<sup>69</sup> The development of trade in every Nāṭus depends upon the *Angāṭi*, ferries and *cantas*. The imported goods from the coastal regions move along the river and land route. In the riverside, *Kaṭavu* existed and it was adjacent to

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Muhammed Haji, 9.4.2016.

<sup>69</sup> Hermann Gundert, *Malayalam-English Dictionary*, (1872), Kottayam, 2013, p.203.

market places.<sup>70</sup> The local producers and craftsmen bringing their produce and exchanging them with the wares brought to the *Kaṭavu* through boats. Commodities from the market centres reached *Kaṭavu* for transportation. The following is a list of *Kaṭavus* in Kadathanadu, which functioned as an exchange centre.<sup>71</sup>

**Table 6**  
**Ferries in Kadathanadu**

Kaṭavu/Ferries	Location in the River	Market centre
Mūrāṭu Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Putuppaṇam
Monthal Kaṭavu	Mayyazhi River	Peringattūr
Pārakkaṭavu	Mayyazhi River	Pārakkaṭavu, Iringaṇṇūr
Chekkikaṭavu	Mayyazhi River	Chekiyad
KanayankodeKaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Kanayankode
NīrāṭṭukuliKaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Nil
Chirrani Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Nil
Kuniyot Kaṭavu	Kaṭiyangāṭu river	Kaṭiyangāṭu
Kariprat Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Karipram
Pulipapuḷa Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Nil
Perinchēri Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Perinchēri
Maniyan Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Nil
Pulakaṇṭi Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Nil
Iṭiṇṇa Kaṭavu	Kuttiyadi River	Nil
Kākkāṭavu	Mayyazhi River	Peringattūr

Goods from Toṭṭilpālam, Vaḷayam and Vāṇimēl regions reached at the coastal towns of Mayyazhi and Chombal through these *Kaṭavus*. Imported goods also reached the interior parts of Kadathanadu through these *Kaṭavus*.

<sup>70</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p.94.

<sup>71</sup> Field work conducted on 17.7.2015.

Putupattanam, Pārakkatavu and Peringattūr are important market centres existed in Kadathanadu even at present.<sup>72</sup> Some of the *Kaṭavus* along with the exchange centres nearby are not operational even today. *Kaṭavus* in Kadathanadu were also used for transporting coconut, areca nut, coconut fibre, etc. *Kaṭavus* were also used for carrying hay, betel, ginger, rice, vegetables, fish and other immediate necessities of daily life.<sup>73</sup> No tolls were charged on the goods brought to the *Kaṭavu*. In some cases, powerful families of Kadathanadu controlled the goods traffic using boats and charged tolls from the ferries.

Many land routes connected the coastal and hilly regions of Kadathanadu. The people from coastal areas by foot carrying salt and fish travelled to the interior parts of the region. They used to travel up to the interior *Angāṭis* such as Eachēri, Puṛamēri and Nādāpuram, using inland short cuts.<sup>74</sup> These merchants started their journey in the early morning and reached the *Angāṭis* in the noon, sold their goods and return by night. This type of merchant groups was a common sight in Kadathanadu. When these merchant groups reached the *Angāṭis* they hoot loudly for announcing their presence. *Kāvaṭi* (a piece of wooden equipment used for carrying goods) was used to carry the goods. People buy fish and salt from these merchant groups. Bullock carts were used for long land routes for carrying goods. The major trading routes in

---

<sup>72</sup> Field visit on 20.6.2018.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Achuthan K.P., a merchant of Kadathanadu, 15.6.2016.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Sreedharan, a fish merchant of Chombala, on 19.9.2016.



Kadathanadu are Wayanad to Thalasseri, Wayanad to Vadakara and Kozhikode to Thalasseri. *Attāṇis* or resting places are seen in the long land routes. *Attāṇis* are stone benches or slabs where loads carried by travellers could be placed.<sup>75</sup> Normally an *Attāṇi* will have a water source as well as a tank nearby. Sometimes, there would be provision for cool water, or butter milk for the travellers, instituted by the ruler, temple or mosque. *Attāṇis* are generally located near a marketplace.<sup>76</sup> The place-name with *Attāṇi* is a direct indicator of an old trade route. *Attāṇis* link major market centres and *Kaṭavus* of Kadathanadu. The structure of the *Attāṇis* can be used to delineate the major trading routes in Kadathanadu. The *Attāṇis* found in the region is shown in the table below.<sup>77</sup>

**Table 7**  
***Attāṇis* found in Kadathanadu**

Panchayat	Location of <i>Attāṇi</i>	Trade route
Nādāpuram	Near Nādāpuram town Kuttippuram	Wayanad – Thalasseri
Kūmankōṭu	Near Kuttippuram	Wayanad – Thalasseri
Kakkattīl	Near Mokeri	Wayanad – Thalasseri
Naripparra	Kakkattīl, Kaiveli	Wayanad – Thalasseri
Thūṇēri	Pārakkatavu Peringattūr	Wayanad – Mahe – Thalasseri
Puṛamēri	Veļļūr	Vadakara – Wayanad
Ēṛāmala	Ōrkkāṭṭēri	Vadakara – Wayanad
Vilyāppaḷḷi	TannīrpantalĀyanchēri	Vadakara – Arur – Kuttiyadi
Chōrōṭu	Muṭṭungal	Kozhikode – Thalasseri
Aliyūr	Chombal, Kamukkara	Kozhikode – Thalasseri
Eramula	Kunnummakara, Ōrkkāṭṭēri	Thalasseri – Ōrkkāṭṭēri – Wayanad

<sup>75</sup> Interview with Sreedharan Master, Vadakara, 20.6.2017.

<sup>76</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 95.

<sup>77</sup> Field visit, on 28.7.2017, 5.9.2017, and 11.10.2017.

*Kaññipura* was situated in between long-distance trade routes. The traders travelling in the long routes are fed from there. The *Kaññipura* was constructed by the rich families of the region. In *Kaññipura* they provide food and shelter to the merchant.<sup>78</sup> Place name or house name related to *Kaññipura* exist in Kadathanadu. Places like *Kaññipura*, *Kaññikkuliyil* etc. also indicate its link to trade in the region.

### **Trading Communities of Kadathanadu**

The expansion of exchanges and trade resulted in the migration of people from one region to other. *Chāliyas*, *Chetṭis* and *Rāvāri* Nāyars and Mappilas are major communities settled in Kadathanadu as a part of the trade. *Chetṭis* are Tamil merchant groups, who came to settle at Kadathanadu as a part of their trade.<sup>79</sup> *Chetṭis* are divided into two groups, such as *pukayilachetṭis* and *pappaṭachetṭis*. They conducted trade on cloth, vessels, tobacco, *pappaṭam*, etc. Northern ballads mention the *Chetṭi* community of Kadathanadu. Nagappan *Chetṭi* of Nāgapurattangāṭi was leader of merchants in Kaṭattuvāynāṭu. *Chetṭis* are mainly settled in the Nādāpuram and Kallācci

---

<sup>78</sup> *Grama Panchayat Vikasana Report*, Vol. 127, Kunnummal Block, Kozhikode, p.16.

<sup>79</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1975, p. 616.

region of Kadathanadu. These places situated in the trade route from Thalasseri and Vadakara to Wayanad.

*Rāvāri Nāyars* are another important trading community of Kadathanadu.<sup>80</sup> They were settled in the surroundings of Lōkanārkāvu temple. The *Rāvāris* came from Kollam to Vadakara for trade. Lōkanārkāvil Amma was their clan deity.<sup>81</sup> They had much influence on the trade of Kadathanadu. They mainly traded in jewels and gems.

Chāliyas were weavers who migrated from South Malabar and settled at Kadathanadu. Weaving was their main occupation.<sup>82</sup> They settled in the Chāliyateruvu. Many Chāliya *teruvus* are found in Kadathanadu. It indicates their role in the social order. Cuṇṭan theru, Kōṭṭayambrattu theru, Putiya theru, Mēppayil theru, Viḷambi theru, Vaikilaśśēri theru, and Koḷarāṭu theru were the important settlements of Chāliyas in Kadathanadu. Nādāpuram was also a weaving centre of Chāliyas. During the colonial period, a large number of *kurtas* and *dhotis* were produced in Kadathanadu. *Vāṇiyas* are oil traders of Kadathanadu. *Vāṇiyas* are mainly found in the coconut producing region of Kadathanadu. They mainly settled in Kuttiyadi, Kakkattil and Pārakkaṭavu.<sup>83</sup> Kuśavans or pot makers also settled in the clay soil region of Kadathanadu.

---

<sup>80</sup> Field Work on 23.02.2017.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with K.M. Jayasree on 10.11.2017.

<sup>82</sup> E. Thurston, *Op. cit.*, p. 617.

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Muhammed Haji, 9.4.2016.

Settlements of Vāṇiyas or oil mongers were largely situated in the neighbouring areas of Kuttippuram *kōvilakam* and Mangalāṭu region. Black smiths also settled in and around the iron ore producing region of Kadathanadu. Different castes and community established their settlements based on the availability of raw materials. House names and place names started or ended with the suffix indicating the settlement of a particular caste group, for instance, Kollan thoṭi, Āśāri Kaṇṭiyil, etc.<sup>84</sup>

Muslims were considered a major population in Kadathanadu. The coastal areas like Chombal, Mayyazhi and Vadakara were Mappila dominated town.<sup>85</sup> Muslims were also the major traders in Kadathanadu. They had much influence on the socio-economic life of Kadathanadu. Muslim merchants controlled the entire copra trade. They constructed huge warehouses for the preservation of coconut. They had warehouses and godowns to store their products. Nādāpuram, Kallācci, Kakkattil, Pārakkaṭavu, Peringattūr and Vadakara were the major Muslim populated trade centres in Kadathanadu.<sup>86</sup> The coastal Muslims were fishermen and they sold fish and salt in the interior regions of Kadathanadu. There were large numbers of rich Muslim merchant families in Kadathanadu. Valiya Karakeṭṭi Viṭṭil, Chovvakkāran Makki, Chovvakkāran Moosa, etc. were the major Muslim merchants of

---

<sup>84</sup> Interview with K.N. Ganesh on 12.04.2016.

<sup>85</sup> C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteers, Op. cit.*, p. 459.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Muhammed Haji, 9.4.2016.

Kadathanadu.<sup>87</sup> Mayyazhi, Chombal and Vadakara were the major trading centres where the Muslims settled. The growth of coastal and transmarine trade enabled several families to become sailors and traders.<sup>88</sup> Some of them grew to become powerful landlords. In the coastal areas of Kadathanadu, the family of Muslim traders started their career as sailors. Marakkār family is the best example of it. Apart from it Nālakattu, Aṛakkal, and Valiyakattu were the important Muslim merchants of the region.

The trade with Arabs resulted in the progress of indigenous Muslims. The Arab traders married the indigenous Muslims helped the latter to improve their economic position.<sup>89</sup> Putupaṭṭaṇam was the best example of such an Arab-Muslim settlement. When the Portuguese came into the political scenario of Malabar and the Portuguese committed atrocities against the Arabs and Muslim traders, the Muslims migrated to the interior parts of Kadathanadu.<sup>90</sup> Though the traders strongly resisted the atrocities later they were forced to move to the interior part of Kadathanadu and settled there. Nādāpuram, Kallācci and Kakkattīl were such Muslim populated region. These settlements are formed as a result of migration.

---

<sup>87</sup> Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters, No. 16 (Hereafter Kadathanadu manuscript letters mentioned as KML)

<sup>88</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

<sup>89</sup> Interview with Muhammed Ali, on 15.5.2016, a member of Aṛakkal family lived at Aṛakkal near Madappally. Such marriages occurred in his family. 15.5.2017.

<sup>90</sup> S.H. Nainar, ed., *Tuhafat-ul-mujahideen*, Kolalampur, Reprint 2009, p. 50.

### **Port Towns in Kadathanadu**

The ports of Malabar became dominant for their commercial network. Chinese silks and goods were imported to the Malabar region from the southeastern regions of the sub continent. Pearl, ivory, cloths, ceramics, and glass beads were the major items imported to the Malabar region. The Periplus records that Malabar pepper had more demand in Rome.<sup>91</sup> Periplus states about Beccare, a nearest port in Cottanora. Cottanora was famous for pepper producing region in north Malabar. Scholars identified Cottanora with Kottayam, a neighbouring region of Kadathanadu. Periplus reference proves that early period onwards north Malabar had an important place in the pepper trade with the foreign countries. Pliny also recorded that on the Malabar coast a large number of Roman ships come for pepper and Malabathram. The travel account of periplus proves that ancient period onwards North Malabar coast had trade contact with foreign countries. Major port towns of North Malabar are situated in Kadathanadu. Vadakara, Putupaṭṭanam, Cōmbāla, and Mayyazhi are the important port towns in the region.<sup>92</sup> These port towns had an important role in the development of local and long-distance trade in Kadathanadu.

Vadakara is the chief town of Kadathanadu, William Logan describes it as a struggling but busy Mappila town with several irregular street or lanes.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Wilfred H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, New Delhi, 1974, p.287.

<sup>92</sup> See also below map 4 showing important port towns of Kadathanadu.

<sup>93</sup> Willam Logan, *Malabar*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1877, p. 386.

Vadakara is a coastal town. On the beach, several storehouses are constructed as part of the trade. Vadakara situated at the northern extremity of the Ēlattūr Vadakara backwater and on the national highway from Kozhikode to Kannur, 45 kilometres from the former and 22 kilometres south of Thalasseri.<sup>94</sup> The Kōlattiri Raja constructed a fort at Vadakara, in 1564 which was acquired by *Vāḷunnavar*. During the Mysorean period, this fort acted as the chief customs station of export on the coast. In 1790 the British annexed it from Tipu and routed its ownership to Kadathanadu Raja. The Raja converted the fort as a Brahmin feeding house.<sup>95</sup> The fort was 246 square feet in area.

According to the census report of 1871, the total population of the town was 7718. The total population increased to 8, 336 persons in the census of 1881. In 1921 population was 9, 804 and in 1931 it was 11, 259. The majority of the population of Vadakara was Muslims. They were about half of the total population. The chart given below shows the increase in the population of Vadakara from 1871 to 1931.<sup>96</sup>

---

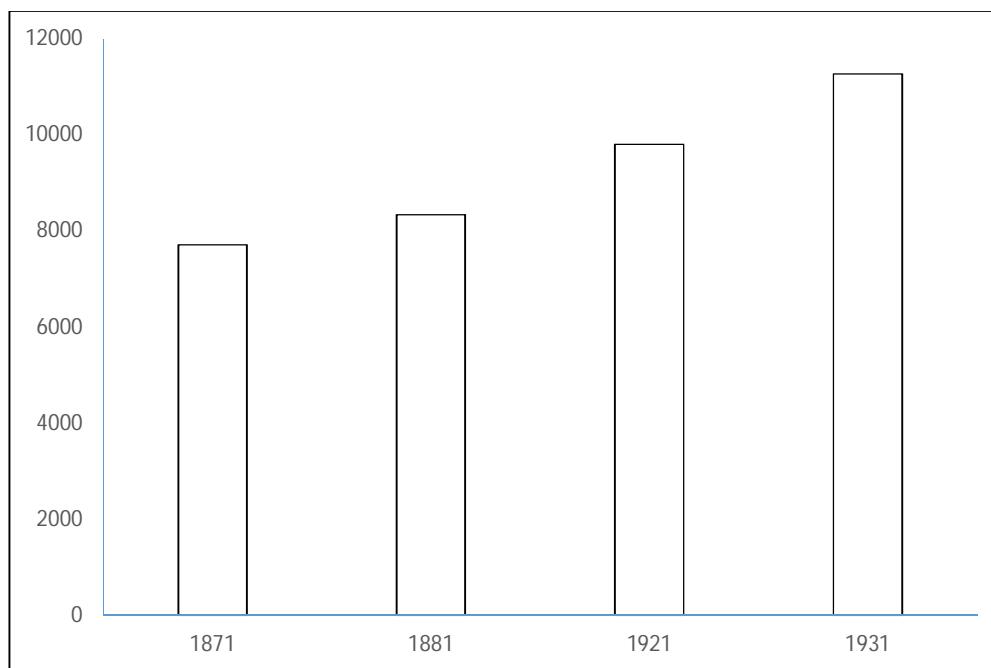
<sup>94</sup> P.J. Cheriyan, ed., *Op. cit.*, p. cccxiii.

<sup>95</sup> C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*, p. 460.

<sup>96</sup> Census Report from 1871-1931.

**Figure 1**

**Population growth in Vadakara from 1871 to 1931**



The population of the region increased favourably. The coastal regions of Vadakara had rich trade contact with foreign country. Vadakara port is situated in  $11^{\circ}36^1$  North latitude and  $75^{\circ}34^1$  East longitude, about 20 km from Thalasseri.<sup>97</sup> Coconut, copra and pepper were the main products exported from the port. Rice and salt were the main products imported at Vadakara port for internal use. Black pepper was the chief article of export from Malabar. The remaining pepper is chiefly exported by native traders to the Bay of Bengal, Surat, Cutch and Sind. A considerable quantity goes to the Arabian merchants of Surat, Muscat and Aden.

---

<sup>97</sup> *Minor Ports of Kerala*, Govt. of Kerala, 1969, p. 33.



The port is open seashore and there is no backwater communication with the port. The anchoring spot of the port is 12 km away from the west. Small ships anchored at the port.<sup>98</sup> The ship usually anchored at a place 18° North of Velliyankallu in 13° South of Fullak hub and 8 metres deep.<sup>99</sup> The place is safe from North-West wind. There is no pier or jetty for this port. The export of the commodities from the port town has increased in value from 18¼ lakhs in 1899-1900 to more than 29 lakhs in the year ending June 30<sup>th</sup> 1904 but the imports have declined in the same period from 14 lakhs to 7.33 lakhs. The handling capacity of the port is about 500 tons of cargo per day. In 1784 Tipu Sultan imposed certain special taxes on the port. Arabs and Chinese were the main beneficiaries of this trade. Vadakara port had trade relations with Muscat, Surat, Goa, Bombay and Mangalore. 2021733 ton coconut goods handled in the port.<sup>100</sup> About Rs. 7, 42, 2415 worth import and the rate of Rs. 13, 84, 921 worth goods were exported.<sup>101</sup>

Arab travellers mentioned the coastal town of Vadakara in their travel accounts. Ibin Kurdadhbeh and Cathey described Vadakara as Babattan. Ibin Khurdadhbeh described the town as the way by land from Bullin will reach

---

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>99</sup> C.A. Innes, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

<sup>100</sup> *Minor Ports of Kerala, Op. cit.*, p. 19.

<sup>101</sup> C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

Babattan in two days.<sup>102</sup> Rice is produced here and is exported to Sarandib (Ceylon). From Babattan to Sinji and Kabashkan was one day distance.<sup>103</sup> Walter Hamilton, visited Vadakara port in 1703. He described all vessels from Cape Comorin to Daman were obliged to stop at Vadakara port and required permission in the form of a pass from Kadathanadu Raja for onward journey.<sup>104</sup> According to Hamilton *Vāḷunnavar* had a strong naval force and he was called as overlord of the sea. *Vāḷunnavar* built ships for his naval expedition.<sup>105</sup> Hamilton recorded that these ships were made with the use of teak. Arabs and Chinese were the main consumers of commodities from Vadakara during the medieval period. As a result of foreign trade, Arabs and Chinese settled in the region. Arab travellers mentioned *Burgerray* (Vadakara) as a port town in Malabar Coast. Black pepper was the chief article of export from Malabar. Apart from it, the pepper is chiefly exported to Surat, Cutch, and other countries in northwest India and Arabia.<sup>106</sup>

Putuppaṇam or Putupaṭṭaṇam situated in the northern part of Kōṭṭa river was an important trading settlement of Kadathanadu in the medieval period. Putuppaṭṭaṇam situated five kilometres away from Vadakara. These trading

---

<sup>102</sup> Syed Muhammed Hussain Nainar, *Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India*, Calicut, 2011, p. 33.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 34.

<sup>104</sup> Walter Hamilton, *A Geographical Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan and Adjacent Countries*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1971 (1988), p. 293.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 294.

<sup>106</sup> Syed Muhammed Hussain Nainar, *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

centres situated in the southern part of Kadathanadu. Ibn Battuta, the Moroccan traveller called Putupattanam as Pedripattam.<sup>107</sup> Battuta describes it as a big port town and a Muslim settlement.<sup>108</sup> From Baftar large quantities of areca nut were exported to other parts of the world. A mosque was situated there Battuta argued that China and Arabia had trade relations with Baftar.

There is evidence for Chinese trade relation with Kerala. Ceramic pottery remains discovered from the coastal area of Kerala indicate Kerala's trade with China. Arecanut, fish and palm trees were exported from Putupattanam to China and Arabia. Cīnamvītu is a place near Putupattanam. The name indicates that Cīnamvītu was a Chinese settlement in Kadathanadu.<sup>109</sup> They arrived at Malabar for buying areca nut and spices, and the people of Malabar have bought vessels like *Cīnacattī* (Chinese pot), *Cīna Bharani* (Chinese jar), *Cīnapattu* (Chinese silk), and *Cīnavala*(Chinese net).<sup>110</sup> In northern ballads, *Cīnapattu* or Chinese silk described as *Ēlukatalōṭivannapattu*.<sup>111</sup> Putupattanam means new town. The Tamil word *Paṭṭinam* indicates a port town.<sup>112</sup> The name Putupattanam also indicates the existence of a port town in the region. In *Cosmo Indicopleastus* the town is

---

<sup>107</sup> Hamilton Gibb, ed., *The Travels of Ibin Battuta*, London, 1958, p. 120.

<sup>108</sup> Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>109</sup> Field visit at CīnamVītu on 2.2.2017.

<sup>110</sup> Interview with K. Narayanan on 26.2.2017.

<sup>111</sup> S.K. Nair, *Ballads of North Malabar*, Madras, 1957, p.10

<sup>112</sup> VelayudhanPanikkasseri, *Cirapurātana Bandhangal*, Kottayam, 2013, p. 34.

described as Putupaṭṭaṇa.<sup>113</sup> Arabs also came to Putupaṭṭaṇa for trade. When describing the geographical boundaries of Mūṣaka kingdom the place Putupaṭṭaṇam mentioned as the southern boundary of the kingdom. Barbosa describes that Putupaṭṭaṇam situated on the banks of the Kōṭṭa river is a modern town.<sup>114</sup> On crossing the river one comes into the kingdom of Calicut. The Portuguese texts also mention this town as Hopedirpatam.<sup>115</sup> Putupaṭṭaṇam was the most prominent trading centre of Kadathanadu during the ancient period as indicated by foreign accounts. During the late medieval period, the importance of Putupaṭṭaṇa declined. Vadakara emerged as a centre of trade in Kadathanadu. Commodities and traders moved from Putupaṭṭaṇa to Vadakara.

Cōmbāla (Cōmbakula) situated eight kilometres north of Vadakara on the Thalasseri road.<sup>116</sup> Cōmbāla is a tiny coastal port town. A fishing harbour situated there. The major population of the region was Muslims. Fishing and its sale were their major occupation. Place names like Chōrapaṇambu, Kōlaṭipaṇambu, Pāṇṭikaśālavalappu indicates the existence of trading centres there.<sup>117</sup> Ibn Battuta describes the place as Chombaya.<sup>118</sup> Barbosa says that Chombai situated three miles south of Mahe. It is now negligible as a port.

---

<sup>113</sup> S.M.H. Nainar, *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

<sup>114</sup> M.L. Dames, ed., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, New Delhi, p. 217.

<sup>115</sup> Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Op.cit.*, p.35

<sup>116</sup> C.A. Innes, *Op.cit.*, p.462

<sup>117</sup> *Gramapanchayath Vikasana Rekhakal*, Azhiyur, 2005, p. 10.

<sup>118</sup> Hamilton Gibb, ed., *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, London, 1958, p. 122.

The Basel mission has a station there. The fishermen of Cōmbāla sell their products in Oñciyam, Ōrkkāṭṭēri, Kallamala, and Ērāmala by passing in the foot. Cōmbāla was a Muslim trading settlement.<sup>119</sup> Valiya Karakkāṭṭi Mīttal Tarāvāṭu was an important Muslim *Janmi* family of the region.<sup>120</sup> Sheikh Zainuddin Makhdum, the author of *Tuhafat-ul-Mujahideen* was born in this *Tarāvāṭu*. The family was migrated from Yamen to Ponnāni. Later they migrated to north Malabar and settled in Cōmbāla. Sheikh Zainuddin built a Juma mosque at Cōmbāla.<sup>121</sup> His *Makbara* was also situated in the Juma mosque at Kuññippaḷli. Barbosa recorded that Cōmbāla was a Moorish settlement, which was of much sea traffic.<sup>122</sup> In Cōmbāla many indigenous Muslims married the Arabs and settled in the region.<sup>123</sup> These Arabs mainly came here as part of their trade. Barbosa stated that the regions of Mahe and Cōmbāla were ruled by the Kadathanadu dynasty. The inland of the region is thickly populated with the Nāyars. These Nāyars were loyal to their lord. Mīttalangāṭi near Muṭṭungal in Kadathanadu was also an important fishing harbour.<sup>124</sup> Walter Hamilton recorded that Cotta port, an inland town in the

---

<sup>119</sup> Armando Corstesum, ed., *The Suma Oriental of Empires or Account of the East from Red Sea to Japan*, New Delhi, 1990, p. 73.

<sup>120</sup> S.H. Nainar, *Op. cit.*, p. 35

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36

<sup>122</sup> M.L. Dames, *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Nazrudeen, on 28.2.17.

<sup>124</sup> R. Vinod Kumar, *Kēraḷīyan: Kēraḷatte Kuriccu Ariññirikkēṇṭa Cila Kāryangaḷ*, Kottayam, 2008, p. 250.

Cartinad division, located 14 miles of Thalasseri at a longitude of 75°44<sup>1</sup> East and latitude of 11°42<sup>1</sup> North.<sup>125</sup>

Mayyazhi or Mahe is another important coastal town in Kadathanadu. Mayyazhi located at latitude 11°41'50" north and longitude 75°34'25" east.<sup>126</sup> This coastal town situated on the northern banks of the Mayyazhi river. Travellers like Pliny and Arab travellers mention Mayyazhi.<sup>127</sup> Pliny records Mayyazhi as Melizeigara, as a port situated in between Nitrias (Mangalore) and Leuke (Iringal). Barbosa describes this place as Mañjay nāṭu. Mahe was a place of sea traffic, with many ships and trade.<sup>128</sup> Barbosa records that Mayyazhi situated between Tirumangate (Tirumangad) and Chombal. The ports located on the northern side of the estuary. Up to 1725 Mayyazhi was part of Kadathanadu. The best quality of cardamom and pepper from Kadathanadu were exported to foreign countries through Mayyazhi port. Hamilton recorded that this port had an important position in the maritime history of India. All ships between Cape Comorin and Daman were bound to carry passes issued by the ruler. Kadathanadu *Vāḷunnavar* collected tolls from the traders of Mayyazhi.<sup>129</sup> Pepper and coconut were grown in large numbers in this region.

---

<sup>125</sup> Walter Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 295; Cota port- An inland town in the Cartinad division, 14 Miles south east of Thalasseri. Cartinad - A small district in north Malabar, situated in between Mayyazhi and Kōṭṭa river.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 251.

<sup>127</sup> C.H. Gangadharan, *Mayyazhi*, Thrissur, 2018, p.24.

<sup>128</sup> M.L. Dames, ed., *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

<sup>129</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, No. 145.

Mayyazhi port town with a roomy harbour, whose rocky bar admits the vessel up to 70 tons.

Europeans compete with each other for establishing their monopoly over the pepper growing regions of Kottayam and Kadathanadu. In 1725 the French signed a treaty with Kadathanadu *Vāḷunnavar*.<sup>130</sup> The French brought the region from Kadathanadu *Vāḷunnavar* to build a garrison there.<sup>131</sup> The French and British committed atrocities to capture Mahe. The Europeanised name was derived from Mahe de Larbour Dannis who took it in 1725 and changed its original name of Mayyazhi to his name Mahe. The British captured it several times but finally, it became a French settlement. The river Mayyazhi is navigable up to Peringattūr. The Mahe town was neat and clean. The principal export of the region was pepper. Muslims and Nāyars were important trading communities. Pepper from Kottayam and Pāṛakkaṭavu region reached Mayyazhi for trade. Hamilton and Buchanan recorded the cardamom cultivation of Kadathanadu.<sup>132</sup> The rivers facilitated the movement of commodities from interior parts of Kadathanadu to the coastal areas for trade. Buchanan recorded that Kadathanadu was a country tolerably well

---

<sup>130</sup> Scariya Zachariya, ed., *Thalasseri Rekhakal*, Kottayam, 1996, p. 25.

<sup>131</sup> K.K.N. Kuṛuppu, *The History of Tellicherry Factory*, Calicut, 1985, p.73.

<sup>132</sup> Francis Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1988, p. 346; Walter Hamilton, *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

cultivated.<sup>133</sup> It was a rich country but does not produce grain sufficient for the consumption of natives. The eastern hills are overgrown with wood. The Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu protected the region from invaders. The eastern hilly regions are also famous for Cardamom cultivation.<sup>134</sup> In 1743 the pepper from Kadathanadu and Mahe continued to attract the attention of European traders. It is estimated that the total production of pepper in Kadathanadu in 1720 was around 500 to 600 Kandis.<sup>135</sup> Peringattūr was a centre of the collection of pepper in Kadathanadu. The same quantity of cardamom from Wayanad and the hill ranges of Kadathanadu also exported to European countries.

### **Description of Trade and Markets in Northern Ballads**

The northern ballads depict a vivid picture of the trade, markets and forms of exchanges that existed in Kadathanadu. Both the Taccōli and Puttūram songs mention it. In northern ballads market of Nādāpuram is mentioned as Nāgapurattangāṭi, a Muslim dominated trading centre.<sup>136</sup> *Jōnakarteruvu* (Muslim street), mentioned in northern ballads is an important

---

<sup>133</sup> Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 348.

<sup>135</sup> B. Krishna Murthy, *The French Trade in India 1664-1754*, Ph.D. thesis, University of Baroda, 1984, p.271.

<sup>136</sup> C. Achutha Menon, *Ballads of North Malabar*, Vol. I, University of Madras, 1935, p. 29.



street in Kadathanadu.<sup>137</sup> Puttūram song refers to Unṇiyārcca defeating *Jōnakar* (Muslims) in the warfare. Puttūram songs mention Nāgappancheṭṭi, the head of a trading group.<sup>138</sup> Cheṭṭis and Chāliyas are the major trading communities mentioned in the ballads. Nādāpuram, Peringattūr and Vadakara are the main centres of Cheṭṭis. Vaḷarkkōṭṭangāṭi and Eṭuvaṭṭattangāṭi are the two important *Angāṭis* mentioned in the ballads.<sup>139</sup> These two *Angāṭis* are located near Nādāpuram. The main agricultural products sold in the *Angāṭis* are dried coconut, chilly and pepper. From Nādāpuram to Vadakara the commodities reached through bullock cart and water transportation. A song in the northern ballads refers to the intent of a person to visit Nāgapurattangāṭi to see the pepper trade.<sup>140</sup>

In Taccōḷi songs, Vadakara is mentioned as a big town with huge warehouses and markets. *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭukaḷ* refers to agricultural commodities produced for local trade.<sup>141</sup> The cultivation of paddy and coconut is mentioned in it. The households largely depended upon agricultural production for its

---

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 (See also below map 5 showing trading centres and markets referred in northern ballads).

<sup>138</sup> M.C. Appunni Nambiar, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, (1983), Vadakara, 1998, p. 17.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>140</sup> *Nāgapurattangāṭiyil Muḷakuvyāpāramkāṇān*. M.K. Panikkotti, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭile peṅkaruttu*, Trivandrum, 2008, p.10.

<sup>141</sup> C. Achuthanandan, ed., *Irupattinālu Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 1991, p. 186.

sustenance is evident from the ballads. The Taccōli songs mention *Angāṭis* like Kozhikode *Angāṭi*, Tāle *Angāṭi*, Kāyannūr *Angāṭi*, Muṇṭūr *Angāṭi* etc.<sup>142</sup>

Vadakara *Angāṭi* was a famous trading centre during that period is clear from Taccōli songs. Tāle *Angāṭi* considered as a major trading centre in Kadathanadu is also mentioned in the ballads.<sup>143</sup> *Angāṭitāla* was a trading centre, Lōkanārkāvu was another important trading centre mentioned in the ballads. During the festival, a season fair was conducted in the premises of the Lōkanārkāvu.<sup>144</sup> In the medieval period, there is no evidence of the direct involvement of *Nāṭuvālis* in trade. They controlled the cultivation process especially the paddy cultivation. They collected taxes and tolls from the traders. In the medieval period, *Cantas* and *Angāṭis* were conducted in a public place. The collection of *chantappaṇam* (rent for *canta*) by the landlords from the traders seems to be a practice followed in a later period.<sup>145</sup>

Kadathanadu had overseas trade with Arabia and China. The remains of Arab and Chinese settlements were seen in the coastal areas of Kadathanadu. Overseas trade with the Arabs resulted in the migration of the Muslim

---

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>143</sup> M.C. Appunni Nambiar, *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

<sup>144</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>145</sup> Jisha P.K. 'Local exchange networks: Weekend fair at Perambra in Historical outline', in M.P. Mujeebu Rehiman, ed., *The Locale Speaks: Papers in local history*, Perambra, 2009, p. 65.

community in the region.<sup>146</sup> They were the major trading community in the region. Coconut, pepper and areca nut were the major products exported from Kadathanadu. They imported perfumes and vessels from Arabia. The Puttūram songs mention the Muslim populated trading centres of Kadathanadu. In northern ballads, they were popularly called Jōnakars. Kadathanadu had long-distance trade with Gujarat and Mangalore. They imported rice, salt and sugar from these regions.

### **Weight and Measurement**

During the medieval period, a kind of barter system existed in Kadathanadu as in other parts of Malabar. Paddy was the corresponding unit for measurement. Salt was exchanged with rice and other products.<sup>147</sup> But as a result of the development in trade particularly the overseas trade barter system gave way to a money economy. Silver and gold coins, *Araśiṇaṇam*, *Accu* or *Ānayaccu*, and *Vīrarāyaṇaṇam*, were used as a medium of exchange.<sup>148</sup> *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam* mentions the use of *Ānayaccu*.<sup>149</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* indicates the use of *Kōlikkōṭaṇaṇam* in Kadathanadu.<sup>150</sup> *Kāśu* and *Accu* are also mentioned in northern ballads. Bullock carts used for the transportation of

---

<sup>146</sup> Shamsulla Ghadiri, *Pracheena Malabar*, p.24.

<sup>147</sup> Interview with Gopalan, on 27.07.18.

<sup>148</sup> Interview with Gokulan Master on 2.4.17.

<sup>149</sup> N. Gopinathan Nāyar, *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam*, Kottayam, 2016, p. 75.

<sup>150</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Palm leaf No. 2.

goods are mainly owned by the Mappila merchants of Kadathanadu. *Kayyōl* and *Kallum thaṭṭayum* was used for weighing the articles of exchange.<sup>151</sup> The *kayyōl* was a rode with a thickness on the side and with marks for measuring indicates on the side as  $\frac{1}{4}$ ,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{3}{4}$  and one *palam* consecutively.<sup>152</sup> In the middle of the rod, there was a thick thread that is moved with the weight of the items changed. When there is nothing to weigh, the thread would be at a balanced position. It is called *thannathūkki*. *Kayyōl* was used for measuring tapioca, areca nut, pepper and coconut. The price of a commodity was not fixed which varied from person to person.<sup>153</sup> In *kallumthaṭṭayum* another device of weighing in which stones of regulated weights were used. The weights are used in terms of *tulām*. *Kāltulām*, *Aratulām* and *mukkāltulām* are the divisions of *tulām*.<sup>154</sup> 100 *palam* makes one *tulām*.

*Iṭangali* and *Nāli* were other units of measurement as well as devices which measured the volume. Paddy and grains are measured in this unit. These units of measurement are also called *mānam*.<sup>155</sup>

One *Iṭangali* = four *Nālis*

Two *ālakku* = one *ūlakku*

Two *ūlakku* = one *Uri*

---

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Gokulan Master on 2.4.17.

<sup>152</sup> Jisha P.K., *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>154</sup> Interview with Kumaran K. on 12.5.17.

<sup>155</sup> P.J. Cheriyan, *Op. cit.*, p. 263.

Two *Uri* = one *Nāli*

Four *Nāli* = one *Iṅgaḷi*

Ten *Iṅgaḷi* = one *Para*

Bamboo pieces are used for making measurements. *Aṇa*, *mukkāl*, *kāśu*, and *paisa* were units of price. Four *kāśu* makes one *paisa*. Milk and oil are measured based on the unit *Uri*.<sup>156</sup> *Cangara*, *Para*, and *Nāli* were the devices used for measurements. Seeds were also used for measurement. *Veḷḷikkōl* and *Kalañcu* were also used for measuring the weights of medicinal herbs.<sup>157</sup> Silver coins were widely used for the transaction. From 12<sup>th</sup> century to 14<sup>th</sup> century *Vīrakēraḷa* coins, *Cīnakkāśu*, *Chōḷakkāśu*, Arabi dinar, *pon*, *kāṇam* and *paṇam* were widely used for transactions.<sup>158</sup> As the result of trade with Arab merchants, Arabi dinar was widely popular in Kadathanadu. *Muḷam* was another unit of measurement of length. Half of *muḷam* was measured as *chāṇ*. It is approximately the distance from the tip of the thumb finger to the index finger of the hand when it is stretched. During the British period, standardised weights and measures are introduced in Malabar.<sup>159</sup> Throughout the districts 40 *tolas* are accepted as the equivalent of one lb. 20 *Tulāms* make a *Baran* or *Kandi*. But the multiple and submultiples of *tulām* differ. But in some places,

---

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>157</sup> Interview with Achuthan Vaidyar, on 11.6.18.

<sup>158</sup> Panmana Ramachandran Nair, ed., *Kēraḷa Samskāra Paṭhanangal*, Vol. II, (2011), Kottayam, 2013, p. 2159.

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2160.

the weights of *tulām* varies with the nature of the goods sold in the market. In the bazaars of North Malabar, the following table is generally used.<sup>160</sup>

**Table 8**  
**Measurements Used in North Malabar**

Measurement	Equivalence
10 <i>Tolas</i>	One <i>Pallam</i>
Four <i>Pallams</i>	One lb. avoirdupois
31 lbs (international term used for weight)	One <i>tolam</i>
20 <i>tolams</i>	One Baran or Kandi

Liquid measurements are more complex. Bigger measures are also called as *kurris* and *palams*.<sup>161</sup>

Four *Nālis* on 1½ *sēr* – one *kurri*

16 *kurri* – one *palam*

Eight *palams* – one Kandi

During the British period, pepper and other spices are measured in terms of Kandi. Regional variations are seen in the measurement.<sup>162</sup> After the 15<sup>th</sup> century coins from foreign countries flowed. Coins of Tipu, namely, Sultan

---

<sup>160</sup> P.J. Cheriyan, *Op. cit.*, p. 264.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 265.

<sup>162</sup> *KML*. Palm leaf No. 116.

*paṇam*, were important among them. During the British period, they introduced Kannur *paṇam* and *Kōḷikkōṭanpaṇam*. These are silver coins.<sup>163</sup>

During the colonial period, the British, Portuguese and the French compete with each other for acquiring their monopoly of pepper trade in Kadathanadu. The spices from Kadathanadu especially the pepper and cardamom from the region had much demand in the foreign countries. Trade with foreign countries was the major source of income in Kadathanadu. Indigenous merchants especially the Muslim traders acted as a mediator between foreigners and the ruler in trade. Chovvakkāran Moosa was important among them. These merchants owned much wealth and they controlled the trade. The spice trade was the main reason for their wealth.

### **Inscriptional Evidences**

Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription mentions the cultivation of jackfruit, banana and coconut in the region. This inscription mentions the expansion of *Paṛambu* cultivation in the region. *Aranālinellu* was a measurement mentioned in the inscription. The Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription indicates that the paddy and pepper were measured in *Nāḷi* or *sēr* or *Ūri*.<sup>164</sup> Merchants visited the region for buying the products. The growth of trade results in the expansion of Jainism and

---

<sup>163</sup> K.S. Mathew, 'Trade and Commerce in Kerala (1500-1800)', in P.J. Cheriyan, ed., *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Trivandrum, 1999, p. 119.

<sup>164</sup> K.P. Rajesh, *Vaṭakkan Malabar: Samūhavum Caritravum*, Kottayam, 2014, p. 16; *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, p. 47.

Buddhism. Kaliyāmpalli, Vilyāppalli and Kārttikappalli were place names in Kadathanadu. The term *palḷi* denotes the existence of a Jain worshipping centre.<sup>165</sup> At present these places have famous Hindu temples. These places are located in the trade route between Nādāpuram to Vadakara. A Cēra inscription indicates the trading activities of *Maṇigrāmam* extended throughout north Malabar from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>166</sup>

Chempra inscription mentions the offerings given to the deity of the Chempra temple. Arecanut, coconut, betel, pepper and rice were the items mentioned in the inscriptions.<sup>167</sup> It also indicates the expansion of *Paṛambu* cultivation in the region. The lists of articles mentioned in the inscriptions indicate that during that period *Paṛambu* cultivation expanded in the region. The widespread use of areca nut also indicates the emergence of a trade-based economy. The nature and topography of the region were more sustainable for *Paṛambu* cultivation. Chempra inscription of 955 AD mentions the pepper cultivation of north Malabar. Pepper was considered as a permanent income of the temple. Pepper, cardamom, ginger, ivory and sandal were exported to foreign countries.

---

<sup>165</sup> Field visit on 5.5.2016.

<sup>166</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala (800AD - 1124 AD)*, (1996), Trissur, 2013, p. 178.

<sup>167</sup> Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Charithram* (1991), Sukapuram, 2011, p. 115.



Guilds developed as a result of the expansion of trade. *Mañigrāmam*, *Añcuvāṇṇam* and *Nānādēśikaḷ* were the major trade guilds mentioned in the Cēra inscriptions. *Payyannūrpāṭṭu* mentions the expansion of the trading activities of *Mañigrāmam* in the north Malabar region. The first inscriptional evidence of *Mañigrāmam* is found in the Kottayam inscription of Sthāṇu Ravi in the ninth century AD.<sup>168</sup>

The geographical peculiarities of Kerala have played an important role in shaping the exchange networks. Every Nāṭu was an agricultural unit that developed in the fertile river valleys and slopes of an area. The expansion of agriculture resulted in the emergence of trade in north Malabar. Overseas trade opened a big sphere of economic growth and development rendering opportunities for individual and ultimately to the whole society to improve the living condition.

Kadathanadu geographically located in between the sea and the Ghats. For this reason, garden lands are found in large numbers compared to paddy fields. The economic development of Kadathanadu depended upon trade. This Nāṭu situated in the trade route between Vadakara to Wayanad. Kadathanadu was a country of pepper and cardamom production. Spices from forest regions of Western Ghats reached the coastal towns for trade. In an earlier period,

---

<sup>168</sup> Noboru Karashima, *A Concise History of South India: Issues and interpretations*, New Delhi, 2014, pp. 139-43.

Kadathanadu had trade relations with foreign countries. Many *cantas*, *Angāṭis* and *Kaṭavus* situated in Kadathanadu. These are the centres of local exchange in Kadathanadu. People buy and sell their products in the *Angāṭis*. Agricultural products are the main commodities sold in the markets. *Örkkāṭṭēri cantā*, *Kuttiyadi cantā*, and *Kōṭṭapalli cantā* are important fairs in Kadathanadu. The people reached these *cantas* irrespective of their caste. *Angāṭis* and *Kaṭavus* are also centres of exchange. *Tāle Angāṭi*, *Aṭakkāteruvu*, *Valarkkōṭṭu Angāṭi* etc. are important *Angāṭis* of Kadathanadu. These trading centres located near the trading routes.

The commodities from the hilly regions reached the coastal area by way of boat and *cangātams*. The ferries situated near the river banks also facilitate the movement of people and commodities from one region to another. *Attāṇis* and *Taṇṇīrpantal* found in the trade route are constructed for providing help and shelter to the traders. The development of trade led to the emergence of Urban centres in Kadathanadu. Similar to other Nāṭus development of Kadathanadu also depended upon trade. Local trade, long-distance trade and overseas trade existed in Kadathanadu. *Vadakara*, *Chombal*, *Putupaṭṭaṇam* and *Mayyazhi* were the important coastal port towns of Kadathanadu. These towns had trade relations with foreign countries like China, Arabia, Ceylon, etc. Arabs also settled in the coastal areas as part of their trade. Inscriptional evidence also indicates the agricultural base of socio-economic life in the region. The colonial powers also competed for establishing their trade monopoly in the

region. Thus, we can say that trade and Urbanization played an important role in the socio-economic and cultural developments of Kadathanadu, which will be taken up in the ensuing chapters.

## Chapter 3

### **Political Formation of Kadathanadu**

The history of a given community or group heavily depends upon the interaction within the territory. People, polity and geography exist in an organic equilibrium.<sup>1</sup> In another sense polity heavily relies on the interaction among the people within a special organisation. A change in the landscape must generate a complicated change in transactions and the objective of the people. This chapter is an attempt to analyse the political boundaries of the region called Kadathanadu. A geographical boundary of a region is fixed but the political boundary changes due to many reasons. Due to war, invasion and matrimonial relations between royal families such changes occurred. In this chapter, the political formation of Kadathanadu from the early historical period to the 18<sup>th</sup>-century Nāṭu form is attempted to analyse. What are the main features and peculiarities of this Nāṭu is also taken up here to analyse. Apart from this the administrative setup of Kadathanadu and the political formation of Kadathanadu as an independent principality is also examined.

---

<sup>1</sup> John Lewis Gaddis, *The Land Scape of History*, Oxford University Press, 2002, p.9.

The term Nāṭu depicts an agrarian unit, which initially developed in the fertile river valley that promoted paddy agriculture.<sup>2</sup> It is a grouping of agrarian settlement influenced by natural factors like slopes, soil, water and resources etc. The expansion of agriculture in the fertile river tracts resulted in the formation of Nāṭus.<sup>3</sup> Kerala witnessed the development of Nāṭu as an administrative authority during the period of Cēra Perumāḷs. At least fourteen Nāṭus existed during that period as per the available information. These Nāṭus accepted the suzerainty of the Cēra rule. The governors of these Nāṭus are called as *Nāṭuṭayavar* or Nāṭuvāḷumavar.<sup>4</sup> The Perumāḷs ruled Kerala from CE ninth century to the 12<sup>th</sup> century. After the decline of the Cēra power, the governors of the Nāṭus became independent sovereigns. Old Nāṭus disappeared and new Nāṭus emerged in its place. Nāṭus like Kōlattunāṭu, Kozhikode and Vēṇāṭu became prominent Nāṭus. The newly developed Nāṭus accepted the suzerainty of these prominent Nāṭus. The term Kadathanadu was largely mentioned in the European accounts. Kadathanadu became an independent geographical unit after the decline of the Cēra power. The term Kadathanadu appears in the British records by the 18<sup>th</sup> century. There is no evidence for the existence of Kadathanadu during the Cēra period.

---

<sup>2</sup> Y. Subbarayalu, *South India under the Cōḷas*, New Delhi, 2012, p.124.

<sup>3</sup> K.N. Ganesh, *Kēraḷathinte Innalekaḷ*, (1990), Trivandrum, 2015, p.21.

<sup>4</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, (1996), Thrissur, 2013, p. 176.

Kadathanadu is bounded on the north by Thalasseri and Kottayam taluks. Mayyazhi river originates from the Kakani mountains of the Banasura peak reached into the Arabian Sea by passing through the northern boundary of Kadathanadu.<sup>5</sup> At present majority of the villages around the Vadakara region were part of Kadathanadu. It is located in Vadakara taluk which contains 22 panchayats and 28 villages.<sup>6</sup>

During the British period, Kadathanadu and Kuṛumbranāṭu were merged and formed Kuṛumbranāṭu taluk. According to the settlement records of Kuṛumbranāṭu taluk, Kadathanadu contains 11 Hoblies divided into thirty-one *amśams* and further divided into one hundred and forty-six *Dēśams*.<sup>7</sup> There are thirty-one *amśams* in the modern Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk, which was part of Kadathanadu.<sup>8</sup> According to the census of 1881, the area of the taluk is 538 square miles. The taluk comprises 21 hoblies of old Kadathanadu taluk and 10 hoblies of the old Kuṛumbranāṭu taluk.<sup>9</sup> When Kadathanadu came into the

---

<sup>5</sup> Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Trivandrum, 1995, pp. 70-73.

<sup>6</sup> *Settlement records – Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk*, p. 10.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11; see also below, Map 6.

<sup>8</sup> The thirty-one *amśams* are Azhiyūr, Muṭṭungal, Ēṛāmala, Kartikappalli, Puṛamēri, Eṭaccēri, Iringaṇṇūr, Tūṇēri, Veḷḷūr, Prākkaṭavu, Chekkiyāṭu, Vaḷayam, Velliyod, Cerapuram, Kunnumel, Kāvilumpāra, Kuttiyadi, Vēḷam, Vānimēl, Kōṭṭappalli, Āyanccēri, Kaṭamēri, Kuttippuram, Kummarkode, Ponnēri, Arakkilanad, Vadakara, Mēmunṭa, Pālayāṭu, Putuppaṇam, Nādāpuram. See also below map 7.

<sup>9</sup> P.J. Cherian, ed., *William Logan's Malabar Manual*, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 2000, p.163.

hands of the British, they never maintained Kadathanadu as a separate revenue division but joined Kadathanadu to Kuṟumbranāṭu taluk.

According to the revenue records from Malabar the Kuṟumbranāṭu taluk included sixty-three *amśams* and the total population of the area was 2, 26, 104.<sup>10</sup> The level tracts near the sea were very fertile and the sea boundary of Kadathanadu started from the mouth of Kōṭṭa river to Mayyazhi.<sup>11</sup> Kadathanadu stretches from the sea coast up to the western part of Western Ghats. The eastern hilly part of Kadathanadu was very fertile and contains teak, cardamom and sandal trees.

### **Evidence of Pre-Historic Culture from Kadathanadu**

The first pre-historic site in India was discovered by Robert Bruce Foote in 1863 at Pallavaram near Madras.<sup>12</sup> Later many pre-historic sites discovered in different parts of India. These discoveries help us to understand the early life of our forefathers. In the case of the Indian subcontinent, many pre-historic sites were discovered from Tamil Nadu and Karnataka.<sup>13</sup> But compared to these regions such findings from Kerala were made in a much later period. Many

---

<sup>10</sup> *Statement showing the population and average revenue of each Taluk in Malabar*, Regional Archives, Calicut, p. 45.

<sup>11</sup> Ward and Conner, *Op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> Bridget and Reymon Allchin, *The Brith of Indian Civilization India and Pakistan before 500 BC*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 220.

<sup>13</sup> P.T. Sreenivasa Ayyangar, *The Stone Age in India*, New Delhi, 1986, p. 36.

Paleolithic tools were discovered from the river basins of Kerala. The smooth and sharp axe made with pebbles was the main discovery of the Paleolithic period. Recently many Paleolithic tools were discovered from North Kerala. But there is an absence of scientific excavation and systematic study for understanding the pre-history of the region. Many archaeological sites have been found in the surrounding areas of Kadathanadu. Unlike Kōlattunāṭu the continuity from a pastoral *punam* economy into a paddy economy cannot be established in the region. The region extending up to the Kuttiyadi river displays the same tendency. Several megalithic sites discovered from the area stretching from Vadakara to Kuttiyadi became settlement unit during the medieval period.<sup>14</sup>

Some archaeological sites were discovered from the laterite soil region of Kadathanadu. Evidence of the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Iron age period are discovered from the region. The discovery of these sites is important in the study of human habitation development in North Malabar. Recently urn burials belonging to the Iron age were discovered from Attiyōrakkunnu at Nādāpuram.<sup>15</sup> The Urn burials have 60 cm in length and 30 cm in depth. Many burned small clay pots of black and red ware are also discovered from these urn

---

<sup>14</sup> Renjith Kumar P., 'Kadathanadum Vadakkanpattum' in Raghavan Payyanad, ed., *Vadakkanpattu padanangal*, Centre for Folklore studies, Calicut University, 2000, p.37

<sup>15</sup> *Mathrubhumi Daily*, 25.08.2017.



burials.<sup>16</sup>Historians suggest that Attiyōṛakkunnu was a burial place of early times as the place name indicates. Other types of Urn burial and iron implements are discovered from Varikkoli. This Urn burial contains the bones of a child, belongs to the age group of five to ten.<sup>17</sup> Peringattūr situated on the banks of the Mayyazhi river is considered as the northern part of Kadathanadu. An archaeological site of the Megalithic period was discovered from Peringattūr. Clay pots, beads and iron implements are discovered from the site.<sup>18</sup>

Another Megalithic site was discovered from Perumuṇṭacēri at Nādāpuram. This place is situated in the eastern parts of Kadathanadu. Clay pot, iron implements and a clay model of an eagle head are discovered from the site.<sup>19</sup> Kuyithēri, a place near Vaḷayam, is a Megalithic site. Iron ingots and redware pottery are discovered from this Urn burial site.<sup>20</sup> Evidence of Paleolithic, Neolithic and Megalithic remains was discovered from Kadathanadu. Raghava Varier argues that the region from Bāluśśēri to Vadakara and Māṇiyūr is a rich archaeological belt. This argument found true by the Paleolithic implements discovered from Kadathanadu. The allusion hand

---

<sup>16</sup> Field visit at Attiyōṛakkunnu, 06.09.2017.

<sup>17</sup> Field visit at Iringal Museum on 08.09.2017.

<sup>18</sup> Field visit at Iringal Museum on 10.09.2017.

<sup>19</sup> N.K. Ramesh, 'Kozhikodinte Śilāyuga Samskāram Putiya Teḷivukaḷ', *Vijñāna Kairali*, Vol. 43, Trivandrum, 2012, p.49.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p.50.

axe is made on white sandstone. This hand axe was discovered by N.K. Ramesh.<sup>21</sup>

The discovery of these tools indicates the existence of early human habitation. This tool was used by our forefathers for hunting or cultivation. The remains of Neolithic culture are found in different parts of North Kerala. The Neolithic tools discovered from North Kerala include stone axes, flakes, and blades.<sup>22</sup> The tools of Neolithic culture are discovered from the Kuttiyadi river basin, which was a part of Kadathanadu.<sup>23</sup> Four adzes of Neolithic period discovered from the Kuniyōṭu, Pāṅṭikaṭavu, river basin of Vāṇimēl river.<sup>24</sup> This adze is made in granite and white sandstone. It indicates the existence of agricultural practices in the river basin.

It is argued that the bronze or copper utensils found with the Megalithic remains were the best example of the iron age culture.<sup>25</sup> It is also claimed that apart from this human bone remains discovered from the Urn burials of Kerala indicate the probability of a Chalcolithic phase. Urn burials discovered from

---

<sup>21</sup> N.K. Ramesh, 'Vaṭakkan Kēraḷattinte Caritrāṭita Samskāravum Ethno Archaeological Vīkṣaṇavum', *Vijñāna Kairāḷi*, Vol.44, Trivandrum, 2013, p. 48.

<sup>22</sup> P. Rajendran, *Unraveling the past: Archaeology of Keralam and adjacent Region in South India*, New Delhi, 2018, p.5.; *Idem*, 'Kerala Caritrattinte Caritrāṭita Samskāram', *Samskara Keralam*, Book.3, Vol.2, Trivandrum, 1995, p.39.

<sup>23</sup> Field visit at Iringal Museum on 06.09.2017.

<sup>24</sup> Noboru Karashima, ed., *A Concise History of South India: Issues and Interpretations*, New Delhi, 2011, p. 146.

<sup>25</sup> *Mathrubhumi daily*, 25.08.17.

Varikkoli in Kadathanadu contains the bones of a child belonging to the age group of five to ten. It proves that an archaeological finding from Kadathanadu shows the continuity of human habitation in the region. Megalithic is the huge stones discovered in memory of ancestors which are the foremost material evidence to study the Iron Age period of Peninsular India in general and Kerala in particular.<sup>26</sup>

The burial evidence shows the historical continuity of the region. The megalithic period is generally termed as Iron Age period.<sup>27</sup> Seven types of megalithic burials are discovered from Kerala. Dolminoid cists, menhirs, Urn burials, umbrella stones and capstones, were the megaliths found in Kerala.<sup>28</sup> The major artefacts discovered from megalithic sites are potteries of black and red ware and russet coated and painted redware. In addition to the above objects, implements, copper objects and grains were discovered from the megalithic sites in North Kerala. The megaliths are mainly found in the red laterite sandstone region.

---

<sup>26</sup> S. Settar and Ravi Kori Settar, eds., *Indian Archaeology in Retrospect: Pre-History Archaeology of South Asia*, Vol.I, New Delhi, 2002, p. 313; Panchanan Mithra, *Pre-historic India: Its place in the world culture*, New Delhi, 2010, p.151.

<sup>27</sup> K.P. Rajendran, *Op.cit.*, p.6.

<sup>28</sup> K.P. Rajesh, 'Megaliths and Iron age culture of Kerala: A note on the Archaeological explorations in Kannur district', in V.V. Haridas and Haskerali C., eds., *Multi-cultures of South India: New perceptions on History and Society*, Mysore, 2015, pp. 112-20.

The megalithic sites in Kadathanadu are generally found in the hilly region. The megalithic chamber is discovered from Vallattukunnu at Madappally. This cave had a small entrance which is on the slopes of the hill. The interior part of the chamber had a stone pillar at the entrance and a stone bench is also found. Red and black pottery is discovered from there.<sup>29</sup> The rock chamber is too small and has space for two persons to sit there.

Urn burials were huge mud pots discovered as part of the Iron Age remains in Kerala. It is believed that in the Iron Age people used the Urn burials for disposing of the dead. Along with the dead body fractionally buried, the people kept the materials of daily use and grains. It indicates that they believed in life after death.<sup>30</sup> This type of Urn burial discovered from Perumuṅṭacēri is significant in the context of Kadathanadu. Terracotta of birds was discovered from other Iron Age sites. It indicates that Iron Age people believed in life after death and they worshipped nature, birds and animals.<sup>31</sup> An Iron Age Urn burial was discovered from Kuyithēri near Vaḷayam. Iron ingots and redware pottery were discovered from the site.<sup>32</sup> These archaeological sites indicate that in the

---

<sup>29</sup> Field trip conducted at Vallathukunnu on 15.09.2017.

<sup>30</sup> T. Sathya Murthi, 'Megaliths of Kerala', Sharma and R. Gopal, eds., *Narasimha Priya: Essays on Indian Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography and cultural History*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 2000, p. 120; Robert Sewell's *List of the antiquarian remains in the presidency of Madras* gives comprehensive list of the archaeological sites of Malabar.

<sup>31</sup> Field Trip conducted at Perumuṅṭacēri on 15.09.2015.

<sup>32</sup> Field Trip conducted at Vaḷayam on 13.10.17

early period also human habitation existed in the region. Evidence from the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Megalithic periods prove that human habitation began in Kadathanadu at least 6000 years before the present. Nādāpuram, Peringattūr, Vāṇimēl, Madappally, Ōrkkāttēri, Eṭachēri, Puṛamēri, Chemprakkunnu and Māṅgāṭṭupāra are places where the remains of Iron Age culture found.<sup>33</sup>

At Māṇikottu Paṛambu in Veḷḷūr *Dēśam* there is a cape stone 36 feet in circumference on an upright stone about three feet height and four feet thick, iron age antiquities are found near Eṭachēri *amśam* five miles from Vadakara. Raghava Varier records that a group of sarcophagi (four-legged mud pots) were discovered from Patiyārakkara, a place situated in the western parts of Vadakara.<sup>34</sup>

The Sangam texts mention four kingdoms in Tamiḷakam, viz. Toṅṭaināṭu, Cēranāṭu, Polanāṭu and Pāṇḍyanāṭu. Tamiḷakam was further divided into twelve Nāṭus. Pāṇṭināṭu, Kuṭṭanāṭu, Kuṭanāṭu, Pūḷināṭu, Kākkaraināṭu, Vēṇāṭu, Aruvanāṭu, Vaṭakke Aruvanāṭu, Sītānāṭu, Malanāṭu and Puṛanāṭu.<sup>35</sup> The Ēḷimala and its southern parts are called as Pūḷināṭu in Sangam texts. The majority of soil types seen in North Malabar were sandy. So, the

---

<sup>33</sup> See below, Map 8.

<sup>34</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷīyata Caritramānangal*, Sukapuram, 1990, p. 77.

<sup>35</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Kēraḷam Añcum Ārum Nūrrāṇṭukaḷil*, Kottayam, 1973, p.10.

name Pūlināṭu is fit for the region. It was argued that during the Sangam period Kadathanadu was a part of Pūlināṭu.<sup>36</sup> This proves the arguments that the region including Kadathanadu was a part of Pūlināṭu in ancient times, many Nāṭus mentioned in the early Tamil texts disappeared and in its place, new Nāṭus formed. An early Tamil song mentions the attack of Nārmuṭichēral on Nannan of Ēlimalai by passing through Pūlināṭu. This proves the argument that the region including Kadathanadu was a part of Pūlināṭu in ancient times.<sup>37</sup> Nāṭus formed. An early Tamil song mentions the attack of Nārmuṭichēral on Nannan of Ēlimalai by passing through Pūlināṭu. This proves the argument that the region including Kadathanadu was a part of Pūlināṭu in ancient times.<sup>38</sup>

Kadathanadu geographically situated in between the coastal region and the Western Ghats. It is a midland region. Here the gap between the sea and Ghats is minimum forming a narrow stretch. For this reason, the rivers flowing through this region is short and lacks any possibility of forming large river valleys. It may be one of the factors that contributed to the absence of Brahmin settlements in the region. Among the 32 Brahmin settlements, none is found in Kadathanadu. Brahmin presence is negligent in the region. The Brahmin inhabitation is visible in the Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Kuttiyadi river belt. Kārāṭṭu,

---

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid*, p.11.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Kakkōraillam and Parōlillam were a few Brahmin domains of the region.<sup>39</sup> The production relation of Kadathanadu was controlled by Nāyar or Nambiar castes, the lack of Brahmin inhabitation may be a reason for this.

### Inscriptional Evidence

Inscriptions are a valuable source for studying the formation of a region. But in understanding the political geography of Kadathanadu the available inscriptional sources are meagre. Chempra inscription discovered from Subrahmaṇyan temple at Mahe indicates the extension of Cēra rule up to Mayyazhi.<sup>40</sup> This inscription is dated in the 12<sup>th</sup> regnal year of the Cēra ruler Indukōta (955). It indicates that the rulers up to Mayyazhi accepted the Cēra suzerainty.

The Cēra rule was established in Kerala from the ninth century to the 12<sup>th</sup> century AD. Their capital was Kodungallur. The territory of the Cēra kingdom was divided into several parts known as Nāṭu.<sup>41</sup> During this period the administration of this Nāṭu was done by *Nāṭuvāli*. These *Nāṭuvālis*

---

<sup>39</sup> Interview with Vasudevan Nambudiri, member of *Parōli Illam* on 25.07.16.

<sup>40</sup> Puthusseri Ramachandran, *Kēraḷa Caritrattinte Aṭisthāna Rēkhakaḷ*, Trivandrum, 2007, pp.46-48.

<sup>41</sup> Kōlattunāṭu, Kuṟumpoṟaināṭu, Rāmavaḷanāṭu, Puṟakiḷānāṭu, Ēṟālanāṭu, Vaḷḷuvanāṭu, Neṭumpuṟaiyūrṇāṭu, Kāḷkkaraināṭu, Muñṇināṭu, Vempalanāṭu, Kīḷmalaināṭu, Nanṟuḷaināṭu, Neṭunkālai Nāṭu, and Vēṇāṭu. See below, Map 9.

accepted the suzerainty of Cēramān Perumāḷ. There existed two types of Nāṭuṭayavars.<sup>42</sup>

1. The traditional rulers, for instance, Vēṇāṭu and Kōlattunāṭu *Uṭayavars*.
2. Nominated rulers, for instance, Rāmaṅṅāṇāṭu and Neṭumpuṅṅayūr Nāṭu *Uṭayavars*.

There is no consolidated list of the feudatory chieftains in any of the records and as such their total number is unknown during the Cēra period. Some new chieftainship was created and a few others ended, thus, the total number varied at different times. The boundaries of this Nāṭu are not mentioned in any documents.<sup>43</sup> It is difficult to know their actual and comparative size. The Nāṭus existed in the Cēra period became independent principalities and some of them became strong after the disintegration of the Cēra state. The conventional boundaries of the medieval kingdoms corresponded roughly with the boundaries of the district under the Cēras of Makōtai. This is a unique feature of political continuity not noticeable in other ancient or medieval kingdoms of South India.

Later Cēra period witnessed divisions in the old Nāṭus and the emergence of new Nāṭus. During the Cēra period, Kadathanadu was a part of

---

<sup>42</sup> V.V. Haridas, *Sāmūtiri Kālatte Kozhikode: Kathayum Caritravum*, Kottayam, 2012, p.23.

<sup>43</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala (800 AD-1124 AD)*, p.178.



the Puṛaikiḷānāṭu and Kuṛumpuṛaināṭu. The northern parts of Kadathanadu included in the Puṛaikiḷānāṭu and the southern parts included in Kuṛumpuṛaināṭu.<sup>44</sup> These Nāṭus had their political authority and sovereignty. At the same time, they accepted the Cēra overlordship. Inscriptions discovered from these regions supported the evidence.

Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription discovered from Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple in Kadathanadu was an important source for understanding the political formation of the region. Probably the date of the Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription is 11<sup>th</sup> century AD.<sup>45</sup> It records a temple committee resolution in which *sabha* and Kaṇṭan Raṇamāni Alias Polivar, probably the governor of Polanāṭu, makes provision for *Viḷakku* in the temple. Kaṇṭan Raṇamāni mentioned as Polivar in the inscription indicates that Polanāṭu mentioned in *Kēraḷōlpatti* existed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century AD. Kadathanadu of later period was a part of it. A hero stone (*vīrakkal*) inscription was also discovered from the courtyard of the Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple. This inscription also belongs to the 11<sup>th</sup> century, which states ‘*Cuvāmikaḷkaṭimalar Cēvakan Pirantapa Mārttāṇṭan*

---

<sup>44</sup> Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Charithram*, Sukapuram, 1991, p.135.

<sup>45</sup> K.V. Subrahmaṇya Aiyer, *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 7, New Delhi, 1932, p.46.

died there'.<sup>46</sup> This type of hero stone inscription was not found in other regions of the Cēra kingdom.

Tirunelli inscription discovered from the courtyard of Tirunelli temple indicates the extension of Cēra rule up to Puṛakiḷānāṭu. The date of the inscription is the 14<sup>th</sup> regnal year of the Cēra ruler Bhāskara Ravivarman. The inscription states that Cankaran Kōtavarman, called Puṛaikiḷār, *Niḷal* and *Paṇi* make a land grant to the temple for conducting feasts in the temple. It also mentions Puṛakiḷānāṭu *Aññūrruvar*. *Mūlikkaḷam Kaccam* is also cited in the inscription.

Tirunelli inscription also mentions Vīrakuṛumpoṛayār Kuññikuṭṭa Varman, the ruler of Kuṛumpuṛaināṭu.<sup>47</sup> He gave land and grains to the temple for expenditure. The term *mūttakūruvāḷkina* indicates that Kuññikuṭṭa Varman belongs to the senior branch of kingship. The grant was witnessed by *Eḷunnūrruvar* and *Paṇiyuṭayavar*. This inscription indicates that during the Cēra period the present region including Kadathanadu and Kuṛumbranāṭu was under the control of Puṛaikiḷār and Kuṛumpuṛayār. They had their *Aññūrruvar* and *Eḷunnūrruvar* organizations.<sup>48</sup> These Nāṭus also accepted the *Mūlikkaḷam Kaccam*. Evidence from these inscriptions shows that these Nāṭus accepted the

---

<sup>46</sup> M.G.S, *Op. cit.*, pp.487-88.

<sup>47</sup> Elamkulam Kunjanpillai, *Cila Kēraḷa Caritra Praśnangaḷ*, Kottayam, 1995, p.25.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 308-09.

Cēra overlordship. Kuṟumpuṟayār and Puṟakiḷār were the governors of Kuṟumpuṟayūrṇāṭu and Puṟakiḷānāṭu.

Tirunelli inscription indicates that these governors competed with each other for establishing their authority in the Tirunelli temple. Historians argued that Puṟakiḷānāṭu mentioned in Tirunelli inscription is part of the Northern Kottayam taluk. Tirunelli inscription and Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription indicate that Kaṇṭan Raṇamāni was Polavar and CankaranKōta Varman was Puṟakiḷār. From this evidence, we can assume that they were governors of Polanāṭu during the Cēra period. The Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription was a temple committee resolution. The inscription mentions *Sabha* and Kaṇṭan Raṇamāni titled as *Polivar* (governor of Polanāṭu), makes provision for *viḷakku* (lamp) in the temple. The terms like *Kuṭi* and *Sabha* are found in the inscription. It indicates the presence of Brahmin and non-Brahmin settlement in the region. The Kaliyāmpaḷḷi inscription discovered at the courtyard of Kaliyāmpaḷḷi *Bhagavati* temple. The inscription indicates that Polanāṭu mentioned in *Kēraḷōlpatti* existed in the 11<sup>th</sup> century in this region. The Kadathanadu region was in Polanāṭu under the political control of *Polaivar*.<sup>49</sup> Later from the vicinity of Polanāṭu Kadathanadu emerged. The rulers of Kadathanadu claim their origin from the lineage of Pōrlātiris of Polanāṭu.

---

<sup>49</sup> M.G.S Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala (800 AD-1124 AD)*, p.487.

Pullūr Koṭavalam inscription indicates the extension of the authority of Bhāskara Ravi in Kōlattunāṭu. Eramam Cālappuṛam inscription (1020 A.D) mentions about Kaṇṭan Raṇamānī alias Rāmakaṭa Mūvar governing Kōlattunāṭu.<sup>50</sup> They also accepted the political suzerainty of Bhāskara Ravivarman. Māṇiyūr inscription discovered from the *Prākāra* of the temple shows the expansion of the authority of Mūlikkaḷam Kaccam over Kōlattunāṭu. Narayan Kaṇṇūr, Māṇiyūr, Pullūr Koṭavalam, and Eramam Chālappuṛam inscriptions discovered from north Malabar indicate the expansion of Cēra political authority up to Kōlattunāṭu. Kōlattunāṭu, Puṛakiḷānāṭu and Kuṛumpuṛayūrṇāṭu accepted the Cēra suzerainty and they accepted Mūlikkaḷam Kaccam. Tiruvalla copper plates mention a person from Puṛakiḷānāṭu as Puṛakiḷānāṭu Śankaran.

Inscriptional evidence proves that Cēra power existed up to 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. After the disintegration of the Cēra power, many Nāṭus disappeared and instead, new Nāṭus formed. Kōlattunāṭu, Vēṇāṭu and Kozhikode became prominent Nāṭus. During this period the region up to Putupaṭṭanam river was under the domination of Kōlattiri. The administration of this region was under the control of *Vāḷunnavar*. Inscriptional evidence is found on Kadathanadu. It emerged as an independent principality only after the 16<sup>th</sup> century. In Veḷḷikuḷangara Śiva temple, an inscription in Sanskrit and Malayalam

---

<sup>50</sup> M.G.S. Narayanan, *Kēraḷa Caritrattinte Aṭisthāna Śilakaḷ*, Calicut, 1971, p. 79.

languages is found. It mentions Udayavarma Raja of Kadathanadu. In this inscription, Udayavarma is mentioned as the seat of courage and the gem of the royal line originated from Ghaṭōlkkaca (son of Bhima). The inscription was dated in Kollam Era 905 corresponding to A.D 1730.<sup>51</sup>

### **Pōrlātiri Lineage: Appropriating a Heritage**

The antecedents of Kadathanadu are not much older comparing to that of various other Nāṭus. But the recent origin of such a political entity is a handicap for rulers, which stood in the way of their kingship pretensions. Tracing back their origin to an earlier lineage may be viewed in this context. Whether that lineage originally linked to them is not a problem taken up here. What is more important is the claim of the Kadathanadu Raja to that effect. The power of the Kōlattiri kingdom was divided among the five members of the royal family viz, the Kōlattiri, Tekkiḷamkūr, Vaṭakkiḷamkūr, Nālām̄kūr and Añcām̄kūr.<sup>52</sup>

Tekkiḷamkūr or the second position in the royal line becomes independent rulers with Putuppaṇam as its headquarters. The internal conflict among the branches of the royal family for acquiring power occurred in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. These branches declared independence from Kōlattiri and became

---

<sup>51</sup> V. Ranghacharya, *A Topographical list of the inscriptions of Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1985, pp. 1044-45.

<sup>52</sup> P.J. Cheriyan, ed., *Malabar Manual*, *op. cit.*, p.6.

independent states. Francis Day stated the fragmented rival states of Kōlattunāṭu as antagonistic states.<sup>53</sup> Kuṟungōṭṭu Nāṭu, Kottayam and Kadathanadu were the best examples of antagonistic states in north Malabar.

Kadathanadu came into the political scenario of north Malabar as an independent state from 1750 onwards. *Vāḷunnavar* accepted the title Raja without the consent of Kōlattiri<sup>54</sup>. *Vāḷunnavar* conducted a coronation ceremony with the support of Iruvainad Nambiars. The *Vāḷunnavar* belongs to the Aṭiyōṭi caste, a subdivision of Nāyar caste. Aṭiyōṭi was considered as a title given to the *Vāḷunnavar* by Kōlattiri. Later Aṭiyōṭi became a caste title. By conducting a coronation ceremony, the *Vāḷunnavar* claimed the *Sāmanta* Kshatriya status. They claimed the title Pōrlātiris of Kadathanadu. According to K.P. Padmanabha Menon, later Cēra period witnessed the disintegration of many Nāṭus, at the same time some Nāṭus continued in the form of *Swarūpams*. All *Swarūpams* are matrilineal in character. The later medieval period also witnessed the emergence of new *Swarūpams*. Landlords and chieftains of certain areas could develop into the form of *Swarūpams*. Kadathanadu was an example of such a newly developed *Swarūpam*.<sup>55</sup> The Kadathanadu royal

---

<sup>53</sup> Francis Day, *The land of Perumals or Cochin its past and present*, (1863), Madras, 1990, p. 62.

<sup>54</sup> *Thalassery Consultancy Records*, XIX.

<sup>55</sup> K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol II, (1929), New Delhi, 2003, p.846.

family followed the matrilineal way of inheritance. The title Pōrlātiri also indicates it.<sup>56</sup>

Historians express various opinions regarding the origin of Pōrlātiris. In the medieval period, a Nāṭu called Polanāṭu existed in Malabar. Geographically Polanāṭu existed in between Ēlattūr and Chāliyar river. Pōlūr was its capital, Polanāṭu was agriculturally rich. Kozhikode was their port town.<sup>57</sup>Pōrlātiri was the ruler of Polanāṭu.

According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, Cēramān Perumāḷ placed the King Vallabha as Pōrlātiri of Polanāṭu. Polanāṭu is otherwise known as *Mukkātam Nāṭu* or *Nāṭukaḷil Mikacca Nāṭu* (best among the Nāṭus). Cēramān Perumāḷ also presented some rights and privileges to them. He gave *Mukkātam Nāṭu*, *Irupatti Raṇṭutara*, *Patināyiram Nāyars*, *Raṇṭutara*, *Mūnnu Kūṭṭams*, *Nālu Akampaṭi* and *Patineṭṭu Āchāram* and seated him at *Polanāṭṭūr Kōvilakam*. Pōrlātiri ruled from the 9<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>58</sup> The Nāyar chieftains controlled the administration under Pōrlātiris. The commercial prosperity of Kozhikode attracted the Ērāṭis of Neṭiyirippu. They tried to capture Polanāṭu. The Ērāṭis created political crises in Polanāṭu. The Ērāṭis gained the support of *Nāṭuvāḷis*

---

<sup>56</sup> According to tradition a female member of Pōrlātiri family married a male member of Thekkiḷamkūr branch of Kōlattiri family. Kōlattiri granted the control of Kadathanadu to them. The rulers of Kadathanadu appropriated the title Pōrlātiri recalling the matrilineal line.

<sup>57</sup> K. Balakrishna Kuruppu, 'Polanāṭum Pōrlātiriyum' in N.M. Namboothiri and P.K. Sivadas, eds., *Kēraḷa Caritrattinte Nāṭuvāḷikaḷ*, Kottayam, 2015, p. 395.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 396.

under Pōrlātiri. The Ērāṭis also influenced the Arab merchants of Kozhikode. The war between Polanāṭu and Neṭiyirippu continued for forty-eight years. Ērāṭis bribed *Cālappuṛattamma*, wife of Pōrlātiri, in the last phase of the war. *Cālappuṛattamma* kept open the door of the palace of Pōrlātiri for the Nāyar militia of Neṭiyirippu. The militia entered the palace. When Pōrlātiri knows about this treachery, Pōrlātiri sought asylum at Kōlattunāṭu with the help of his family members. A female member of Pōrlātiri family had married the male member of the Tekkiḷamkūr branch of Kōlattiri family.<sup>59</sup> In 1564 CE Kōlattiri gave the authority of southern parts of Kōlattiri kingdom to the Tekkiḷamkūr branch. The rulers were known as Pōrlātiri of Kadathanadu from the matrilineal line. In 1750 the *Vāḷunnavar* became independent from Kōlattiri and accepted the title Pōrlātiri Rajas of Kadathanadu.

The centre of administration was at Muṭṭungal when Pōrlātiris established their authority in Kadathanadu. It is a coastal area near Mayyazhi. As part of the expansion of their boundaries, they transferred their capital from Muṭṭungal to Kuttippuram in a later period. It was an interior part of Kadathanadu, which is situated near the eastern boundary of Kadathanadu. In the earlier period before the Pōrlātiris become the independent rulers the southern regent of the Kōlattiri kingdom controlled the administration of the region. In northern ballads ruler of Kadathanadu is called Kuttippuram Vāṇa

---

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 397.



Valiya Tampurān. Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam* is divided into four branches. Eṭavalattu, Āyanchēri, Puṛamēri and Kuttippuram.<sup>60</sup> *Mūppu* or seniority was the criteria for becoming the ruler. The senior members of the family acted as both heads of the family and the rulers of the Kingdom. The elder member from these two branches called *Valiya Tampurān* and become the Raja of Kadathanadu. The second senior member called as *Elo* or *Eḷaya Tampurān* and he resided at Puṛamēri *Kōvilakam*.<sup>61</sup> The head of the royal family lived in Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam*. The senior female member of this two *Kōvilakams* is called Amma Raja. Amma Raja or Valiyamma Raja had a high influence in the administration of Kadathanadu.

Kadathanadu for administrative convenience was divided into *Dēśams*, presided over by *Dēśavāli*.<sup>62</sup> The *Dēśams* further divided into *taṛa*. The head of *taṛa* was *Kāraṇavar* of Nāyar *taṛavāṭu*. The *taṛakkūṭṭams* were the lowest unit of administration. The *Dēśavālis* of six Nāyar *taṛavāṭu* controlled the administration of Kadathanadu under Kadathanadu Raja. Ākkaliṭam, Kuḷikkaliṭam, Kuniyiliṭam, Kōmattiṭam, and Vaṭakkumbāviliṭam were these *Taṛavāṭus*. They controlled the administration of the eastern parts of Kadathanadu. Cellaṭṭen, Kunniyūr, Veṅṅappālan, Nalaṅṅōḷan, Māṅikkōṭtu, Kappaḷli Pālāṭṭu, Kārṛōṭi and Putiyēṭattu were the *Dēśavālis* who controlled the

---

<sup>60</sup> Raghavan Payyanad, ed., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut, 2000, p.15.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Ramakrishnan Master, on 15.06.2018.

<sup>62</sup> C.K. Kareem, *Kerala under Hyder Ali and Tipusultan*, Cochin, 1973, p.134.

administration of north-western part of Kadathanadu.<sup>63</sup> These *Janmis* granted their land as *vāram*, *pāṭṭam* and *puṛappāṭu* tenure forms to the *kuṭiyāns*. *Dēśavāli* managed the revenue collection of Kadathanadu. *Kōvilakams* controlled the *Dēśavālis* and from these *Kōvilakams* a part of revenue paid to Kadathanadu Raja. Eṭavalattu *Kōvilakam* controlled the region from Aḷiyūr to Putiyangāṭi. The revenue collected from this region submitted to Eṭavalattu *Kōvilakam*. The regions such as Iringaṇṇūr, Peringattūr, Cekkīyāṭu, Tūṇēri, Ōrkkāṭṭēri, and Puṛamēri are placed under Puṛamēri *Kōvilakam*. The regions like Putuppaṇam, Kōṭṭappaḷli, Mēppayil Taṇṇīrpantal, Vilyāppaḷli, Āyanchēri, and Arūr were under Āyanchēri *Kōvilakam*. The eastern boundary of Kadathanadu including Kakkāṭṭil, Mokēri, Nādāpuram, Vaḷayam, Naripparra, and Vilangāṭu was under Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam*.<sup>64</sup> In 1792 the British established their authority in Kadathanadu. In fact, in an earlier period Kāvilumpāra, Toṭṭilpālam and Kuttiyadi were under the rule of Kottayam Raja.

*Tarakkūṭṭams* existed in Kadathanadu for solving disputes among the people. Kuṭṭōttu Ālttara is famous among them. Twelve temples existed under the control of the Kadathanadu royal family. Lōkanārkāvu, Iringaṇṇūr Śiva temple, Ponmēri Śiva temple and Kaliyāmpaḷli Bhagavati temple were prominent among them. Severe conflicts regarding senior-junior positions

---

<sup>63</sup> *Kadathanadu Taluk Paymash Account*, Bundle No.I.

<sup>64</sup> *Settlement Records - Kuṛumbranāṭu Taluk*, Bundle No. 124.

occurred in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>65</sup> The administration of Kadathanadu fully depended on Eṭavalattu, Āyanchēri, Puṛamēri and Kuttippuram *Kōvilakams*. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, these branches of the Kadathanadu royal family fought each other for acquiring power and positions. The senior female member of the royal family also demanded kingship. During the British period the members of the royal family involved in various property disputes among themselves. Thalasseri court records give information about such cases.<sup>66</sup> This internal conflict among the members of the royal family led to the decline of the Kadathanadu royal family.

### ***Kēraḷōlpatti Tradition***

The origin of the Kadathanadu royal family is shrouded in mystery. According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, the disintegration of the Cēra state there emerged many Nāṭu divisions. Every Nāṭu claimed their descent from the last Cēramān Perumāḷ who divided the country into many Nāṭu divisions and gave it to the *Nāṭuvāḷis* to rule. Kozhikode, Cochin and Vēṇāṭu were the major Nāṭus as evident from these traditions. But in later period these major Nāṭus had broken into small principalities. New Nāṭus emerged instead of old Nāṭus. According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, Paraśurāma created Kerala and he called

---

<sup>65</sup> Thalasseri Court Records - A.S. 1/98.

<sup>66</sup> Thalasseri Court Records - A.S. 2/98.

the region from Perumpuḷa to Putupaṭṭaṇam as Kōlattunāṭu.<sup>67</sup> The ruler of Kōlattunāṭu is called as Kōlattiri Vaṭakkan Perumāl. Paraśurāma divided the kingdom from Gōkarṇam to Perumpuḷa as Tuḷurājyam, from Putupaṭṭaṇam to Kannēri as Kerala Rājyam, from Kannēri to Kanyakumari as Kūpa Rājyam.<sup>68</sup>

Another version of *Kēraḷōlpatti* says that Zamorin displaced the Pōrlātiri from his country with the help of Payyanāṭu Nambiṭi, Māngāṭu Nambiṭi, Tirumalaśśēri Nambiṭi and Vadakara Kuṭṭil Pilāśśēri Nāyar. Pōrlātiri sought asylum in the Kōlattiri kingdom. The Tekkiḷamkūr regent of Kōlattiri kingdom married a female member of this Pōrlātiri family. Kōlattiri gave *Mukkātam Nāṭu* and *Mūvāyiram Nāyars* to Pōrlātiri and gave him the title *Nāṭṭaṭi* or *Aṭiyōṭi*.<sup>69</sup> Member of this royal line is called as Kadathanadu royal family. Apart from it Kōlattiri presented him Putiya Kōvilakattu *Vāḷunnavar*, Elamkuḷam Kuṟuppu, Tōṭṭattil Nambiar, Chembatṭa Kuṟuppu, Mūvāyiram Nāyar and Kāvil Bhagavati.<sup>70</sup>

Another tradition related to the origin of Kadathanadu royal family is that two women and men of Pōrlātiri family who were defeated in the warfare with Zamorin reached Varakkal beach and from there travelled through a boat

---

<sup>67</sup> Velayudhan Panikkasseri, ed., *Kēraḷōlpatti*, Kottayam, 2008, p.17.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

<sup>69</sup> Scaria Zacharia ed., *Herman Gundert: Kēraḷōlpattiyum Marrum*, Kottayam, 1992, p.193.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p.194.

and reached Muṭṭungal, a part of Kōlattiri kingdom.<sup>71</sup> The women of this Pōrlātiri family married the prince of Tekkiḷamkūr regent of Kōlattiri. Kōlattiri gave them control of the southern region from Mayyazhi river to Putupaṭṭanam river, which is called as Kadathanadu.<sup>72</sup> The Kadathanadu royal family established their first palace at Muṭṭungal, which was a part of the coastal area famous for fishing, lending supporting evidence to this tradition. *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition indicates that Kadathanadu was a newly emerged Nāṭu carved out of Kōlattunāṭu.

### **Kadathanadu in Northern Ballads**

Northern ballads are a vast and exhaustive branch of Kerala folk tradition. The songs are categorised as Taccōḷi, Puttūram and *orra* songs. The Northern ballads mainly deal with the socio-cultural life of north Malabar. Places like commercial centres and worshipping centres in North Malabar are described in the ballads. There are diverse opinions among scholars regarding the chronology of the ballads. The period from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century is generally accepted as the period of ballads. Northern ballads deal with the social, cultural and political life of Kadathanadu. In Northern ballads, Kadathanadu otherwise describes as Kaṟuttēnārnāṭu or Kaṭattuvāynāṭu. During the later medieval period, the region situated in between the Kōḷṭṭa river and the

---

<sup>71</sup> Vidya Vinodini, *Kēraḷōlpatti*, October-November 1889, pp. 9-13.

<sup>72</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷōlpatti Granthavari*, (2013), Kottayam, 2016, p.13

Mayyazhi river is called Kadathanadu. At present, the region and its surrounding areas are part of Vadakara taluk. There is a reference about the boundaries of Kadathanadu in Northern ballads but is not easy to identify due to contradictory statements in various songs.<sup>73</sup> In a ballad, there is a reference to 18 Nāṭus and its boundaries.<sup>74</sup> The place names mentioned in the Taccōḷi songs are prevailing at present also. But the place names mentioned in the Puttūram songs are not easy to identify.

Lōkanārkāvu or Allimalarkkāvu mentioned in the Taccōḷi songs are considered as an important worshipping centre in Kadathanadu. At present Lōkanārkāvu situated approximately five kilometres from Vadakara town. Apart from Lōkanārkāvu other ritually important places are mentioned in the northern ballads. Māṇiyūr Bhagavati temple, Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple, Ponnēri Śiva temple, Peruvāśśēri Bhagavati temple and Pāngōṭṭūr

---

<sup>73</sup> Kumaran Vayaleri, *Adhinivēśam Cila Parāmarśangaḷ Nāṭan Pāṭṭukaḷil*, Vadakara, Raghavan Payyanad, eds., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut University, 2000, p.72.

<sup>74</sup> *There are 18Nāṭus,*  
*Among the eighteen Nāṭus one is that [disappeared?]*  
*Balance there are 17Nāṭus.*  
*The Northern boundary is up to the market of Vaṭuvan*  
*In the Southern is upto thekaḷari of Tuḷuvas*  
*In the east up to Kuttiyadi Ghat.*  
*The Western boundary is the sea coast of Mayyazhi: Kumaran Vayaleri,*  
*Adhinivēśam Cila Parāmarśangaḷ Nāṭan Pāṭṭukaḷil*, Raghavan Payyanad, eds.,  
*Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut University, 2000, p.73.

Bhagavatitemple are mentioned in the ballads.<sup>75</sup> These worshipping centres are situated in the present Vadakara taluk.<sup>76</sup>

Taccōḷi songs are later than the Puttūram songs. Taccōḷi songs describe the heroic deeds of Taccōḷi Otēnan of Taccōḷi Māṇikkōttu Taṛavāṭu.<sup>77</sup>Taccōḷi Māṇikkōttu temple situated at Mēppayil *Amsam* of Vadakara taluk at present. In this temple, Taccōḷi Otēnan and his brother Kōma Kuṛuppu are worshipped. Kappaḷḷi Pālāṭṭu Kōman, a hero in northern ballads are worshipped in Kappaḷḷi Pālāṭṭu *Kāvu* at Chemmarattūr. This place is also situated in Vadakara taluk. Trading centres like Tāle Angāṭi, Vadakara, Ānavātil, Puṛamēri, Kāvilumpāra, Cōmbāla, Naṭuvaṇṇūr, and Nādāpuram are mentioned in the ballads.<sup>78</sup>

Puttūram songs describe the heroism of Ārōmal Cēkavar and Uṇṇiyārcca who were the members of Puttūram Taṛavāṭu at Eḷavannūr. Scholars argued that the Puttūram Taṛavāṭu situated somewhere in between the Arūr-Taṇṇīrpantal regions. Nāgapurattangāṭi is a major trading centre mentioned in Puttūram songs.<sup>79</sup> In the ballads, Nāgapurattangāṭi is mentioned as *Jōnakar Puḷappu Uḷḷa Nāṭu* (a Nāṭu where the Muslims are dominant). At

---

<sup>75</sup> S.K. Nāyar, ed., *Ballads of North Malabar*, Vol.II, Madras, 1957, pp.101-04.

<sup>76</sup> See below, Map10.

<sup>77</sup> Thonnaykal Vasudevan, *Malayāḷattile Vīra Kathāgānangaḷ*, Trivandrum, 2011, p.9.

<sup>78</sup> C.G.N., *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ Oru Paṭhanam*, Kottayam, 1976, p.90.

<sup>79</sup> Sreedharan Chambad, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukathakaḷ*, Kozhikode, 2015, p.16.

present Nādāpuram situated in the eastern part of Kadathanadu is a Muslim majority region.

Kumarampuḷa was a major river mentioned in the Puttūram songs. At present, there is no river of that name in Kadathanadu. Raghava Varier argues that Kumarampuḷa is another name of Kōrappuḷa, which is probable.<sup>80</sup> The place names mentioned in Taccōḷi and Puttūram songs indicate that Kadathanadu was a region situated in Vadakara and adjacent areas. Kadathanadu became a Nāṭu in the 18<sup>th</sup> century is evident from ballads. Puttūram songs describe the political situation of medieval Nāṭus, after the decline of Cēra power. In Puttūram songs Ārōmaluṇṇi says that his ancestors came from Īlavattunāṭu. Cēramān Perumāḷ sent letters to the ruler of Īlavattunāṭu.<sup>81</sup>

According to the *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition ruler of Īlavattunāṭu sent Ezhavas (Īlavas) to Kerala. Cēramān Perumāḷ gave land for them and placed them at Eḷavannūr *Dēśam*. The Puttūram songs give a clear picture of social life in the North Malabar region in the late medieval period. During this period new Nāṭus formed, at the same time a few old Nāṭus became prominent. Kadathanadu was a part of Kōlattunāṭu during the period of Puttūram songs. Nāyar chieftains ruled the territory under Kōlattiri domination during the period. *Ankam* and

---

<sup>80</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*, Sukapuram, 2005, p. 5.

<sup>81</sup> K. Sreekumar, *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 2013, p.97.



*Poyttu* were conducted for solving disputes. The *Cēkōns* in the Ezhava caste fought *ankams* for these chieftains. The *Cēkōns* attained an important position in the social system. The *Cēkōn* who kills the opponent in the *Ankam* is considered a hero.

Northern ballads give a picture of the political condition of Kadathanadu during the late medieval period. The *Nāṭuvāli* system was intact in Kadathanadu. There is no centralized administration. Kadathanadu was divided into *Dēśams* and *Taras* for administrative convenience. The *Cēkōns* fought among themselves for solving political issues. A *Nāṭuvāli* form of political administration that existed in Kadathanadu is evident from the Northern ballads.<sup>82</sup> In *Taccōli* songs, Kadathanadu Raja is known as Kuttippuram Tampurān. He was the nominal ruler of the region. Nāyar chieftains controlled the local administration and political issues are settled by fighting *ankam* by *Cēkōns*. These Nāyar chieftains had high status on par with the ruler and sometimes they questioned the authority of the king. Centralized authority in Kadathanadu seems to be weak as evident in the northern ballads. The persons like *Taccōli* Otēnan acted as independent Nāyar chieftain and controlled the lowest unit of administration. They had their *kaḷaris* for imparting martial training. In the case of war and other contingencies, the

---

<sup>82</sup> S.K. Nair, *Op. cit.*, p.105.

*Nāṭuvāli* sought the help of the Nāyar chieftains who acted as the militia of the ruler.

Apart from these Nāyar chieftains, *Cēkōns* or Ezhavas had an important role in the political scenario of Kadathanadu. The lowest unit of administration in Kadathanadu was *Tarakūṭṭams*. The *Kāraṇavar* of the four major *Taravāṭus* had the responsibilities of these *Tarakūṭṭams*. They controlled the law and order of the *taras*. Legal disputes were settled in Kadathanadu based on *Ankam* is evident in Puttūram songs. During this period the society gave more importance to the *kaḷari* system. *Nāṭuvālis* conducted *Ankam* to settle the disputes between chieftains. The person participated in *Ankam* are not necessarily the persons involved in the disputes. Generally, they were persons trained in *kaḷari* to fight in the *Ankam*. The person who won the *Ankam* for a chieftain is considered a winner in the disputes. In Puttūram songs *Ārōmaluṇṇi* participated in the Ponniyattu *Ankam* to settle the dispute of seniority in the line of *Kurungāṭṭiṭam Vālunnavar*. Puttūram family had much influence over the administration of Kadathanadu.

The exact picture of the political boundaries of Kadathanadu is not evident in the Northern ballads. But the place names, such as trading centres and worshipping centres mentioned in the ballads are at present seen in Vadakara taluk, which was a part of Kadathanadu during the medieval period. A few references on the administrative setup of Kadathanadu are found in the

ballads. According to Puttūram and Taccōḷi songs, *Cēkōns* and Nāyar militia acted as local administrators or *Dēśavāḷis*. Sometimes they challenged the authority of the ruler and gained more power and position. The northern ballads offer contradictory views regarding the boundary of Kadathanadu.<sup>83</sup> The Northern ballads provide information on the establishment of European power over the Nāṭu administration. The song mentions the establishment of Portuguese power in Kadathanadu.<sup>84</sup> The Northern ballad on Matilērikkanni gives a picture of the physical geography of Kadathanadu.<sup>85</sup>

The places mentioned in Puttūram songs were not easy to trace out. The places like Eḷavannūr, Kuṟungāṭṭitam and other places and rulers mentioned in the ballads seem to be poetic imagination. However, the places mentioned in Taccōḷi songs presently exist in Vadakara taluk. But at the same time in the description of the physical geography poetic imagination is evident. The

---

<sup>83</sup> Kumaran Vayaleri, *Adhinivēśam Cila Parāmarśangaḷ Nāṭan Pāṭṭukaḷil*, Raghavan Payyanad, eds., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut University, 2000, p.74.

<sup>84</sup> *Āṭṭintōl Vītiyil Sthalam Koṭuttu*  
*Kaṭalil Pārkkunna Kappittānō*  
*Karammal Naṭṭu Nān Nīr Pakarnnu*  
*Kompum Taramvaccupaṭannaliṭṭu*. Kumaran Vayaleri, *Adhinivēśam Cila Parāmarśangaḷ Nāṭan Pāṭṭukaḷil*, Raghavan Payyanad, eds., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut University, 2000, p.74.

<sup>85</sup> *Tāṇavayalūṭe Puñcappāṭe*,  
*Uyarnna Varampilūṭe Tōṭṭinnarike*  
*Kaṇṭiṭe Valiyōrattūṭe*  
*Tōṭṭinnaṭivāram Kaṇṭu Kaṇṭu*. M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*, Sukapuram, 2005, p. 12.

Taccōḷi Māṇikkōttu Taravāṭu and its surrounding places are also mentioned in *Lōkanārkkāvu Granthavari*. Taccōḷi, Kaṇṭāccēri, and Kappalḷi Pālāṭṭu were the important Nāyar households mentioned in the *Granthavari*.<sup>86</sup>

### **Kadathanadu and Portuguese**

The Portuguese landed in Malabar in 1498. The prime motive for this navigation was trading. When they arrived in Malabar, the region was divided into many Nāṭus.<sup>87</sup> The Kōlattiri Raja of Cannanore welcomed Vasco Da Gama and permitted him to establish a trading outpost at Vadakara.<sup>88</sup> During the Portuguese period, Kadathanadu was a part of Kōlattunāṭu.<sup>89</sup> The boundary of Kōlattunāṭu extended from Perumpuḷa to Putupattāṇampuḷa. During the Portuguese period, there is no mention of Kadathanadu or *Vāḷunnavar* of Vadakara. The *Vāḷunnavar* of Vadakara is mentioned in the European accounts after the formation of this semi-independent Nāṭu division in 1564 AD.<sup>90</sup> During the period the Tekkiḷamkūr branches of Kōlattiri royal family with the consent of Kōlattiri became the chieftains of the southern part of Kōlattunāṭu. There is no direct evidence for the existence of trade relation between

---

<sup>86</sup> *Lōkanārkkāvu Granthavari*, Unpublished palm leaves, Thunjath Ezhuthachan, Manuscript Library, Calicut University, Palm leaf no.32.

<sup>87</sup> The Nāṭu divisions are Kōlattunāṭu, Veṭṭattunāṭu, Kodungallur, Paravur, Mangadu, Edappally, Kochi, Udayamperur, Tharangul, Kalikaulam, Kundra, Maruthurvattom, and Peruvathanam.

<sup>88</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, (1967), Kottayam, 1976, p.10.

<sup>89</sup> K. Gopala Pillai, *Kēraḷa Mahā Caritam*, Trivandrum, 1942, p.10.

<sup>90</sup> S.K. Vasanthan, *Kēraḷa Caritra Nighaṇṭu*, Kottayam, 1983, p.120.

Kadathanadu Raja and the Portuguese. But the remains of the Portuguese port at Vadakara indicate the existence of trade between the Portuguese and *Vāḷunnavar*. The Portuguese atrocities against Moors and Arabs adversely affected the Portuguese trade.

The travel accounts and other European accounts up to 1750 mentioned the ruler as '*Bayanora of Badagara*'. The terms Kadathanadu and Kadathanadu Raja are mainly mentioned in English and French accounts. The term *Kaṭattuvāynāṭu* is found in northern ballads. It indicates that the territory of Vadakara *Vāḷunnavar* became an independent Nāṭu form in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. '*Vāḷunnavar*' was considered as a title given by *Kōlattiri* to his vassal. During 1564-1750 Vadakara *Vāḷunnavar* appeared in the political scenario of north Malabar. Kadathanadu was divided into small principalities when the British established their authority in Malabar. The areas of Kadathanadu shrink into a small area. *Cirakkal*, *Iruvaināṭu*, *Kottayam*, *Kuṟungōṭṭunāṭu* and Kadathanadu were the newly emerged Nāṭu subdivisions instead of large *Kōlattiri* kingdom.<sup>91</sup>

### **Kadathanadu in the eyes of European Traveller**

Walter Hamilton, the British official, visited the territory of *Vāḷunnavar* in 1703. He says that *Vāḷunnavar* is an important, powerful and independent

---

<sup>91</sup> K. Sivasankaran Nair, *Kēraḷam Oru Lantakkārante Driṣṭiyil*, Trivandrum, 2005, p.77.

ruler of north Malabar, who maintained a good naval force.<sup>92</sup> According to Hamilton, the territory of *Vāḷunnavar* was three *Kātams* and it had a force of three thousand Nāyars. Hamilton describes the *Vāḷunnavar* as simple men. He visited the palace of *Vāḷunnavar* at Kuttippuram. He gives details of the palace of *Vāḷunnavar*. The palace constructed with laterite stones and the roof thatched with coconut leaves. When he entered the palace, his cap touched the roof. The *Vāḷunnavar* considered it as a bad omen. For this reason, they re-thatched the roof of the palace. The *Vāḷunnavar* had a long coastal boundary, from Mayyazhi to Tikkōṭi. The ships passing through the off coast of *Vāḷunnavar*'s territory was given tolls to the *Vāḷunnavar*. The ships passing through without giving tolls are captured by the naval force of *Vāḷunnavar*. *Vāḷunnavar*'s country is famous for teak plants. The *Vāḷunnavar* constructed ships using teak timber.<sup>93</sup> The travel accounts of Hamilton make it clear that *Vāḷunnavar* was a Nāyar chieftain, who had much power and position in Malabar. Hamilton did not mention *Vāḷunnavar* as Pōrlātiri or Kadathanadu Raja.

### **Dutch in the Political Scenario**

Dutch established a factory at Cochin for trading purpose in 1661. When the Dutch came to the land of Malabar, the region was divided into many small

---

<sup>92</sup> Walter Hamilton, *Statistical and Historical Description of Hindustan and Adjacent Countries*, Vol. II, New Delhi, 1971, p. 272.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, p.273.

principalities. Galatti gives the list of forty-five principalities.<sup>94</sup> In Dutch accounts, *Bayanora of Badagara (Vāḷunnavar of Vadakara)* recorded as a vassal of Colastry (Kōlattiri).<sup>95</sup> It indicates that during this period Kadathanadu *Vāḷunnavar* was considered a semi-independent ruler. Kōlattunāṭu faced civil wars during the Dutch period. In 1664 the Dutch gained the freedom of trade in Kōlattunāṭu. The Kōlattiri also allowed his feudatories to grant permission to the English and the French to permit their settlement at his territory. But the Dutch considered this as a violation of the contract between them. When the English and the French emerged as participants in the trade, the Dutch monopoly of trade suffered. During the Dutch period, the jealousy and rivalry among the different chieftains and the prince of the Kōlattiri family left the country in a state of decay.<sup>96</sup> The Dutch also engaged in purchasing pepper from Kadathanadu. The Dutch ship anchored at Muṭṭungal for buying pepper from the *Vāḷunnavar*. The Dutch signed treaties with Kōlattunāṭu in 1660, and 1664 which granted those privileges to trade in Kadathanadu. In 1706 there

---

<sup>94</sup> The principalities are Travancore, the states of Parippally and Elleda Swarūpam, Quilon, Marta, Calicoilon, Panapally, Pandallam, Tirkenapally, Tekkankur, Ellengallur, King of Cochin, Poracad, Vadakkenkut, Parur, The Anjikaimals, Marianatty, Codacherry Kaimal, The Palyet Bardella, Tevengal Nair, Coretty, Changara Goda, Cragannor, Balanya, Pappinivattam, Belosta Nambiar, Changarkanda Kaimal, Chittur Namburi, Payancheri Nair, Ainecutty, Mannacolam, Talappalli, Manacotta, Valluvanatty, The Zamorin, Cottica, Vettatunad, Parapur, Beppucoil, Palicattucherry, Colastry, Cannanore, Kurungot, Kottayam, Bayanore of Badagara. A. Galatti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, New Delhi, Reprint 1991, p.53.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53.

<sup>96</sup> M.O. Koshi, *The Dutch power in Kerala*, New Delhi, 1989, p.33.

was a Dutch factory at Vadakara for carrying trade. Kadathanadu was a part of Kōlattunāṭu during the Dutch period. The *Vāḷunnavar* accepted the authority of Kōlattiri. The eastern boundary of the region included the Kottayam region.

### **Anglo-French Rivalries in Kadathanadu**

The Anglo-French rivalry was significant in the political history of Kadathanadu. It had an important role in colonial historiography. During the colonial period, Kadathanadu became a politically contested region due to Anglo-French rivalry. The period witnessed many conflicts between the Raja of Kadathanadu and the Anglo-French companies. The Kadathanadu ruling family opportunistically supported the English and the French. This created a political crisis in the region. Both the English and the French tried their best for establishing a monopoly in the pepper trade and also tried to establish their settlement at Mayyazhi, which was a part of Kadathanadu. The French entered into the pepper trade of Malabar only after the other European powers established their base on the western coast of India.

In 1721 a treaty was signed between the French Commander Mollandil and the *Vāḷunnavar* of Kadathanadu. As per the terms of the treaty, *Vāḷunnavar* gave a strip of land and the permission to build an arsenal at Mayyazhi, the northern boundary of Kadathanadu.<sup>97</sup> The English always tried to prevent

---

<sup>97</sup> M.P. Sreedharan, 'French in Kerala', in P.J. Cheriyan, ed., *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Trivandrum, 1994, p. 256.



French interference in the pepper trade in Kadathanadu. The English negotiated with Kōlattiri for their supremacy in the pepper trade. The English also demanded the exclusion of other European powers in the trade and other affairs of the region. The English instigated Kōlattiri as the sovereign of Mayyazhi and he had the right to expel the French from the territory. Kōlattiri granted a royal order to the British. As per the terms of the order, the commerce on the territory from Kāññirōṭu to the river Putuppattanam was given to the English.<sup>98</sup> English argued that *Vāḷunnavar* violated the order of his sovereign.

General Adams proclaimed war against *Vāḷunnavar* in 1722. It is commonly believed that the British instigated hostility between Kōlattiri and *Vāḷunnavar* for acquiring the supremacy of the pepper trade in Kadathanadu. French tried to challenge the pepper monopoly of the British by establishing the settlement. Kōlattiri wrote a letter to French authority on 28<sup>th</sup> March 1724.<sup>99</sup> In this letter, he argued that the *Vāḷunnavar* gave a strip of land to the French for fortification. This provoked the British and they created a lot of problems in Kadathanadu. Kōlattiri had friendly relation with *Vāḷunnavar*. Kōlattiri was not responsible for the atrocities. The conflict and fitful war between the *Vāḷunnavar* and the English company continued till the beginning of 1725. An agreement signed between the English and *Vāḷunnavar* at Muṭṭungal palace in

---

<sup>98</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, *The History of Tellicherry Factory (1683-1794)*, Calicut, 1985, p.13.

<sup>99</sup> *Letters I and II, Tellicherry to Fort St. George*, 19 July 1733.

February 1725.<sup>100</sup> According to this agreement, *Vāḷunnavar* promised not to perpetuate friendship with or afford protection to any other European powers and supply the pepper of his kingdom only to the British. This sudden change in loyalty enraged the French and they wished to avenge the ruler. Kadathanadu expected invasion at any time. *Vāḷunnavar* granted a monopoly of pepper trade with effect from January 1726.<sup>101</sup> The Raja and the British appointed two officials to estimate the revenues and the size of the pepper crop. This attempt to monopolise the pepper trade was the first stage in the growth of the factory as a political power in Malabar.<sup>102</sup> French started their hostilities and they marched out of their fort at Mayyazhi and captured an adjacent hill in 1726. The British demanded the *Vāḷunnavar* to settle all accounts with the French as a condition of assistance. The French blocked the coast of Malabar and prevented the British to give any help to Raja. Later Kadathanadu Raja came to an amicable settlement with the French. This was contrary to the expectation as well as the need of the English company. In 1726 (Kollam Era 902 *Vriścikam*) a treaty was signed between *Vāḷunnavar* and the French. The terms and conditions of the treaty are given below.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> N. Rajendran, *Establishment of British Power in Malabar (1665-1799)*, Trivandrum, 1979, p. 25.

<sup>101</sup> K.K. Kusuman, *Kēraḷa Caritra Paṭhanagaḷ*, Trivandrum, 1976, p.44.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>103</sup> *Kōḷikkōṭan Granthavari*, Unpublished Palmleaves Manuscripts, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram.

1. A small tract of land was left to the French by the *Aṭiyōṭi* of Kadathanadu. Up to the large field of red muddy land of KōraKuṟuppu, on the bend of the hill, from there the land including Ceṛiya Kurrippātam of Tammaṭṭamkunnu, at west till the sea in the middle of Pāṇappāra had left to the French by the ruler by grabbing a yarn from the north side of the river bank.
2. No one can have a residence at the slopes of the hill that belong to the French ownership.
3. The Company agrees that other residents and outsiders are permitted to live as they are provided with the necessary facilities and houses in this land.
4. The rulers and the French are asked to go together with guns and evacuate the people after knocking down both the hills.
5. According to the written document dated 22<sup>nd</sup> *Mīnam* of the year KE 896, the pepper in the land of the *Vāḷunnavar* should not be given to other foreigners. French people can be valued the pepper as needed and distribute it to others with their permission. It must be done reasonably. According to the decision of the ruler made on KE 897, *Dhanu*, the pepper of the homeland should be given to the company and should continue to remain so.

6. As mentioned in the preceding document as the third point, the pepper and cardamom had to have a duty as thirteen *paṇam* for one *Vāram* pepper and twenty-six *paṇam* for one *vāram* cardamom. Thus, a total of 120 *paṇam* should be paid to the ruler by the company. The merchandise departing from the land of the ruler can be sold down at Mayyazhi and the needy can be purchased from here. In addition, the rulers need the company's permission to get tax from someone outside their land.
7. *Vāḷunnavar*'s ship should be flagged as provided in point five of the document.
8. As stated in the previous document, women, children and Brahmin should not be harmed and cows of *Vāḷunnavar*'s territory should not be killed.
9. If the enemy attacks the *Vāḷunnavar*, Company has to help him with forces and arms to face the challenge and should help by providing rice for food. Also, the *Vāḷunnavar* should help the company to defeat the enemies.
10. No foreigner shall have merchandise or storehouses in the land of the *Vāḷunnavar*. It should be based on the fourth point of the second document.

11. The settlers in the land of the rulers are said to give the French to buy eatables and firewoods for money and do not give it to the enemy.
12. It commands the Nāyars and Kuṛuppu of Kadathanadu to send the maids for the Company without any delay.
13. The gathering strictly commands that Kings, Lords, Nāyars, Nampi and *Yōgam* should remain without any hostilities. They must live without any fight or competition.
14. In the territory of the Company, if someone from the land of the *Vāḷunnavar* comes and cause troubles, the *Vāḷunnavar* should inform the Company and punish them. If the people of the company come to the land of *Vāḷunnavar* by crossing the border and create troubles, then the *Vāḷunnavar* should be informed and punished the culprits.

In this way, this 14-point agreement was made between the French and the *Vāḷunnavar* of Kadathanadu. This agreement shows the French influence over Kadathanadu.

The French hoisted a flag at Mayyazhi in December 1739.<sup>104</sup> It is reported that the French purchased Mayyazhi from *Vāḷunnavar*. The French built two forts there. In 1740 the French were forced to withdraw from

---

<sup>104</sup> P.N. Chopra and T.K. Ravindran, ed., *History of South India*, New Delhi, 2002, p.43.

Mayyazhi. The French went up to Mahe river with a strong force to attack the hill fort. But the Kadathanadan Mūvāyiram Nāyars (The Three Thousand Nāyars of Kadathanadu) resist the French army and the English gave support to the ruler.<sup>105</sup> Lord Dannis came down to the coast with the object of waging a war with the *Vāḷunnavar*. He blocked the entire coast of Malabar. William Wake, the English Commander at Thalasseri called on Lord Dannis on 19<sup>th</sup> November 1741 to discuss the affairs in the land.<sup>106</sup>

French attacked a hill near Mahe and took possession of it after a brief engagement on 22 November 1741. Both the French and the English wanted mutual suspension of war. The article of settlement was approved by the English and the French on 23<sup>rd</sup> December 1741.<sup>107</sup> The English Company acted as a mediator in the dispute between *Vāḷunnavar* and the French in the treaty. As per the terms of the treaty, *Vāḷunnavar* was ready to give two forts to the French. In 1756 English tried to recapture Mayyazhi from the French.<sup>108</sup> In February 1756 British ordered the French to surrender but were refused. The war was fought between the English and the French. Finally, the French surrendered. A treaty was signed at Mahe and Thalasseri.

---

<sup>105</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, *Aspects of Kerala History and Culture*, Trivandrum, 1977, p.52.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, p.53.

<sup>107</sup> William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and other papers of importance - relating to the British affairs in Madras*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), Madras, 1984, p.16.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

Mahe came under the control of East India Company on 13 February 1756 and they hoisted a flag there.<sup>109</sup> The acceptance of the title Raja by the *Vāḷunnavar* of Kadathanadu was a result of Anglo-French reactionary policies. As a result of the war, a monopoly of pepper trade was established by the East India Company. The British handed over Mahe to its former ruler the Raja of Kadathanadu. He granted a monopoly of pepper trade to the British. As per the terms of the treaty of Paris in 1763 British returned the French settlements captured in India. But in 1779 they recaptured it. In 1783 as per the terms of the treaty of Mangalore all French settlements were returned by the English to the French.<sup>110</sup> In 1793 English captured the remaining French settlements in India.<sup>111</sup> The British became successful to prevent French influence in Kadathanadu. When the British established their power in Kadathanadu Mayyazhi became a part of French settlement and the region from Alīyūr as the northern boundary of Kadathanadu. The documents relating to the origin of Mayyazhi says that before the French arrival the land was called Mayyazhi and after 1725 called as Mahe.

Hyder Ali of Mysore also tried to maintain relations with the French through their settlement at Mahe. Hyder visited the French settlement at Mahe

---

<sup>109</sup> K. Rajayyan, *Aspects of South Indian History: A Facilitation Volume*, Nagercoil, 2000, p.66.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p.67.

<sup>111</sup> Alfred Martinue, *The Origins of Mahe of Malabar*, Thayyil Sadanandan (Trans.), Mahe, 2004, p.13.

with a force of 10000 men in April 1766. Mahe was diplomatically and strategically the most important place. After the Mysorean invasion, Kadathanadu Raja accepted the vassalage of Mysore. Hyder strongly opposed the French intervention in Kadathanadu. Later Hyder was generous to the French and donated the villages of Chempra, Paḷḷūr, Chēlakkara and Pandakkal to them. In 1780 Sardar Khan took over Mahe, but in 1782 the English reentered Mahe. A treaty was drawn up in March 1784. According to the treaty the Bibi of Aṛakkal and Rajas of Malabar coast are treated as friends of Tipu Sultan. The French were reinstated at Mahe on 15<sup>th</sup> August 1785. In 1793 Colonel Mackenzie marched against Mahe and ordered for its surrender.<sup>112</sup> The treaty of 1814 provided the restitution of all French settlements and the logs in India, the French had possessed as of 1<sup>st</sup> January 1792.

The Anglo-French rivalries resulted in the division of Kadathanadu into two. The northern part including the region from Pūḷittala, and its surrounding regions came under French rule. The region from Aḷiyūr to Putupaṭṭaṇam was ruled by Kadathanadu Raja. After the Mysorean war, the Raja was reinstated in his country in return for Rs. 200000 to Hyder and the French acted as security for it.<sup>113</sup> After the invasion of Mysore Raja's power became nominal and the Company became the real ruler of Kadathanadu.

---

<sup>112</sup> M.P. Sreedharan, '*French in Kerala*', *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

<sup>113</sup> K.K.N. Kuṛuppu, *Op. cit.*, p. 46.



## ***Vāḷunnavar* to Kadathanadu Raja**

It is stated that the *Vāḷunnavar* established their authority over the region existed in between Mayyazhi and Kōṭṭa river in 1564 CE with the consent of Kōlattiri.<sup>114</sup> Before this period Kadathanadu was a part of *Kōlattunāṭu*. Till the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Kadathanadu *Vāḷunnavar* known in European records as *Bayanora of Badagara* was nominally subjected to Kōlattiri. In 1750 *Vāḷunnavar* claimed royal status and assumed the title, Raja. There are diverse opinions among historians regarding the acceptance of the title Raja by the Kadathanadu *Vāḷunnavar*. The scholars argued that the *Vāḷunnavar* accepted the title Raja with the consent of his sovereign. But it is reported that the Raja accepted the title without the consent of the prince regent.<sup>115</sup> The prince regent wrote a letter to the Bombay authority intimating the insult by *Vāḷunnavar*. The prince regent viewed French as the instigator of it. Approximately 186 years *Vāḷunnavar* accepted the suzerainty of Kōlattiri. The Anglo-French rivalry regarding the monopoly of pepper trade was the main factor behind the *Vāḷunnavar*'s proclamation of independence from Kōlattiri.

The internal political conflict in Kōlattunāṭu also resulted in the proclamation of independence. The European powers always forced the *Nāṭuvāḷis* to proclaim their independence from Kōlattiri. Travel accounts and

---

<sup>114</sup> *Tellicherry Court Diaries May 1750.*

<sup>115</sup> *Tellicherry Consultancy Records XIX, p. 127.*

other records until 1750 mention the ruler of Kadathanadu as *Vāḷunnavar*. After the proclamation of independence *Vāḷunnavar* appeared in European records and correspondence letters as Kadathanadu Raja. The title change proves the transfer of position from a semi-independent ruler to an independent one. The local *Nāṭuvāḷi* rulers also supported *Vāḷunnavar*. Iruvaḷināṭu Nambiar participated in the coronation ceremony. The *Vāḷunnavar* claimed the *Sāmantakshatriya* status. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, such political phenomenon was very common in North Malabar. During this period many semi-independent Nāṭus proclaim independence from their master. Internal political conflict in Kōlattunāṭu and European intervention in trade were the major factors behind this action.

### **Mysorean Invasion in Kadathanadu**

Kerala was divided into small principalities during the arrival of the Europeans. Kōlattunāṭu, Kottayam, Raṇṭattara, Kurungōṭṭunāṭu, Iruvaḷināṭu, and Kadathanadu were the major Nāṭus in north Malabar. These local Nāṭus clashed with each other for establishing their supremacy in the region. These local Nāṭus accepted the supremacy of Kōlattunāṭu. The conflict between the senior-junior branches in Kōlattunāṭu results in the division of the kingdom into many small principalities. The Mysorean invasion which took place in the 18<sup>th</sup> century had a significant role in the history of Kerala. The main factor that facilitated the invasion was the lack of unity and cooperation among the rulers

of Kerala. Hyder Ali saw the situation as an opportunity to interfere in Kerala as part of his expansionist policy. Mysorean invasion created political instability in Kadathanadu.

Hyder and his army reached North Malabar in 1766.<sup>116</sup> During the period Kadathanadu was ruled by the Raja. *Kadathanadu Mūvayiram* Nāyars tried their best to prevent Hyder from crossing the Peringalam river. They made a defensive wall on the banks of the Mayyazhi River. According to M.M.D.L.T., who was the officer in Hyder's army, when the river was at the lowest Hyder entered in full gallop, at the head of his cavalry, which he had till then kept out of sight of the Nāyars.<sup>117</sup> They were led on by fifty of the French hussars, lately arrived from Pondicherry. The Nāyars were frightened at the sudden attack of the cavalry and were defeated. Hyder called Kadathanadu a country of Nāyars. The army killed many people and destroyed temple, fortresses and in general every habitable place, forsaken and deserted. The people began to take refuge near the British and French establishments. But their effort failed and Hyder reached Kadathanadu. Hyder occupied kingdoms of Cīrakkal, Kottayam and Kadathanadu.<sup>118</sup> As a result of Hyder Ali's invasion, the Kadathanadu Raja was forced to live as *Sāmanta* of Hyder Ali. The Raja was ready to pay Rs. 50000

---

<sup>116</sup> Vijayan Kunnumakkara, *Tipusultan Caritrattil Engane Anabhimatanāyi*, Calicut, 2003, p. 17.

<sup>117</sup> M.M.D.L.T, *History of Hyder Shah Ali as Hyder Alikhan and his son Tipu Sultan*, New Delhi, 1976, p.60.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

as tribute. Hyder Ali returned to Mysore in 1778. Hyder Ali appointed Balvanda Rao as governor of Malabar and he had the responsibility of the administration of Malabar. In 1766-67 Raja accepted the suzerainty of Hyder Ali and Mānavarma Raja was ready to pay a *nazrana* of two lakhs annually to Hyder Ali.<sup>119</sup>

Sardar Khan took charge of revenue collection from Kadathanadu Raja in 1781. During this period some internal political issues arose in Kadathanadu. The revenue was not properly collected. Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu fought against Hyder Ali's administration in Kadathanadu. Tipu Sultan invaded Kadathanadu in 1782 under these circumstances. He attacked the temples and palace of Raja situated at Kuttippuram.<sup>120</sup> In the warfare, Tipu Sultan defeated the Raja. Kadathanadu Raja sought asylum in 1782. The administration of Malabar including Kadathanadu came under the control of Tipu Sultan. He introduced certain reforms in the revenue system. Arshad Beg Khan became the Governor of Kadathanadu during the period from 1782-83 to 1786-1787. During this period collection of total revenue was only half of the total tribute. In 1788 Tipu ordered Kadathanadu Raja to collect a share of government as Rs.50 from total production, which was not accepted. In 1788 Ramalingam Pillai conducted a detailed survey about the rice fields of Kadathanadu. He

---

<sup>119</sup> Margret Frenz, *Op. cit.*, p.14.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with Ramakrishnan Master on 20-5-2016.

fixed tax based on this survey. He introduced the *Jamabandi* system for the collection of taxes directly from peasants. As a war indemnity, Kadathanadu Raja paid an annual tribute of Rs. 50, 000 to Tipu Sultan.<sup>121</sup> Tipu sent his officials for the collection of taxes. The administration of Kadathanadu was under the control of Tipu Sultan from 1789 onwards. Tipu Sultan introduced certain reforms in tax collection. This revenue collection system was very favourable to the peasants. The *Dēśavāli* acted as an intermediary in the administration. Tipu constructed many roads in Malabar as a part of his conquest. But Kadathanadu faced political instability in the period. The ruler and Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu started a rebellion against Tipu's administration. Tipu forcibly converted many Nāyars to Islam.<sup>122</sup> As a result of it, Nāyars of Kadathanadu sought asylum at the British factory at Thalasseri. K.V. Krishna Ayyar argues that during the Mysorean occupation the old order was completely changed.<sup>123</sup>

In 1792 the treaty of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam (Seringapatam) was signed by the company and Tipu Sultan.<sup>124</sup> As per the treaty Tipu ceded half of his territories including Malabar to the English East India Company. Kadathanadu

---

<sup>121</sup> J. Rejikumar, ed., *Joint Commissioners Report on Malabar 1792-1793*, Trivandrum, 2010, p.70.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>123</sup> K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *Zamorins of Calicut*, (1938), University of Calicut, 1999, p. 254.

<sup>124</sup> C.K. Kareem, *Kerala Under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Cochin, 1973, p. 121.

Raja was taken the charge of territory from the British with an agreement that to pay Rs. 3,00,000 per annum to the company. But Kadathanadu was later placed directly under British rule. In April 1792 an agreement was signed between Kadathanadu Raja and the British officials. The terms of the treaty were as follows.<sup>125</sup>

1. Kadathanadu Raja had the right to maintain his rights and power in Kadathanadu based on terms and conditions put forward by the East India Company.
2. East India Company appointed a resident or Divan in Kadathanadu to enquire about the problems related to the terms and conditions of the company. Kadathanadu Raja had the responsibility of the Resident.
3. For the measurement of revenue from each district the company formed a committee. This committee includes two persons each from the side of Raja and the side of the company.
4. Measured the revenue paid by each landlord.
5. In October when the crop cultivation starts, Raja gives the part of the production to the government.

---

<sup>125</sup> K.N. Panikkar and P. Pavithran, eds., *Pradēśam, Rāṣṭram, Lōkam: Kadathanadinte Sāhitya Pāramparyam*, Kottayam, 2007, p. 10.

6. The Raja of Kadathanadu pay part of the production to the government based on the price fixed in December.
7. The Raja would sell the pepper only to the merchant suggested by the company.
8. Taylor was deputed for solving the problems related to minor disputes.

In 1794 a treaty was signed between the company and Kadathanadu Raja.<sup>126</sup> According to the treaty, the Raja should pay 6/10 part of the levy to the company. In short Mysorean invasion and the subsequent events created political instability in Kadathanadu.

The British neither supported the *Vāḷunnavar* nor gave support to the Mysoreans. The French at first helped the *Vāḷunnavar*, later they maintained neutrality. Mysoreans introduced certain reforms in administration. Mysorean invasion created political instability and the absence of rulers created a situation of a state without a ruler. During the period the *Mūvāyiram* Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu became very powerful. They controlled the administration of the *taras*. In the absence of the ruler, the *Dēśavālis* and *Tarakkūṭṭams* collected the revenue and control the administration. Hoblies were created for the convenience of the collection of taxes from the people.

---

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11.

## **Kadathanadu in the 18<sup>th</sup> century European Records**

Politically Kadathanadu became an independent principality in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. According to Sreedhara Menon, the word Kadathanadu derived from the Sanskrit word *Ghaṭōlkkacāksi*.<sup>127</sup> It is believed that the kingdom came to be called Kadathanadu or otherwise *Kaṭattuvāynāṭu* in northern ballads as its territory crossed during the journeys from the kingdom of Zamorins to the kingdom of *Kōlattiri* and vice versa. Scholars argued that the word Kadathanadu indicates its relation to trade. The eastern boundaries of Kadathanadu were famous for the cultivation of spices like pepper and cardamom. The eastern forest region was also famous for timbers like teak, sandal and Akil. The commodities from the interior parts of Kadathanadu reached the port towns for trade. Shortly, the place where the commodities reached for trade was called as Kadathanadu or *Kaṭattuvalināṭu*, later called as Kadathanadu.

The prime motive of the British to come into the political scenario of north Malabar was trade. The European powers fought each other for establishing their trade monopoly over the Nāṭus of north Malabar. When the Europeans arrived, North Malabar was divided into many small Nāṭu divisions.<sup>128</sup> *Tekkiḷamkūr* branches of the *Kōlattiri* family became the rulers of

---

<sup>127</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, Kottayam, 1976, p.25.

<sup>128</sup> See below, Map 11.



Kadathanadu. The European powers like the Portuguese, Dutch, French and the British fought for establishing their authority in north Malabar. The British established their factory at Tellicherry in 1699.<sup>129</sup> The internal political conflicts and European competition finally led to the establishment of British authority over Kadathanadu.

In 1800 the Malabar province including Kadathanadu came under the administration of the governor of Madras.<sup>130</sup> The administration of traditional kingship ended and Kadathanadu came under British rule. The northern boundary of Kadathanadu was Mayyazhi. From 1722 onwards Mayyazhi was under the control of the French. During the British period, the northern boundary of Kadathanadu started from Alīyūr region.<sup>131</sup> Before the arrival of the European power, the eastern boundary of Kadathanadu was up to *Kadathanadan Kallu*, a place near Mokēri.<sup>132</sup> The British taken over the region and added Kuttiyadi to it.

As per the terms of the treaty of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam, Tipu ceded half of his territory including North Malabar to the East India Company. As per the agreement, the British became the rulers of Malabar. The local rulers of north

---

<sup>129</sup> K.K.N. Kurup, *History of Tellicherry Factory (1683-1794)*, Calicut University, 1985, p.12.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, p.13.

<sup>131</sup> *Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Azhiyur, 1992, p.13.

<sup>132</sup> *Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Kunnummal Panchayath, 1990, p.8; see below, Map 12.

Malabar returned their principality from Travancore. The Kadathanadu Raja accepted the suzerainty of the company and he became the nominal rulers of Kadathanadu. Udayavarma and Kōtavarma were the important rulers of Kadathanadu during the colonial period.

During the British period for administrative convenience, Nāṭus were divided into *Dēśams* and *Taras*.<sup>133</sup> The administration of Nāṭu was under Nāṭuvāḷumavar. The *taras* are administered by *Tarakkūṭṭams*, Kadathanadu was not an exception to this general set up. In the local level, *Tarakkūṭṭams* were decisive in character. The Raja's power was nominal and he paid his attention only to the collection of revenue from the people. The administration of Raja has concentrated on the central areas of the Nāṭu and in the peripheries, the power of the ruler was nominal and administered by *Tarakkūṭṭams*. The judiciary of Kadathanadu was controlled by the *Dēśavāḷis*.<sup>134</sup> The Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu Raja is said to be *Mūvāyiram* Nāyars.<sup>135</sup> They controlled administration in the *Tarakkūṭṭams* and acted as the local authority in

---

<sup>133</sup> C.G.N, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ Oru Paṭhanam*, Kottayam, 1976, p.20.

<sup>134</sup> Renjith Kumar.V, '*Kadathanadu Dēśavum Janatayum*', in Raghavan Payyanad, ed., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut University, 2000, p.20.

<sup>135</sup> William Logan, *A Collection of treaties Engagements and other papers of importance relating to British affairs in Madras, op. cit.*, p.12.

Kadathanadu.<sup>136</sup> The *Mūvāyiram* Nāyar militia acted as a mediator between the Raja and his subjects.

Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters was an important source for the history of 18<sup>th</sup> century Kadathanadu. They are correspondences between Kadathanadu Raja and the English authorities. These letters indicate the political changes in Kadathanadu. They give information about the transfer of power from Raja to the company and the latter tried to tighten their power in the administrative setup of Kadathanadu. In 1798 Udayavarma Raja of Kadathanadu wrote a letter to Christopher Pale. In this letter, Raja expressed his dissatisfaction with appointing company officials for looking after the administration of Kadathanadu.<sup>137</sup> The people questioned the authority of the Raja as they felt the growth of the British as a supreme power in Kadathanadu.<sup>138</sup> Even the Raja has to face court trials for the acquisition of people's property.

The company gave '*Pattinu Raṅṭuvaha*' for his daily expenditure.<sup>139</sup> Merchants like Chovvakkāran Moosa and Lakshmana Cheṭṭi had exerted much influence in the administration of Kadathanadu. In many cases, the Raja borrowed money from these merchants to meet his daily expenditure. If he

---

<sup>136</sup> *Kadathanadu Taluk Paymash account*, Bundle No. I, Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

<sup>137</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, Unpublished Manuscripts in the archives of History Department, Calicut University, No. 145.

<sup>138</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, No.115.

<sup>139</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*., No. 52.

failed to return the money in time the merchants acquired Raja's property. These merchant groups had much influence on the British administration.<sup>140</sup> From Cannanore in 1792, a letter from the British to Kadathanadu Raja intimates about the Malabar divided into two and Kadathanadu belongs to the northern subdivision.<sup>141</sup> During the British period, internal political instability existed in Kadathanadu. People challenged the administration of the Raja anticipating the help of the British. We have evidence of such attempts in the letters.<sup>142</sup> Nallura Rayru and Kakkora Illathe Antharjanam filed a case against Kadathanadu for the acquisition of their property.<sup>143</sup> Lord Cornwallis made a temporary agreement with the Raja of Kadathanadu. The terms of the treaty were that the company assigned the administration of Kadathanadu to the Raja for one year. The Raja and the company appoint two officials to estimate the revenue and quantity of pepper.<sup>144</sup> The Raja agreed to give his part of pepper to the company as payment for his tribute. The intention of this agreement seems to be experimenting with the capability of the Raja regarding the administration and revenue collection from his subjects.<sup>145</sup>

---

<sup>140</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, No. 120.

<sup>141</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*., No. 145.

<sup>142</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, No. 74.

<sup>143</sup> *Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, p. 76.

<sup>144</sup> J. Rejikumar, ed., *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-93*, Trivandrum, 2010, p.31.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

The Bombay Commissioners met at Thalasseri in April 1792 to discuss the task which was entrusted to the native rulers.<sup>146</sup> The company instructed them to deliver one-year revenue to the company and consider the means of transferring all judicial power vested with them in the province to the hands of the company servants.<sup>147</sup> Apart from it, the company tried to monopolise the pepper trade. However, this attempt failed as the private traders at Mahe offered prices for pepper in advance to the cultivators in Kadathanadu. The Malabar Rajas had no political and military power based on regular land revenue before the Mysorean conquest. The judicial powers and influence of the Rajas and their position as landholders gave them considerable control of pepper supplies.<sup>148</sup> The Raja used his power to purchase pepper at a lower price. The struggle for pepper caused the intervention of the company in the administration of Kadathanadu. The Rajas of northern Kerala became the agents of the company. Here the power transferred from Raja to Tipu and finally to the company. In the beginning, the company received half of the pepper produced in the country from the Raja, but later they demanded the entire pepper produced in the province.<sup>149</sup> They fixed a rate for 100 Kandi pepper. It affected the Raja as his revenue mainly depended on the sale of

---

<sup>146</sup> William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

<sup>147</sup> Margret Frenz, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, New Delhi, 2013, p.15.

<sup>148</sup> *Ibid.*, p.16.

<sup>149</sup> J. Rejikumar, *Op.cit.*, p. 33.

pepper. The company claimed a total monopoly. In 1793 Lord Cornwallis sent instructions for the capture of French settlements in India and on 10<sup>th</sup> July Mahe surrendered.<sup>150</sup>

The company claimed half of the revenue for its use which would be collected by the company agents.<sup>151</sup> The Raja had to be content with the remaining half. Practically the power of the Raja was curtailed. After the fall of Mahe, the company expected the pepper trade to become their monopoly. The northern Rajas insisted that company revenue should be only half of the rent which the landholders received from the cultivators and not one half of the total produce. The Raja demanded that the company should receive their revenue in the form of tribute which they collected from the landowners and cultivators whereas the company envisaged that the company would collect it directly from the cultivators. The company put forward two divergent policies in Malabar in 1798.<sup>152</sup> Firstly advocated coercion to establish the authority of the company in the province and secondly the establishment of free trade. The commissioners told the northern superintendent that its objective is the establishment of the company's authority through the appointment of its

---

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36.

<sup>151</sup> Margret Frenz, *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>152</sup> Pamela Nightingale, *Trade and Empire in Western India 1784-1806*, London, 1970, p.75.

officials in Kadathanadu.<sup>153</sup> On May 4, 1799, the remaining territory of Tipu in Malabar was annexed by the company.

*Talaśśēri Rēkhakaḷ* is a collection of letters written by the Rajas of north Malabar and the company officials. This collection of letters gives information on the socio-political condition of Kadathanadu during the colonial period. It gives information about the revenue system, boundary disputes etc. It also gives details about the revenue collection of Kadathanadu from 1797 onwards.<sup>154</sup> The tenant protest against the British tax collection is referred to in the letters. Udayavarma Raja is the ruler of Kadathanadu during the time of these letters. In 1797 Christopher Pale wrote a letter to Udayavarma Pōrlātiri.<sup>155</sup> The content of the letter is the abolition of the position of Divan conferred to the Rajas of northern principalities.

A collection of letters written by the Raja of Kadathanadu and British officials discuss the boundary disputes related to the northern part of Kadathanadu. The French and the Raja of Kadathanadu conflicted in 1797 regarding Mahe, the northern parts of Kadathanadu. Udayavarma Raja of Kadathanadu discusses the French intervention in Kadathanadu with the British officials. The Raja also requested the British officials to interfere in the

---

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.

<sup>154</sup> Scaria Zachariya, ed., *Talaśśēri Rēkhakaḷ*, Kottayam, 1996, p.23.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p.24.

political issue. Udayavarma Raja wrote a letter to Christopher Pale in 1797, regarding the French intervention in Al̥iyūr.<sup>156</sup> He demanded the company officials measure the land in between French-owned Mahe and Kadathanadu. Udayavarma claimed as the real owner of Mayyazhi. The Raja's ancestors gave the land to the French for constructing an arsenal. The Raja had real *janmam* rights over the territories in Mayyazhi. Udayavarma argued that the French authority usurped the *janmam* rights of the lands in Mayyazhi. The French tried to trespass the northern boundary of Kadathanadu. Udayavarma demolished the house constructed by the French in his territory. Letters give information on the interference of company officials in boundary disputes. The letter describes the meeting held under the mediation of company officials to solve the boundary disputes. The company officials threatened the Raja of dire consequence for not turning up for the meeting and subsequent settlement in favour of the French.<sup>157</sup>

General Brome, the French authority at Mayyazhi, wrote a letter to Kadathanadu Raja on 30 December 1797. It says that the French authority buys the landed property from Tandanvalli Kumbha of Al̥iyūr by making payments.<sup>158</sup> The document related to *janmam* property and palm leaves related

---

<sup>156</sup> Scaria Zachariya, *Talaśśēri Rēkhakaḷ*, p. 27.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, p.24.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, p.26.



to it are under their possession.<sup>159</sup> The real owner of the landed property in Al̥iyūr was the French, according to the records, as it was a part of French Mahe.

Thandampalli Namboora mentioned his *janmam* property in Mayyazhi on December 30, 1797.<sup>160</sup> His *janmam* lands at Mayyazhi were given to Alumanchi Kappittān for money. He assured Raja that in future he would not transfer land to the French without Raja's permission. In 1798 Coda Varma Raja wrote a letter to Christopher Pale. The letter intimates the French trespasses at Al̥iyūr.<sup>161</sup> The people who went to Mayyazhi from Al̥iyūr for buying commodities were arrested by the French. The people were even killed by the French. The manuscript letters indicate that during the 18<sup>th</sup> century French tried to capture the political power of Kadathanadu. The French always created tensions in the northern boundary of Kadathanadu. The Raja tried to overcome the French intervention. On the other hand, the company continued to escalate problems. Thus, the power of the ruler became nominal and the European intervention reached the pinnacle in the affairs of Nāṭus.

During the British period, all Nāṭus in north Malabar were under their control. The local rulers were nominal in character. The Raja acted as an

---

<sup>159</sup> *Ibid.*, p.29.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p.35.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, p.36.

intermediary between the people and the company. The English East India Company became the real administrator of the Nāṭus.

### ***Mūvāyiram* Nāyar Militia of Kadathanadu**

Kadathanadu is popularly known as the Nāṭu of *Mūvāyiram* Nāyars, who acted as the militia of Kadathanadu Raja. They had a greater say in the administration of Kadathanadu. The administration and revenue collection of the *Tarakkūṭṭams* were controlled by the Nāyar militia. While analysing the paymash accounts it is evident that the three thousand Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu acted as independent administrators of each *Tarakkūṭṭams*.<sup>162</sup> The administrative system of Kadathanadu was controlled by the Nāyar militia. During the time of the Mysorean invasion, three thousand Nāyar militia gave their maximum efforts to prevent the invasion. When the Raja goes for asylum the three thousand Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu controlled the administration based on *taṛa* organisations. In *Talaśśēri Rēkhakaḷ* a letter mentions the contract between the three thousand Nāyars of Kadathanadu and the Mappila tenants of Cerapuram hobli.<sup>163</sup> In this letter, the names of three thousand Nāyar militia are mentioned. Putiyavīṭṭil Kuruppu, Maṅṅānkaṅṅi Kuruppu, Mūppilōṭṭa Kuruppu, Otayōttu Nambiar, Valiya Pātirakkōṭṭa Nambiar, Kuṛuññōttu Aṭiyōṭi, Kaṅṅamparra Nambiar, Ponattil Nambiar, Cherīya

---

<sup>162</sup> *Paymash accounts Kadathanadu Taluk*, Bundle No. 5.

<sup>163</sup> Scaria Zachariya, ed., *Talaśśēri Rēkhakaḷ*, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Pātirakkōṭṭa Nambiar, Eyatta Nambiar, and Cholali Kēḷappan Nambiar were important Nair chieftains included in the three thousand Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu.<sup>164</sup> They had much influence on the political life of Kadathanadu.

At the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, three thousand Nāyar militia questioned the authority of the ruler. They send petitions to the British officials against the king. These petitions mainly deal with the disputes related to revenue collection and rights of property. The three thousand Nāyars demanded the company authority to decide in favour of them. The socio-political life in Kadathanadu during the 18<sup>th</sup> century centred on the three thousand Nāyar militia.

### **Making a polity**

Kadathanadu had a historical continuity, like other Nāṭus in Kerala. Kadathanadu became an independent principality only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Kadathanadu passed through a long historical process to become an independent Nāṭu. Nāṭu existed in Kerala had a different character compared to the Nāṭus existed in other parts of South India. *Nāṭu* was the form opposite to *Kāṭu*. Simply it was an agrarian unit. In the case of other parts of South, India Nāṭus are formed in the fertile river valleys. But in the case of Kerala Nāṭus are mainly formed in the midland region. In the early historic period, Kerala was

---

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p.26.

under Cēra rule. By the time of the Perumāḷs, various Nāṭus as a natural division existed in Kerala which may be in all probability preceded the former. These Nāṭus accepted the overlordship of Cēra King. Inscriptions discovered from Pullūr-Koṭavalam, Eramam Cālappuṛam and Chempra indicate that Perumāḷ rule existed up to the northern parts of Kerala. During this period Kadathanadu was a part of Purakiḷānāṭu and Polanāṭu. Kaliyāmpaḷḷi and Tirunelli inscriptions indicate this. In the early period, the region was a part of the Ēḷimalai kingdom of Nannan.

After the disintegration of Cēra power, many new Nāṭus formed. Kōlattunāṭu, Vēṇāṭu and Kozhikode became prominent Nāṭus. Small Nāṭus accepted the suzerainty of major Nāṭus. During this period the region from Perumpuḷa to Putupaṭṭaṇam was ruled by Kōlattiri Rajas. The Southern Regent of Kōlattunāṭu controlled the administration of parts including Kadathanadu. According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, the Zamorin defeated Pōrlātiri of Polanāṭu, who sought asylum at Kōlattunāṭu. A male member of the Tekkiḷamkūr branch of the Kōlattiri royal family married the female member of Pōrlātiri royal family and Kōlattiri gave Kadathanadu to rule them. They were given the title *Vāḷunnavar*, *Nāṭṭaṭi* or *Aṭiyōṭi*. The *Vāḷunnavar* regarded as the chieftain under Kōlattiri. According to the Thalasseri consultancy records the *Vāḷunnavar* established the semi-independent principality in 1564 with the consent of Kōlattiri. *Vāḷunnavar* was under the hegemony of Kōlattiri approximately for 182 years. The *Vāḷunnavar* established his first palace at Muṭṭungal. The region

from Mayyazhi river to Kōṭṭariver is generally considered as the region controlled by *Vāḷunnavar*. Kōlattiri gave *Mukkātamnāṭu* and *Mūvāyiram* Nāyar to *Vāḷunnavar*. Internal conflicts for political power arose in Kōlattunāṭu with the arrival of Europeans in Malabar. The Europeans made use of this situation for acquiring a monopoly in the pepper trade. Anglo-French rivalry in the context of pepper politics changed the political history of North Malabar. In the Anglo-French conflict, Kōlattiri sided with the British. This finally led to the proclamation of independence by *Vāḷunnavar* from Kōlattiri in 1750. The *Vāḷunnavar* took the title of Pōrlātiri Raja of Kadathanadu. In 1725 Mayyazhi, which was considered as the northern part of Kadathanadu, was granted to the French. After 1725 Aljyūr became the northern boundary of Kadathanadu.

*Vāḷunnavar* performed the coronation ceremony. He claimed an enhanced social status of *Sāmanta Kshatriya*. The Kadathanadu Raja transferred their capital from Muṭṭungal to Kuttippuram as part of their expansionist policy. The Kadathanadu royal family lived in four *Kōvilakams*, namely, Āyañcēri, Eṭavalattu, Puṛamēri and Kuttippuram. The senior member of the royal family who lived in Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam* is called Kadathanadu Raja. Nāṭus were divided into *Dēśams* and *taṛa* for administrative convenience. *Dēśavāḷi* controlled the administration of each *Dēśam*. *Taṛa* was the lowest unit of administration. Kāraṇavars of major *Taṛavāṭu* controlled the administration of *taṛa*. The ruler got a portion of the whole revenue collected from the region. When the Europeans came to the political scenario of Malabar Kadathanadu

gained a significant role in trade. The *Vāḷunnavar* opportunistically played with the French and English for enhancing profit from the trade. Kadathanadu was a centre of pepper and cardamom cultivation. The European powers compete with each other for establishing their trading outlets in the region.

Mysorean invasion created political instability in the region. Mysorean ruler Hyder Ali and his son Tipu's invasions affected all Nāṭus. After 1766 Kadathanadu and other Nāṭus of North Malabar came under Mysorean rule. The local people and the Nāyar militia of Kadathanadu strongly opposed the Mysorean rule. The Mysoreans introduced a new revenue system in Kadathanadu. As per the terms of the treaty of Śrīrangapaṭṭaṇam Tipu formally surrender his territories of Malabar to the British. The Raja became nominal power under British rule. Kota Varma and Udaya Varma were important rulers of Kadathanadu during the British period. When the British established their authority in Malabar the powers of traditional Rajas became nominal.

Northern ballads are important sources for analysing the cultural history of Kadathanadu. These ballads gave us the details of the socio, cultural life of the people of Kadathanadu. Many places mentioned in Taccōḷi and Puttūram songs are the places situated in Kadathanadu and its surrounding areas. The trading centres and worship centres in the ballads are presently identifiable in Vadakara Taluk. Northern Ballads also give information about the political system of Kadathanadu during the medieval period. The inscriptions are scarce

in Kadathanadu. The Kaliyāmpaḷḷi, Chempra inscriptions indicate that from 9<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century the Nāṭus accepted Perumāḷ overlordship. Kadathanadu was a part of Purakiḷānāṭu and Kurumpoṛayūrṇāṭu during the Perumāḷ period. The rulers of Kadathanadu firstly establish their palace at Muṭṭungal and as part of their territorial expansion transferred their capital into the interior part of the region called Kuttippuram. The Arabian Sea facilitated trading activity of the region with distant areas. Kadathanadu is a small Nāṭu division that existed in the political scenario of Malabar from 1564-1799. In 1800 the rulers of Kadathanadu accepted the colonial rule.

Archaeological remains of Megalithic, Paleolithic and Neolithic period discovered in the region proves the evolution of human habitation in the area. The tools of the Paleolithic and Neolithic period are found mainly in the Vāṇimēl river valley and laterite hilly region of Kadathanadu. Unlike many other Nāṭus, there is no evidence of a large Brahmin settlement. The *Dēśavāḷis* controlled the administration. The eastern boundary of the region before the British period was up to Kadathanadan Kallu. Later the regional boundaries extended up to the parts of Western Ghats. Kadathanadu came into the political scenario of Malabar by the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

## Chapter 4

### **Cultural Geography of Kadathanadu**

The culture of a society bridges the gap between its ideas, customs, belief and social behaviour. The origin of the word “culture” comes from the French word ‘*colere*’ which means cultivation or nature. Looking back at the history of man, we know that he conveyed his ideas through arts and symbols. The primitive man who ate fruits and hunted animals began to move forward towards culture only after the beginning of the practice of cultivation. As historical evidence for the habitats of early man is found everywhere it was also sighted in Kerala.<sup>581</sup> From this evidence, we get a clear picture of the historical life of the early humans.

The traces of human habitats from the historical ages have been found at Nādāpuram, Vaḷayam, Perumuṅṭacēri, Peringattūr, Kuyithēri and Māngāṭṭupāra in Kadathanadu.<sup>582</sup> The historical ages are divided into Paleolithic, Neolithic and Iron Age. Artefacts from the Palaeolithic age were first found from Palakkad in Kerala. The artefacts used in the Paleolithic age are also found from Kadathanadu and Kōlattunāṭu which are part of North Malabar. Tools like stone axes are mostly found on the banks of rivers of these

---

<sup>581</sup> P. Rajendran, *Unraveling the Past-Archaeology of Kerala and Adjacent Regions in South India*, New Delhi, 2018, p. 1.

<sup>582</sup> Field visit on 3/5/2017.



regions. Stone axes were found from the Vāṇimēl river in Kadathanadu. The neolithic age is also known as the revolution age or the new Stone Age.<sup>583</sup> In this age, humans used polished and sharp weapons to hunt preys.<sup>584</sup> Moreover, it was at this age that humans began the practice of agriculture and started to settle permanently in a single place. The artefacts from the Neolithic age were found in several regions of North Malabar. These include stone axes, blades, beads and flakes. A stone hatchet from the Neolithic age was found in the Kuttiyadi river of Kadathanadu. Iron Age is also known as the Megalithic age as this culture is represented mainly by huge stone burial monuments. The remains of the Iron age were found in South India. Historians have a diverse opinion about the chronology of the Iron age. Seven types of cultural remains from the Iron Age were found from several regions of Kerala. *Toppikkal* (cape stone), *Kuṭakkal* (Umbrella stone), *Nannangāṭi* (Urn), *Muniyara* (rock-cut cave), *Mēśakallu* (Cist) are some of the cultural remains that were found in Kerala in this age.<sup>585</sup>

The people from the Megalithic age believed in life after death, because of which they buried their dead in mud urn burials called ‘*Nannangāṭi*’ with food and the belongings of the dead. Such types of memorials or burial sites

---

<sup>583</sup> Allchin B. and R. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization*, New Delhi, 1968, p.77.

<sup>584</sup> V. Gordon Child, *Man makes himself*, New Delhi, 2017, pp. 66-67.

<sup>585</sup> S. Settar and Ravikori Setter, eds., *Indian Archaeology in Retrospect: Pre history Archaeology of South Asia*, Vol.I, New Delhi, 2002, p. 313.

were found in Kadathanadu. The remains found in those sites such as grains, utensils and objects suggest the lifestyle and traditions of the Megalithic humans.<sup>586</sup> This remains in the regions of Kadathanadu sheds light on the cultural and social life of the people who lived in that particular area then. As men began cultivation it had also caused a cultural growth, to safeguard from the wrath of wild animals and natural disasters they had begun to worship those things that weren't under their control like rain and lightning. The festivals were conducted giving prominence to rain and sunlight. The traditions, festivals and modes of worship that were followed by people of the bygone age are still being followed in the present age. The many festivals, traditions and worships found in Kadathanadu have their origins from the Neolithic Age.

### **Sacred groves and Ancestor worship in Kadathanadu**

The growth of Kadathanadu as a centre of culture requires much attention in the history of Kerala. By knowing the forms and traditions of worship of a particular area we can get into the crux of the culture of the region. The worship of heroes (*Vīrārādhana*) and the beliefs of Kadathanadu trace back to the history of that region. Sacred groves (*Kāvu*), and forts which is the abode of gods or a supernatural force is part of the social and cultural system of the land.<sup>587</sup> The strong relationship between primitive men and nature is

---

<sup>586</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *Kēraḷa Samskāram*, Kottayam, 1970, p.10.

<sup>587</sup> Dineshan Vadakkiniyil, *Anuṣṭhānam Kālam Samūham*, Kottayam, 2014, p.78.

symbolised through the sacred groves which are places filled with indigenous trees and plants. The practice of worshipping nature is known to have been brought by Buddhists to India.<sup>588</sup> Some historians suggest that Buddhists worshipped the sacred abode of snakes and thus this tradition was adapted to Hinduism. To ascertain the belief of gods living under trees, the idols of gods and goddesses were placed and worshipped.

Sacred groves are non-Brahmin worshipping centres. The groves were found near the habitation of people in dense forests. The worship of trees is what predates the worship of snakes. The groves were found near the habitation of people and in dense forests. The groves had the main deity and a subsidiary one. Snakes, gods and goddesses were the major deities of the groves.<sup>589</sup> Some groves were particularly for the worship of snakes. The groves with snakes as the major deity dates back to the historical ages and is found to have continued from that age.

The ancient texts have shown traces of the worship of snakes as deities. South Indians had the practice of worshipping mother goddesses from an early period; it is proven true by the idols of women found from the remains of

---

<sup>588</sup> K.N. Ganesh, 'Kāvupaṭhanattinte Rītiśāstram Pariṇāmam', *Poli*, Vol. 3, October 2007 - May 2008.

<sup>589</sup> DineshanVadakkiniyil, *Op. cit.*, p.79.

Harappan civilization.<sup>590</sup> From the early historic period, people believe in spirits. Some spirits were believed to reside in trees and others in forests and hills. Several references are found in *Narrinai* of a spirit in the form of a damsel residing in the hill called Kollimalai.<sup>591</sup> The mother goddesses were worshipped in sacred groves that consisted of the five holy trees (*Pañcavrikṣa*). The *Pañcavrikṣa* includes *Aśōkam* (*Saraca Asoca*), *Arjunam* (*Terminalia Arjunam*), *Mritasañjīvini* (*Selaginella Bryopteris*), *Nārāyam* and *Punnāśam* (medicinal plants) trees.<sup>592</sup> Sacred groves were known in a different name from lord Ayyappa's sacred grove, to the sacred abode of snakes. The governance of the sacred grove was in the hands of the elites of that area.

The Nāyar community in Kerala was powerful and the sacred groves were protected and maintained by them. Most of the sacred groves are situated near the homes of the Nāyar family who owns the grove. Different castes and communities had enjoyed different rights and privileges in the case of sacred groves. The *Vaṅṅān* caste provided the washed clothes for rituals, *Vāṅiyān* brought oil for rituals, *Kollan* (blacksmith) brought the tools and weapons after renewal and sharpening, *Āśāri* (carpenter) reconstructed the *Maṅḍapam* or the ceremonial space in front of the temple and the *Tiyya* (the caste that has the

---

<sup>590</sup> Sita K. Nambiar, *The Ritual Art of Teyyam and Bhutaradhana*, New Delhi, 1996, p.6.

<sup>591</sup> K.K. Pillai, *Historical Heritage of the Tamils*, Chennai, 1979, p.112.

<sup>592</sup> K.M. Unnikrishnan, *Kozhikode Jillyale Jaivavaividhya Turuttukal*, Kozhikode, 1999, p.60.

right to give toddy to the temple for offerings) brought the inverted pots found on temple tops and the Pulayan brought *Nel Katiror* rice spike.<sup>593</sup> Due to this reason, the sacred groves became a meeting place of various caste groups.

Lōkanārkāvu is one of the important sacred groves in Kadathanadu, where the major deity is *Bhagavati*. Trees like Pine, Bael tree (*Kūvaḷam*) and Banyan tree grow on the grove. People also worship Vishnu, Śiva and Ganapathi from the Hindu pantheon. '*Lōkamallēśwaram*' is another name of the sacred grove of Lōkanārkāvu. Lōkanārkāvu sacred grove is prominent though other groves are also found in Kadathanadu.<sup>594</sup> The Lōkanārkāvu sacred grove has been mentioned in the ballads called as *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭu*, where the sacred grove is called as Ōmallūr *Kāvu* or Allimalarkkāvu.<sup>595</sup>

Kōrōttu Nāga Bhagavati temple is located at Aḷiyūr. The main trees of this Nāga fort were palm and wormwood. Irattakuḷangara Nāgakkōṭṭa in Vadakara, Nāgakkōṭṭa in Rāmattu temple, Kaḷariyampalam Nāgakkōṭṭa, Pālāṭṭu Kōmappan Nāgakkōṭṭa and Vellūr *Kōvilakam* Nāgakkāvu were important places of serpent worship at Kadathanadu.<sup>596</sup> Five Nāgakkōṭṭa were located in Tiruvaḷḷūr in Kadathanadu. Vaṭṭōḷi Śiva temple is located about eight

---

<sup>593</sup> Lisi P. Mathew, *Poṭṭan Teyyam Atijīvanattinte Anuṣṭānam*, Trivandrum, 2013, p.4.

<sup>594</sup> K.C. Vijaya Raghavan and K.M. Jayasree, *Lōkanārkāvu*, Vadakara, 2007, p.87

<sup>595</sup> K.V. Achuthanandan, *Irupattinālu Vaṭakkanpāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 2014, p.5.

<sup>596</sup> Field visit on 10/5/2017.

kilometres west of Kuttiyadi near Vattōḷi market. There is a Nāgakkōṭṭa attached to it. Mēmuṇṭamaṭham is a branch of Lōkanārkāvu where offerings to serpents were given. A small grove is located between Mēmuṇṭa and Vadakara. This *Kāvu* belongs to the Pulaya community. It is dedicated to Tēvar Vaḷḷuvan. The worships and rituals of this temple were done by the people of the Pulaya community. Tēvar Vaḷḷuvan *Tīra*, *Kūḷittīra* and *Kuṭṭiccāttan Tīra* are part of the temple festival. Tēvar Vaḷḷuvan was an employee of Tēvar Maṭam. As per legend, the king of Kadathanadu tried to kill Tēvar Vaḷḷuvan because he learned reading and writing. Even the famous warrior Taccōḷi Māṇikkōṭṭu Otēnan tried to kill him but failed.

Kiḷakkēṭattu temple is a temple owned by the famous Maṇakkāṭan Nāyar family. The temple is located inside the grove and is dedicated to Bhagavati at the top and Kuṭṭiccāttan at the bottom. *Kalam kamiḷttal* (offering pot, literally inverting the pot) and toddy are the main offerings of this temple. *Kōḷiveṭṭu* (cock sacrifice) also performed there. The temple is dedicated to deities like *Rakta Chāmuṇḍi*, *Bhagavati* and *Gūḷikan*. *Poṭittīra*, *Gūḷikan Vellāṭṭu* and *Chāmuṇḍi Vellāṭṭu* are celebrated here as part of the temple festival. There were also many *Kāvus* in Mayyazhi that was part of Kadathanadu. *Bhagavati* and *Kuṭṭiccāttan* were the main deities of the renowned Puttalattu *Kāvu*. The temple was under the auspices of Tīyyan Tōlan Mūppan, who worked as a government intermediary in the French-occupied Mahe. He was worshipped after death in the temple.

The major deities of sacred groves of Kadathanadu are *Śāstāvu*, *Durga*, *Bhagavati*, *Kuṭṭiccāttan*, *Kāṇṭākaraṇan*, and *Yakṣi*.<sup>597</sup> The sacred grove and its surroundings are considered as the public sphere of people living in Kadathanadu, they are safeguarded and protected by the people. In the sacred abode of snakes, the *Sarpabali* ritual is conducted to please snakes, also rice flakes and bananas are offered to the snake god. In sacred groves of *Bhadrakāḷi*, where Goddess Kāḷi is worshipped, sacrificial killings of animals called as ‘*Mrigabali*’ and ‘*Narabali*’ (Human sacrifice) were conducted and alcohol and the meat was offered to please the goddess. Each caste and community in Kadathanadu had their sacred groves with their deities.

### ***Tira***

The sacred groves and temples in North Malabar, particularly in Kadathanadu, during festivals, have art forms such as *Tiraketṭiyāṭṭam*.<sup>598</sup> In the regions of North Malabar from Kasaragod to Thalasseri, this art form is called ‘*Teyyam*’ and in places along the banks of the Mayyazhi river of Kadathanadu, this form of worship is called *Tira*. Even though these art forms are similar ‘*Teyyam*’ and ‘*Tira*’ have their differences. Ancestors, elders, animals, *Kuṭṭiccāttan*, *Yakṣi*, *Gulikan* and *Kāṇṭākaraṇan* are said to be present during the performance of ‘*Tirayāṭṭam*’ and by the mediation of the person who performs

---

<sup>597</sup> Field Work on 5/2/2016.

<sup>598</sup> R.C. Karipath, *Malabāṛile Māppiḷa Teyyangaḷ*, Kannur, 2014, p. 12.

*Tira* speak to the people. As in the art form of *Teyyam*, *Tirayāṭṭam* also requires headdresses, costumes and facial painting for the performance. The rituals such as *Śāktyārādhana*, *Śivārādhana*, *Bhūtārādhana*, *Vaiṣṇavārādhana*, *Nāgārādhana*, *Pūrvikārādhana*, and *Vīrārādhana* are also linked to the art form of *Tira*. Malayan, Pāṇan, Vaṇṇān, Munnūrān, Māvīlan and Pulayan castes perform the artform *Tira*. The origin of the word '*Tira*' is subjected to lots of debates, some scholars say that it is an art of dancing with a special headdress called '*Marapalam*', while others say that it is the divine appearance of god through the artists.<sup>599</sup> The previous day of '*Tirayāṭṭam*', '*Veḷḷāṭṭam*' is performed in the sacred groves with similar costumes of *Tirayāṭṭam*.

Bhagavati, Pōti, Guḷikan and Viṣṇu Māya were the deities performed in '*Tirayāṭṭam*' of sacred groves attached to Nāyar caste. In the sacred groves of Tiyya caste *Tirayāṭṭam* of the deities Muttappan, Kariccāttan and Kuṭṭiccāttan mediate through the artists.<sup>600</sup> Other than this lord Ayyappa's sacred groves were also present in Kadathanadu. *Ceṇṭa*, *Ilattālam* and *Tuṭi* were the instruments used during the performance of '*Tirayāṭṭam*' accompanied with songs called '*Tōrrampāṭṭukaḷ*'. '*Añcaṭitōrram*' is the most important among *Tōrrampāṭṭukaḷ*.<sup>601</sup> In this body and face painting and costumes are done per

---

<sup>599</sup> M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri, *Teyyam*, Trivandrum, 1998, p.15.

<sup>600</sup> Interview with Kunhikannan Munnuttan, on 8/9/2015.

<sup>601</sup> G. Bhargavan Pillai, *Nāṭṭarangu: Vikāsavum Parināmavum*, Trivandrum, 2000, p.83.



the deities. The deities during the performance are identified by their movements and acts of bravery which is unique to each god and goddess. ‘*Tirayāṭṭam*’ is performed from October to May. In the festival conducted in Umiyankunnu Paradēvata temple, the *Tira* of deities like *Paradēvata*, *Gulikan*, *Kuṭṭiccāttan* and *Cāmuṇḍi* are performed. *Tirayāṭṭam* end in the Malayalam month of *Mēṭam* (April-May) marked by the festival conducted in Kaṭamēri temple in the time of *Bharaṇi*, the second asterism in Malayalam month.<sup>602</sup>

In Kaṭamēri temple *Paradēvata* and other deities such as *Kuṭṭiccāttan*, *Gulikan* and *Cāmuṇḍi* are enacted in *Tirayāṭṭam*. In earlier period it is said that *Tirayāṭṭam* opened in Umiyankunnu and closes in Kaṭamēri. In the festivals of Kadathanadu, *Tirayāṭṭam* is divided into *Vellāṭṭu*, *Vellakeṭṭu* and *Tira*. This division signifies the deity’s childhood, youth and old age. In some temples, there are only two stages shown in the art namely *Vellāṭṭu* and *Tira*. *Vellāṭṭu* is a shorter version of *Tirayāṭṭam*. It is said that the blessings of the goddess can be obtained through *Vellāṭṭu*.<sup>603</sup>

*Tirayāṭṭam* is also known by the name *Naṭṭattira* conducted on the previous day of the festival. *Tira* can only be performed after *Naṭṭattira*. *Prayēṇatōṛram* is the songs used for *Tira* of feminine divinities. *Vellāṭṭu* is usually performed without *Tōṛram* in the case of female deities. Cocks are

---

<sup>602</sup> C. Gopalan Nayar, *Malabāṛile Tirayāṭṭangaḷ*, Kozhikode, 2010, p.16.

<sup>603</sup> *Ibid.*, p.17.

sacrificed in *Tirayāṭṭam* as in *Teyyam*. In some cases, animal sacrifices are done as part of *Tira*, and in the case of deities without *Kuruti* (sacrifice of animals) offerings are given. *Kalaśams* are carried out for ritual worship for some of the festivals in Kadathanadu. *Kalaśam* is a mud pot that contains toddy, which is decorated on top by coconut palm leaves. Tiyya community has the right to bring *Kalaśam* to the festival. *Kalaśakkāran* is the one who has the right to hold the mud pots filled with toddy. In *Tira* many deities like Kālī, Bhagavati and Cāmuṇḍi are seen as mothers by the devotees.<sup>604</sup> Generally, *Tira* is an artform with significance to dance. In Tamil, *Tira* has a different meaning, which is *velippeṭuka* or to reveal.<sup>605</sup> *Tōṛram* from song *Tirakolvandaivam*.<sup>606</sup>

A *Tōṛram* song signifies that the meaning of *Tira* is the divine appearance of the god or the offering of themselves to god.<sup>607</sup> *Vellāṭṭu* generally conducted in the previous day of *Tira* performance. The artist wears the costumes and arrives at the sacred grove and sings before the deity with a musical ensemble of *Ceṇṭa* or *Tuṭi*. The artists possessed by divinity dances in strong vigorous movements by the end of the song.<sup>608</sup> *Tira* without

---

<sup>604</sup> M.G. Sasibhushan, *Kēraḷacaritrattilēkkuḷḷa Nāṭṭuvaḷi*, Kottayam, 2016, p.11.

<sup>605</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *Cultural Heritage of Kerala*, Kottayam, 2014, p.114.

<sup>606</sup> *Kāṭṭoornalla Akampaṭi tante valamkaiyāl*

*Pūjattirakoḷvān*

*Eḷuvānōṭen Kayyāl*. M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri, *Teyyam*, Trivandrum, 1998, p.16.

<sup>607</sup> M.V. Vishnu Namboodiri, *Op. cit.*, p.17.

<sup>608</sup> *Ibid.*, p.18.

*Tōrrampāṭṭu* (ritual ballad) will have more costumes, facial and body painting with ornaments and headdress. After the performance, the artist is given a ceremonial white dhoti which he ties around his head. The tying of the ceremonial dhoti is called as *Vellāṭṭu*.

Every caste has its temples and sacred groves with specific deities that are primary for their caste. Vāṇiya caste has their main deity of worship as *Muccilōṭṭu Bhagavati* likewise the Tiyya community has their chief deities such as *Pūmāla*, *Śrī Kurumba*, *Vayanāṭṭu Kulavan* and *Muttappan*. In Kadathanadu, there are sacred groves of a common caste and particular families. Certain families performing *Tirayāṭṭam* for many generations are found in Kadathanadu.<sup>609</sup> The right to perform *Tirayāṭṭam* is known as *Janmam* and *Cerujanmam*. All castes have different forms of *Tirayāṭṭam*. Most of the *Tira* that contains dance movements is related to the mother goddesses, such as *Kāḷi*, *Bhadrakāḷi*, *Paradēvata*, *Vīrakāḷi* and *Rudhirakāḷi*. *Tirayāṭṭam* also symbolises gods, virgins and elders in an animal form such as lion, tiger, deer and monkey.<sup>610</sup> Most of the *Tira* has a connection with Lord Śiva and Viṣṇu from the Hindu mythology. Gender distinction is made irrelevant by the facial and bodily makeup, the headgear and the costumes. The art forms of *Teyyam* and *Tira* is directly linked to the ancestry of Kerala. The *Tira* festival begins in

---

<sup>609</sup> Mukundan Kurup, *Kaḷariyum Kalārūpangaḷum*, Trivandrum, 2013, p.30.

<sup>610</sup> K. Ananda Marar, *Kaṭattanāṭṭile Kṣētrangaḷ*, Vada kara, 2011, p.12.

September with the onset of *Kanni Kriṣi* (starting cultivation in the first Malayalam month of North Kerala) and ends in the sowing season of *Viruppu Kriṣi* (the time for second cultivation in a year).<sup>611</sup> The people offer a share of their produce to the sacred groves in honour of their deceased ancestors as it started in the harvest season. With the end of the *Tira* festival, seeds are sown for the next season. In the Malayalam month of *Tulām* (October–November) a special type of *Teyyam* called *Pulayakōṭṭathe Kālicēkōn* is performed. The festival of *Teyyam* begins in the land of North Malabar by this performance.<sup>612</sup>

*Tira* has a similarity to the art forms and culture mentioned in the early Tamil literature. In it, an art form was used to please the war brigade known as *Kor̄ravai* similar to *Tira*.<sup>613</sup> *Talayūṭa* (ceremonial cloth given to performers) mentioned in the early Tamil literature is also seen in *Tira* and *Teyyam* performances. Some attributes of *Tira* such as sacrificial killings and offerings seem to have their origins from the early Tamil culture. The roots of procedures involved in the protection of sacred groves also found in it. This can be demonstrated through scrutiny of songs of *Tira* and *Vellāṭṭu*. The background of this art form is the problems and cultural issues of the village or the land,

---

<sup>611</sup> Interview with K. Kumaran on 05.08.2015. The first month of Kollam Era at present is *Cingam*. In pre-modern period *Kanni* was the first month in North Kerala, whereas it was *Cingam* in South Kerala.

<sup>612</sup> M.K. Nambiar, *Vaṭakkan folklōrum Prādēsika Samskritiyum*, Trivandrum, 2013, p.21.

<sup>613</sup> Jacob Nayathodu, *Sanghakālatte Jīvitam*, Trivandrum, 2016, p.58.

which in turn creates the deities that guards and protects them from such problems. *Tira* apart from being a cultural art form is a culmination of the social, political belief systems of a particular region. The art of *Tira* brings together the people of Kadathanadu above the caste system that divides them.

The concept of superiority of Brahmins in the society is irrelevant in the art of *Tira*, as it is performed by members of lower caste such as *Malayan*, *Vēlan*, *Vaṇṇān*, *Maṇiyāṇi* and *Munnūrān*.<sup>614</sup> The lower caste members are raised to the position of deity, where they are worshipped by the upper caste members such as Brahmins. Brahminisation of such folk and art forms are also visible when *Kāvus* are Brahmanised. Here Brahmanas become the master of the *Kāvu* and they are given prime importance on any performance including *Tira*. *Tirayāṭṭam* is an art form that is unique to Kadathanadu, that result in the role reversal as the lower caste members enact deities and the upper caste bows before them. Some characteristics of *Tirayāṭṭam* can also be witnessed in the art form of *Kathakali* which is ethnic to Kerala. People who belong to all castes offer the products of their work to their respective deities in the sacred groves. For this reason, it is indeed seen as a festival of abundance.<sup>615</sup> A *Tōṛram Pattu* for a *Tirayāṭṭam* performance implies this need for protection.<sup>616</sup>

---

<sup>614</sup> R.C. Karipath, *Op. cit.*, p.15.

<sup>615</sup> Chelanattu Achutha Menon, *Kēraḷattile Kāḷisēva*, Kottayam, 2015, p.16.

<sup>616</sup> To the bygone elders who guard  
To the future generation who rules,

The significance is given to agriculture we understand from a song and it shows the direct relation of the art form to the cultivation cycle.<sup>617</sup> Most of the *Tirayāṭṭam* is a symbol to personify their deities. *Kāṇṭākaraṇan* is a deity believed to cure illness of the people. *Kāṇṭākaraṇan* originated from Śiva and came out of the throat of Siva.<sup>618</sup> *Kāṇṭākaraṇan* is worshipped as a chief deity; Malaya community performs *Tirayāṭṭam* of this deity. *Vasūrimāla* is another deity believed to cure diseases. *Vaṇṇān*, *Malayan*, *Pāṇan* and *Vēlan* castes perform *Tirayāṭṭam* in Kadathanadu.<sup>619</sup> Thus it has a different representation of the same deity in *Tirayāṭṭam* as it is performed by different castes. Some songs of *Tira* mention *Gulikan* as a deity with partial traits of lord Śiva and lord Viṣṇu. *Gulikan* is said to have originated from the left thumb of Śiva and is said to be identical to Yama, the god of death.

---

To the people of ancestral houses and groves  
 To the womenfolk and children of the houses  
 To the ones who sell their bodies  
 To the cattle  
 To the seeds and the harvest  
 Made by the hands of the servant  
 Who bow after the long toil?

Please protect them our lord. Interview with Raman, *Tirayāṭṭam* performer in Kadathanadu on 5. 4. 2016.

<sup>617</sup> M.V. Vishnu Namboodiri, *Tōṛṛampāṭṭukaḷ*, Kottayam, 2016, p.51.

<sup>618</sup> *Ibid.*, p.52.

<sup>619</sup> A. Sreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p.115.

*Bhagavati, Pōti, Muttappan, Cāmuṇḍi, Kuṭṭiccāttan, and Pūkuṭṭiccāttan* enacted in *Tiṛayāṭṭam*. *Tiṛayāṭṭam* of *Kuṭṭiccāttan* is famous in Kadathanadu.<sup>620</sup> Vilyāpaḷli Kallēri *Kuṭṭiccāttan* temple is famous for the practice of offering toddy and foreign liquor with the practice of animal sacrifice (*Kuruti*). In the sacred groves of Muttappan, toddy and dried fish are the main offerings.<sup>621</sup> Temples of *Kuṭṭiccāttan* and sacred groves of *Muttappan* are found in plenty in Kadathanadu. Chekōṭṭu *Bhagavati* and Kurūḷḷikkāvu *Bhagavati* are worshipped by the people living in hilly rural areas of Kadathanadu.<sup>622</sup> As mentioned earlier, the deceased ancestors of a family also deified and worshipped through various *Tiṛayāṭṭam* performances.

Hero worship (*Vīrārādhana*) is a *Tiṛayāṭṭam* performance where the bygone warrior heroes are commemorated and worshipped as gods. Taccōḷi Māṇikkōttu *Kāvu* Taccōḷi Otēnan and Kōma Kuṛuppu are two such warrior brothers who are enshrined as deities in Kadathanadu and on the tenth of the Kumbha month (February-March) in the Malayalam calendar, *Tiṛayāṭṭam* is performed in honour of them. This is an example of hero worship in Kadathanadu. Kuṛūḷḷi Cēkōn, a warrior, is deified as a *Tiṛayāṭṭam* in Iringaṇṇūr Kuṛūḷḷikkāvu festival. Kuṛūḷḷi Cēkōn, a thief, has stolen for the poor people of the locality. The stolen material from the tea garden was distributed among the

---

<sup>620</sup> Field work on 12.09.2017.

<sup>621</sup> Field work on 13.09.2017.

<sup>622</sup> Field work on 07.10.2017.

poor people.<sup>623</sup> This warrior fought for the poor against the British at Vilangāṭu Mountain and was killed by trickery. The memories of the warrior and his fight for the poor are enacted through *Tīrayāṭṭam* and people honour him for his deeds by treating him as a great warrior. The artforms of Kadathanadu is believed to be derived from the practices and customs of prayer and beliefs of the earlier days. Fertility cult and hero worship are linked to the present day artforms in Kadathanadu.<sup>624</sup>

The seaside regions of Kadathanadu and the fishermen communities had their customs, beliefs and artforms. The deities of this region were *Marakkala* deities.<sup>625</sup> The major temple of this region is ‘Madappally Aṛakkal Bhagavati temple’ that is situated on the seashore. It is believed that the fishermen communities have eleven beliefs. The belief about Aṛakkal Bhagavati is one among them.<sup>626</sup> In general, deities of the fisher communities include *Āryapūmkanni*, *Āryapūmāla*, *Annapūrṇēśwari*, *Āyirri Bhagavati*, *Pūmārutan*, *Bappiriyān* and *Āryakkara Bhagavati*. The Aṛakkal Bhagavati *avatār* is similar to the *avatār* of Kuṛumba Bhagavati. *Pūrōtsavam* (festival) of Aṛakkal Bhagavati is famous, which is conducted in the eighth Malayalam month of *Mīnam* (March-April). In this festival, *Veḷiccappāṭu* (oracle or sacred middle

---

<sup>623</sup> M. Lineesh, ed., *Kaṭattanāṭan Sāmskārikata: Caritravum Varttamānavum*, Mokēri, 2017, p.256.

<sup>624</sup> *Ibid.*, p.257.

<sup>625</sup> Ananda Marar, *Op. cit.*, p.25.

<sup>626</sup> Field work on 20.10.2015.



man of god) performs *Kaṭalkuḷi* (bath in the sea).<sup>627</sup> The ornaments, sword and idol of the deity are made pure by dipping in the sea.

The deities of the fishermen community consist mainly of mother goddesses. Aṛakkal Bhagavati's main temple of worship is at Nīlēs̄waram Taikkaṭappuṛam temple. The origin of the temple is related to a historical story.<sup>628</sup> A fisherman whose name was Oñciyam Mukayan and his friends went to the sea and was unable to get any fish. They travelled far north and reached Nīlēs̄waram seashore, the fishermen knowing that it was the festival of the *Bhagavati* prayed for her blessings. A little far from there, they met a ship that lost its way and the fishermen showed them the right direction to sail. The captain of the ship was very grateful for the help and gave gold coins to Oñciyam Mukayan. The fishermen gave half of the gold coins to the temple as offerings to the *Bhagavati* and pleased with their offering she guided them like a parrot on their sail. On reaching Madappally seashore, the fishermen were blessed with a divine vision of *Bhagavati*, who instructed him to build a temple on the shore. At the same time, *Kōṭṭikollan* also laid the bedrock for a Muslim mosque. Both the temple and mosque lay side by side in Madappally. The right to the temple is given to five major families they are Ponnān, Vaṭakkēṭattu, Tekkēpurakkār, Tūvakkār and Uppalakan.<sup>629</sup> People say that *Bhagavati* is

---

<sup>627</sup> Chandran Muttath, *Jalasañcāra Teyyangal*, Trivandrum, 2013, p.20.

<sup>628</sup> *Ibid.*, p.21.

<sup>629</sup> Interview with Sreedharan, a member of Mukaya Community, on 25.06.2015.

enthroned in Madappally and rules over Nīlēs̄waram. In addition to *Bhagavati* and her daughter, other deities like *Daivattār*, *Kūṭeyuḷḷa Bhagavati*, *Viṣṇumūrtti*, *Gulikan* and *Kuṭṭiccāttan* are also worshipped there. Also, there is a platform called *Citrakūṭam* for the worship of Nāga or snake.<sup>630</sup> The temple and the mosque lie together connected with a cultural bond for the goodness of society.

Putiyāppa *Bhagavati* temple is another famous fishermen temple situated in Vadakara in Kerala. Under the temple festival, there is a custom of bringing the *Bhagavati* idol to the seashore. The pooja or the ritual for the goddess is performed on the seashore. The elderly priest drops seawater over the idol and this custom is called *Nīrāṭṭukuḷi*. Other than *Gulikan*, *Kāṇṭākarṇan* and *Kuṭṭiccāttan* are the primary deities.<sup>631</sup> The *avatār* of *Kuṭṭiccāttan* has been divided into three, *Pūkuṭṭi*, *Tīkuṭṭi* and *Karikuṭṭi*.<sup>632</sup> Major deities in *Tīrayāṭṭam* are female and male avatars derived from Lord Siva. The native avatars of gods and goddesses indigenous to the land are few. The *Tīra* art form is derived from the rituals and beliefs of worship of mother goddesses, as this relates to the everyday life of the people. The existence of Kadathanadu as an agricultural community is proven by art forms such as *Tīra*.

---

<sup>630</sup> Field visit on 07.08.2017.

<sup>631</sup> Field visit on 07.08.2017.

<sup>632</sup> Raghavan Payyanad, ed., *Kerala Folklore*, Payyannur, 1997, p.18.

From early times, humans worshipped animals as they worshipped anything that was not under their control. As in many parts of Kerala, Kadathanadu also has customs of snake worship. It is proven by the groves and temples for Nāgas or snakes. Kōrōttu Nāga Bhagavati temple and Kōṭṭayil Nāga temple are temples where snake idols have been enshrined and worshipped as a deity.<sup>633</sup> The festival of this temple is celebrated in the seventh Malayalam month of *Kumbham* (February-March). The significance of martial arts in the cultural life of the people of Kadathanadu is also found in *Tirayāṭṭam* performances. *Ānkakkāranum Ūttāṭiyumis* the *Tirayāṭṭam* related to it. Lord Ayappa's sacred groves and *Māriyamman* temple are also found in Kadathanadu.

### **Rituals and Festivals related to Agriculture**

As a land where the primary importance is given to agriculture, many customs and practices are still being continued in Kadathanadu. *Pūram* festival in *Kumbham* and *Mīnam* Malayalam months in *Bhagavati* temples across Kadathanadu is an example of a fertility cult. *Tiruvātira*, a festival prominent in Kerala, does not have much importance in Kadathanadu as *Pūram*.<sup>634</sup> *Pūram* is a festival that happens when the harvest is at its zenith. *Nirayum Puttariyum* is a prominent festival during harvest time. *Nira* means the process of the

---

<sup>633</sup> Field visit on 08.09.2017.

<sup>634</sup> Sinish Velikkuni, *Nāṭan Kalakal*, Kozhikode, 2014, p.40.

product being distributed among the houses and the groves of the land, while *Puttari* means the cooking of the first harvest grains.<sup>635</sup> The produce given to the sacred groves is given as an offering to the deity. The people of Kadathanadu used to pray to the deity Kaliyan so that in the Malayalam month of *Karkkiṭakam* (June-July), the land would not be affected by famines and plagues and for all the trees to give fruit. This ritual was conducted on the first day of *Karkkiṭakam*. During the evening of the day, all the members of the family circumambulated trees of their compound by invoking *Kaliyan* for getting fertility to the next year. All people conducted the rituals irrespective of caste. According to Rajan Gurukkal, this ritual in north Malabar is a continuation of the fertility cult of the early period.<sup>636</sup> A reference in the songs of the rituals indicates that the deity is worshipped for the enhancement of production.<sup>637</sup>

The ancestors of Kadathanadu believed in life after death, as a result, in the Megalithic period, the burial sites contain grains and the belongings of the dead. This tradition is still followed by the people of Kadathanadu. In July or Malayalam month of *Karkkiṭakam*, the deceased ancestors of families are commemorated and *Bali* or rituals to please the manes on the day of the new

---

<sup>635</sup> Interview with Matheyi on 25.07.2017.

<sup>636</sup> Rajan Gurukkal, *Myth Caritram Samūham*, Kottayam, 2013, p. 251.

<sup>637</sup> “*Kaliyākaliyā.... Kaliyākaliyā.... Ālēmpaikkaḷem.... Cakkēmmāngēm.... Nellumvittum... tannēccupō*”. Interview with Matheyi on 25.07.2017.

moon called *Karkkiṭaka Vāvu*, offerings of rice flakes, fried rice and tender coconut are given.<sup>638</sup> This ritual is performed differently by different castes.

The people of Kadathanadu believed in demons, curses and the evil's eye or *Kaṇṇēru*. Thus, they did *Kaṇṇērrupāṭṭu* (ritual against evil's eye) and performed black magic to be shielded from all these and to get cured of diseases.<sup>639</sup> A lot of practices of black magic existed in Kadathanadu, which varied for different castes. *Malayan* and *Vaṇṇān* castes performed the ritual of *Kentrōnpāṭṭu* to get away from evil spirits. They also performed *Kuruntīnipāṭṭu* and *Kaḷampāṭṭu*.<sup>640</sup>

Many local markets also involved in the temple festivals of Kadathanadu. *Ōrkkāṭṭēri Canta* associated with *Ōrkkāṭṭēri Śiva-Bhagavati* temple festivals, *Kīlūr Canta* as a part of *Kīlūr* temple festival, *Kallēri Canta* associate with *Kallēri* temple festival is still famous.<sup>641</sup>

### **Influence of Jainism**

The influence of Jainism, up to a small extent, is visible in the cultural realm of Kadathanadu. The nomenclature of major localities in Kadathanadu like *Kaliyāmpaḷli*, *Vilyāpaḷli* and *Kārttikappaḷli* shows the influence of Jainism

---

<sup>638</sup> Interview with Matheyi on 25.07.2017.

<sup>639</sup> Interview with Chathan Kandiyil Gopalan on 30.06.2017.

<sup>640</sup> Interview with Chathan Kandiyil Janaki on 30.06.2017.

<sup>641</sup> See above, Chapter II Urbanising Nāṭu: A study of trade networks and markets.

as the word paḷḷi is indicative of Jain temple.<sup>642</sup> These places are located on major commercial streets. Many temples and mosques found in the region are constructed on the Mudabidri style of Jain architecture.<sup>643</sup> It is also evidence of the influence of Jainism in the area under study. In the earlier period, the temple was probably a Jain worshipping centre. Ōṇapoṭṭan or Ōṇēśwaran was a part of Ōṇam festival in Kadathanadu. During the day of *Tiruvōṇam* Ōṇapoṭṭan visited every house of Kadathanadu. People welcome him with *Nilaviḷakku*, (oil lamp) and *Niraparā* and present paddy or rice to Ōṇapoṭṭan, who bless the people. His costumes are attractive, wear a red colour dhoti, long beard, a bag in left hand and used a palm leaf umbrella, he reminds Mahābali. He never communicates with the people. Scholars argued that the makeup and costumes of Ōṇapoṭṭan show its connection with Jainism.<sup>644</sup>

### **Temples as Centre of Culture**

Temples are the centres of the socio-cultural life of the people. They functioned as socio-economic and political centres in Kerala during the medieval period. The temples played a major role in the cultural unity of each locality. Temples that emerged in the medieval period are of two types, royal

---

<sup>642</sup> Aju C. Narayanan, *Kēraḷattile Buddhamata Pāramparyam Nāṭṭarivukaḷil*, Kottayam, 2014, p.12.

<sup>643</sup> V.P. Balakrishnan, 'Vaṭakarayuṭe Caritram Sankalppavum Yāthārthyavum' in M.G.S. Narayanan, ed., *Malabar Mahotsav Souvenir*, Calicut, 1994, p.319.

<sup>644</sup> *Ibid.*, p.320.

temples and temples developed as a part of the agrarian corporation and Brahmin settlement.<sup>645</sup> Twelve temples of both types are located in the Kadathanadu kingdom. The twelve temples are, Kaliyāmpalli Bhadrakālī temple, Ponnēri Śiva temple, Lōkanārkāvu, Vengōli Śiva temple, Tiruvallūr Śiva temple, Karuvānchēri Paradēvata temple and Iringaṇṇūr Paradēvata temple.<sup>646</sup> *Lōkanārkāvilamma*, the deity of one of the most famous temples of Kadathanadu was considered as the tutelary deity of the Kadathanadu ruling family.

Different traditions are related to the origin of Lōkanārkāvu. One of those stories associated with the 'Lohana' community of North India. Lohana community, migrated from the Sindh area, including Gujarat, built the Lōkanar temple is one of such stories. The temple built by Lohanas later became Lōkanārkāvu. It is said that Zogmana Kshatriyas are a part of Lohanas.<sup>647</sup>

Another story was associated with the gem merchants of Kollam who migrated to Vadakara. They came to Vadakara with the idol of their Goddess. They consecrated the idol in Lōkanārkāvu with the permission of the authority. These merchants held administrative power. They handed over the power to

---

<sup>645</sup> Kesava Veluthat , 'Temple and the state: Religion and Politics in Medieval South India', in Champaka Lakshmi, KesavanVeluthat and T.R. Venugopalan, eds., *State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, Thrissur, 2002, p.97.

<sup>646</sup> A. Ananda Marar, *Op. cit.*, p.17.

<sup>647</sup> Interview with K.M. Jayasree on 10.11.2017.

Nelliyōṭṭu Mūsatu. Later Kadathanadu dynasty had taken charge of it from Mūsatu. Lōkanārkāvu is a temple complex with three deities, Durga, Viṣṇu and Śiva.<sup>648</sup> Supreme mother worship can be seen in Lōkanārkāvu also, which is mentioned in northern ballads.<sup>649</sup> It is believed that *Lōkanārkāvilamma* and *Koṭungallūramma* are friends. *Tiruvuṭayāta Eḷunnaḷḷattu* (procession of holy dress), *Tēngayēru* (breaking coconut by throwing), *Kurumuḷaku Eḷunnaḷḷattu* (procession of black pepper) and *Uccāl Eḷunnaḷḷattu* (a ritual conducted in the temples of Kadathanadu) are the major rites.<sup>650</sup> Out of these four, a procession of pepper was done by the Dalit community. Pepper brought into Lōkanārkāvu from Pāngōṭṭūr Bhagavati temple. According to tradition *Lōkanārkāvilamma* (Mother goddess of Lōkanārkāvu) and Pāngōṭṭūr Bhagavati are sisters. Pāngōṭṭūr Bhagavati drinks water from untouchables and became their household deity. In commemoration of this procession of pepper was observed. Kadathanadu is probably a place where pepper is easily available and farmers gave a share of their yield to the temple as an offering. It is said that the Kodungallur temple, where pepper and spices are major items of offering, and Lōkanārkāvu are closely linked.

*Pūram* is the major festival of Lōkanārkāvu celebrated in the month of *Mīnam* (March-April) for eight days starting on the day of *Rōhiṇi* asterism and

---

<sup>648</sup> Interview with K.M. Jayasree on 10.11.2017.

<sup>649</sup> K. Sreekumar, *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 2013, p. 27.

<sup>650</sup> Interview with Unnikrishnan Namboodiri on 05.11.2017.



ends on the day of *Pūram* asterism. *Iḷanīrvaravu* (bringing of tender coconut) is a ritual associated with the festival. After the first harvest in the month of *Karkkitakam* (July-August), the new rice prepared as a meal and dedicate to the Goddesses known as *Tripputtari*.<sup>651</sup> *Puttaricuṅṭa* and *Takara* will be served as special dish. *Puttari* represents the self-sufficiency of the rural populace. *Illamniṛa* symbolizes the prosperity of the peasant community. The spikes of fresh paddy (*punnellu*), worshipped in the temple, was brought home and kept for a year called *Illamniṛa*, is a ceremony of welcoming new month, '*Cingam* (August-September).<sup>652</sup> Procession of the sword (*Vāḷ Eḷunnaḷḷattu*) also known as *Kollanvaravu* is another rite associated with Lōkanārkāvu. Every year, first of *Vriścikam* (November-December), the concerned blacksmiths do sharpen the holy sword and bring it ceremonially into the temple. It is named *Kollanpāccil*. There exist many rites and rituals associated with Lōkanārkāvu. A chronicle called *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* shows evidence of wealth flowing to Lōkanārkāvu in various forms.<sup>653</sup>

Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple and Ponmēri Śiva temple are popular in Kadathanadu. Kaliyāmpaḷḷi Bhagavati temple is situated at Eṭachēri.<sup>654</sup> Bhagavati is the main deity and the frescos of the temple are renowned.

---

<sup>651</sup> Interview with Unni Namboodiri on 03.11.2017.

<sup>652</sup> K.C. Vijayaraghavan and K.M. Jayasree, *Op. cit.*, p.86.

<sup>653</sup> *Ibid.*, p.87.

<sup>654</sup> Field visit on 10.06.2016.

*Navarātri* is considered the main festival of this temple. The famous ‘Kaliyāmpaḷli inscription’ is discovered from Kaliyāmpaḷli temple ground. The inscription speaks of the agricultural and political history of Kadathanadu.<sup>655</sup> *Parōḷi Illam* held the administrative power of the temple. The tenth and eleventh centuries are the assigned period of ‘inscription’.<sup>656</sup> This ‘inscription’ refers to the number of coconuts and betel nuts available to the temple. This indicates the temples of medieval Kerala were the centres of social life. Temples controlled the economic matters of a locality as they functioned as banks as well as landlords is evident from Lōkanārkāvu and Kaliyāmpaḷli temple. Temples in Kadathanadu like Pōnmēri Śiva temple, Kuttippuram Śiva temple and Pārayil temple also played the same role in medieval Kerala.<sup>657</sup> Temples named Kākkannūr Śiva Temple, Iringaṅṅūr Śiva temple and Lōkanārkāvu were also cultural centres at that time. *Kathakaḷi Yōgam* was held at these temples. Artists perform *Kathakaḷi* and *Kūttu* on special days. Kadathanadu dynasty, especially King Udaya Varma, had encouraged *Kathakaḷi*. In their *Kōvilakam* they formed *Kathakaḷi Yōgam* and Cēmañcēri Kuññirāman Nāyar was part of it.<sup>658</sup>

---

<sup>655</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>656</sup> *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol.7, *op. cit.*, p.46.

<sup>657</sup> Field visit on 10.06.2016.

<sup>658</sup> Interview with Ramakrishnan Master on 17.05.2017.

The frescos of Cēdamangalam Ayyappa temple are renowned. Kuttippuram Śiva temple situated near the Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam* is an important one.<sup>659</sup> Though Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam* collapsed in Tipu's attack, Kuttippuram Śiva temple adjacent to *Kōvilakam* has not been damaged. These temples were managed by Brahmin *Ūrālars* in the medieval period. They held sway for the economic and cultural functioning of the temples.<sup>660</sup> *Taiyyillam*, *Parōḷi Illam* and *Eṙāñcēri Illam* were the main Brahmin houses (*Illams*) and they were responsible for the governance of temples of Kadathanadu.

Brahminical domination was lesser in Kadathanadu comparing to other princely states. The majority of the population consists of Nāyar, Tiyya, Pulaya and Islam. There were no specific villages found in the name of Brahmins.<sup>661</sup> According to the myth of the origin of Kerala, it is believed that Lord Paraśurāma brought Brahmins to Kerala from other places and built 64 villages, from Gokarna to Kanyakumari, for them. Out of 64 villages 32 located at Tuḷunāṭuand the rest on the south of Perumpuḷa. Payyannur and Taliparambu are the northernmost of these 32 Brahmin villages whereas the other 30 villages are situated south of Kozhikode. No Brahmanical villages are found in Kadathanadu and its neighbourhood. It is argued that Brahmins established

---

<sup>659</sup> Field visit on 09.07.2017.

<sup>660</sup> Interview with Rajesh Namboodiri, NirveliIllam on 26.08.2017.

<sup>661</sup> Early Brahmin villages are an important feature of medieval Kerala. For a discussion of Brahmin villages see, KesavanVeluthat, *Brahmin Settlements in Kerala*, p.55.

their villages in the river basins that are suitable for vegetation.<sup>662</sup> They had preferred river basins over the mountain and coastal areas for wetland agriculture. All the rivers that flow through Kadathanadu were short in length and not in the abundance of water. Since the place is sandwiched between mountain highlands and coastal lowlands, the middle land was unsuitable for cultivation. It may have caused the least preference of Brahmins to settle in Kadathanadu. Apart from that, the Brahmins who settled in the central and southern parts of Kerala might have migrated through the Palakkad mountain pass.

Bhakti movement became prominent in Kerala during the eighth and ninth centuries. Of course, its influences are visible in Kadathanadu too. The folk wisdom gained prominence due to the lack of Brahmin villages. Though the Brahmin influence was petite, the temples in Kadathanadu and most of the lands were in the hands of Brahmins, who were a minority. A group of armed Brahmins named *Caṭṭar* existed in the medieval period as is evident from inscriptions and literary evidence.<sup>663</sup> There was a specialized educational institution called *Śāla* that functioned for the armed Brahmins. They studied Vedas and sastras and imparted military training from there. In *Uṇṇiyacci*

---

<sup>662</sup> *Ibid.*, p.57.

<sup>663</sup> Champaka Lakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T.R. Venugopalan, eds., *Op. cit.*, p.257.

*Caritam* the hero speaks about a special category of people named *Cāttirar* in the description of a city where the heroine resides.<sup>664</sup>

An institution named *Śāla* functioned in various parts of Kerala, for Vedic studies and martial training.<sup>665</sup> *Kāntaḷūr Śāla*, *Pārtthivapuram Śāla* and *Tirunelli Śāla* are a few of them. The inscription found from Chempra Subrahmaṇya temple, a border area of Kadathanadu, speaks of Eṭannūr Brahmin Sabha. ‘*Eṭayannūr Sabhayum Ūrum*’ is the reference found in the inscription. It is regarded as a Brahmin *upagrāma*.<sup>666</sup> There was a place named ‘Chālakkara’ near the Brahmin village, indicates the existence of a *Śāla* during the medieval period. Students of this *Śāla* were known as *Cāttirar*. Chālōṭu, Chālakkara and Chālappuram are place names indicating Brahmin educational institutions. *Eṛāñcēri* Illam and *Parōḷi* Illam had imparted Brahmin education.<sup>667</sup> *Parōḷi* Illam was an important *Vaidyar Maṭham* (Ayurveda Physician's house) at Kadathanadu. Treatment for the affliction of ghosts, mental illness and non-curable diseases were provided by medical practitioners of *Parōḷi* Illam. They were the traditional healers of Kadathanadu.<sup>668</sup> Structural temples constructed in the 10<sup>th</sup> century. After that Brahmin influence becomes

---

<sup>664</sup> G. Gopinathan Nayar, *Uṇṇiyacci Caritam*, Kottayam, 2016, p.69.

<sup>665</sup> Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Kēraḷam Añcum Ārum Nūrrāṇṭukaḷil*, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

<sup>666</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kēraḷiyata Caritra Mānangaḷ*, Sukapuram, 1990, p. 20.

<sup>667</sup> Field visit on 07.09.2015.

<sup>668</sup> Interview with Unni Namboothiri on 25.07.2017.

visible in the temple centred society. Temple-art forms like *Kathakaḷi*, *Kūttu* and *kūṭiyāṭṭam* became popular.

### ***Kaḷari System***

The early Tamil literature mentions the heroes who fought and killed their enemies in battle. Since the early period losing the war is a humiliation, and the war heroes gave heroic status.<sup>669</sup> As a follow-up to this, indications are there about the importance of battles in society. In the medieval feudal society, much importance was given to *kaḷari*. There were *Poyttukaḷari* and *Eḷuttukaḷari*. Martial arts taught in *Poyttukaḷari* and writing taught in *Eḷuttukaḷari*. Men and women were admitted to the *kaḷari*. The Nāyars and Tiyyas practised martial arts. It is argued that *kaḷari* system spread Kerala from Tuḷunāṭu. A homogenous culture based on the *kaḷari* system existed in the entire state.<sup>670</sup> Earlier both men and women were admitted to this course as a means of self-defence.

A band of soldiers named *Cangātam* conceived as bodyguards of the rulers and local authorities and developed into a landed aristocracy supported the established order with military power.<sup>671</sup> After the decline of the Cēra state, no powerful centralized government existed in medieval Kerala. In a political

---

<sup>669</sup> K.K. Pillai, *Historical Heritage of the Tamils*, Chennai, 1979, p.115.

<sup>670</sup> M.K. Venugopal, 'Kalarippayattu InnaleInnu', *Poli*, Book. 2, Vol. 1, August-December 2003, p.59.

<sup>671</sup> George Vallat, *Discovery of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1977, p. 47.

system of a well-arranged hierarchy of rulers, disputes were settled through fights. This practice of fighting for the settlement of disputes resulted in the emergence of *Ankam*. Members of the royal family established *kaḷari* near Nāyar *taṛavāṭu* and *Cēkōrppura*.<sup>672</sup> *Kaḷaris* imparted training in literacy and martial art. Thus, training in *kaḷari* gained significance in medieval society. Kōlattunāṭu and Kadathanadu become main centres of *kaḷari* due to the proximity of Tuḷunāṭu. Kadathanadu is widely known as the ‘Land of *kalaripayattu*’.<sup>673</sup> The heroic related to *kaḷari* became the main theme of northern ballads in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>674</sup> The brave Cēkavars and Nāyars (soldiers) who fought for the rulers are eulogised in Puttūram and Taccōḷi songs.<sup>675</sup> After turning five, regardless of gender, they join in *kaḷaris*. A study of Puttūram and Taccōḷi songs help us to understand the socio-cultural context based on *kaḷari*.

The girls also practised martial arts as is evident from the stories of Uṇṇiyārcca, Tumpōlārcca and Kaṭattanāṭtu Mākkam. In Kadathanadu existed a mixed social system of *Makkattāyam* (patriliny) and *Marumakkattāyam*

---

<sup>672</sup> *Ibid.*, p.48.

<sup>673</sup> K.K.N. Kurup and M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kalaripayattu: The Traditional Martial Arts of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 5.

<sup>674</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>675</sup> P. Balakrishnan, *Kalaripayattu: Kēraḷattile Prāchīna Āyōdhanamūra*, Kozhikode, 1994, p.2.

(matriliny) called *Ubhayam*.<sup>676</sup> Though northern ballads may be distanced from reality the depiction of the women like *Uṇṇiyārcca* is indicative of the social attitude. Her encounter with *Jōnakas* (Muslims) as well as *Cantu* at the *Nāgapuram* market shows the strong dimensions of womanhood. Marriage was not a dominant institution in the context of Northern ballads. *Otēnan* a hero in the *Taccōḷi* songs makes a relationship with more than one woman. *Puttūram* songs depict the lifestyle of contemporary women.<sup>677</sup>

In a Northern ballad named ‘*Pūmātai Ponnamma*’, the problems encountered by women under *Nāṭuvāḷi* in the caste system is highlighted.<sup>678</sup> The songs also refer to the issues of women fought against the landlords who considered women as a sexual commodity. Femininity has been portrayed as a dominant feature in the Northern ballads.

The teacher or *Āśān* empower them with literacy and martial art. Several *kaḷaris* functioned in Kadathanadu. There was a special category of a style

---

<sup>676</sup> K.V. Achuthanandan, *Irupattinālu Vaṭakkanpāṭṭukaḷ* (1990), Thrissur, 2014, p.12.

<sup>677</sup> Ears pierced at five

She at seven sends to learn

She who learned to fight and write

Tied the hair at eight

When she learned all techniques

Attumanammel Kunhiraman

Married her at the age of ten. K. K.N. Kurup and M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kalarippayattu: The Traditional Martial Arts of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1997, p.5.

<sup>678</sup> K. Anantha Marar, *Oṟṟappeṭṭa Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, Vadakara, 2004, p.85.



called Kadathanadan *kaḷari* in *kaḷari* practice. In Kadathanadu, the *kaḷari* practice was based on *Piḷḷattaṅṅi*, *Aṟappakai* and *Vaṭṭēn Tirippu*.<sup>679</sup> *Kaikuttipayarru* is the primary lesson of *Piḷḷattaṅṅi Sambradāyam*. *Naṭṭa* and *Ceruvaṭi* (small stick) included in this system.<sup>680</sup> Like holding a *piḷḷa* (baby) towards the chest, people hold their bare hand or weapon to practice in *Piḷḷattaṅṅi*.<sup>681</sup> *Vaṭṭēn Tirippu* is a defensive method. The main lessons in this system are *Taccuvaḷakkal*, *Iruttikkal*, *Malakkangaḷ* and *Chāṭṭangaḷ*. *Kuḷikkaḷari* was compulsory in Kadathanadu, it is aligned in the East-West direction.<sup>682</sup> Permission to lower caste people to practice in *Kuḷikkaḷari* was not granted by local rulers. *Kuḷikkaḷari* consists of 42 feet length, 21 feet width 7.5 *kōl* (1 *kōl* is equal to 72 centimetres) height from pits.<sup>683</sup> ‘*Ankakaḷaris*’ of 64 feet height and 32 feet width were also there in Kadathanadu.

*Tekkan* (Southern) and *Vaṭakkan* (Northern) are two different methods in *kalarippayattu*. Malabar became the centre of *Vaṭakkan kaḷari*. The *kaḷaris* are divided into three based on measurements.<sup>684</sup> The *kaḷari* considered as *Uttamam* (Excellent) is a rectangle with 64 feet in length, 32 feet in width and

---

<sup>679</sup> P. Balakrishnan, *Kalarippayattu: Kēraḷattile Prāchīna Āyōdhanamūra*, *op. cit.*, p.3.

<sup>680</sup> Interview with Kadathanadan Chandran Gurukkal on 20.12.2014.

<sup>681</sup> Kadathanadu Chandran Gurukkal, *Kaṭattanāṭan Kalarippayattu*, Puthuppanam, 1994, p. 20.

<sup>682</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>683</sup> S. Achuthan, *Kēraḷa Samskāram*, Trivandrum, 2006, p.204.

<sup>684</sup> *Ibid.*, p.205.

six feet in depth. *Madhyamam* (Average) is rectangular pits with 42 length, 21 feet width and six feet depth. *Adhamam* (Substandard) is without proper measurements and pits.<sup>685</sup> Roofs are compulsory for all *kaḷaris*. *Āyudha Pūja* and *Cuvaṭumārṛal* are the main rituals. Temples like Taccōḷi Māṇikōttu, Lōkanārkāvu, Kaliyāmpaḷḷi, Kākkannūr and Poyyannēri are interconnected with *kaḷaris*. According to *Kēraḷōlpatti*, lord Paraśurāma was believed to be responsible for 108 *kaḷaris* and its Goddesses. After centuries the *kaḷari* system established and martial arts became prominent with proper rules and regulations. *Ōtiram*, *Kaṭakam*, *Caṭulam* and *Maṇḍalam* are some of the 18 *payarṛumūras* or *aṭavukaḷ* practiced in *kaḷari*.<sup>686</sup>

Local soldiers existed in the Perumāl period too. Each Perumāl had 1000 *Kūṭṭam* consist of 10 soldiers. Similarly, local rulers had 100 *kūṭṭam*. The inscriptions of medieval Kerala have mentioned *Munnūṛruvar*, *Aññūṛruvar* and *Aṛanūṛruvar* group of soldiers. These military organizations held their sway even after the end of Perumāl rule. They were known as *Cangātam*, *Cāvēr* and *Akampati Janam*. They fought for both rulers and layman. These fights for the settlement of dispute were called *Ankam*. A Puttūram song explains the dispute between rulers of *Kurungāṭṭiṭam*.<sup>687</sup> Ārōmal Cēkavar fought to settle the

---

<sup>685</sup> K.K.N. Kurup and M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kalaripayattu: The Traditional Martial Arts of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 6.

<sup>686</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>687</sup> C. Achutha Menon, *Ballads of North Malabar*, Vol. I, Madras, Reprint 1995, p.84.

dispute. The soldiers earn income from *Ankam*. They used to give a portion of their income to the local ruler. Both winner and loser of *ankam* got the same consideration. It was a privilege to die on the battlefield.

Northern Ballads illustrate the duties of a soldier as in the case of Ārōmal Cēkavar. In Kadathanadu, it seems that no caste restrictions existed to learn *kaḷari*. Each *kaḷari* had a teacher or *Gurukkaḷ* and they were called Paṇikkar or Kuṛuppu. It was a title associated with the occupation. Later it became a sub-caste of Nāyar. The majority of the population of this caste choose Kadathanadu and nearby places as their residence. Commonly seen *kaḷaris* are *nalpattīraṭi* and *pattīraṭi kaḷaris*.<sup>688</sup> The scribbling of tourists had mentioned about *kaḷaris*. *Arappu Kayyu*, *Piḷḷattaṅṅi* and *Vaṭṭēn Tirippu* are the three important customs of *kalarippayattu*. The first two customs also called *ilu* and *olu*. *Arappu* custom is said to be the most prominent one.<sup>689</sup> *Meytolil*, *ankattāri*, *kōlttāri* and *cerukai* are the four ‘*vakuppu*’ of *kalarippayattu*. With physical and martial exercise folk are also taught in *kaḷaris*. There were *Piccukaḷi*, *Pariśatāḷamkaḷi*, *Kōlaṭi*, *Pariśamuṭṭu*, *Teyyamkaḷi*, *kōlippōru*, *Pūrakkaḷi* and so on.

*Kaḷaris* established at the beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Eighteen ‘*aṭavu*’ are there in *kaḷari*. They are - *lōtiram*, *kaṭakam*, *caṭulam*, *vrittacālam*,

---

<sup>688</sup> P. Balakrishnan, *Kalarippayattu: Kēraḷattile Prāchīna Āyōdhanamuṛa*, *op. cit.*, p.5.

<sup>689</sup> Mukundan Kurup, *Kerala Caritram: Kaḷariyum Kalārūpangalum*, Trivandrum, 2013, p.30.

*maṇḍalam, sukantalam, vijayam, vaśyamōhanam, tiryangmaṇḍalam, gauyapratagahwaram, śatruratayam, sadabadram, gaunaśāstram, paṭalam, varayanam, kalavidhi, śilāmaṇḍalam and anutavam.*<sup>690</sup> *Kaḷari* deities are *Saptamātākkaḷ, ParamaŚivan, Śakti, Vīrabhadran, Bhadrakālī, Subrahmaṇyan, Kṣētrapālakan, Mahāgaṇapati* and *Hanuman*. In Kadathanadu, it was decided that six months are for *Kathakālī* and the rest for *kaḷari*. Names of houses and temples indicate the presence of *kaḷari* in Kadathanadu. *Kaḷariyuḷḷatil, Kaḷaripaṛambu, Kaḷariketṭiya Paṛambattu, Kaḷarikkaṇṭi,* and *Kaḷarippaṭikkal* temple are names related to *kaḷari*.

Many Malayalam proverbs are associated with *kaḷari*. They are “*onnukil gurukkaḷuṭe neñcattu, allenkil kaḷarikkupurattu*”, “*gurukkaḷkku urukkuketṭarutu*”, “*orrapayarriyālokkattum payarrām*”, etc. These proverbs show the influence of *kaḷari* in the day to day life of the people of Kadathanadu.<sup>691</sup> Mayyazhi *kaḷari* became popular. Kuttippuram *kōvilakam* was a famous *gurukulam* of Malabar. Kuttippuram *kōvilakam* had a number of temples namely Paravantala, Āyanchēri, Lōkanārkāvu, Vengōli, Kaliyāmpaḷḷi, Aḷiyūr, Karuvamchēri, Pārayil, Kāryāṭu, Kaṭamēri, Pālayāṭu, Cēndamangalam and Iringaṇṇūr.<sup>692</sup> *Kōvilakam* offered the property for the smooth running of these temples. Special rest houses were there for Brahmins. *Tēngayēru*

---

<sup>690</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>691</sup> Interview with Kannan Gurukkal on 2.1.2016.

<sup>692</sup> Vijayan Kunnummakara, ed., *Dēśacaritram Kaṭattanāṭu*, Vadakara, 2016, p. 25.

(coconut throwing) and *pāṭṭu* (song) held at Pārayil Śiva temple which was nearby to *Kōvilakam*. ‘Teyyampāṭi Kuṟuppu’ performed ‘*Kaḷampāṭṭu*’ at the temple.<sup>693</sup> The transformation from pre-medieval *Śāla* to medieval *kaḷari* shows the transformation of society from temple centred Brahmanical society to an agriculture centred society. The newly formed peasant society focused on cash crops.

Northern ballads speak about *ankakaḷari*, *toṭukkaḷari* and *toṭuvar kaḷari*.<sup>694</sup> The *kaḷari* deity settled at the southwest corner called ‘*kannimūla*’. Kadathanadu Tampurān established a famous *Kathakaḷiyōgam*. He developed it with the help of legendary *Kathakaḷi* artist and teacher TōnnakkalKūttāṭi Raghavan Nāyar. For eight years he stayed at *kōvilakam* and shared his knowledge with students.<sup>695</sup> Tenants who rent out land for cultivation supposed to learn at least one *Kathakaḷi* at their own expense. Kadathanadu ruler standardized it in the rental agreement. Kuttippuram *Kōvilakam* also an important name in the history of *Kathakaḷi*.

---

<sup>693</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>694</sup> K.K.N. Kurup and M.R. Raghava Varier, *Kalaripayattu: The Traditional Martial Arts of Kerala*, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 47.

<sup>695</sup> Interview with Ramakrishnan Master, 10.11.2017.

## **Caste system in Kadathanadu**

The social and historical evolution of Kerala shows that Brahmins and their religions were responsible for the origin of the caste system. The division based on occupation and geographical areas existed even before the Brahmanical rule. *Āyar*, *Ulavār* and *Kuṛavar* division based on occupation existed. In *Puṛanānūru*, the division of jobs as *Pāṇar*, *Paṛayar* and *Kuṛavar* is mentioned.<sup>696</sup> In *Tolkāppiyam*, the ruling class is referred to as the *Araca* caste and the traders as the *Vaṇika* caste. The caste system in Kerala was more complex than elsewhere in India. Every caste was supposed to keep its distance from the Brahmins. A stratified hierarchy of castes existed based on varna ideology. The influence of Namboodiris in Kadathanadu seems to be relatively meagre. *Nāyar* and *Tiyya* castes were the majority of the population. Many sub-divisions of *Nāyars* such as *Kuṛuppu*, *Paṇikkar* and *Aṭiyōṭi* are found in Kadathanadu.<sup>697</sup> There is also a sub-division called *Rāvāri Nāyar*. This category is considered the lowest among the *Nāyars*. *Kuṛuppu* and *Paṇikkar* subgroups were related to *kaḷari*. The *Āśān* (teacher) of *kaḷari* was called *Paṇikkar*. The *Nāyars* have made an impact on the political and social governance of Kadathanadu. Kadathanadu is described as the country of *Nāyars*, in the accounts of foreign travellers. Kadathanadu royal family belongs

---

<sup>696</sup> K.K. Pillai, *Op. cit.*, p.116.

<sup>697</sup> Interview with Ramakrishnan Master, 10.11.2017.

to the subgroup of Nāyar castes. In the census record, they are classified as sub-castes. Aṭiyōṭi is a title given by Kōlattiri to the rulers of Kadathanadu. This sub-caste known as Aṭiyōṭi is exclusively found in Kadathanadu. The Rāvāri Nāyars live in and around Lōkanārkāvu. It is said that the Rāvāris who came to Vadakara from Kollam in connection with trade started residing at Kadathanadu with their tutelary deity, Lōkāmbika. This Lōkāmbika was later known as Lōkanārkāvilamma.

The Rāvāri Nāyars who came for trade was engaged in marital relations with the local Nāyars and thus became a subset of the Nāyar community. The Kadathanadu dynasty took over the reign of the Lōkanārkāvu from the Rāvāri Nāyars and turned it one among the twelve temples owned by Kadathanadu kings. The Cheṭṭis, Kaṇiyān, Vaṇṇān and Chāliyans were the dominant castes in Kadathanadu. The Cheṭṭis were settled in Kadathanadu in connection with trade. They are immigrants from Tamil Nāṭu. The Cheṭṭis settled at Nādāpuram and Vadakara in Kadathanadu. References to Cheṭṭis are found in Northern ballads. Puttūram songs mention the encounter between Uṇṇiyārcca and Nagappan Cheṭṭi at Nāgapurattangāṭi. From this, we can see the influence of the Cheṭṭiars in the trade process of the 14<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>698</sup>

The Chāliyas were another group that settled in Kadathanadu as a result of migration. Weaving was their family occupation. According to tradition,

---

<sup>698</sup> K. Sreekumar, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 2013, p.25.

they were migrated from the Coromandel. The places where they lived in groups were called Chāliyateruvu (street of Chāliyas). There were Gaṇapati temples along their streets. Gaṇapati was their tutelary god. There are references to the Chāliyas of Kaṭamēri teruvu in Orrapāṭṭukal. Kaṭamēri teruvu and Koḷaṅnāṭṭa Street are the major streets of Chāliyas of Kadathanadu. Castes such as *Kuśavan*, *Paniyan*, *Kollan* and *Āśāri* are found in Kadathanadu as in other places. Pāṇan is another category mentioned in the ballads. During the period of Northern ballads, the Pāṇar had a great influence on society. It can be seen from the Northern ballads that Pāṇar boys were the messengers of that time.

The Cēkōr was the main caste that depicted as excelled in Puttūram songs. The Cēkōns were a subsect of the Tiyya caste. The family occupation of the Tiyyas was toddy tapping. But the Cēkōns had fought for local governors. The origin of the Cēkavan is mentioned in Puttūram songs. It is said that they came from Īlavattu (Ceylon) and Cēramān Perumāḷ made them settle here. Apart from that, it is said that ‘the Cēkavas have their food on the sword’s edge’. This indicates that the job of the Cēkavas was to die in war for the rulers. The rulers granted land and titles to the successful Cēkavas. Puttūram songs refer that only fighters can be Cēkavas. The Cēkavas were the most prominent of the Ezhavas in the caste structure. Governor of Kuṇṅāṭṭiṭam accepts the hospitality of ĀrōmalCēkavar who comes to visit ĀrōmalCēkavar to reassure battle. The asperity of the caste system does not reflect in the same tangible



ways in Northern ballads. In the caste dominated feudal governance system, the fate of the people including the Cēkavas was to die for their masters.

### **Rites and rituals: Symbols of cultural society**

Different types of rites and rituals prevailed in Kadathanadu. A ceremony named '*mūppinukayarika*' existed among the higher caste. In each parentage, the concerned person makes investiture of his successor, who would be his elder nephew. They followed the lineage rules of matriarchy. A ceremony named as *nāyāṭṭuviḷi* conducted on 10<sup>th</sup> of *Tulām* (Malayalam month corresponding to October-November) with the acknowledgement of rulers. The hunters who lost life during hunting were admired as brave heroes. '*pulakkutirakeṭṭal*' was a ritual of the Pulaya community. In *Makaram* (Malayalam month corresponding to January-February), they do dapple their body and wear tender coconut leaf attire. High caste people offered them '*dakṣiṇa*' maintaining a distance. '*Prākkal*' was another ritual practised by Pāṇar. It was believed that *Prākkal* nullifies evil. To avoid the bad effects of *Kaṇṇutaṭṭuka* (evil eye) and *oṭivekkuka* (black magic harming the life of a person) Pāṇar community practised *prākkū*, which means words used for cursing. Memory loss, digestive problems and bloating are the symptoms of *Prākkū*.<sup>699</sup>

---

<sup>699</sup> Vijayan Kunnummakara, *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

*Barikkaḷa* is a ritual that is specifically used to treat the haunted persons. Often people from the Malaya caste perform such rituals. Malayar will impersonate into either *Gulikan* or *Kuṭṭiccāttan* or *Bhairavan* or *Shatan*.<sup>700</sup> The girl who is supposed to be possessed will be seated on a plate with red coloured water. Malayan with his improvised attire as *Shatan* will start fiercely running around the girl creating an aggressive ambience. At last, when the girl falls unconscious, it is believed that the haunting spirit has left her body. To tame the male ghost another ritual exists in Kadathanadu called oil chanting. The Malayas will chant mantras into the oil, which will be applied to the whole body of the possessed. This ritual is often practised in the daytime. People from the Tiyya caste were usually following this method of treatment. *Tōluḷi* is another ritual performed to cure the possessed. Men were usually performing this ritual. The day, on which oil treatment ends, they perform *Tōluḷiyuka*.<sup>701</sup> The possessed man will be then massaged from head to toe with neem leaves. People believe that by doing this the evil spirit will leave the patient's body. These rituals are proofs to my arguments that people from Kadathanadu firmly believed in life after death, especially of their dead ancestors. Some rituals practised in Kadathanadu signals towards ancestral believes in life after death.

---

<sup>700</sup> Interview with Balan Master, 25.11.2016.

<sup>701</sup> M. Linesh, ed., *Kaṭṭattanāṭan Sāmskārikata: Caritravum Varttamānavum*, Mokeri, 2017, p. 257.

On the tenth day of *Tulām* in the Malayalam month, they offer food items to the ancestors.

They place lighted *nilaviḷakku* (oil lamp), water in a small vessel (*kiṇṭi*), *agarbatti* (sandal stick), betel leaf and areca nut in a banana leaf. All the family members will offer rice. It is believed that the deceased gurus and deceased ancestors visit the place to partake in the offerings.<sup>702</sup> They believe that with the blessings of the deceased ancestors, the harvest will flourish in the coming year.

On the new moon night of *Karkkiṭakam* month (July-August), the people of Kadathanadu practice the ritual of *Koṭukka*. People from different castes practice it in different ways. Nambiar and Nāyar castes usually practice the ritual of '*Baliyīṭal*', whereby tender coconuts and some food items will be offered to the deceased ancestors.<sup>703</sup> They will offer tender coconuts to every dead person within the family. The eldest one in the family usually performs this ritual. There are many similarities in the rituals of *Koṭukka* and *Tulāppattu*. Both these rituals practised in Kadathanadu seem to have evolved from tribal culture. All these rituals are directly or indirectly connected to ancestor worship.

---

<sup>702</sup> Interview with V.K. Kumaran on 9.07.2017.

<sup>703</sup> Interview with V.K. Kumaran on 10.07.2017.

## Indigenous Medical practices in Kadathanadu

Vaiśyatiyyas (a subdivision of the Tiyya caste found exclusively in Kadathanadu) were famous medical practitioners of Kadathanadu. Their medical practice was familial heredity. In the caste hierarchy, medical practitioners were higher than Tiyyas. Most of them live near Kunnummal, Vaṭṭōḷi, and Mokēri areas in Kadathanadu. They used herbal leaves like *Kayōnni* (*Eclipta alba*), *Ciṛramritu* (*Tinosporacordifolia*) and *Āṭalōṭakam* (*Malabar nut*) to make medicines for treatment. Women from the *Vaṇṇān* caste were usually worked as midwives.<sup>704</sup>

Attiyōṭi Śankaran Vaidyar and Mokēri Kēḷu Nāyar were renowned medical practitioners of Kadathanadu. *Bālavāyana* is a traditional mode of diagnosis which checks the pulse of the children. It commences after the ceremony of *cōrūṇu* (first feeding of cooked rice). The child will be seated in the mother's lap, while the Vaidyar loudly read out from sacred books. It usually takes one to six months to complete this. On the last day, *māṭṭal* and cock slaughter will be held as an offering to the deity. After this, a string after performing certain chanting of mantras will be tied around the body of the child. *Grahaṇi* of the child is supposed to be finished at this level.<sup>705</sup> Throughout the

---

<sup>704</sup> *Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Vol. 127, Kunnummal Block, Kozhikode District, p.5.

<sup>705</sup> Vijayan Kunnummakara, *Op.cit.*, p. 47.

session for the whole six months, the child was extensively given the extract of medicinal leaves *muttanga* (*Cyperus Rotundus*).

Among the Muslims of Kadathanadu, treatment based on a prayer system existed. The religious leaders and *Khazis* were the medical practitioners. *Eluttu* was one such practice, where Quran verses were written on a plate filled with water, which will be given to the patients. People used to write Quran verses in tender coconuts and eggs which they used to hide in pits inside the houses, to be protected from evil eyes and other similar threats. People also used to tie strings specially chanted by *Khazis* as a shield of protection.

### **Games and Amusements**

*Rājasūyam* and *Pūrakkaḷi* were the main games of entertainment in Kadathanadu. Apart from these, *Māranpāṭṭu*, *Aravupāṭṭu*, *Ñārupāṭṭu* and *Tōrrampāṭṭu* also were part of local amusements. *Pūrakkaḷi* was another remarkable entertainment mode in Kadathanadu. People from all castes happily attended *Pūrakkaḷi*. It is a part of temple festivities in northern Malabar. *Pūrakkaḷi* starts in *Kārttika* day of *Mīnam* month and ends on the day of *Pūram* asterism in the same month.<sup>706</sup> There will be 18 figures in *Pūrakkaḷi*. Each figure differs in its presentation. *Marattukaḷi* is another part of *Pūrakkaḷi*. *Chidambaramśāstram*, *Yōgaśāstram*, *Bhōrataśāstram*, *Nāṭyaśāstram* and

---

<sup>706</sup> K.C. Vijaya Raghavan and K.M. Jayasree, *Lōkanārkāvu*, Vadakara, 2007, p.86.

*Yōgināṭakam* are the major parts of *Pūrakkaḷi*. Lōkanārkāvu and Kaliyāmpaḷḷi temple of Kadathanadu are famous for *Pūrakkaḷi*. *Pūrakkaḷi* performed in the temple festivals.<sup>707</sup>

Brahmins, Nāyars, Tiyyas, Paṛayas, and Pulayas were the major castes in the region. Apart from these caste groups Muslims and Christians also lived in Kadathanadu. Aṭiyōṭis are a special caste subdivision that existed in Kadathanadu. The rulers of Kadathanadu belong to the Aṭiyōṭi caste. Scholars have argued that it was the title given by Kōlattiri to the Nāyar rulers of Kadathanadu. Tangaḷ was also a title given to the Nāyar castes of Kadathanadu by Kōlattiri. The local ruler of Kadathanadu was called Tangaḷ *Vāḷunnavar*. Many Nāyar *Taravāṭus* of Kunnummal, Naripparra, Putuppaṇam regions of Kadathanadu added Tangaḷ as the title with their names. The word Aṭiyōṭi means the vassalage of Kōlattiri.<sup>708</sup> They were considered above Nāyar in the social hierarchy.

Many mosques were also constructed in Kadathanadu for Muslims. Nādāpuram Jumaath mosque and Kuñṇipaḷḷi mosques were important among them. Nādāpuram was a Muslim majority region in Kadathanadu. Many mosques and Muslim cultural centres existed in Kadathanadu. Kuñṇipaḷḷi and Hājiyārpāḷḷi at Cōmbāla are most important Muslim pilgrim centres in

---

<sup>707</sup> Interview with Gopi Asan, a Practitioner of *Pūrakkaḷi* on 04.07.17. *Pūrakkaḷi* is a regular feature of temples of Tiyyas in North Malabar.

<sup>708</sup> E. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, Vol.I, New Delhi, 1909, p.5.

Kadathanadu. The Makbara of Sheikh Zainuddin Makdhum II was situated at Kuññippaḷli. Sheikh Zainuddin was a Sufi saint of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. He was a member of the ValiyaKaraketti Mappila family in Cōmbāla. Sheikh Zainuddin wrote the historical work *Tuhafat-ul-Mujahideen*.<sup>709</sup>

### ***Paṇappayaru*: Monetary system in Kadathanadu**

*Paṇappayaru* was an important socio-economic system that existed in Kadathanadu. The name is a parodied one of *kalarippayattu*. The economy of Kadathanadu is determined by the production based on *Paṛambu* and paddy cultivation. The multi-crop cultivation and trade that existed in Kadathanadu was the main cause for the development of *Paṇappayaru* in Kadathanadu. *Payaru* is also a term related to *kaḷari* system. In this social custom, they decided the day of *Paṇappayaru*, when a marriage or house warming are fixed for a person. On that day invited friends and relatives and neighbours of the person reached his residence or other places where the *Paṇappayaru* is organised. The guests gave a fixed amount, which is accounted for. Feast offered to the guests. *Paṇappayaru* is a kind of mutual benefit scheme that existed among the people of Kadathanadu. The amount thus collected is used for meeting the expenses of a wedding or other ceremonies.<sup>710</sup> A person generally reciprocates with an enhanced amount when they participate in

---

<sup>709</sup> *Azhiyur Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rekha*, p.11.

<sup>710</sup> Vijayan Kunnumakkara, *Op. cit.*, p. 50.

*Payarru*. For instance, if a person received Rupees 500 for his *Payarru* from a particular person, the former reciprocates in the *Payarru* of the latter by an amount of 700 or 1000. *Muriccupayrruka* is a system in *Panappayarru*. It is considered as an end of *Panappayarru* between two persons. If a person reciprocates with an equal amount in *Payarru*, the relationship between the two families comes to an end and is called *Muriccupayrral*. This reminds that of *kuṭippaka* (blood feud) in *kaḷari* system. Expansion of cash crop cultivation caused the emergence of *Panappayarru*. The colonial period witnessed the development of *Panappayarru* in the region.

### **Law and Punishments in Kadathanadu**

During the medieval period, many temples in Kerala acted as a centre for settling disputes, for instance, Lōkanārkāvu in Kadathanadu. During the medieval period, the people followed *Satyaparīkṣa* (trial by ordeal) to prove their innocence. *Agniparīkṣa*, *Viṣaparīkṣa* and *Jalaparīkṣa* were important modes of trial that existed in Kerala.<sup>711</sup> *Kaimukku* (dipping the hand) or *Viralmukku* (dipping the fingers) was a popular practice in Kerala. The most renowned *Satyaparīkṣa* was Suchindram *Kaimukku* in Travancore.<sup>712</sup> The accused person dips his hand in boiled ghee. The hand was covered with a piece of cloth for three days. After three days the cloth-covered is opened. The

---

<sup>711</sup> Interview with Jayasree K.M. on 25/1/2018.

<sup>712</sup> At present Suchindram temple is in Tamilnadu.



person is treated as innocent if his hand is unburned, and guilty if burned. This punishment is practised under the supervision of four *Kiriyattil Kāraṇavar*, *Nāṭu*, *Nagaram* and *Raṇṭillam Vāḷunnavar*.<sup>713</sup> Kuṭṭōttu Ālttaṛa, Mutalamāṭa and Tiruvaḷḷūr were the places where the rulers did the execution of justice in Kadathanadu.

In Kadathanadu *Jalaparīkṣa* (trial by water) was conducted in a place called Mungāmkulī near Ceraṇṭattūr. The accused were to jump in the river from the *Satyakallu* (stone of truth). A guilty person is believed to be not spared by crocodiles in the river.<sup>714</sup>

### **Representation of Cultural life in Northern Ballads**

Northern ballads are a vast and exhaustive branch of Kerala literature. Puttūram, Taccōḷi and orra songs are included in the northern ballads. The ballads of North Malabar are popularly known as *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*.<sup>715</sup> The geographical setting of the ballads centred around Kadathanadu and nearby areas. This ballad describes the socio-political condition of North Malabar. These ballads are an imaginary representation of the heroic society of medieval Kerala. Puttūram songs describe the story of Puttūram *Cēkavar* family lived in

---

<sup>713</sup> *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Palm leaf No.1, Thunjan Manuscript library, University of Calicut

<sup>714</sup> SineeshVelikkuni, ed., *Tiruvaḷḷūrinte Vāmoḷi Caritram*, Thiruvallur, 2016, p.17; field trip conducted on 5.5.2016.

<sup>715</sup> M.K. Panikotti, *Vaṭakkan Vīra Kathakaḷ*, Kottayam, 2003, p.12.

Eḷavannūr in Kadathanadu. The main characters of these ballads are Ārōmal Cēkavar, Kaṇṇappa Cēkavar, Chantu and Uṇṇiyārcca. A Taccōḷi song describes the story of Taccōḷi Māṇikkottu Taravāṭu, an elite Nāyar family at Kadathanadu, which is located five kilometres away from Vadakara.<sup>716</sup> At present, there is a temple for the worship of Taccōḷi Otēnan. The main characters of Taccōḷi songs are Taccōḷi Māṇikōttu Otēna Kuṛuppu, Uppatti, Koma Kuṛuppu, Chantu Kuṛuppu, Vadakara *Vāḷunnavar* etc. It is difficult to fix the chronology of the ballads. The terms and phrases used in the Puttūram songs indicate that these ballads are composed in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. It is argued that Taccōḷi songs are composed in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>717</sup> The Taccōḷi songs mention the interference of the European powers in Kadathanadu. In Northern ballads, Kadathanadu is described as Kaṭattuvāynāṭu or Kaṛuttēnār Nāṭu.

North Malabar had its own folk culture and tradition. The geographical features of the region helped largely in the development of typical folk culture. According to Raghava Varier, the main causes for the development of north Malabar as a centre of folk culture was that it was kept away from the Brahmin Sanskritization process.<sup>718</sup> Scholars argued that the places and descriptions in Northern ballads are not based on actual physical geography but it was based

---

<sup>716</sup> K. Sreekumar, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, Thrissur, 2013, p.26.

<sup>717</sup> M.R. Raghava Varier, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*, (1982), Sukapuram, 2005, p.82.

<sup>718</sup> *Ibid.*, p.83.

on imaginary descriptions. The places mentioned in Puttūram songs like Eļavannūr *Dēśam*, Nīlapaļunkan hills and Pannikaļuttan hills are not found in Kadathanadu. Puttūram songs mention the origin of the Ezhava caste. Ballads say that Ezhavas arrived from Ceylon to assist Kōlattiri in his warfare. Later Kōlattiri gave them a house and territory to settle them. The *Kāvus* mentioned in Puttūram songs are Allimalarkkāvu and Añjanakkāvu. Today a worshipping centre of this name is not found. Compared to Puttūram songs the places mentioned in Taccōļi songs are easy to identify.<sup>719</sup> The places mentioned in Taccōļi songs like Mēppayil, Taccōļi Māñikkottu, Kappaļi Pālāṭṭu, Kaitēri and Putuppaṇam are places that existed in Kadathanadu. Puttūram and Taccōļi songs mention the political authority of the region. *Kuttippuramvāṇa Tampurān* (the lord who ruled Kuttippuram) was the *Nāṭuvāļi* of Kadathanadu.<sup>720</sup> Under this *Nāṭuvāļis*, *Dēśavāļis* and *Tarakkūṭṭams* existed. *Ankam* and *Poyttu* are means of settling disputes. Both Taccōļi and Puttūram *Taravāṭus* were prominent families for martial training. The members of this *Taravāṭus* conducted *Ankam* as a hereditary occupation. The person who died in *Ankam* is considered a great hero. The heroes fought *Ankam* for their *Nāṭuvāļis* or *Dēśavāļis*. They got money and gold as a reward for their activities. The socio-political system of Kadathanadu was based on *Ankam* and

---

<sup>719</sup> *Ibid.*, p.84.

<sup>720</sup> M.V. Vishnu Nambuthiri, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukathakaļ Oru Paṭhanam*, Kottayam, 1995, p. 60.

*Poyttu* during the medieval period. The women were also imparted martial training. The culture of a region is the totality of the belief system, rites and rituals, art forms and everyday life of the people. Though many common features are found in the culture of a region it also develops its particular aspects. Environment, topography and climate play an important role in shaping the cultural practices of a region. Kadathanadu as a separate geographical division and particular cultural practices existed in this region makes it different from others. Kadathanadu was a centre of folk tradition. Kadathanadu is the cradle of northern ballads. The brahmin influence appears less in Kadathanadu. Thus, Sanskritisation does not affect the region. This led to retain the elements of folk tradition.

In the early period, people worshipped animals, trees and supernatural powers. Thus, groves developed as a centre of ancestor worship. In Kadathanadu many groves are found. Snakes are also worshipped in these groves. Many festivals are conducted related to these groves. *Teyyam* and *Tira* are performed during the festival season. These art forms are an important feature of north Malabar. These festivals help people of various castes to intermingle. *Tira* and *Teyyam* festivals help the people to unite. Several deities such as *Pūkuṭṭiccāttan*, *Bhagavati* and *Kāṇṭākaraṇan* are worshipped in *Tira* festival. The cultural geography of a region is heavily depended upon the rituals, belief system, festivals and ceremonies existed in the region. While analysing these elements of Kadathanadu we get a clear picture about the

cultural practices of the region and how it shapes the history and culture of the region.

Temples of Kadathanadu acted both as a centre of culture and economic institution. Many temples are found in Kadathanadu. Related to these temples many festivals and celebrations are conducted. The festivals and celebrations in Kadathanadu are based on fertility. *Illamniira*, *Puttari* and *Pūram* are the major celebrations related to it. Apart from it, regional variations are found in the celebration of festivals. Northern ballads give a vivid picture of the socio-cultural background of Kadathanadu. The customs, beliefs and the role of caste in society are mentioned in the ballads. Many temples are found in Kadathanadu. Lōkanārkāvu temple was an important one. During the medieval period, the temple acted as a centre of culture and economy. Ponmēri Śiva temple, Aṛakkal Bhagavati temple, and Iringaṇṇūr Mahadeva temple are important temples. Kuttippuram Śiva temple is considered the family temple of Kadathanadu Raja. The fairs and festivals conducted in the temples make the region a centre of culture.

## Conclusion

The above discussion helps us to understand the regional formation of Kadathanadu from an agrarian settlement unit into a *Nāṭu* form and the role of geographical factors in the creation of a settlement unit in the region. The *Nāṭu* formation in Kerala was a much-complicated process comparing with other parts of south India. Kadathanadu was a *Nāṭu* division in north Malabar, which is now part of Kozhikode district. Geographically Kadathanadu situated in between the Mayyazhi river in the north and Kōṭṭa river in the south. While analysing the evidence it is clear that Kadathanadu emerged from the agglomeration of agrarian units into a *Nāṭu* form by passing through a long historical process.

Human habitation of that area can be traced from the evidence of stone-age culture. The discovery of iron implements and pottery helps to understand the gradual change from pastoralism to agriculture. Evidence of pre-historical culture was discovered from the region. A stone hand axe and polished pebbles were discovered from the Kuttiyadi river basin of Kadathanadu. Apart from this, the burial sites of Iron age culture were also discovered from the laterite region of Kadathanadu. Urn burials, Umbrella stone and rock-cut chambers are mainly discovered from this region. The area stretching from Vadakara to Kuttiyadi have several megalithic sites. Iron implements, potteries and grains

discovered from the megalithic site of Kadathanadu indicate the existence of human habitation in that region.

During the early historical period, Kerala was a part of Tamiḷakam. The Cēras were the rulers of Kerala. In the early historical period geographically Tamiḷakam was divided into five *Tiṇais* or micro ecozones. During the period the agricultural practices and occupations of the people were based on these geographical divisions. The early Tamil literature discusses the agriculture and exchange system that existed in Tamiḷakam. In the early historical period, similar types of production, distribution and redistribution existed. Many names of the places in Kadathanadu indicates the continuation of the *Tiṇai* system. The *Kāvus* found in the region also indicates the existence of an agrarian society in the early historical period. *Kāvus* or groves are mainly found in agricultural tracts. It indicates its relation to the production process.

The migration of Brahmins began in the sixth and eighth century in Kerala. These migrations resulted in the expansion of agriculture and the emergence of agricultural units called *Nāṭus* in Kerala. Evidence from Chempra inscriptions indicates the emergence of an agrarian settlement unit in the fertile tracts of the Mayyazhi river. The agrarian settlement unit of Kadathanadu was mainly found in the fertile tracts of the Mayyazhi river and Kuttiyadi river. But there is no evidence regarding how these settlement units controlled the production units of the region. Compared to other parts of Kerala, the Brahmin

settlement was very limited in Kadathanadu. The main reason is that the physical geography of the region was not suitable for extensive paddy cultivation.

The inscriptions discovered from north Malabar indicates the expansion of multi-crop cultivation in the region. Different types of crops cultivated in Kadathanadu are mentioned in the Chempra and Kaliyāmpalli inscriptions. Paddy, pepper and coconut are commonly mentioned in these inscriptions. It indicates that before the 10<sup>th</sup> century AD the cultivation of garden crops expanded in the region. Red laterite soil is mainly found in the midland region of Kadathanadu, where mixed crop cultivation was mainly concentrated. The expansion of mixed crops led to the emergence of a compound site in the region. The production localities of non-Brahmin cultivators are largely widened along with the development of compound sites and expansion of garden crop cultivation in the red laterite region. In laterite soil areas mixed crop cultivation was largely conducted and compound sites usually appeared. The landholding households of non-Brahmin origin were developed in the production localities. Huge temple structures are not found in the region. Apart from Brahmin settlements, the non-Brahmin settlement units had an important role in the production process of the region. As a part of this temple occupational groups were developed. Chempra inscription mentioned Velvakkāṭṭu Perumtaccan, a carpenter related to the temple construction works. It indicates the existence of an occupational group related to the temple.



The agricultural settlement unit of Kadathanadu was mainly formed based on its particular geographical factors. The geographical area is situated in the midland region. On the western side of Kadathanadu is the Arabian Sea and the hilly parts of Western Ghats are situated in the east. The main peculiarity of the area taken for the study is that there the gap between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats are less. It was the reason for the absence of large river plains in the midland. Small hills and their slopes are found in the midland region. The eastern part is covered with dense forest. Small rivers, streams, and ponds are the main water bodies of the region. Various types of soils are found in the region. The fertility of the soil is comparatively very less. The soil was not much suitable for large scale paddy cultivation. Apart from geographical features soil types, water bodies, seasons, etc influenced the agricultural practices. Different types of paddy like *muṇṭakan* and *puñca* cultivation were practised. The paddy cultivation is done in the river plains, waterlogged areas, the marshy lands and the slopes of the hills. The people used seeds, agricultural implements suitable to their climate and geography. At the same time garden crops are largely cultivated in the region. Travel accounts, *Sandēśakāvyas* and *Granthavaris* also provide information regarding the agricultural practices that existed in the region.

There are many rituals and festivals related to agriculture. The regional difference is seen in the agriculture-related festivals based on their geography. The differences are also visible in the cultural life of the people. The

agricultural practices of the region are based upon climatic conditions such as wind, rainy season, cycles of the moon etc. In addition to paddy large quantities of garden crops like pepper, cardamom, and areca nut were cultivated in the region.

Shortly the *Nāṭu* formation in north Malabar was not only based on the expansion of paddy cultivation but also the cultivation and distribution of garden crops. The expansion of agriculture resulted in the emergence of occupant groups in the region, called *Kuṭis*. They were settled around the agricultural tracts. Later these occupations became hereditary. Many house names or plot names found in Kadathanadu indicate them as production units. Brahmin superiority in calendrical knowledge and agricultural technology helped them to become the masters of the land. The native population was transformed into agricultural labourers. Blacksmith, Goldsmith, *Vāṇiyas*, *Kuśavan*, *Kammālas*, *Pulaya*, *Paraya* and *Tiyyas* were the occupant groups mainly found in the region. These groups had their role in the socio-economic life of the early medieval period. *Ūr* and *kuṭi* are kin-based production units of Kadathanadu. Place names starting or ending with *Ūr*, *Cēri* and *Kuṭi* indicate production units of the region. From these hereditary production groups, caste and sub-castes were formed. Due to the geographical peculiarities, non-Brahmin settlement units like *Ūr*, *Cēri*, and *Kuṭi* became prominent in the region.

Inscriptions give information about the emergence of non-Brahmin settlement units related to the temples in the region. The temples, Brahmin settlements, non-Brahmin settlements, and occupant groups were formed in the same agricultural environment. There are many fairs and festivals related to agricultural practices in Kadathanadu. Kaliyāmpalli inscription gives information about the cultivation of mixed crops in Kadathanadu. Chempra inscription mentions the pepper cultivation of the region. In Chempra Subrahmaṇyan temple pepper was given as offerings to the deity, as in many other temples in Kadathanadu. It indicates that the people made offerings to the deity with easily available materials.

The formation of Kadathanadu was not only based on wetland paddy cultivation but also based on the cultivation and trade of multi-crop garden cultivation. The *Nāṭu* formation in south Kerala was related to the expansion of paddy cultivation in the large river belts. In contrast to it, *Nāṭu* formation in north Kerala was based on the expansion of mixed crop cultivation and its trade. Paddy is cultivated on the hill slopes. Foreign travel accounts record that the paddy cultivated in Kadathanadu was not sufficient for their livelihood. So, they imported it from neighbouring countries. Mēppayil, Puttūr, Chemmarattūr and Cēraṅtattūr were the major centres of paddy cultivation in Kadathanadu. These regions are situated in the Kuttiyadi river basin. 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century witnessed the transformation of paddy fields under the control of Lōkanārkāvu temple. The temple became a major landlord in Kadathanadu. *Lōkanārkāvu*

*Granthavari* gives information about the fields under the control of the temple. Many fields were transformed into gardens as a result of the expansion of garden crop cultivation. Geographically Kadathanadu was divided into hilly region, midland and coastal region. Many small hills, slopes and water streams in the region helped in the development of habitation sites. The Brahmin settlements in North Malabar should not act as the nodal centres of *Nāṭu* formation. The *Nāṭu* formation in the midland region of the red laterite soil region was also related to the development of temple centred Brahmin *Ūr* settlements.

The caste system controls the land relations of the region. Pulayas and Paṛayas were the lowest in the social strata. They were agricultural labourers. The Nāyars and Tiyyas were the major castes in the region. The Nāyar *taṛavāṭus* of Kadathanadu were the big landlords of the region. Kappaḷi Pālāṭṭu and Taccōḷi Māṇikkōttu were the important Nāyar *taṛavāṭus* of Kadathanadu during the medieval period. During that period temples also emerged as centres of wealth. *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* had given information about the paddy fields owned by the temple. The physical geography, water sources and climatic conditions played a crucial role in the formation of a settlement unit in the Kadathanadu region. The expansion of agriculture resulted in the emergence of a trade and exchange system. It also led to the existence of different social groups like blacksmith, goldsmith, carpenter and so on, which resulted in the

formation of a political structure in the society. This power structure tried to control the economy and society of the region.

Expansion of agriculture resulted in the surplus in production and it led to the emergence of trade and exchange system. Increased trade paved the way for the emergence of local markets and trading centres. In the case of Kadathanadu, both local trade and long-distance trade existed in the region. The coastal area of Kadathanadu was famous for its trade with foreign countries. *Cantas*, *Angāṭis* and ferries were the nodal centres of local trade. Port towns also acted as a centre of long-distance trade. Many *cantas*, *Angāṭis* and ferries are found in the region. Commodities reached the port town for trade from these local markets. Vaṭakara, Putupaṭṭaṇam and Chōmbāla were the major port towns of Kadathanadu. Foreign travellers like Ibn Battuta and Idrisi mentioned the trading centres of Kadathanadu. Pepper, dried coconut and cardamom were the main exports, whereas rice and salt were the major imports. *Attāṇis* and *Kaṅṅippura* also found in the trade routes of Vadakara to Wayanad and Thalasseri to Wayanad. The presence of the *Attāṇi* indicates the presence of long-distance trade in the region.

Kadathanadu had trade relations with China and Arab countries during the medieval period. The Chinese utensils were widely used in the region. Evidence of a Chinese settlement also found near Putupaṭṭaṇam. A large quantity of areca nut was exported to China from Kadathanadu. Garden crops

like coconut, pepper, areca nut and cardamom were mainly exported to foreign countries. In short, the major chunk of the revenue of Kadathanadu was from garden crop cultivation and trade. The cultivation of crops like coconut, pepper and areca nut led to the emergence of a cash crop economy in Kadathanadu. The colonial powers competed for establishing their trade monopoly in the region. The economic prosperity of the region was based on the cultivation and trade of cash crops. Even during the late medieval period, the major share of income of the region was mainly from the pepper trade with the European powers. The cultivation and trade of cash crops led to the emergence of new landholders like Mappilas and Tiyyas in Kadathanadu. They became prominent groups in the economic activities of the region. Nāyars and Mappilas are the major landholders of Kadathanadu during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

*Sandēśa Kāvya*s mention about *Cantas* and *Angāṭis* and the types of goods sold in the *Angāṭis*. In the early medieval period barter system existed in the region as a medium of exchange. But later period witnessed the development of coins in the region for exchange. *Ānayaccu*, *Ariśśi*, *Rāśi*, *Vīrarāghavapaṇam* and *Kōḷikkōṭan paṇam* were the important coins used in the region for the transaction. *Nāḷi* and *Muraṃ* were used for the measurement of grains. *Tulām* and *Taṭṭa* were also used for the measurement. During the colonial period standardised weights and measurements introduced in the region. European powers compete with each other for establishing their trading outposts in Kadathanadu. Kadathanadu was an important spice producing

region in north Malabar. Hamilton described the kingdom as a land of pepper and superb warriors. Kadathanadu has a strong naval force and the king was known as the lord of the sea. The mercantile ships paid tribute to the ruler. The economic prosperity of the region was mainly based on both local and long-distance trade. The pepper trade with European powers helped in the political formation of Kadathanadu.

The political formation of Kadathanadu is of a later development comparing with the *Nāṭu* formation in north Kerala. Kadathanadu passed through a long historical process to become a politically independent *Nāṭu* division in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The region from Pūḷināṭu in the north to Kuṭṭanāṭu in the south was under Cēra control. In the early historical period, the geographical division was part of Pūḷināṭu, which was under the control of Cēras. Later, the migration of people and the emergence of agricultural units in the region had taken place. The expansion of agriculture resulted in the emergence of settlement unit in the region. The expansion of agriculture paved way for the emergence of trade and related to this, political authorities were formed. There emerged the political authorities in the region called *Nāṭṭuṭayavars*. From the ninth century onwards Kerala was divided into eighteen *Nāṭus* and the governor of the *Nāṭus* called as *Nāṭṭuṭayavar*. They accepted Cēra overlordship.

The inscriptional evidence from the ninth century onwards refer to the *Nāṭus*. Among the eighteen *Nāṭus*, Kōlattunāṭu and Puṛakiḷarnāṭu were the important *Nāṭus* existed during the Cēra period. No inscriptional reference of Kadathanadu during the Cēra period is available. Tirunelli and Kaliyāmpaḷli inscriptions imply that during the Cēra period Kadathanadu was part of Puṛakiḷarnāṭu. The Kaliyāmpaḷli inscription refers to Polivar. M.G.S. Narayanan argues that Polivar was the governor of the *Nāṭu* and this geographical area was part of Pōlanāṭu. But there is no clinching evidence to prove this argument. The later medieval period witnessed the independence of the *Nāṭus* from the Cēra rule. During this period many *Nāṭus* disappeared and new *Nāṭus* emerged. Puṛakiḷarnāṭu disappeared whereas Kottayam and Kadathanadu emerged. Kōlattunāṭu and Kozhikode become prominent *Nāṭus*. In north Kerala, the newly developed *Nāṭus* were under the political control of Kōlattiri. The expansion of agriculture and trade resulted in the emergence of the new *Nāṭus*. Kottayam and Kadathanadu were under the political suzerainty of Kōlattunāṭu in the later medieval period.

According to *Kēraḷōlpatti* tradition, the region from Perumpuḷa to Putupattāṇam river was under the domination of Kōlattiri. According to the tradition, a female member of the Pōrlātiri family, who was expelled from Pōlanāṭu by Zamorin, takes asylum at Kōlattunāṭu. With the consent of Kōlattiri, a male member of the Tekkiḷamkūr branches of the Kōlattiri family married the female member from Pōrlātiri family. Kōlattiri gave them



Mukkātamnāṭu, Mūvāyiram Nāyars and the title *Nāṭṭaṭi* or *Aṭiyōṭi*. They were semi-independent rulers called *Vāḷunnavar* or vassal of Kōlattiri. They had ruled from 1564 as semi-independent rulers with Putupaṭṭanam as its headquarters.

Northern ballads are the oral traditions that first mention Kadathanadu and its surrounding areas. The Puttūram songs, mention Kaṛuttēnārnāṭu, which was under the sovereignty of Kōlattiri. But the songs never mention the political boundary of the Nāṭu. The ballads infer about the loose administrative system of the region based on *Ankam* and *Poyttu*. The European travellers mention Vāḷunnavar of Vaṭakara from the 18<sup>th</sup> century onwards. The European powers like the French and the English came to north Malabar for the spice trade. These powers made trade contract with *Vāḷunnavar*. The European powers competed with each other for establishing their monopoly in the spice trade. *Vāḷunnavar* opportunistically used the European powers for fulfilling his economic needs. The contract and conflict regarding the spice trade finally led to the independence of *Vāḷunnavar* from his sovereign. The internal conflict among the Kōlattiri family also caused the independence of this semi-independent territorial unit from their sovereign. The Anglo-French rivalry regarding the monopoly of pepper trade in Kadathanadu led to the declaration of independence by *Vāḷunnavar* from Kōlattiri. The British were against *Vāḷunnavar* due to his favouritism towards the French. The British also instigate Kōlattiri against *Vāḷunnavar*. Their main goal was the removal of the

French from the spice trade in north Malabar. *Vāḷunnavar*'s inclination was in favour of the French, which adversely affected the trade and political ambition of the British. This was the main factor for the emergence of small principalities in north Malabar independent of the political power of Kōlattiri.

In the 1750s *Vāḷunnavar* proclaimed independence from Kōlattiri. He conducted a coronation ceremony. Kōlattiri was not provoked by the incident. These types of independent territorial units were a common feature of 18<sup>th</sup> century north Malabar. *Vāḷunnavar* accepted the title Kadathanadu Pōrlātiri Rāja. The revenue of the region was mainly from European trade. When they became independent rulers, the rulers of Kadathanadu transferred their capital from the interior part of the region. They established their capital at Kurrippuṛam.

It was a place situated on the trade route of Wayanad. The main cause for the transfer of capital was the expansionist policy. The ruler of Kadathanadu tried to expand their eastern boundary up to Wayanad hills. The Wayanad hills are famous for the large quantity of pepper and cardamom cultivation. The political control of the region was very important for the economic development of Kadathanadu since it increases the volume of trade of Kadathanadu with foreign countries. The Kadathanadu ruling family had four *kōvilakams*. The administration of Kadathanadu was under the supervision of these *Kōvilakams*. For the administrative convenience of the King, though it

was nominal, Kadathanadu was divided into *Dēśams* and *Taras*. These institutions are controlled by *Dēśavālis* and *Tarakkūṭṭams*. Northern ballads give details of the feudal type of administrative set-up of Kadathanadu during the medieval period. A decentralised administrative setup based on *Ankam* and *poyttu* is found in the ballads.

Mysorean invasion created political instability in Kadathanadu. The Rāja sought asylum at Travancore and Kadathanadu came under the control of the Mysore administration. The Mysorean rulers introduced a new revenue system in the region. As per the terms of the treaty of Śrīrangapaṭṭanam (Seringapatam) Tipu ceded his territories to the British. In 1800 Malabar region came under the Company administration. Thus, Kadathanadu also came under the control of the British administration. The power of Rāja became nominal. The British introduced a new revenue system in Kadathanadu. It includes the region of Kuttiyadi to Kadathanadu. The former Kuṟumbranāṭu taluk also included in Kadathanadu. Kadathanadu contains 146 *Dēśams*, 31 *Amśams* and 11 *Hobalies* of Kuṟumbranāṭu taluk.

### **Kadathanadu as a Model of Little Kingdom**

The analysis of the political structure and power relations in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Kadathanadu shows that the model of the state suitable to be called a little kingdom and the ruler of Kadathanadu as a little king. The concept of the little kingdom was applied by Nicholas Dirks and Margret Frenz for analysing

the nature of the colonial state in South India. Little kingdom and little kings are the concept applicable in the political scenario of colonial north Malabar. The main characteristic of the little kingdom was the legitimation of the rule by ritual. It means that something that represented the king level of authorities and defined his relation to other kings, based on hierarchical grading or equality amongst them. Rituals were an important part of political rhetoric. Ritual is itself a type of power or at least can be considered as a symbol. In an attempt to be recognised and legitimised as the King they conducted various strategies like performing elaborate rituals, extending patronage to temples, scholarship and literature, a celebration of grand festivals, propagation of art forms and culture, maintaining an elite group in the kingdom, an exhibition of royal pageantry etc. All these were eminently suited to their needs. It is possible to analyse that Pōrlātiri Rājas legitimize their rule by ritual actions. This was customary for all little kings. The Kadathanadu Rājas patronised and conducted ceremonies in Bhagavati temples, e.g. Lōkanārkāvu, Kaliyāmpallī, and Koṭṭiyāmpallī temples. These temples, which extended all over his kingdom, played a crucial role in legitimising the rule of Kadathanadu Rāja. During the time of temple festivals, the ruler had special rights over the rituals of the temples. The Kadathanadu Rāja had the right to decide the festivals of the temples. The ruling family also gave financial aid to the temples. These temples also acted as a place for refugees during the colonial period. The acceptance of Kadathanadu Rāja as little king was expressed symbolically by the gifts that

the local people bestowed upon him during festivals such as Ōṇam and Viṣu. This sacred legitimation indicates that the Rāja occupied a central position in the little kingdom of Kadathanadu. The Kadathanadu Pōrlātiri Rājas were also done welfare duties for their subjects. For example, the construction of warehouses, *Taṇṇīrpantal* and *Attāṇis* for the development of trade in the region.

Mūvāyiram Nāyar militia had a decisive role in the administration of Kadathanadu. Kadathanadu Rāja's revenue collection was controlled by the Nāyar militia. The ruler of Kadathanadu encouraged trade. The ruler also gave position and title to the traders. Chovvakkāran Mūssa and Chovvakkāran Makki were the prominent traders supported by the ruler. The ruler also gave certain positions to Chempatta Kurup and other prominent Nāyar *taravāṭus* of Kadathanadu. The rulers of Kadathanadu had made substantial contributions to the cultural legacy of the country. They patronised literature, art, etc. Cherussari Nambuthiri the well-known author of *Krishangatha* lived in the court of Kadathanadu Rāja. Chembai Vaidya Natha Bagavatar, a legend in Carnatic music, also lived in the Kovilakam. The Kadathanadu royal family had a well-equipped Kathakali troupe. They used a substantial amount for its maintenance. With its high artistic excellence, the troupe flourished for a long time. Chemencheri Kunjiraman Nair and Kalamandalam Krishnan Nair were the important Kathakali artists patronised by the royal family in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The little King shared the sovereignty of the great King and legitimised their rule through ritual and political acts. Kadathanadu rulers had blood relations with Kōlattiri and other little kings of north Malabar. Below these little kings, *Nāṭuvālis* and *Dēśavālis* existed. The Perumāḷ tradition of *Kēraḷōlpatti* was accepted by all the *Nāṭuvālis* of Kerala and related the Cēramān Perumāḷ legend with their origin. The Kadathanadu region recognised the territorial supremacy of Cēramān Perumāḷ and formed his small centre on the periphery of the region. The Perumāḷ had no monopoly of power in the region, but he did occupy the top level in the hierarchy. The Kadathanadu Pōrlātiris always supported colonial rule. Later he lost his position as an independent ruler and became a landlord under the British. In the case of the little kings of Kerala, the great king was not actual but a memory of the Cēramān Perumāḷ repeated in the tradition by the little kings.

In cultural forms, the region was entirely different from other *Nāṭus* of Kerala. Kadathanadu had its customs, beliefs and traditions. This region is considered a centre of folk and oral traditions. Brahmin influence seems to be negligible in the region, which was the main reason for the prevalence of folk tradition in Kadathanadu.

*Nāṭus* in north Malabar witnessed several changes in the administrative set up in 18<sup>th</sup> century. Kadathanadu became an independent power in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The process of formation began from an early historical period and

continued up to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The political boundaries and cultural forms changed during the period. At present Vadakara taluk and its surrounding areas are considered as Kadathanadu. The sources like northern ballads and *Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari* proves that the place mentioned in the sources are geographically situated in Kadathanadu, the region situated in between Mayyazhi and Kōṭṭa river. In the early 18<sup>th</sup> century Mayyazhi was a part of Kadathanadu. But later it became a French-occupied territory. In the earlier period, the eastern boundary of Kadathanadu was up to the Kadathanadan Kallu, a place near Mokēri. Later British added Kāvilumpāra and Kuttiyadi regions to it. The British never maintained Kadathanadu as a separate revenue unit. Pōrlātiri ruled Kadathanadu independently for only 50 years. These types of states, mutually antagonistic, were a common feature of 18<sup>th</sup> century north Kerala. Kurungōṭṭu *Nāṭu*, Kottayam, etc. were examples of other little kingdoms of 18<sup>th</sup> century north Malabar. For studying the macro history of Kerala the study of these types of micro-units is very significant. The study of the micro-region helps to understand the general pattern of the formation of *Nāṭus* in Kerala.

## Bibliography

### Primary Sources

#### Inscriptions

Chempra Inscription cited in Varier, Raghava M.R., *Kēraḷīyata Caritra Mānangaḷ*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 2009.

Kaliyampalli Inscription cited in Aiyer, Subrahmanya K.V., *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. 7, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1932.

Pullūr Koṭavalam, Eramam Cālappuram, Māṇiyūr, and Narayan Kaṇṇūr Inscriptions cited in Narayanan M.G.S., *Perumals of Kerala (800 AD-1124 AD)*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2013.

Varier, Raghava M.R. and Kesavan Veluthat, eds., *Tarisāppaḷlippaṭṭayam*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2013.

Rao Gopinath T.A., *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Vols 2 and 3, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1920.

Sewell, Robert, *Lists The Antiquarian Remains in The Presidency of Madras*, Vol.1, Indological Book House, New Delhi, 1979.



Tirunelli Inscription cited in Ramachandran Puthusseri, *Kēraḷa Caritrattinte Aṭisthāna Rēkhakaḷ*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 2007:  
Narayanan M.G.S., *Index to Cēra Inscriptions*.

Veḷḷikuḷangara Śiva Temple Inscription cited in Ranghacharya V., *A Topographical List of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol.2, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1985.

### **Tamil Classical Literature**

Nenmara P. Viswanathan Nair, ed., *Akanānūru*, Vol. II, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1987.

Pillai Parameswaran V.R., *Puṛanānūru*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1969.

### **Manipravala Literature**

Achyuthanunni Chathanath and M.R. Raghava Varier, eds, *Uṇṇicirutēvi Caritam*, National Book Stall, , Kottayam, 2017.

Danuvachapuram Sundaran, ed., *Uṇṇiyāṭicaritam*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 2000.

Nair, Gopinathan N., ed., *Uṇṇiyacci caritam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016.

Pillai, Kunjan Elamkulam, ed., *Uṇṇunīlisandēśam*, (1954), National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016.

### **Travel Accounts**

Baldous Philip, *A True and exact description of the most celebrated East India coasts of Malabar and Coramandalalfo to the life of Cylon*, Vol. III, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000.

Buchanan Francis, *A Journey from Madras through the countries for Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, Reprint, 1988.

Corstesum Armando ed., *The Suma Oriental of Empires or Account of the East from Red Sea to Japan*, The Hakluyt Society, New Delhi, 1990.

Dames Longworth Mansel, ed., *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, Reprint 1989.

Gibb Hamilton, ed., *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, The Hakluyt Society, London, 1958.

Hamilton Walter, *A Geographical Statistical and Historical description of Hindustan and the Adjacent countries*, Vol. II, (1488), Oriental Publications, New Delhi, 1971.

Nair, Sivasankaran K., *Kēraḷam Oru Lantakkārante Driṣṭiyil*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2005.

Nair, Sivasankaran K., *Nieuhoff Kaṇṭa Kēraḷam*, Kerala Gazetteers Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1996.

Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, ed., *Ibn Battutta kaṇṭa Kēraḷam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Marco Polo Indiyil*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2002.

Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Saṅcārikaḷ Kaṇṭa Kēraḷam*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2012.

Schoff H. Wilfred, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1974.

Temple Canark Richard, ed., *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna from 1502 to 1508*, (1963), Argonaut Press, New Delhi, 1997.

### ***Granthavaris***

*Kēraḷōlpatti*, Vidyā Vinōdini, October-November, 1889.

*Kōḷikkōṭan Granthavari*, Unpublished Palm leaf Manuscripts, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram.

*Lōkanārkāvu Granthavari*, Unpublished palm leaf chronicle, Thunjath Ezhuthachan, Manuscript Library, Calicut University.

Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Kēraḷōlpatti*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2008.

Varier, Raghava M.R., *Kēraḷōlpatti Granthavari: Kōlattunāṭu Tradition*,  
(2013), Kottayam, 2016.

Zacharia, Scaria, ed., *Herman Gundert: Kēraḷōlpattiyum Marrum*, Kottayam,  
1992.

### **Northern Ballads**

Nambiar, Appunni M.C., *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, (1983), Malabar Books,  
Vadakara, 1998.

Nayar S.K., ed., *Ballads of North Malabar*, Vol. II, University of Madras,  
Madras, 1957.

Sreekumar, K., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭukaḷ*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 2013.

### **Archival Records**

*Census Report from 1891-1931*, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

*Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters*, Letters 1 to 158, Unpublished Manuscripts,  
Department of History Archives, University of Calicut.

*Kadathanadu Taluk Paymash Account*, Bundle No. I, Preserved at Regional  
Archives, Kozhikode.

Letters I and II, Tellicherry to Fort St. George, 19 July 1733.

Logan William, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and other papers of importance relating to the British affairs in Madras*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), Madras, 1984.

M.M.D.L.T, *History of Hyder Shah Ali as Hyder Ali khan and his son Tipu Sultan*, New Delhi, 1976.

*Paymash Accounts Kadathanadu Taluk*, Bundle No.5.

Rejikumar J., ed., *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar, 1792-1793*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 2010.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk*, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode Bundle No. 2.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranad Taluk*, Bundle No.9.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranad Taluk*, Bundle No.11.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk*, Bundle No. 124.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk*, Bundle No. 19.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk*, Bundle No. 23.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk*, Bundle No.15.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk*, Bundle No.25.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk*, Bundle No: 24.

*Settlement Records of Kurumbranadu Taluk, Bundle No. 10.*

*Statement showing the population and average revenue of each Taluk in Malabar, Regional Archives, Calicut.*

*Tellicherry Consultancy Records XIX.*

*Tellicherry Court Diaries May 1750.*

*Thalasseri Court Records - A.S. 1/98. Preserved at the Archives of Thalasseri District Court.*

*Thalasseri Court Records - A.S. 2/98. Preserved at the Archives of Thalasseri District Court.*

Zacharia, Scaria, ed., *Talaśśēri Rēkhakaḷ*, Centre for Kerala Studies, Kottayam, 1996.

*Census Report of 1991, Regional Archives, Kozhikode.*

*Kozhikode District Development Records, 1991.*

### **Manuals and Gazetteers**

Adoor K. Ramachandran Nair, *Kerala State Gazetteer, Vol.2, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1986.*

Innes C.A., *Malabar District Gazetteers, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1977.*

Logan, William, *Malabar*, Vol. II, (1887), Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2010.

Menon, Sreedhara A., *Kerala District Gazetteers*, Govt. of Kerala, Kozhikode, 1962.

Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoire of Malabar*, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, Reprint 1995.

### **Souvenirs and Other Records**

*Eṭaccēri Grāmapanchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Vol. 2, 1997.

*Eṭaccēri Grāmapanchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Eṭaccēri Panchayath, 2012.

*Eṭaccēri Grāmapanchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Vol. 126, November, 1996.

*Ente Gramam*, Narippatta Grāmapanchayat, 2010.

*Eṛāmala Gram Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, 2000.

*Grāma Panchayat Vikasana Rekha*, Kunnummal Block, 1990.

*Grāma Panchayat Vikasana Report*, Vol. 126, Kozhikode, 1995.

*Grāma Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Azhiyur, 2005.

*Grāma Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, Kunnummal Panchayat, 2000.

*Grāmapanchayat Vikasana report*, Kunnummal Block, Vol.127, Kozhikode1995.

Gundert, *Malayalam - English Dictionary*, (1872), Kottayam, 2013.

*Kallēri Kuṭṭiccāttan Temple Souvenir*, Vadakara, 2002.

*Kāyakkōṭi Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 2012-2017.

Kunnumal Panchayat, *Ila-Bhūmiśāstra pratyēkatakaḷ*, Block Resource Centre,  
Kunnummal, 2010.

*Marutōmkara Grāma Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 2010.

*Minor Ports of Kerala*, Govt. of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1969.

*Nādāpuram Grāmapanchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, November 2014.

*Narippatta Grāma Panchayat Vikasana Rēkha*, 2005.

*Oñciyam Grāma Panchayat Vikasana Rēkhakaḷ*, 1992.

*Ōrkkāṭṭēri Śiva Bhagavati temple Souvenir*, Vadakara, 2010.

*Vadakara Merchant Association Golden Jubilee Souvenir*, Vadakara, 2009.

## **Fieldworks**

Visit conducted at Archaeological Sites on 5.11.2014

Field visit conducted Archaeological Sites on 9.12.2014.

Field visit conducted at *kāvus* on 6.11.2015

Field visit on 07.09.2015.



Field Trip conducted at Perumuṇṭaccēri on 15.09.2015

Field visit on 25.3.2016.

Field visit on 3.5.2016.

Field visit on 5.5.2016

Field visit on 15.6.2015

Field Trip conducted at Vaḷayam on 13.10.2017.

Field trip conducted at Vallattukunnu on 15.09.2017.

Field visit at Attiyōṛakkunnu, 06.09.2017.

Field visit at Cīnam Vīṭu on 2.2.2017.

Field visit at Iringal Museum on 06.09.2017

Field visit at Iringal Museum on 08.09.2017.

Field visit at Iringal Museum on 10.09.2017.

Field visit on 10.5.2017.

Field visit on 3.5.2017.

Field visit, on 28.7.2017, 5.9.2017, and 11.10.2017.

Fieldwork on 12.09.2017.

Fieldwork on 13.09.2017.

Fieldwork on 5/2/2016.

Fieldwork on 07.10.2017.

Fieldwork on 20.10.2015.

Field visit on 07.08.2017.

Field visit on 07.08.2017.

Field visit on 08.09.2017.

Field visit on 10.06.2016.

Field visit on 10.06.2016.

Field visit on 09.07.2017.

Field visit on 07.09.2015.

### **Interviews**

Interview with Kannan Kurup on 05.04.2017.

Interview with Divakaran temple president, 20.02.2017.

Interview with Urath Nanu, a coconut cultivator of Kuttiyadi on 27.08.2017.

Interview with Radhakrishnan Master on 19.05.2017.

Interview with Mammad Haji, Merchant of Nadapuram Market, on 12.06.2017.

Interview with K. Kelappan, Peasant, on 05.07.2017.

Interview with K. Kelappan, on 05.07.2017.

Interview with Chathu Master, on 08.06.2018.

Interview with C. Kannan, Arecanut Merchant in Nut Street, on 4.9.2017.

Interview with Mathu Amma, on 16.7.2017.

Interview with Achuthan, K.P., a merchant of Kadathanadu, 15.6.2016.

Interview with Sreedharan, a fish merchant of Chombal, on 19.9.2016.

Interview with Sreedharan Master, on 20.6.2017, Vadakara.

Interview with Muhammed Haji, 9.4.2016.

Interview with K.N. Ganesh on 12.04.2016.

Interview with Muhammed Haji, 9.4.2016.

Interview with Gokulan Master on 2.4.2017.

Interview with Gokulan Master on 2.4.2017.

Interview with Kumaran K. on 12.5.2017.

Interview with Achuthan Vaidyar, on 11.6.2018.

Interview with Vasudevan Nambudiri, member of Paroli *Illam* on 25.07.2016.

Interview with Ramakrishnan Master on 20-5-2016.

Interview with K. Kumaran on 05.08.2015.

Interview with Sreedharan on 25.06.2015 (A member of Mukaya Community).

Interview with Matheyi on 25.07.2017.

Interview with Chathan Kandiyil Gopalan on 30.06.2017.

Interview with Chathan Kandiyil Janaki on 30.06.2017.

Interview with Nirveli Illam Rajesh Namboodiri on 26.08.2017.

Interview with Unni Namboothiri on 25.07.2017.

Interview with Kadathanadan Chandran Gurukkal on 20.12.2014.

Interview with Kannan Gurukkal on 2.1.2016.

Interview with Ramakrishnan Master, 10.11.2017.

Interview with Ramakrishnan Master, 10.11.2017.

Interview with Balan Master, 25.11.2016.

Interview with V.K. Kumaran on 9.07.2017.

Interview with V.K. Kumaran on 10.07.2017.

Interview with K.M. Jayasree on 10.11.2017.

Interview with Unnikrishnan Namboodiri on 05.11.2017.

Interview with Unni Namboodiri on 03.11.2017.

Interview with Gopi Asan, a Practitioner of Pūrakkāḷi on 04.07.2017.

Interview with Muhammed Ali, on 15.5.2016, a member of Arakkal family  
lived at Arakkal near Madappally.

Interview with Unnikrishnan Nayar, on 03.05.2015

Interview with Kunhikannan Munnuttan, on 8.6.2015.

Interview with Muhammed Haji, 9.4.2016.

Interview with Nazrudeen, on 28.2.2017.

Interview with Gokulan Master on 02.04.2017.

Interview with Ramakrishnan Master on 17.05.2017.

Interview with K. Kumaran on 5.6.2017.

Interview with Matheyi on 25.07.2017.

Interview with K.M. Jayasree on 10.11.2017.

Interview with Ramakrishnan Master, on 15.6.2018.

Interview with Gopalan, on 27.07.2018.

## **E-Sources**

*District Survey Reports of Minor Minerals except River Sand*, Trivandrum,  
November 2016 ([www.dmg.kerala.gov.in](http://www.dmg.kerala.gov.in))

*Soil survey Report of 1962; Soil Survey Report of National Centre for Earth  
studies* ([www.keralasoils.gov.in](http://www.keralasoils.gov.in))

*Soil survey report of Kerala 1969*, Department of soil survey and soil  
conservation ([www.Keralasoils.gov.in](http://www.Keralasoils.gov.in)).

*Micro Water shed Atlas of Kerala* ([www.keralasoils.gov.in](http://www.keralasoils.gov.in)).

*Ground Water Information Booklet of Kozhikode District*, Thiruvananthapuram,  
December 2013 ([www.cgwb.gov.in](http://www.cgwb.gov.in)).

U N edited version, *Sittanavasal*, Sudarshanam a centre for arts and culture,  
Pudukkottai.

## **Secondary Sources**

### **English Books**

Adiga, Malini, *The making of Southern Karnataka*, (2005), Orient Longman,  
Chennai, 2006.

Ayyangar, Sreenivasa M, *Tamil studies Essays on the history of People,  
Language, Religion and Literature*, (1914), Asian Educational Services,  
New Delhi, 1982.

Ayyangar Sreenivasa P.T., *The Pre Aryan Tamil culture*, (1985), Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995.

Ayyangar Sreenivasa P.T., *The Stone Age in India*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1986.

Ayyar Krishna K.V., *The Zamorins of Calicut*, (1935), University of Calicut, Calicut, 1999.

Braudel Fernand, *On History*, (1980), University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1982.

Braudel Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Harper Row, New York, 1972.

Chakrabarti, Dilip K. *Archaeological Geography of the Ganga plain*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2001.

Chakrabarti, Dilip K., *The External Trade of the Indus Civilization*, Munshiram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1990.

Champakalakshmi R., Kesavan Veluthat and T.R. Venugopalan, eds, *State and society in Pre-modern South India*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2002.

Champakalakshmi R., *Trade Ideology and Urbanization in South India 300 BC to 300 AD*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996.

Chathurvedi Sarojini, *A Short History of South India*, Samskrithi Publications,  
New Delhi, 2005.

Chelliah J.V., *Pattu Pattu: Ten Tamil Idylls*, The South India Siva Siddhanta  
Works, Thirunelveli, 1962.

Cherian P.J. ed., *William Logins Malabar Manual In Two Volumes*, Kerala  
Gazetteers Department, Trivandrum, 2000.

Cherian P.J., *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Kerala Gazetteers Department,  
Trivandrum, 1999.

Childe Gordon V., *Man Make Himself*, (1936), Oxford University Press, New  
Delhi, 2017.

Grahame Clark and Stuart Piggot, *Prehistoric Societies*, Penguin Books,  
London, 1965.

Chopra P.N. and P.K. Raveendran eds, *History of South India*, (1979), S Chand,  
New Delhi, 2002.

Day, Francis, *The Land of Perumals or Cochin: Its Past and Present*, (1863),  
Gantz Brothers at the Adelphi Press, Madras, 1990.

Dirks Nicholas, *The Hollow Crown: Ethno History of an Indian Kingdom*,  
Orient Longman, Bombay, 1987.



- Frenz, Margret and George Berkemer, eds, *Sharing Sovereignty: The Little Kingdom in South Asia*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2015
- Frenz, Margret, *From Contact to Conquest: Transition to British Rule in Malabar 1790-1805*, (2003), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2013.
- Galatti A., *The Dutch in Malabar*, Usha Publications, New Delhi, 1991.
- Ganesh K.N., *Agrarian Relations in Kerala: An Overview*, Mangalore University, Mangalore, 1989.
- Ganesh K.N., *Locality and Culture in The Case Of Thirurangadi*, Calicut University, Calicut, 2010.
- Ganesh K.N., *State Formation in Kerala: A Critical Overview*, ICHR, Bangalore, 2010.
- Gurukkal, Rajan and Raghava Variar eds., *Cultural History of Kerala, Vol.1*, Department of Cultural Publications, Trivandrum, 1999.
- Gurukkal, Rajan, *Social formation in Early Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010.
- Haridas V.V. and E.C. Haskerali, eds., *Multi Cultures of South India: New Perceptions on History and Society*, Karnataka Open University, Mysore, 2015.

- Haridas V.V., *Zamorins and the Political Culture of Medieval Kerala*, Orient  
Balckswan, New Delhi, 2016.
- Hoskins W.H., *The making of the English landscape*, Hodder and Stoughton,  
London, 1955.
- Iyengar, Sesa T.A., *Ancient Dravidians*, MJP Publications, Chennai, 2007.
- Kailasapathi K., *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi,  
1968.
- Karashima, Noboru, *A Concise History of South India: Issues and  
Interpretations*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011.
- Kareem C.K., *Kerala Under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sulthan*, Paico Publications,  
Cochin, 1973.
- Koshi M.O., *The Dutch Power in Kerala*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi,  
1989.
- Koshi M.O., *Cannanore in the Maritime History of India*, Kannur University,  
Kannur, 2002.
- Kurup K.K.N. and M.R. Raghava Variar, *Kalaripayattu: The Traditional  
Martial arts of Kerala*, Cultural Publication Division, Trivandrum,  
1997.

Kurup K.K.N., *Aspects of Kerala History and Culture*, College Book House, Trivandrum, 1977.

Kurup K.K.N., *The History of Tellicherry factory (1683-1794)*, Sandhya Publications, Calicut, 1985.

Mahalingam T.V, *South Indian Polity*, University of Madras, Madras, 1995.

Mangalam S.J., *Historical Geography and Toponymy of Andhra Pradesh*, Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 1986.

Martineue Alfred, *The Origins of Mahe of Malabar*, Pushpalatha S., Mahe, 2004.

Meenakshi C., *Administrative and Social Life under Pallavas of Kanchi*, University of Madras, Madras, 1938.

Menon, Padmanabha K.P., *History of Kerala*, Vol. II, (1929), Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003

Menon, Sreedhara A., *A Survey of Kerala History*, (1967), DC Books, Kottayam, 1976.

Menon Sreedhara A., *Cultural Heritage of Kerala*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2016.

Mithra Panchanan, *Pre-Historic India: Its Place in the World Culture*, Gyan Publishing House, New Delhi, 2010.

Mujeebu Rehiman, M.P. and K.S. Madhavan, eds, *Exploration in South Indian History*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2014.

Mujeebu Rehiman M.P., *The Locale Speaks: Papers in Local History*, Govt. C.K.G. College, Kozhikode, 2002.

Nair Ravindran, *History of Kerala*, Amrutha Publications, Kunnankulam, 1993.

Nainar S.M.H., ed., *Arab Geographers Knowledge of Southern India*, (1942), University of Madras, Madras, 2011.

Narayanan M.G.S., *Perumals of Kerala: Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy*, (1990), Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2013.

Narayanan M.G.S., *Foundations of South Indian Society and Culture*, Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1994.

Nightingale, Pamela, *Trade and Empire in western India 1784-1806*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1970.

Pillai K.K., *Historical Heritage of the Tamils*, MJ Publishers, Chennai, 2008.

Pillai, Kunjan Elamkulam, *Studies in Kerala, History*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1970

Raja P.K.S., *Medieval Kerala*, Nava Kerala Co-operating Publishing House, Kozhikode, 1966.

- Rajayyan K., *Aspects of South Indian History: A Facilitation Volume*, Rajesh Publications, Nagercoil, 2000.
- Rajendran P., *Unraveling the Past: Archaeology of Keralam and Adjacent region in South India*, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, 2018.
- Rajendran N., *Establishment of British Power in Malabar, 1665-1799*, Chugh Publications, Trivandrum, 1979.
- Reymond Alchin and Bridget, *The Birth of Indian Civilization India and Pakistan Before 500mc*, Penguin Books, New Delhi, 1968.
- Sastri, Nilakanta A., *A History of South India from prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagar*, (1955) Oxford India Paper Backs, Madras, 1997.
- Sastri, Nilakanta A., *The Colas*, University of Madras, Madras, 1955.
- Settar S. and Ravi Kori Settar eds., *Indian Archaeology in Retrospect: Prehistory Archaeology of South Asia*, Vol.1, Manohar Publishers, New Delhi, 2002.
- Sharma I.K. and Gopal R. eds., *Narasimha Priya: Essays on Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography and Cultural History*, Vol.1, Sundeep Prakasham, New Delhi, 2000.
- Sita K. Nambiar, *The Ritual Art of Theyyam and Bhotaaradhana*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 1996.

Singh, Upindar, *Rethinking early Medieval India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2011.

Stein, Burton, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1980.

Stein, Burton, *Essays on South India*, Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1976.

Subbarayalu Y., *Political Geography of the Cola Country*, State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, 1973.

Subbrayalu Y., *South India under Colas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2012.

Thapar, Romila, *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Indian History*, (2000), Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2015.

Thurston, Edgar, *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1975.

Varier, Raghava M.R., *Village Communities in Pre-colonial Kerala*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1994.

Varier, Raghava M.R., *Kolezhuthu and Malayalam Records: In the Oriental Section of Bibliotheque Nationale De France, Parise*, KCHR, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012.

Veluthat, Kesavan, *Brahmin settlements in Kerala*, (1978), Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2013.

Veluthat, Kesavan, *The early medieval in South India*, Oxford India Paper Backs, New Delhi, 2011.

Veluthat Kesavan and Sudhakaran P.P., eds, *Advances in History*, M.P. Sreedharan Memorial Trust, Kozhikode, 2003.

Veluthat Kesavan and Donald R. Davis eds., *Irreverent History Essays for M.G.S. Narayanan*, Primus Books, New Delhi, 2014.

### **Malayalam Books**

Achuthan S., *Kēraḷa Samskāram*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2006.

Achuthananadan K.V., *Irupattinālu Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, H&C Books, Thrissur, 1990.

Ajanur Grama Panchayat, *Ajānūrinte Caritram*, Ajanur Gama Panchayat. Koothuparamba, 2003.

Babu K.V., *Malabar Caritram: Mittum Mithyayum*, Kairali Books, Kannur, 2017.

Balakrishnan P., *Kalaripayattu: Kēraḷattile Prācīna Āyōdhanamuṛa*, S.N. Press, Kozhikode, 1994.

C.G.N., *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ: Oru Paṭhanam*, Vidyarthi Mithram, Kottayam, 1976.

Chambad Sreedharan, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukathakaḷ*, Haritham Books, Kozhikode, 2015.

Gadhiri Shamsulla, *Pracheena Malabar*, Other Books, Kozhikode, 2012

Ganesh K.N., *Kēraḷattinte Innalekaḷ*, (1990), Publication Division, Trivandrum, 1997.

Ganesh. K.N., *Kēraḷattinte Sāmūhika Pratisandhi Caritraparamāya Oru Anwēṣaṇam*, Centre for Social Studies, Thrissur, 2003.

Gangadharan C.H., *Mayyazhi*, Thrissur, 2018.

Gurukkal Chandran Kadathanadu, *Kaṭattanāṭan Kalarippayattu*, P.C.G.M. Kalari Sangham, Puthupanam, 1994.

Gurukkal, Rajan, *Myth Caritram Samūham*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2013.

Haridas V.V., *Sāmūtiri Kālatte Kozhikode: Kathayum Caritravum*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2012.

Kareem C.K., *Francis Buchanante Kēraḷam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1996.

Karipath R.C., *Malabāṛile Māppiḷa Teyyangaḷ*, New Books, Kannur, 2014.



- Klari Sreedharan, *Kēraḷattile Nāṭan Pāṭṭukaḷ Oru Paṭhanam*, Olive Publications, Kozhikode, 2010.
- Krishna Kumar K.C., *Kēraḷam Jillaḷilūṭe*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2010.
- Kurup K.K.N., *Kaṭattanāṭan Taravāṭukaḷ*, Malabar Institute of Research and Development, Vadakara, 2012.
- Kumar Vinod R., *Kēraḷeeyam: Kēraḷatte Kuṛiccu Ariṅṅirikkēṇṭa Cila Kāryangaḷ*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2008.
- Kunnummakara Vijayan, ed., *Dēśacaritram Kadathanadu*, Faith Books, Vadakara, 2016.
- Kunnumakkara Vijayan, *Tipusultan Caritrattil Engane Anabhimatanāyi*, Olive Publications, Calicut, 2003.
- Kurup, Mukundan, *Kēraḷa Caritram: Kaḷariyum Kalārūpangaḷum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2013.
- Kurup, Thiruvangad Krishna, *Kēraḷa Caritram Paraśurāmanilūṭe*, SPCS, Kottayam, 1962.
- Kusuman K.K., *Kēraḷa Caritra Paṭhanangaḷ*, K.H. Society, Trivandrum, 1976.
- Lal Priyadarsan, *Ōṭēnanum Ōṇappuṭavayum*, Lipi Publications, Calicut, 1999.

- Lineesh M., ed., *Kaṭattanāṭan Sāmskārikata: Caritravum Varttamānavum*, Government College Mokeri, Mokeri, 2017.
- Madhavi Amma, *Taccōḷi Ōṭēnan*, K.R. Brothers, Kozhikode, 1960.
- Majeed Abdul K.P., *Kuṟungōṭṭu Nāṭu*, Mythri Publications, 2005.
- Marar, Ananda. K., *Kaṭattanāṭṭile Kṣētrangaḷ*, Published by Author, Vadakara, 2011.
- Marar Ananda. K., *Orrappetta Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷ*, Published by Author, Vadakara, 2004.
- Mathew, Lisy V., *Poṭṭan Teyyam: Atijīvanattinte Anuṣṭānam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2013.
- Menon, Chelanattu Achutha, *Kēraḷattile Kāḷīsēva*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, Reprint 2015.
- Menon Sreedhara A., *Kēraḷa Samskāram*, (1970), DC Books, Kottayam, 2015.
- Muttath Chandran, *Jalasañcāra Teyyangaḷ*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2013.
- Nambiar M.K., *Vaṭakkan Folklorum Prādēsika Samskritiyum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2013.
- Namboodiri Vishnu M.V., *Nāṭṭarivu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Poorna Publications, Kozhikode, 2018.

- Namboodiri Vishnu M.V., *Teyyam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1998.
- Namboodiri Vishnu M.V., *Tōrram Pāṭṭukaḷ*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2016.
- Namboodiri Vishnu M.V., *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukathakaḷ: Oru Paṭhanam*, Kottayam, Author, 1995.
- Nambuthiri N.M. and P.K. Sivadas, eds, *Kēraḷa Caritrattile Nāṭṭuvaḷikaḷ*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2011.
- Nambuthiri N.M., *Kēraḷa Samskāram: Akavum Puṛavum*, Calicut University Central Co-operative Stores, Calicut, 2004.
- Narayanan, Aju C., *Kēraḷattile Buddhamata Pāramparyam Nāṭṭarivukaḷil*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Narayanan M.G.S., *Kēraḷa Caritrattinte Aṭisthāna Śilakaḷ*, National book Stall, Kottayam, 1971.
- Nayar Gopalan C., *Malabārile Tirayāṭṭangaḷ*, DC Books, Kozhikode, 2010.
- Nayathod Jacob, *Sanghakālatte Janajīvitam*, Chinta Publications, Trivandrum, 2016.
- Panikkar K.N. and P. Pavithran, eds, *Pradēśam, Rāṣṭram, Lōkam: Kaṭattanāṭinte Sāhitya Pāramparyam*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2007.
- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Cirapurātana Bandhangaḷ*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2013.

- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Kēraḷa Caritram*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2006.
- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Kēraḷa Caritrattinte Uḷḷarakaḷilēkku*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2012.
- Panikotti, M.K, *Vaṭakkan Vīra Kathakaḷ*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2003.
- Payyanad, Raghavan, ed., *Vaṭakkanpāṭṭu Paṭhanangaḷ*, Calicut University, 2001.
- Payyanad, Raghavan, ed., *Kerala Folklore*, FFM Publications, Payyannur, 1997.
- Pilla, Balakrishna, *Prācīna Kēraḷa Caritra Gavēṣaṇam*, K.R. Brothers, Kozhikode, 1993.
- Pilla, Gopala K., *Kēraḷa Mahā Caritam*, Reddiar Press, Trivandrum, 1942.
- Pillai, Bhargavan G., *Nāṭṭarangu: Vikāsavum Pariṇā mavum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2000.
- Pillai, Kunjan Elamkulam, *Cila Kēraḷa Caritra Praśnangaḷ*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1995.
- Pillai, Kunjan Elamkulam, *Kēraḷam Añcum Ārum Nūrrāṇṭukaḷil*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1961.
- Pillai, Kunjan Elamkulam, *Samskā rattinte Nāḷikakallukaḷ*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1964.

- Raghavan, Vijaya K.C. and K.M. Jayasree, *Lōkanārkāvu*, Lōkanārkāvu  
Dēvaswam, Vadakara, 2007.
- Rajesh K.P., *Vaṭakkan Malabar: Samūhavum Caritravum*, National Book Stall,  
Kottayam, 2011.
- Sasibhushan M.G, *Kēraḷa Caritrattilēkkūḷa Nāṭṭuvaḷi*, National Book Stall,  
Kottayam, 2016.
- Sivadasan P., *Kēraḷa Caritram Sambavangaḷilūṭe*, Chinta Publications,  
Trivandrum.
- Somasekharan, *Kēraḷa Paḷama: Oru Caritra Sañcāram*, Kerala Sahitya  
Academy, Thrissur, 2016.
- Srijan V.C., *Ōrmayil Malabar: Sāmskārika Caritrattinte Akam Vāyanakaḷ*,  
Prateeksha Books, Kozhikode, 2012.
- Sringarajan, *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭile Vīra Kathakaḷ*, Sincer Publications, Punalur,  
1996.
- Suppi P., ed., *Ōrmakaḷile Kuttiyadi*, Shaminas, Calicut, 1988.
- Tampuran, Kodungallur Kunjikuttan, *Raṅṅu Sandēśangaḷ: Śukasandēśavum  
Kōkasandēśavum*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Tazhakkara Muraleedharan, *Kriṣiyile Nāṭṭarivu*, Kerala Bhasha Institute,  
Trivandrum, 2013.

- Unni N.P., ed., *Kōkilasandēśa of Uddaṇḍa*, College Book House, Trivandrum, 1972.
- Unnikrishnan K.M., *Kozhikode Jillyile Jaivavaividhya Turuttukaḷ*, Kozhikode, 1999.
- Vadakkiniyil Dineshan, *Anuṣṭhānam Kālam Samūham: Teyyatte Ādhāramākki Cila Anwēṣaṅgaḷ*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014
- Varghese V.J. and Scaria Zacharia, eds, *500 Varṣatte Kēraḷam: Cila Arivaṭayāḷangaḷ*, Tharathamya Padana Sangham, Changanasseri, 2011.
- Varier, Achutha S.A., *Kēraḷa Samskāram*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2012.
- Varier, Raghava M.R. and Kesavan Veluthat, *Maṇipravāḷa Carcca*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2016.
- Varier Raghava M.R. and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kēraḷa Caritram*, (1991), Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 2011.
- Varier, Raghava M.R., *Kēraḷiyata: Caritra Mānangaḷ*, (1990), Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 2009.
- Varier, Raghava M.R., *Madhyakāla Kēraḷam: Sampattu Samūham Samskāram*, Chintha Publications, Trivandrum, 1997.

- Varier, Raghava M.R., *Madhyakāla Kēraḷam: Swarūpanirmītiyūṭe Caritra Pāṭhangaḷ*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Varier, Raghava M.R., *Vaṭakkan Pāṭṭukaḷuṭe Paṇiyāla*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1982.
- Vasanthan S.K., *Kēraḷa Caritra Nighaṇṭu*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1983.
- Vasudevan Thonnaykal, *Malayāḷattile Vīra Kathāgānangaḷ*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2011.
- Vayaleri, Kumaran, *Kāvu Teyyam Purāvrittam*, Payyannur Sahithi, Payyannur, 2010.
- Velikkuni Sineesh, ed., *Tiruvallūrinte Vāmoḷi Caritram*, Thiruvallur Grama Panchayath, Thiruvallur, 2016.
- Velikkuni Sinish, *Nāṭan Kalakaḷ*, Kozhikode, 2014.
- Vengad C.P., *Kēraḷattile Kōṭṭakaḷ*, Kairali Books, Kannur, 2009.
- Vincent P.J. ed., *Kunnummal Grāmacaritram Vāmoḷiyilūṭe*, Kunnummal Panchayat, North Kerala History Association, 2002.
- Venugopal T.R., *Avaniśśēri Grāmapanchayat Dēśa Caritram*, Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1994.

## **Newspapers and Articles**

Anjana V.K., 'Temple Entry Movement at Lōkanārkāvu', Sateesh Palanki, ed.,  
*Ārām Kerala Caritra Conference Prabandhangaḷ*, National Book Stall,  
Kottayam, 2019.

Anjana V.K., 'Socio-Political Changes in Kadathanadu: A Study of  
Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters', *Proceedings of South Indian History  
Congress*, Calicut, 2018.

Anjana V.K., 'Markets and Trading Centres in North Malabar: A Study of  
Northern Ballads', *Proceedings of South Indian History*, Osmania  
University, 2019.

Balakrishnan V.P., 'Vaṭakarayūṭe Caritram Sankalppavum Yāthārtthyavum' in  
M.G.S. Narayanan, ed., *Malabar*, Malabar Mahotsav Souvenir, Calicut,  
1994.

Ganesh K.N., 'Kāvupaṭhanattinte Rītiśāstram Pariṇāmam', *Poli*, Vol. 3,  
October 2007 - 2008.

*Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. XIII, Trivandrum, 1986.

*Mathrubhumi Daily*, 25.08.2017.

*Mathrubhumi Daily*, 25.08.2017.



- Malayil, Abhilash, 'Rāṣṭrīyakkūru Patinettām Nūrrāṅṅil: Kaṭattanāṅṅil Ninnuḷla Cila Nirīkṣaṅṅal', Sajeev P.V., ed., Research Journal, Government Arts and Science College, Kozhikode, Vol.7, Issue1, January 2016.
- Mujeebu Rehiman M.P., ed., *Journal of South Indian History*, Vol.5, Issue 2, University of Calicut, May 2019.
- Muraleedaran M.K., 'Sanghakāla Sāhityavum Kēraḷathinte Sāmskārika Caritravum', *Vijñāna Kairāḷi*, Vol.2, Thiruvananthapuram, 2013.
- Rajendran P., 'Kēraḷa Caritrattinte Caritrāṅṅita Samskāram', *Samskara Keralam*, Book.3, Vol.2, Trivandrum, 1995.
- Ramaswami, T.R. 'Material Culture of the Megalithic People in Tamil Nadu', *South Indian History Journal*, Calicut University, 2010.
- Ramesh N.K., 'Kōḷikkōṅṅinte Śīlāyuga Samskāram Putiya Telivukaḷ', *Vijñāna Kairāḷi*, Vol. 43, Trivandrum, 2012.
- Ramesh N.K., 'Vaṭakkan Kēraḷattinte Caritrāṅṅita Samskāravum Ethno Archaeological Vīkṣaṅṅavum', *Vijñāna Kairāḷi*, Vol.44, Trivandrum, 2013.
- Sathya Murthi T., 'Megaliths of Kerala', in Sharma and R. Gopal, eds, *Narasimha Priya: Essays on Indian Archaeology, Epigraphy, Iconography and Cultural History*, Vol. I, New Delhi, 2000.

Subbarayalu Y., 'Historical Geography of Ancient and Medieval India: A Comparative Study of Nadu and Vishaya', *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol.73, 2012.

Venugopal M.K., 'Kalaripayattu Innale Innu', *Poli*, Book. 2, Vol. 1, August-December 2003.

### **Ph.D. Thesis and M.A., M.Phil. Dissertations**

Anjana V.K., *Matrilineal Kinship and Power Structure: A Study of Nayar Caste in Medieval Kerala*, M.Phil. Dissertation, University of Calicut, 2014.

Devi E.H., *Medieval Society as Reflected in the Ballads of North Malabar* (M.A. Dissertation), Department of History, University of Calicut, 1975.

Murthy Krishna B., *The French Trade in India 1664-1754*, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Baroda, 1984.

Greeshmalatha A., *Historical Geography of Valluvanadu*, Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 2008.

K.P. Rajesh, *Historical Geography of Kolathunadu: A study of Regional Formation in North Kerala.*, Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 2012.

Ganesh K.N., *Agrarian relations and political authority in medieval Travancore (AD1300-1750)*, Ph.D. Thesis, JNU, New Delhi, 1987.

Nishad K.K., *The Location of Vadakara in the Trade Networks in Malabar*  
(M.A. Dissertation), Department of History, University of Calicut, 2007.

Samyuktha Sasidharan, *Place Names and Other Notices of Socio-Economic  
Life in Vadakkan Pattukal* (MA Dissertation), University of Calicut,  
2006.

Yesurathnam Y., *The East India Company and the Principal Rajas of Malabar  
(1708-1805)*, Ph.D. Thesis, Calicut University, 1977.

Yusuf Jasriya U.V., *A Walk to Nadapuram Angadi through the Ages*, (M.A.  
Dissertation), Department of History, University of Calicut, 2014.

## Glossary

<i>Agniparikṣa</i>	–	Trail by fire
<i>Āḷ</i>	–	Agricultural Labourer
<i>Angāṭi</i>	–	Market
<i>Ankam</i>	–	Battle
<i>Anticanta</i>	–	Evening market
<i>Āśān</i>	–	Teacher
<i>Aṭiyāḷar</i>	–	Agricultural labourer
<i>Aṭiyōṭi</i>	–	A Subdivision of Nāyarcaste found in Kadathanadu
<i>Canta</i>	–	Local Market
<i>Cāliya</i>	–	Weaver, weaver caste
<i>Cantappaṇam</i>	–	Rent For Market
<i>Cēkōn</i>	–	A person fought in <i>ankam</i>
<i>Cēri</i>	–	Settlement Unit of technical Occupant Groups.
<i>Cerivu</i>	–	Slope
<i>Ceṭṭi</i>	–	Migrated Merchant group from Tamil Nadu
<i>Cīna Bharāṇi</i>	–	Chinese Jar
<i>Cīnacaṭṭi</i>	–	Chinese Port
<i>Cīnapaṭṭu</i>	–	Chinese silk
<i>Cīnāvala</i>	–	Chinese Net
<i>Cīra</i>	–	Large Water Body
<i>Cukku</i>	–	Dried Ginger
<i>Cuvappankothu</i>	–	A ritual related to the Temple Festival of Kadathanadu
<i>Copra</i>	–	Dried Coconut
<i>Dēśam</i>	–	Administrative Unit
<i>Dēśavāḷi</i>	–	Headman of the Dēśam

<i>Eṭanāṭu</i>	–	Midland
<i>Eṭavapāṭi</i>	–	South West Monsoon
<i>Eḷaya Tampurān</i>	–	Junior Prince
<i>Ēttam</i>	–	Water Wheel
<i>Eḷunnaḷḷattu</i>	–	Procession
<i>Illam</i>	–	Brahmin House
<i>Illamniṛa</i>	–	Agrarian Festival related to Harvest celebrated in Kerala
<i>Jalaparīkṣa</i>	–	Trial by Water
<i>Janmam</i>	–	Birth Right
<i>Janmi</i>	–	Landlord
<i>Jōnakar</i>	–	Muslims
<i>Jōnakar teruvu</i>	–	Muslim Street
<i>Kāṭu</i>	–	Forest
<i>Kaimukku</i>	–	Dipping the Hand in the hot oil
<i>Kalaśam</i>	–	A Mud Pot that contains Toddy
<i>Kaṅṅippura</i>	–	Temporary Rest House of Merchants
<i>Kaṅṅēru</i>	–	Evil Eye
<i>Kaṅṅērupāṭṭu</i>	–	Ritual against Evil Eye
<i>Kāraṇavar</i>	–	Head of a Nāyar <i>Taravāṭu</i>
<i>Kaṭavu</i>	–	Ferry
<i>Kāvu</i>	–	Scared Grove
<i>Kollan</i>	–	Blacksmith
<i>Kongu Nāḷi</i>	–	Unit of Measurement existed in North Malabar.
<i>Koḷu</i>	–	Plough
<i>Kuḷam</i>	–	Pond
<i>Kunnu</i>	–	Hill
<i>Kuruti</i>	–	Animal Sacrifice

<i>Kuṭimakkal</i>	–	Agricultural Labourers settled in Kuṭi.
<i>Kuṭi</i>	–	Settlement Unit of Agricultural Labourers
<i>Makkattāyam</i>	–	Patriliney
<i>Malanāṭu</i>	–	Hill Regions
<i>Mānam</i>	–	Unit of Measurement
<i>Mangalam</i>	–	Brahmin Settlement
<i>Marappalam</i>	–	A Special Head Dress Used in Tira
<i>Marumakkattāyam</i>	–	Matriliny
<i>Mēṭu</i>	–	Elevated Slops
<i>Maḷu</i>	–	Axe
<i>Mūppu</i>	–	Seniority
<i>Nāṭu</i>	–	Cultivated Land
<i>Nāṭuvāḷi</i>	–	Ruler of the Nāṭu
<i>Nāgas</i>	–	Serpents
<i>Nāḷangāṭi</i>	–	Morning Markets
<i>Nāṭṭuṭayavar</i>	–	Ruler of the Nāṭu
<i>Nāḷi</i>	–	Device Measuring the Volume of Grains, measurement approximately 250 grams
<i>Nīr Nilam</i>	–	Wetland
<i>Nelkkatir</i>	–	Rice Spike
<i>Nilam</i>	–	Muddy Wetland
<i>Nilaviḷakku</i>	–	Oil Lamp
<i>Nīra Puttari</i>	–	Agrarian Festival in North Malabar
<i>Nukam</i>	–	Yoke
<i>Oṭivekkuka</i>	–	Black Magic
<i>Pāṭam</i>	–	Wetland
<i>Paḷlam</i>	–	Slops
<i>Paḷḷi</i>	–	Jain shrine

<i>Paṇappayarru</i>	– A monitoring system
<i>Pāṇṭikaśāla</i>	– Warehouse
<i>Paṛambu</i>	– Garden Land
<i>Poḷlamuḷaku</i>	– Dried Pepper
<i>Pūram</i>	– A Festival in North Malabar
<i>Prākkal</i>	– Nullify the Evil
<i>Pulam</i>	– Cultivated Land
<i>Punam</i>	– Slash and Burn Cultivation
<i>Puñca</i>	– Paddy
<i>Punnellu</i>	– Fresh Paddy
<i>Purayiṭam</i>	– Settlement Unit of Lower castes
<i>Sabha</i>	– Organisation of Brahmins
<i>Śāla</i>	– Educational Institution of Medieval Kerala
<i>Śarkkara</i>	– Jaggery
<i>Satyakkallu</i>	– Stone of Truth
<i>Satyaparīkṣa</i>	– Trial by Ordeal
<i>Tara</i>	– Smallest Administrative Unit in a Nāṭu
<i>Tarakūṭṭam</i>	– Organisation of <i>Tara</i>
<i>Talayūṭa</i>	– Ceremonial Cloth
<i>Taṇṇīrpantal</i>	– Small hamlet with name meaning giving water to thirsty travellers.
<i>Tīrapradēśam</i>	– Coastal area
<i>Tēngapiṇṇākkū</i>	– Coconut cake after extracting oil
<i>Teyyam</i>	– A Ritual Art in North Malabar
<i>Tīra</i>	– A Ritual Art in North Malabar
<i>Tiruvātira</i>	– A Festival related to Agriculture
<i>Tiruvuṭayāṭa</i>	– Holy Dress
<i>Tōṭu</i>	– Water Channel

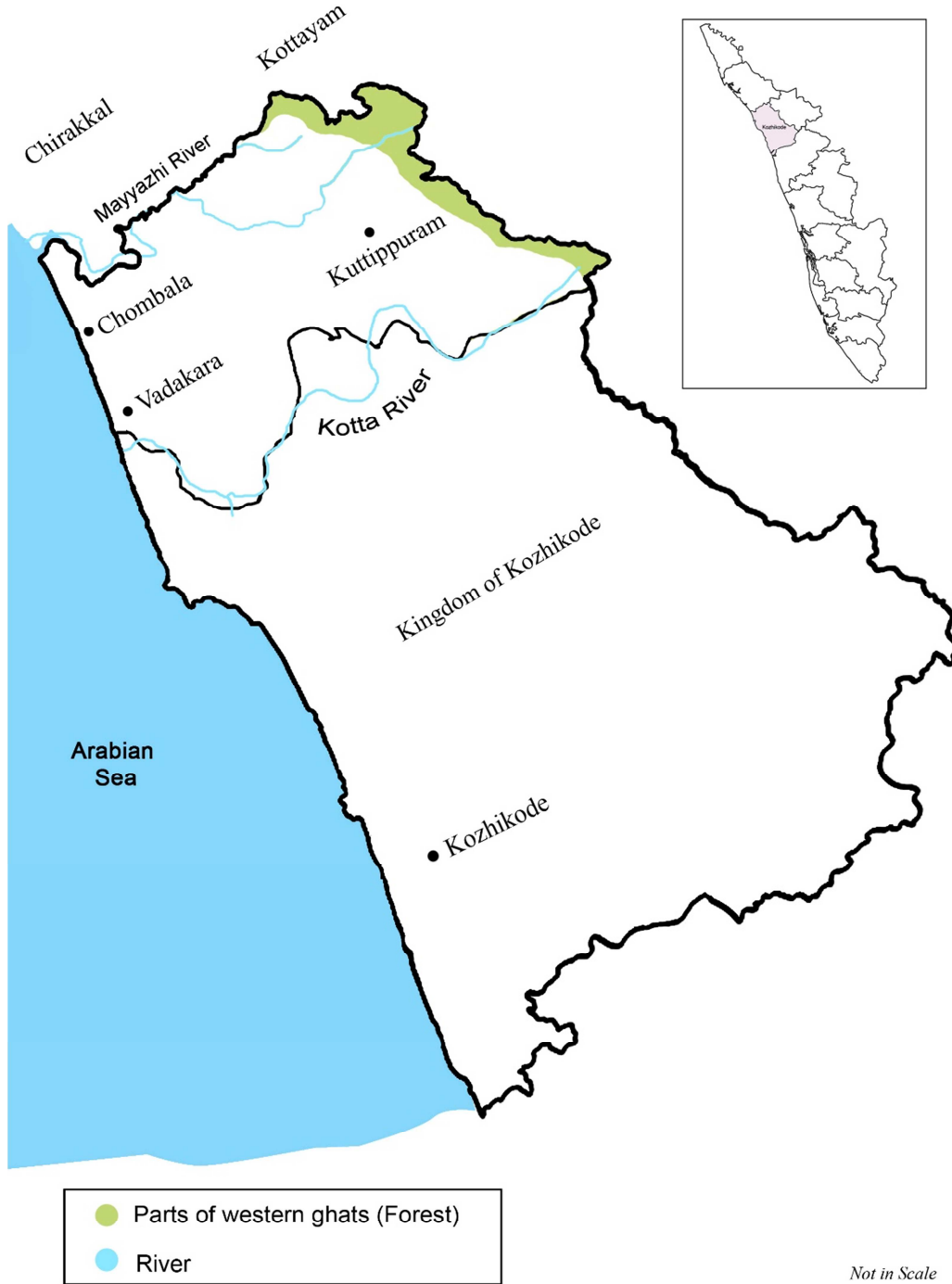
<i>Tuṭi</i>	– A Tribal Musical Instrument
<i>Tulāvarṣam</i>	– North-East Monsoon
<i>Turutti</i>	– Settlement Unit in <i>Nilam</i>
Uṭayavar	– Owner
<i>Ūr</i>	– Agrarian Settlement Unit
<i>Uri</i>	– Unit of Measurement
<i>Vālunnavar</i>	– The Ruler of Kadathanadu, which Means the Ruler of the Land.
<i>Veḷiccappāṭu</i>	– Oracle, Sacred Middle Men of God
<i>Vellāṭṭu</i>	– A Shorter Version of Thira
<i>Viralmukku</i>	– Dipping the finger in the hot oil
<i>Viṣaparīkṣa</i>	– Trail by Snakebite
<i>Yakṣi</i>	– Spirit



# Appendix I

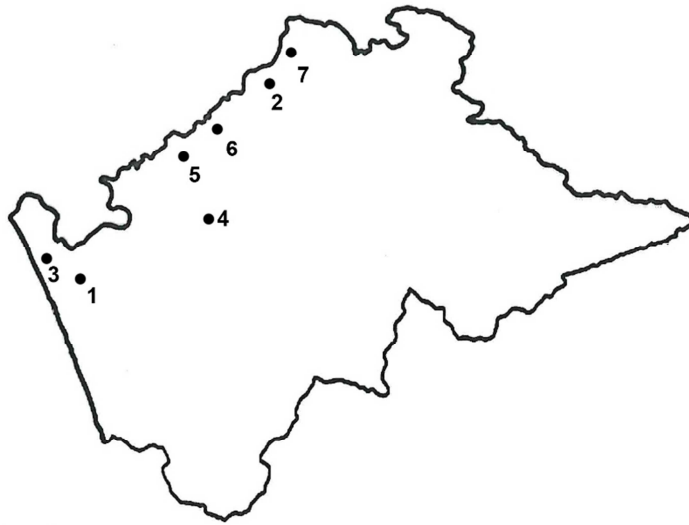
MAP - 1

## Political Boundaries of Kadathanadu



MAP - 2

## Mullai Tracts of Kadathanadu

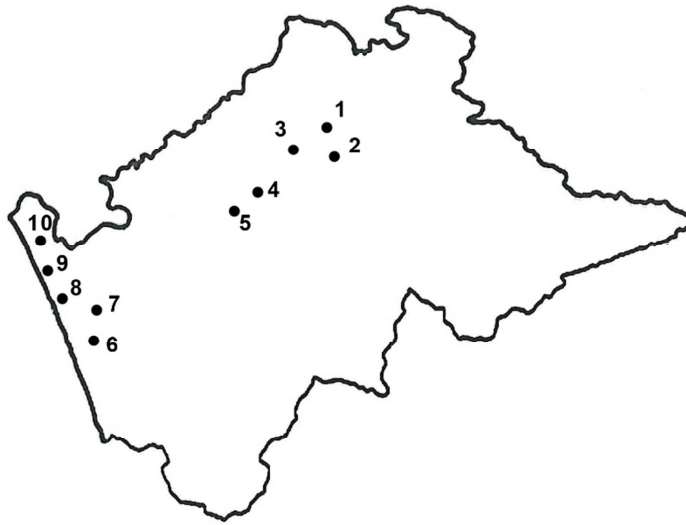


1. Vallikad
2. Ayad
3. Karakkad
4. Valliyad
5. Chekkiyad
6. Kuttikad
7. Vilangad

*Not in Scale*

**MAP - 3**

**Trading centres and markets in Kadathanadu**

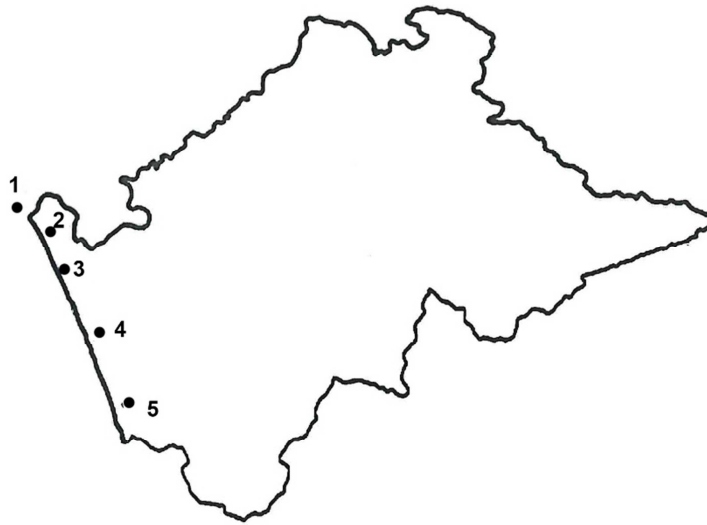


- 1. Nadapuram**
- 2. Valarkkottangadi**
- 3. Edavattathangadi**
- 4. Anavathil**
- 5. Cheruvannur**
- 6. Puthupattanam**
- 7. Cheenanveedu**
- 8. Vadakara**
- 9. Thazhe Angadi**
- 10. Chombala**

*Not in Scale*

MAP - 4

**Port Towns in Kadathanadu (17<sup>th</sup> Century)**

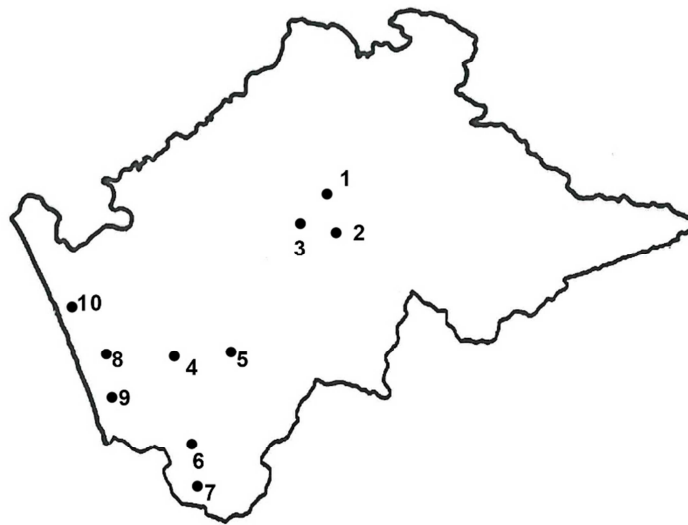


- 1 Mayyazhi**
- 2 Chombala**
- 3 Muttungal**
- 4 Vadakara**
- 5 Puthuppattanam**

*Not in Scale*

**MAP - 5**

**Trading Centres and Markets in Kadathanadu referred  
Northern Ballads**

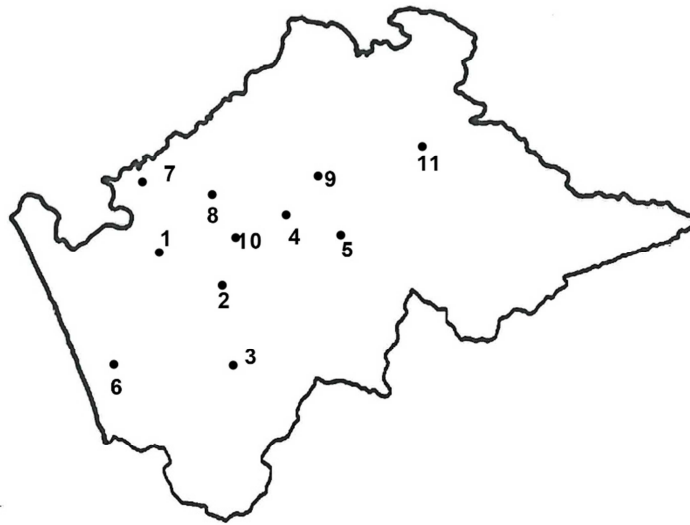


- 1. Nadapuram**
- 2. Valarkkottangadi**
- 3. Edavattathangadi**
- 4. Lokanarkavu**
- 5. Anavathil**
- 6. Puthupattanam**
- 7. Cheenanveedu**
- 8. Vadakara**
- 9. Thazhe Angadi**
- 10. Chombala**

*Not in Scale*

MAP - 6

## Hobalis of Kadathanadu

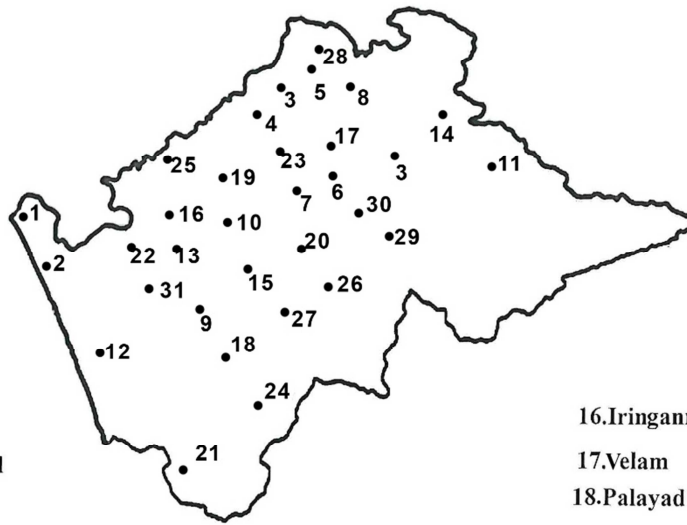


1. Edacheri
2. Ayancheri
3. Palayad
4. Ponmeri
5. Kadameri
6. Vadakara
7. Parakkadavu
8. Iringannur
9. Kuttippuram
10. Vellur
11. Kuttiyadi

*Not in Scale*

MAP - 7

## Amsams of Kadathanadu



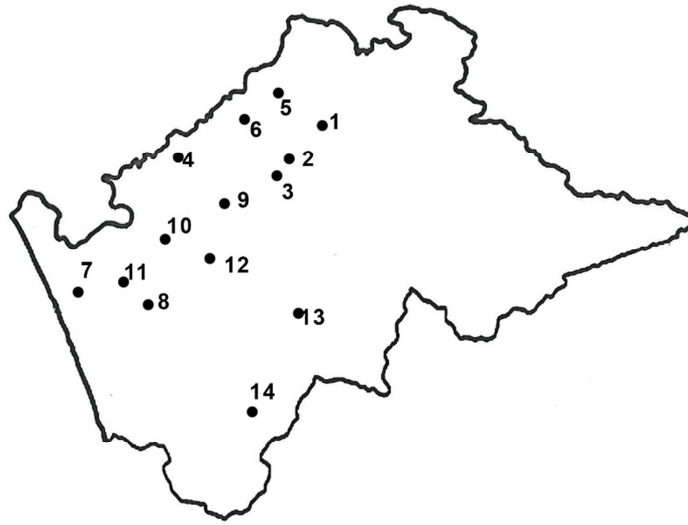
1. Azhiyur
2. Muttungal
3. Valayam
4. Kummankode
5. Velliyad
6. Ponmeri
7. Karthikapalli
8. Kunnummal
9. Arakkilad
10. Purameri
11. Kavilumpara
12. Vadakara
13. Edacheri
14. Kuttiyadi
15. Memunda

16. Iringannur
17. Velam
18. Palayad
19. Thuneri
20. Cherapuram
21. Puthuppanam
22. Vellur
23. Kottappali
24. Maniyur
25. Parakkadavu
26. Thiruvallur
27. Ayancheri
28. Vanimel
29. Kadameri
30. Kuttippuram
31. Eramala

*Not in Scale*

**MAP-8**

**Megalithic Sites of Kadathanadu**

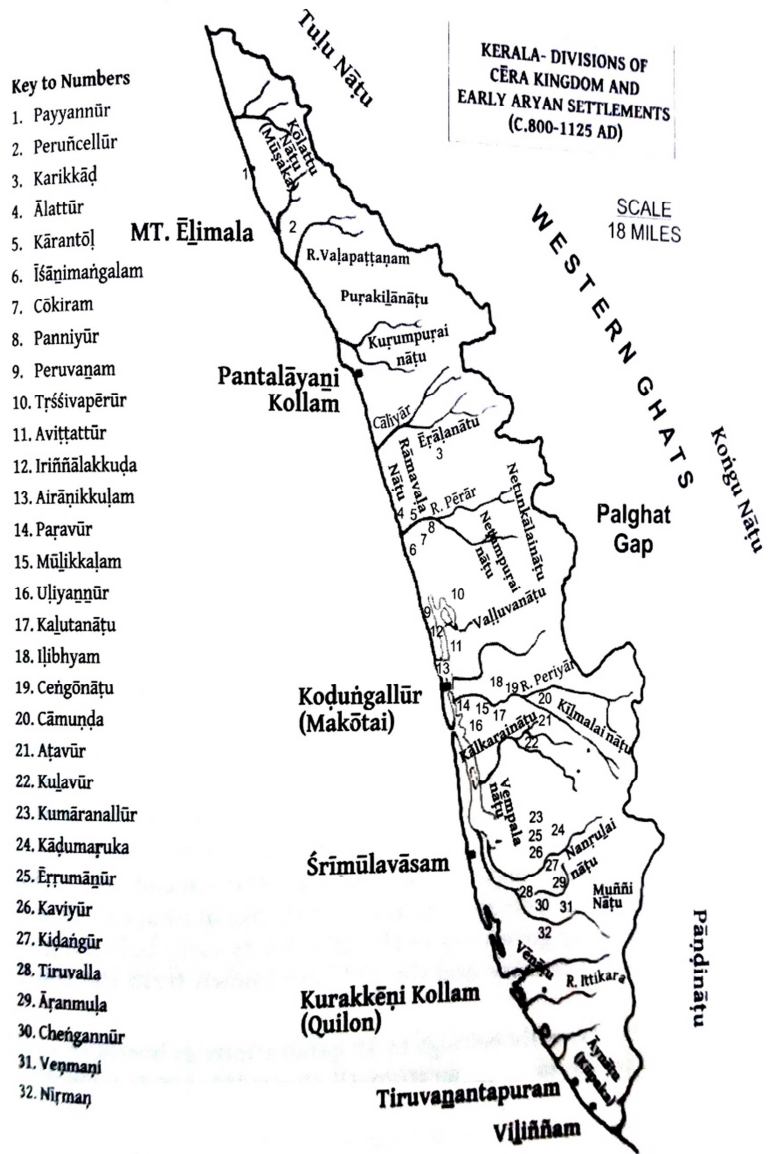


- 1 Varikkoli
- 2 Athiyorakkunnu
- 3 Nadapuram
- 4 Peringattur
- 5 Perumundacheri
- 6 Kuitheri
- 7 Madappalli
- 8 Orkkatteri
- 9 Purameri
- 10 Edacheri
- 11 Chembra
- 12 Mangattupara
- 13 Pathiyarakkara
- 14 Maniyur

*Not in Scale*



MAP - 9



Not in Scale

**MAP -10**

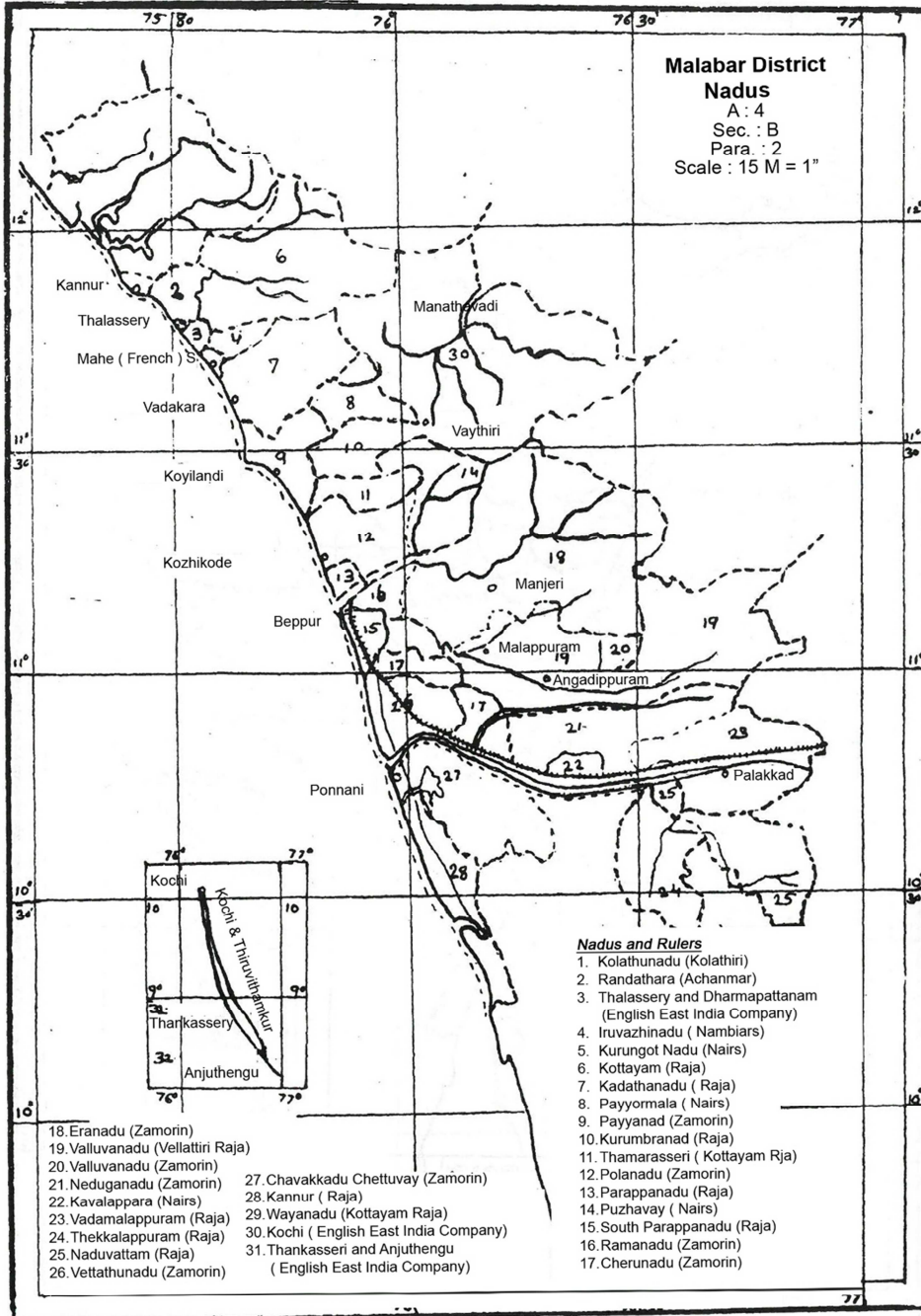
**Worshiping Centres of Kadathanadu Referred in  
Northern Ballads**



- 1. Lokanarkavu Temple**
- 2. Maniyur Bhagavathi Temple**
- 3. Ponmeri Siva Temple**
- 4. Kaliyampalli Bhagavathi Temple**
- 5. Peruvasseri Bhagavathi Temple**
- 6. Pangottur Bhagavathi Temple**

*Not in Scale*

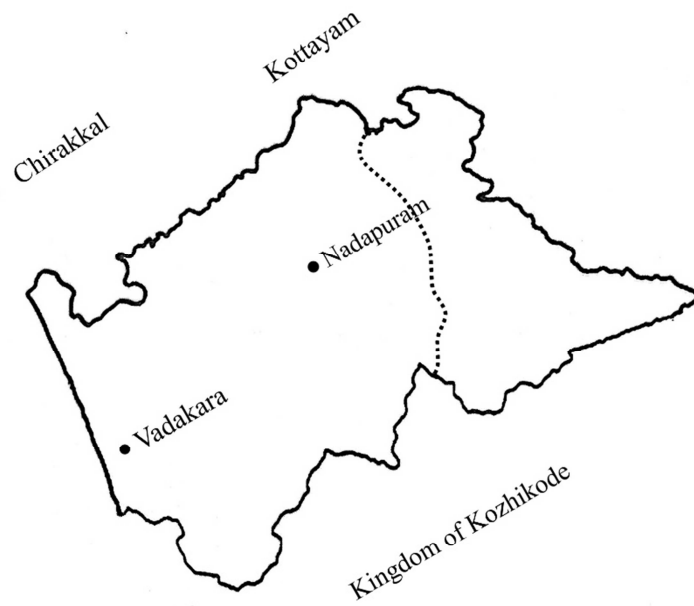
MAP - 11



Not in Scale

MAP - 12

## Political boundaries of Kadathanadu before 1800



*Not in Scale*

## Appendix II

### 146 Desams in Kadathanadu

- |                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Adukkath        | 26. Elayidam        |
| 2. Akkal           | 27. Eramala         |
| 3. Arakkilad       | 28. Erapuram        |
| 4. Arur            | 29. Eyankode        |
| 5. Aryannur        | 30. Eyankode        |
| 6. Athiyur         | 31. Iringannur      |
| 7. Ayancheri       | 32. Jathiyeri       |
| 8. Azhiyur         | 33. Kacheri         |
| 9. Bhumivathukkal  | 34. Kadameri        |
| 10. Chalapram      | 35. Kakkamballi     |
| 11. Chekkiyad      | 36. Kakkattil       |
| 12. Chelakkad      | 37. Kallamala       |
| 13. Chellattapoyil | 38. Kallatta        |
| 14. Chemmarathur   | 39. Kannambathukara |
| 15. Chennamangalam | 40. Kannukkara      |
| 16. Cherandathur   | 41. Karangott       |
| 17. Cherapuram     | 42. Karthikappalli  |
| 18. Cherukunnu     | 43. Karuvancheri    |
| 19. Chikkunnummal  | 44. Kavilumpara     |
| 20. Chiyur         | 45. Kayakkodi       |
| 21. Chombala       | 46. Kayappanachi    |
| 22. Chorode        | 47. Kizhal          |
| 23. Devarkovil     | 48. Kodacheri       |
| 24. Edacheri       | 49. Kottappalli     |
| 25. Elambilavu     | 50. Kottayambram    |

- |                   |                     |
|-------------------|---------------------|
| 51. Kovukkunnu    | 80. Motapilavu      |
| 52. Kuitheri      | 81. Moyilothara     |
| 53. Kummankode    | 82. Mutavantheri    |
| 54. Kummankode    | 83. Muthuvana       |
| 55. Kunigat       | 84. Muthuvatathur   |
| 56. Kunnathukara  | 85. Muttungal       |
| 57. Kunnammakkara | 86. Muyipram        |
| 58. Kunnummal     | 87. Nadakkuthazha   |
| 59. Kurichyakam   | 88. Nadapuram       |
| 60. Kurikkilad    | 89. Narikkatteri    |
| 61. Kurinjaliyod  | 90. Narippatta      |
| 62. Kurunthodi    | 91. Nellacheri      |
| 63. Kuruvantheri  | 92. Nelliyanakara   |
| 64. Kuttipram     | 93. Nidumannur      |
| 65. Kuttoth       | 94. Nittur          |
| 66. Kuttur        | 95. Onchiyam        |
| 67. Kuttur        | 96. Orkkatteri      |
| 68. Madappally    | 97. Palayad         |
| 69. Mambilakkal   | 98. Parakkadavu     |
| 70. Maniyur       | 99. Parakkadavu     |
| 71. Mannur        | 100. Parambil       |
| 72. Mantharathur  | 101. Pathirappatta  |
| 73.               | 102. Pathiyarakkara |
| 74. Maruthomkara  | 103. Payingottayi   |
| 75. Mayannur      | 104. Perode         |
| 76. Meenathukara  | 105. Perumankara    |
| 77. Memunda       | 106. Perumundacheri |
| 78. Meppayil      | 107. Ponmeri        |
| 79. Mokeri        | 108. Puliyavil      |

- |                    |                     |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 109. Purameri      | 129. Valliyad       |
| 110. Puthuppanam   | 130. Vanimel        |
| 111. Rayarangoth   | 131. Varikkoli      |
| 112. Thaliyil      | 132. Varissyakkuni  |
| 113. Thanakkottur  | 133. Vatteth        |
| 114. Thattolikkara | 134. Vattoli        |
| 115. Thinur        | 135. Vayathur       |
| 116. Thirumana     | 136. Vayikkilasseri |
| 117. Thiruvallur   | 137. Velakkottur    |
| 118. Thodannur     | 138. Velam          |
| 119. Thondippoyil  | 139. Vellikulangara |
| 120. Thuneri       | 140. Velliyod       |
| 121. Thuruthi      | 141. Vellukkara     |
| 122. Ummathur      | 142. Vellur         |
| 123. Uralungal     | 143. Vengoli        |
| 124. Urath         | 144. Vevath         |
| 125. Vadakara      | 145. Vilathapuram   |
| 126. Vadakara      | 146. Vilyapalli     |
| 127. Valayam       | 147. Vishnumangalam |
| 128. Valayannur    |                     |



### Appendix III



**Lokanarkavu Temple, Vadakara**

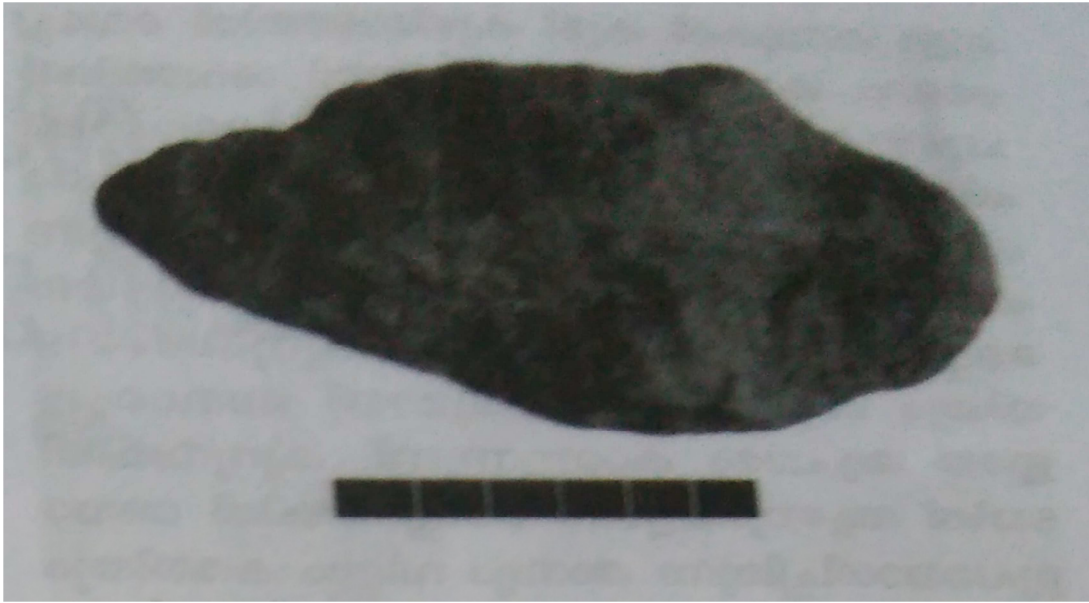


**Mural Painting on Kaliyampalli Bhagavathi Temple**





**Chempra Inscription**

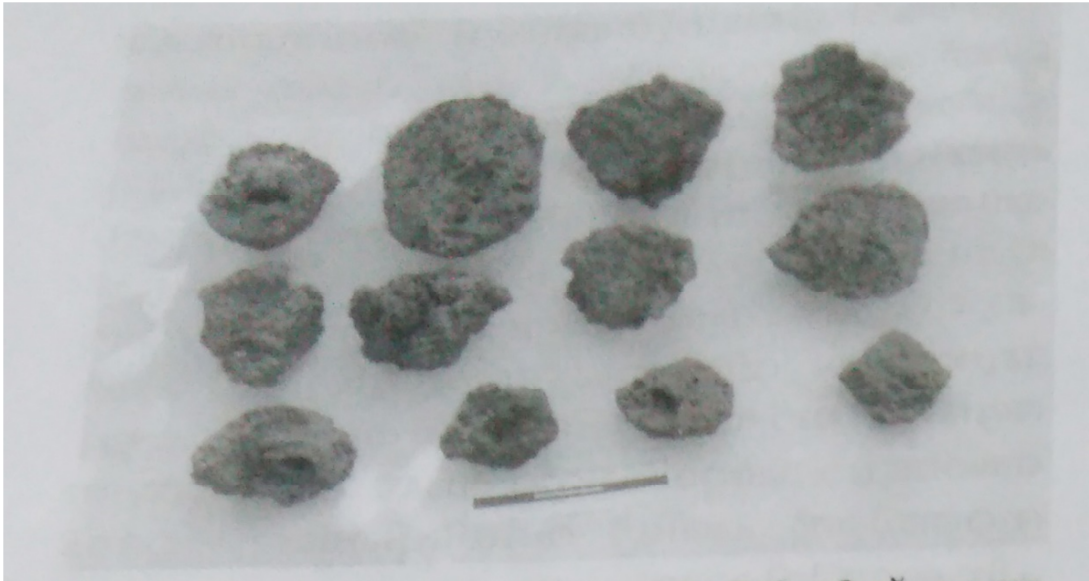


**Allusion Hand Axe discovered from Vanimel River Basin**



**Microlithic Tools Discovered from Kadathanadu**





**Iron Ingots Discovered from Kuytheri**



**Neolithic Stone Tools Preserved in Iringal Museum**



**Eagle Head Shape Escavated from Perumundacheri near Nadapuram**





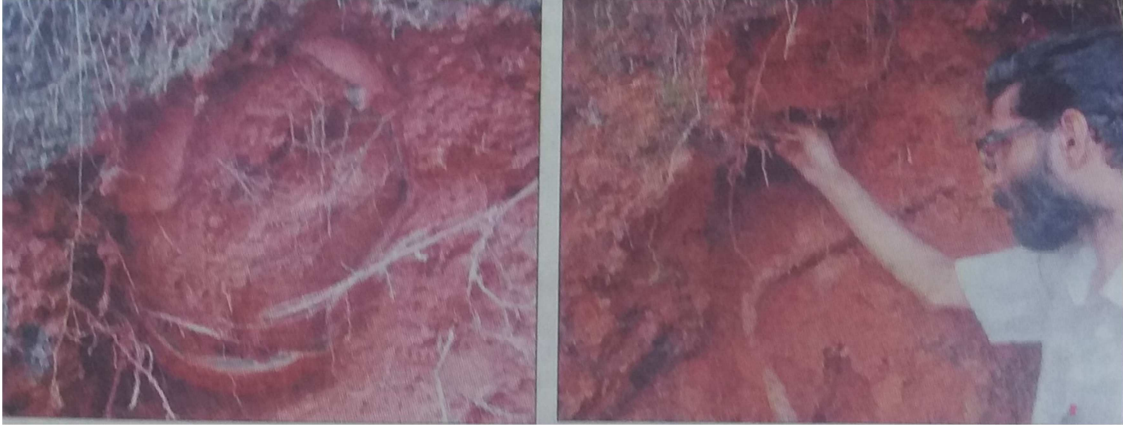
**Rocket Chamber Excavated from Vallathukunnu near Madappally**



**Iron Implements and Potteries Excavated from  
Perumundacheri near Nadapuram**



**Iron Weapon of Megalithic Culture Preserved in Iringal Musuem**



**Urn Burrials Excavated from Varikkoli near Nadapuram**

## **Appendix IV**

### **List of Articles and Papers**

#### **Published**

- Anjana V.K., 'Socio-Political Changes in Kadathanadu: A Study of Kadathanadu Manuscript Letters', *Proceedings of South Indian History Congress*, Calicut, 2018.
- Anjana V.K., 'Markets and Trading Centres in North Malabar: A Study of Northern Ballads', *Proceedings of South Indian History*, Osmania University, 2019.
- Anjana V.K., 'Temple Entry Movement at Lōkanārkāvu', Sateesh Palanki, ed., *Ārām Kerala Caritra Conference Prabandhangaḷ*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2019.

#### **Presented**

- Anjana V.K., 'The Early Life in North Kerala: A Study of Kadathanadu Region, 18<sup>th</sup> Session, Indian History Congress, Kannur University, 2019.
- Anjana V.K., 'Oscillating between the Colonial Master: A Study of Pepper Trade in Kadathanadu', *Proceedings of South Indian History Congress*, 36<sup>th</sup> Annual Session, Pondicherry, 2016.