

HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ERANAD

Thesis
submitted to the University of Calicut
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
award of the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

By

SHANA PARVEEN P. T.

Under the supervision of

Dr. MANMATHAN M. R.
Associate Professor
Department of History
University of Calicut



**PG & Research Department of History
Farook College (Autonomous), Kozhikode**



Affiliated to University of Calicut

2025

SHANA PARVEEN P. T.

Research Scholar

Department of History

Farook College (Autonomous), Kozhikode

Kerala - 673632

DECLARATION

I **SHANA PARVEEN P T** (U.O.No. 14201/2018/Admn), hereby declare that the work presented in the thesis entitled **HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ERANAD** is based on the original work done by me under the guidance of Dr. M R Manmathan, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut and has not been included in any other thesis submitted previously for the award of any degree. The contents of the thesis are undergone plagiarism check using iThenticate software at C.H.M.K Library, University of Calicut and the similarity index found within the permissible limit. I also declare that the thesis is free from AI generated contents.

Place: Farook College

Date: 24/10/2025

Shana

SHANA PARVEEN P. T.

(Research Supervisor)

Dr. MANMATHAN-M. R.

Associate Professor

Department of History, University of Calicut

Calicut University, P.O. - 673 635



Dr. M. R. Manmathan
Associate Professor
Department of History
University of Calicut

CERTIFICATE

I hereby declare that the work presented in the thesis entitled **HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ERANAD** is based on the original work done by **SHANA PARVEEN P. T.** under the guidance of me and has not been included in any other thesis submitted previously for the award of any degree. The contents of the thesis are undergone plagiarism check using iThenticate software at C.H.M.K. Library, University of Calicut, and the similarity index found within the permissible limit. I also declare that the thesis is free from AI generated contents.

Neither of the examiners has recommended any modifications or suggestions, and therefore, the original thesis is submitted as such. The soft copy attached is the same as that of the hard copy submitted.

Place: C U Campus

Date: 24/10/2025



Dr. M. R. Manmathan

Dr. MANMATHAN-M. R.
Associate Professor
Department of History, University of Calicut
Calicut University. P.O. - 673 635




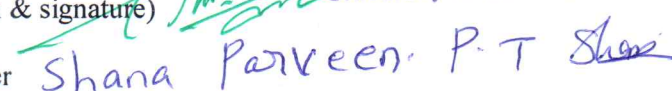



UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
CERTIFICATE ON PLAGIARISM CHECK

| | | | |
|----|--------------------------------|---|--|
| 1. | Name of the Research Scholar | SHANA PARVEEN PT | |
| 2. | Title of thesis / dissertation | Historical Geography of Eranad | |
| 3. | Name of the Supervisor | Dr. M R Manmathan, Associate Professor, Department of History, University of Calicut | |
| 4. | Department/Institution | PG and Research Department of History, Farook College (Autonomous), Kozhikode | |
| 5. | Similar content (%) identified | Non Core | Core |
| | | Introduction/ Theoretical overview/Review of literature/ Materials & Methods/ Methodology | Analysis/Result/Discussion / Summary/Conclusion/ Recommendations |
| | | 6 | 3 |
| | Acceptable maximum limit (%) | 10 | 10 |
| 6. | Software used | iThenticate | |
| 7. | Date of verification | 17.10.2025 | |

*Report on plagiarism check, specifying included/excluded items with % of similarity to be attached.

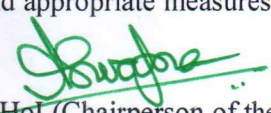
Checked by (with name, designation & signature)  **Dr. Nasirudheen. T**
Assistant Librarian
University of Calicut, Kerala.

Name and signature of the Researcher  **Shana Parveen P.T**

Name and signature of the Supervisor:  **Dr. Manmathan MR**

The Doctoral Committee* has verified the report on plagiarism check with the contents of the thesis, as summarized above and appropriate measures have been taken to ensure originality of the Research accomplished herein.

Name & Signature of the HoD/HoI (Chairperson of the Doctoral Committee)


Dr. Aysha Swapna K.A. (PEN: 469025)
Principal

*In case of languages like Malayalam, Tamil etc. on which no software is available for plagiarism check, a manual check shall be made by the Doctoral Committee, for which an additional certificate has to be attached.

Acknowledgement

For completion of this Ph.D. thesis, I have received the support of several people and institutions. I take this opportunity to extend my sincere gratitude and appreciation to all those ones. First of all, I am extremely grateful to my supervising teacher Dr. M R Manmathan, 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. C A Anas, Head of the Department of History, Farook College for the academic support and facilities provided to carry out the research work at the Department. Dr. T Muhammedali, former Associate Professor and Head 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. Nisar, Dr. Shumais U, Muhammed Shameer and Shreelakshmi for their valuable suggestions. I thank Prof. Muhammed Maheen and K. S. Madhavan, Department of History, University of Calicut and K. P. Rajesh, Assistant Professor, NSS College, Manjeri and K N Ganesh for their suggestions during the time of analysis of data. I must specially thank Unnikrishnan Nambudiri for his during my field work. I also thank Prof. P. Sivadasan, Prof. V. V. Haridas and Prof. Mujeeb Rehiman, faculty members of Department of History, University of Calicut. I especially acknowledge Damodaran Namburippad Pulpatta and Unnikrishnan Nambishan Trippanachi, for providing me good support during field works in Pulpatta and Trippanachi area. The help of the administrative members and priests of the temples like Perumtrikkovil Siva temple, Trikkalyur temple, Pookottur temple, Pulpatta Siva temple, Karikkad temple and Mahavishnu temple at Trippanachi are also thankfully recorded. I also thank the administrative officers and staffs of various local libraries and Panchayaths and village offices for their support in doing field work.

No research in History is possible without the help of Libraries, the centres of learning resources. I take this occasion to express my gratitude to all the Library staff of the Abussabah library and History Department Library of Farook College. I also thank the Library staffs of the C.H.M.K. Library and Department Libraries of History, Folklore, Malayalam and Political Science, University of Calicut. My gratitude is also to the staffs of other libraries and repositories like Appan Thampuram Smaraka Library, Azad Library, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, Vallathol Vidyapeetham and Centre for Islamic Chair, Manachira public library, Manjeri public library, Kondoty public library and Moyinkutty Vaidyar Smaraka library Kondoty etc. for their services. A word of gratitude is also reserved for the staffs of Regional Archives, Kozhikode and Mr. Vargese, retired staff at Archives and Majeed, former archaeologist. Sincere thanks are also extended to every staff of Bina Photostat, Calicut University for setting the thesis.

I also lovingly remembered the helps and supports of my friends Neenu V, Roshna P. P, Febin Sithara, Fathima Thesni, Thahseem, Sabna K, Anumol and Anjana V. K during the different stages of my 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 Niyad V 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 Nysha Eshal and my son Muhammed Nyhan for the warmth and affection during the period of research. A special thanks to my cousins for their encouragement and moral support.

I feel a deep sense of gratitude for my parents, Muhammed Kutty P. T and Nafeesa M. T, 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 too almighty God for granting me the wisdom, health and strength to undertake this research task and enabling me for its completion.

SHANA PARVEEN P T

Content

| | Page No. |
|---|------------------|
| Introduction | 1 – 30 |
| Chapter 1: Eranad: Geography and Environment | 31 – 51 |
| Chapter 2: Agrarian Expansion and Regional Formation | 52 – 119 |
| Chapter 3: Polity: Structure and Evolution | 120 – 195 |
| Chapter 4: Social and Cultural Geography | 196 – 254 |
| Conclusion..... | 255 – 264 |
| Recommendations | 265 – 268 |
| Glossary | 269 – 275 |
| Bibliography | 276 – 311 |
| Appendixes..... | 312 – 340 |

List of Tables

| Table No. | Title | Page No. |
|------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1. | Major hills in Eranad | 45 |
| 2. | Megalithic sites of Eranad | 64 |
| 3. | Agrarian field and crops | 97 |
| 4. | Name of important paddy fields | 100 |
| 5. | <i>Panam</i> paid by Zamorins and other <i>sthanis</i> during their <i>Udavalanakkal</i> ceremony | 153 |
| 6. | Name of <i>Cherikkal</i> lands | 159 |
| 7. | List of Iron ores in Eranad | 206 |

List of Maps

-
- Map 1: Political Boundaries of Eranad
- Map 2: Megalithic Sites of Eranad
- Map 3: Early Medieval Temples in Eranad
- Map 4: Brahmin Settlements in Eranad
- Map 5: Division of Cera Kingdom and Early Aryan Settlement (C.800-1125 AD)
- Map 6: Distribution of Cera Inscription (C.800-1125 AD)
-

Abbreviation

| | | |
|---------|---|--|
| AES | - | Asian Educational Services |
| AN | - | <i>Akanannuru</i> |
| CUP | - | Cambridge University Press |
| ICHR | - | Indian Council for Historical Research |
| IHC | - | Indian History Congress |
| KHC | - | Kerala History Congress |
| KHC | - | Kerala History Conference |
| KIRTADS | - | Kerala Institute for Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Tribes |
| MK | - | <i>Madurai Kanji</i> |
| NBS | - | National Book Stall |
| OUP | - | Oxford University Press |
| PN | - | <i>Puranannuru</i> |
| RAC | - | Regional Archives Calicut |
| SHC | - | South Indian History Congress |
| SPCS | - | Sahitya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society |
| TAS | - | Travancore Archeological Series |

Abstract

History and geography are more closely connected. History is concerned with the past of people, who occupy geographical space. Many historical events have geographical linkages. Geographical factors have impacts on history. Every historical event has taken place in or at a geographical location. The formation of a region depends upon geographical and cultural forms. The present study entitled 'Historical Geography of Eranad' is an attempt to study the process of the evolution of Eranad from the Iron Age early historic period to the medieval period.

Historical geography is the geographic study of a place or region at a specific time or period in the past or the study of geographic change in a place or region over a period of time. Land and landscapes are key concept in historical geography. Historical geography remained a relatively undeveloped field of study until the 17th century, when Philipp Cluser, the German geographer, considered the founder of historical geography, published *A Historical Geography of Germany*, combining knowledge of the classics with knowledge of land. The geo-historical study centered on the region's history, geography, religion, agriculture, technology and intellectual climate. We can see the examples of regional studies in Indian context, south Indian context and also Kerala. So the regional formation in Kerala has been connected with the formation of *nadus*. So, the present study tries to understand the process of the formation of Eranad.

Eranad is the largest and most typical *nadu* or province in the erstwhile Malabar district of Madras presidency. The area comes under the major portions of present Malappuram and some portions of the Kozhikode district of Kerala state. Geographically, Eranad is situated on both sides of the River Chaliyar and adjacent to Walluvanadu. The present study explores the varied aspects of the historical geography of Eranad. It covers natural and environmental, political, social, anthropological, cultural and economic geography and so on – in brief how various

factors together moulded the geo-cultural and socio-political entity of the region, which in turn imparted an identity and uniqueness to the *nadu*. We have a few studies on the formation of the *nadus* of Kerala in general, and certainly several works on the Zamorins, but a micro-study on the historical geography of Eranad has not been undertaken yet.

The main objectives of the present study is to analyse the relation between man and the environment in the region, to know the concept of human and environmental geography from a historical perspective, to understand the relationship between the landscape and ecosystem of Eranad, to analyse the process of the evolution of Eranad from early historic times to the medieval period, to analyse the historical formation of Eranad as an agrarian settlement, to an economic zone and a *nadu* identity and to analyse the role of the factors including geographical, cultural, economic and political in the formation of Eranad etc. This work is using the tools provided by historical and human geography.

Keywords:- Historical Geography, Spatial History, Annals, Eranad, Zamorins

സംഗ്രഹം

ചരിത്രവും ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രവും കൂടുതൽ ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായ ഒരു ഇടം കൈവശപ്പെടുത്തിയിരിക്കുന്ന ആളുകളുടെ ഭൂതകാലവുമായി ചരിത്രം ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. പല ചരിത്രസംഭവങ്ങൾക്കും ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായ ബന്ധങ്ങളുണ്ട്. അതുപോലെത്തന്നെ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായ ഘടകങ്ങൾ ചരിത്രത്തെ സ്വാധീനിക്കുന്നു. എല്ലാ ചരിത്രസംഭവങ്ങളും ഒരു ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായ സ്ഥലത്താണ് നടന്നിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഒരു പ്രദേശത്തിന്റെ രൂപീകരണം ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരവും സാംസ്കാരികവുമായ രൂപങ്ങളെ ആശ്രയിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഇരുമ്പ് യുഗത്തിന്റെ ആദ്യകാല ചരിത്രകാലഘട്ടം മുതൽ മധ്യകാലഘട്ടം വരെയുള്ള ഏറനാടിന്റെ പരിണാമ പ്രക്രിയകളെക്കുറിച്ച് പഠിക്കുവാനുള്ള ഒരു ശ്രമമാണ് 'ഏറനാടിന്റെ ചരിത്ര ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രം' എന്ന ഈ പഠനം.

ഒരു പ്രത്യേക കാലഘട്ടത്തിലെ ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തെയോ പ്രദേശത്തെയോ കുറിച്ചുള്ള ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായ പഠനമോ ഒരു നിശ്ചിത കാലയളവിൽ ഒരു സ്ഥലത്തോ പ്രദേശത്തോ ഉണ്ടായ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായ മാറ്റങ്ങളെ കുറിച്ചുള്ള പഠനമോയാണ് ചരിത്ര ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രം. ചരിത്ര ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രത്തിൽ ഭൂമിയും ഭൂപ്രകൃതിയും ഒരു പ്രധാന ആശയമാണ്. പതിനേഴാം നൂറ്റാണ്ട് വരെ ചരിത്ര ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രം താരതമ്യേന നിരസിക്കാത്ത ഒരു പഠന മേഖലയായി തുടർന്നു. ചരിത്ര ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രത്തിന്റെ സ്ഥാപകനായി കണക്കാക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ജർമ്മൻ ശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞനായ ഫിലിപ്പ് ക്ലൂസർ, ക്ലാസിക്കുകളെ കുറിച്ചുള്ള അറിവും ഭൂമിയെ കുറിച്ചുള്ള അറിവും സംയോജിപ്പിച്ച് *എ ഹിസ്റ്റോറിക്കൽ ജിയോഗ്രഫി ഓഫ് ജർമ്മനി* (ജർമ്മനിയുടെ ചരിത്ര ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രം) പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ചു. പ്രദേശത്തിന്റെ ചരിത്രം, ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രം, മതം, കൃഷി, സാങ്കേതികവിദ്യ, കാലാവസ്ഥ എന്നിവയെ കേന്ദ്രീകരിച്ചാണ് ഭൗമചരിത്രപഠനം നിലനിൽക്കുന്നത്. ഇന്ത്യൻ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിലും ദക്ഷിണേന്ത്യൻ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിലും കേരളത്തിലും പ്രാദേശിക പഠനങ്ങളുടെ ഉദാഹരണങ്ങൾ നമുക്ക് കാണാൻ കഴിയും. കേരളത്തിലെ പ്രാദേശിക രൂപീകരണം നാടുകളുടെ രൂപീകരണവുമായി ബന്ധപ്പെട്ടിരിക്കുന്നു. അതിനാൽത്തന്നെ ഏറനാടിന്റെ രൂപീകരണ പ്രക്രിയ മനസ്സിലാക്കാൻ ഈ പഠനം നമ്മെ സഹായിക്കുന്നു.

മദ്രാസ് പ്രസിഡൻസിയുടെ ഭാഗമായിരുന്ന പഴയ മലബാർ ജില്ലയിലെ ഒരു വലിയ നാട്ടുപ്രവിശ്യയാണ് ഏറനാട്. ഇന്നത്തെ കേരള സംസ്ഥാനത്തിലെ മലപ്പുറം ജില്ലയുടെ പ്രധാന ഭാഗങ്ങളും കോഴിക്കോട് ജില്ലയുടെ ചില ഭാഗങ്ങളും ചേർന്നതായിരുന്നു ഈ പ്രദേശം. ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരമായി ചാലിയാർ നദിയുടെ ഇരുകരകളിലുമായി വളുവനാടിനോട് ചേർന്നാണ് ഏറനാട് സ്ഥിതി ചെയ്തിരുന്നത്. ഏറനാടിന്റെ ചരിത്രപരമായ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രത്തിന്റെ വൈവിധ്യമാർന്ന വശങ്ങൾ ഈ പഠനം പരിശോധിക്കുന്നു. അതായത് പ്രകൃതി, പാരിസ്ഥിതിക, രാഷ്ട്രീയ, സാമൂഹിക, നരവംശശാസ്ത്ര, സംസ്കാരിക, സാമ്പത്തിക, ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രമേഖലകൾ ഇതിൽ ഉൾക്കൊള്ളുന്നു. വിവിധ ഘടകങ്ങൾ ഒരുമിച്ച് ഈ പ്രദേശത്തിന്റെ ഭൗമ-സാംസ്കാരിക, സാമൂഹിക, രാഷ്ട്രീയ അസ്ഥിത്വത്തെ എങ്ങനെ രൂപപ്പെടുത്തി?, അത് ഈ നാടിന് എങ്ങനെ ഒരു ഐഡൻറിറ്റിയും അതുല്യതയും നൽകി എന്നതാണ് ഈ പഠനം പ്രധാനമായും അന്വേഷിക്കുന്നത്. കേരളത്തിലെ നാടുകളുടെ രൂപീകരണത്തെക്കുറിച്ച് നമുക്ക് ചില പഠനങ്ങൾ കാണാൻ കഴിയും. തീർച്ചയായും സാമൂതിരിമാരെ കുറിച്ചുള്ള നിരവധി പഠനങ്ങളും നിലനിൽക്കുന്നു. എന്നാൽ ഏറനാടിന്റെ

ചരിത്രപരമായ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രത്തെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള ഒരു സൂക്ഷ്മ പഠനം ഇതുവരെ നടത്തിയിട്ടില്ല എന്നുള്ളതാണ് ഈ പഠനത്തിന്റെ പ്രസക്തി വർദ്ധിപ്പിക്കുന്നത്.

ഏറനാട്ടിലെ മനുഷ്യരും പരിസ്ഥിതിയും തമ്മിലുള്ള ബന്ധം വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുക, മനുഷ്യന്റെയും പാരിസ്ഥിതിക ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രത്തിന്റെയും ആശയം ചരിത്രപരമായ വീക്ഷണ കോണിൽ നിന്നും മനസ്സിലാക്കുക, ഏറനാടിന്റെ ഭൂപ്രകൃതിയും ആവാസവ്യവസ്ഥയും തമ്മിലുള്ള ബന്ധം മനസ്സിലാക്കുക, ആദ്യകാല ചരിത്ര കാലം മുതൽ മധ്യകാലഘട്ടം വരെയുള്ള ഏറനാടിന്റെ പരിണാമ പ്രക്രിയ വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുക, ഏറനാടിന്റെ രൂപീകരണത്തിൽ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രപരം, സാംസ്കാരികം, രാഷ്ട്രീയം, സാമ്പത്തികം തുടങ്ങിയ ഘടകങ്ങളുടെ പങ്ക് വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുക എന്നിവയാണ് ഈ പഠനത്തിന്റെ പ്രധാന ലക്ഷ്യങ്ങൾ.

പ്രധാനവാക്കുകൾ:- ചരിത്രപരമായ ഭൂമിശാസ്ത്രം, സ്പെഷ്യൽ ചരിത്രം, അനൽസ്, ഏറനാട്, സാമൂതിരി

INTRODUCTION

History and geography are closely connected. History is concerned with the past of people who occupy geographical space. Geography, which studies such space is divided in to two parts; one is physical geography, which studies the configuration of the earth's surface, water, land, vegetation, animal life and the climate. The second, human or cultural geography has such branches as demographic geography (distribution of the population over territory), political geography (distribution of territory among states) and economic geography (distribution of natural resources and land utilization, trade and transport lines etc.).

Many historical events have geographical linkages. Geographical factors have impacts on history. Every historical event has taken place in or at a geographical location. While studying geographically, especially human geography, need to refer to the past to understand temporal changes. This is to compare the past with the present and to understand the changing interaction between human societies and nature. The development of region is based upon cultural and geographical forms. The current study titled **Historical Geography of Eranad** is an attempt to study the process of the evolution of the region of Eranad from the Iron Age historic period to medieval period.

The formation of region depends on the environment including the nature of the topography, resources, availability of water, and production pattern. Each region gets formed into a settlement unit through a long historical process. But a common pattern cannot be ascribed to the origin, formation and transition of a region. A close relationship between history and geography has long been recognized. According to Heylyn "as geography without history has life and motion, but a random and unstable:

so history without geography like a dead carcasses hath neither life nor more motion at all”.¹

The concept of linking history with spatial understanding is common in disciplines like geography, anthropology, history and sociology. So the spatial history mainly refers to the study of historical events, places and processes through the lens of geography and space. It also focused on how space- whether physical, social and cultural shapes the historical narratives and how historical events are connected to the geographical context. This approach can reveal how human activities have transformed landscapes over time and how geography influence societal developments. Many scholars reveals how specific locations or physical space of a place contribute to the shaping of history and vice versa. The study of ‘space’ and ‘place’ can include in the analyzing of landscapes. The important work about to understand the spatial history is by Susanne Rao (University of Erfurt) entitled *History, Space and Place*.² She mainly focuses on how physical environment, historical process and social contexts intersect to shape the lived experiences of individuals and communities. She also examines how space and place are not just physical or geographical constructs, but also deeply tied to identity, power relations and cultural narratives.

Another work is wrote by the scholars like Riccardo Bavaj, Konrad Lawson and Bernhard Struck titled as *Doing Spatial History*.³ According to them spatial history involves with the practice of territorialization, the picturing of borders and making of infrastructures. It discussed spaces both as created by and as organizing social relations and interaction of human being. It can require the use of computational method incorporated by historical geographic information systems for the aim of

¹ R.D. Dikshit, *Geographical Thought A Contextual History of Ideas*, PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2018, p. 205.

² Susanne Rao, *History, Space and Place*, Routledge, New York, 2019.

³ Riccardo Bavaj, Konrad Lawson and Bernhard Struck, *Doing Spatial History*, Routledge, New York, 2022.

producing of new visions as well as new questions. They opined that it was formed mainly by historical geographers and historians concentrated on environment.

*The Routledge Companion to Spatial History*⁴ wrote by scholars like Ian Gregory, Don Debats and Don Lafreniere. It concentrates on the development and application of spatial history. They opined that this field merges historical analysis with spatial thinking, utilizing geographical concepts and tools like GIS (geographic information system) to understand historical events, trends and patterns in a more spatially informed way. This work also try to bring various theoretical framework and practical methods for integrating spatial data in to historical research. It added the contributions from scholars, that includes how spatial analysis can reveal new insights into historical phenomena, as well as the ways in which history is shaped by space and place.

We can say that geography is the oldest discipline of knowledge, because the urge to unlock the mysteries of nature has been there since the evolution of man, where human civilization became a part of geography and it came to be known as human geography. It is simply the study of how people interact with the environment, the distribution of populations and the cultural, economic and social processes that shape human societies. It examines the relationship between humans and the spaces they inhabit, including topics like migration, urbanization, language and the impacts of human activity on the environment. Since, the interaction between man and environment begin, human geography originated.⁵ It also deals with the study of people, communities, economics, cultures and their interaction with environment by studying their relations. That shows landforms, climate, temperature, soils, rainfalls, vegetation, flora and fauna etc. are discussed under human geography.⁶ Before knowing the subject matter of human geography, it is necessary to understand what

⁴ Ian Gregory, Don Debats and Don Lafreniere, *The Routledge Companion to Spatial History*, Routledge, New York, 2018.

⁵ Rohit Manglik, *Human Geography*, Edu Gorilla Prep Experts, Lucknow, 2024, p. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

kind of study is human geography and why it is studied. So the area of this subject can be divided in to six parts:-

- a. Population
- b. Natural resources
- c. Cultural landscape
- d. Human and environment adjustment
- e. Economic, social and cultural relations of different regions
- f. Study of the era of development by time.⁷

Carl Sauer is the major figure in the field of human geography. His work is entitled as *Geography of Cultural Landscape* (1938).⁸ This work introduced the idea of cultural landscape, which refers to the idea that landscapes are shaped by human activity and cultural practices over time. Unlike other geographers, Sauer emphasized the role of human agency in modifying and interacting with the environment.

Next important one is *Human Geography*⁹ by Majid Husain. This work is regarded for its depth explanation of the relationship between humans and their environment, both in terms of the physical world and the social, economic and cultural systems that humans create and interact with. His work also includes the different topics like population geography, urbanization, economic geography and cultural landscapes. His work played a crucial role in understanding environment issues and sustainability in human geography. So we can say that his work remains as an important contribution in the field of human geography, mainly for its understanding of relationship between people and places.

Another important one is *Introduction to Human Geography*¹⁰ by David Dorell and Joseph P. Henderson. This work made a comprehensive exploration of the

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁸ Carl Sauer, *Geography of Cultural Landscape*, Louisiana State University, Louisiana, 1938.

⁹ Majid Husain, *Human Geography*, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2018.

¹⁰ David Dorell and Joseph P. Henderson (eds.), *Introduction to Human Geography*, University of North Georgia, Georgia, 2018.

relationship between humans and their environment. It is significant, because it provides insights in to the complex interactions between social, economic and environmental factors. Their work is instrumental in developing a deeper understanding of how geography influences human behavior and how in turn human activity reshapes geographical spaces. According to them human geography as a field, that studies how human culture, society, economy and political systems are distributed across the planet and how they influence the physical environment.

Next one is by Andrew Jones titled as *Human Geography: The Basics*.¹¹ According to him human geography is very wide subject in the case of analysis of topics, but one considered by a very distinctive importance on the nature and space. It covers the subjects like relationship between people and the environment, spatial patterns and human activities.

Therefore we can say that human geography covers several fields of study: population, population distribution, division of mankind, ethnic groups, political groups, cultural differences, settlements, resources, minerals and manufacturing, transport, towns and cities etc. It shows that historical geography also included the elements of the idea of human geography.¹²

Historical Geography

Historical geography refers to the study of geography of a place or region during a particular period in the past or the examination of how the geography of that area has changed over time. Land and landscapes are key concept in historical geography and in geography in general, both terms connoting the material worlds on which and in which we live and make life.¹³ The writings of Herodotus (5th century BCE), notably his explanation of the formation of Nile river delta represent one of the earliest examples of what is now termed as historical geography. Historical geography,

¹¹ Andrew Jones, *Human Geography: The Basics*, Routledge, USA, 2012.

¹² Dr. S.K. Shelar, *An Introduction to Geography*, Gaurav Books, Mumbai, 2016, p. 23.

¹³ Mona Domes, Michael Heffernan and Charles W.J. Withers (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Historical Geography*, Vol. 1, Sage Publishers, New Delhi, 2020, p. 121.

understood as the study of past landscapes, remained undeveloped area until 17th century, when the German geographer Philipp Cluser- often regarded as founder of historical geography, published *A Historical Geography of Germany*, integrating classical knowledge with insights about the land. In historical studies, regions have been referred to as fragments of whole or as part of macro history.

Historical geography studies the different varieties of problems and topics. Several historical geographers mentions geographical patterns through time consisting of how people have related with their environment and formed the cultural landscape.¹⁴ In the course of the discussion on aims and methods of historical geography, D.M. Smith (1965)¹⁵ listed four different approaches to the study of historical geography. These are:-

1. The process of the geographical factor in history
2. Cultural landscape development
3. Past geographies restoration
4. The learning of geographical change through time

Historical geography includes the domains of both history and geography. First of all, it reconstructs the geographies of the past. Secondly, it studies how geographical features have formed the context of historical events or processes. It was only in second half of the nineteenth century that historical geography was considered as a division of historical study, refers to the connection between events and their locations during a specific time period or the geography of the past era and how geographical factors have influenced historical developments.¹⁶ Geography and history offer distinct perspectives on the world, yet they are so closely connected that neither can be fully understood without considering other. It is opined that historians

¹⁴ Guru Saran Das, *Handbook of Geography*, Book Enclave, Jaipur, 2015, pp. 24-25.

¹⁵ R.J. Johnston, D. Gregory, P. Haggett, D.M. Smith and D.R. Stoddart (eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1965, pp. 122-123.

¹⁶ Majid Hussain, *Evolution of Geographical Thought*, Rawat Publishers, New Delhi, 2001, p. 292.

concentrated on human in past periods, but historical geographers mainly on region in past periods.¹⁷

According to Mitchel, 'Historical geography is in simple terms, the simply geographical examination of any past era where human activities follow a somewhat organized and dated sequence'.¹⁸ To S. Courville, historical geography is not a distinct discipline or a branch of another, but rather an interdisciplinary field that draws on the concepts, terminology and methods of both history and geography.¹⁹ In the 1960's geographers such as David Harvey (1967) began to focus on spatial transformations over time. He aimed to establish a shared interdisciplinary foundation between history and geography, exploring how to meaningfully connect temporal and spatial dimensions and how to measure and analyze changes across both time and space.²⁰

E.W. Gilbert argued that the term 'Historical Geography' could carry at least five distinct meanings, including the history of shifting political frontiers, the history of geographical discoveries and explorations, the developments of geographical thought and techniques and the examination of how the physical environment has impacted historical events.²¹ To him, the historical geographers must detail the human settlement, migration and land use within a specific region and time period.²²

The next expert in the field of historical geography is Darby. He saw historical geography as one of the pillars of geography, because he argued that it was based on

¹⁷ Alen R.H. Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2003, pp. 201-08.

¹⁸ J.B. Mitchel, *Historical Geography*, Hodder Arnold H & S, London, 1954, p. 216.

¹⁹ A.R.H. Baker, *Op. cit.*, p. 318.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

²¹ E.W. Gilbert, *What is Historical Geography*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999, pp. 129-130.

²² Dileep K. Chakrabarti (ed.), *Archaeological Geography of the Ganga Plain – the Lower and Middle Ganga*, Permanent black, New Delhi, 2001, p . 36.

the study of landscape.²³ He recognized four approaches to historical geography.²⁴ David Harvey, another exponent in the field of historical geography, highlighted that the ideas of time and space are constantly debated and form an integral part of social transformation.²⁵ His exploration of the historical geography of time and space revealed that their social construction is fundamentally shaped by the mode of production and the nature of its social relationship.

*A Historical Geography of Europe 450 BC-1330*²⁶ by N.J.G. Pounds is one among this field. This work originated as a collection of pictures of Europe at different points in its history and each connected to the next through historical narratives. W. Gondon East in his work *An Historical Geography of Europe*²⁷ stated that the historical geography of Europe reflects its human geography at various stages of its civilization. This human geography, in turn, represents how societies have shaped and adjusted the landscape to suit their needs.

The Annals historical writing opened new phases in editing historical writing all over the world. They made a rapture in the traditional historical writing with the beginning of the historical journal '*Annales De History Economique Social*' (*Annales* in short) by Marc Bloch and Lucian Febvre. It is a departure from political history to economic and social history. It's another aim was an interdisciplinary approach and it emphasized critical, comprehensive and total analysis of empirical data to uncover the deep structure of human action and its effect on the physical environment.

²³ H.C. Darby (ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England Before 1600*, Cambridge University Press, U K, 1976.

²⁴ H.C. Darby, *The Theory and Practice of Geography*, University Press of Liverpool, U K, 1947, pp. 426-432.

²⁵ Don Mitchell, *Cultural Geography a Critical Introduction*, Wiley Blackwell Publishers, U S, 2000, p. 116.

²⁶ N.J.G. Pounds, *A Historical Geography of Europe 450 BC-1330*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2009.

²⁷ W. Gondon East, *An Historical Geography of Europe*, Palala Press, New Delhi, 2015.

We can see the shift in the geographical approach to history is extended and enhanced under Fernand Braudel.²⁸ He has advanced the concept of geological time to historicize the interactions of human and nature His work *Mediterranean and Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* stands as a best example of the concept of total history. It is the complete history of Europe during the period of Philip II and the total history of the entire society. The Mediterranean Sea is the centre of the book and it is written as geo-history, taking into consideration of geography and space in shaping historical events. Braudel has explained how the physical environment and demographic situation have acted upon the social formation process during pre-modern society. Inspired by the concept of Annals, numerous historical works began to emerge globally, leading to a growing emphasis on micro-level historical studies, even as macro level studies continued. W.H.G. Hoskin's *The Making of the English Landscapes*²⁹ was the best example of such studies.

Under the direction of Braudel, the Annals school gained worldwide recognition for introducing a new approach to history. It shifted the focus from prominent leaders to everyday people and moved beyond traditional subjects like politics, diplomacy and warfare to explore topics such as climate, population, farming, trade, technology, transport, communication, social structure and mentalities. The goal was to create a comprehensive history that made extensive use of quantities of data and produced detailed micro-level studies of villages and regions.

When we analyze the Indian context, this form of regional historical writing was emerged as a part of nationalist historiography.³⁰ However, all these studies focused primarily on the political development of the region, overlooking other contributing factors. But we can trace the geographical references from Vedic

²⁸ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Harper Row, New York, 1972.

²⁹ W.H.G. Hoskins, *The Making of the English Landscapes*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1955.

³⁰ Romila Thapar, 'Regional History: The Punjab', in Romila Thaper (ed.), *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Medieval Indian History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2015 (2000). p. 96.

literature onwards, the description of *Saptasindhu* and *Aryavartha* etc. We can also find the theory of geography behind history in the writings of R.S. Sharma³¹ and D.D. Kosambi.³² The pioneer work in this line may be made by Cunningham entitled as *Geography of Ancient India*.³³ He was followed by several others. H.M. Saxena, an expert in the field of historical geography in India, linked the study of trade routes with the discipline of historical geography. According to Saxena, 'the economic development is a long term and a continuous process. It is a result of geographical and historical factors.'³⁴

Other writers also contributed to the field of historical geography in India. For examples, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*³⁵ by B.C. Law, *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*³⁶ by M.S. Pandey, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*³⁷ by Dilip Kumar Ganguly, *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Medieval Bengal*³⁸ by Amitabha Bhattacharya, *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh from Early Records*³⁹ by Pranab Kumar Bhattacharya, *Historical Geography and Topography of Andhra Pradesh*⁴⁰ by S.J. Mangalam etc. All of them concentrate the geographical factor behind history in their area of study. We can also trace the geographical information from K.M. Panikkar's work

³¹ R.S. Sharma, *India's Ancient Past*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006.

³² D.D. Kosambi, *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, New Delhi, 1996.

³³ Alexander Cunningham, *Geography of Ancient India*, Trubner and Co, London, 1871.

³⁴ H.M. Saxena, 'Trade Centres and Trade Routes in Medieval Rajasthan', in Irfan Habib and V.K. Thakur (eds.), *A People's History of India- The Vedic Age*, Thulika Books, New Delhi, 2003, p. 32-35,

³⁵ B.C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Gyan Publishing House, India, 1954.

³⁶ M.S. Pandey, *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1963.

³⁷ Dilip Kumar Ganguly, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, Punthi Pustak, New Delhi, 1975.

³⁸ Amitabha Bhattacharya, *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Medieval Bengal*, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, New Delhi, 1977.

³⁹ Pranab Kumar Bhattacharya, *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh From Early Records*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 2010.

⁴⁰ S.J. Mangalam, *Historical Geography and Topography of Andhra Pradesh*, Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 1986.

Geographical Factors in Indian History.⁴¹ To him, geography forms the enduring foundation of a nation's history and can be considered one of the key elements shaping the historical developments of people.

Region-wise studies were getting an important space among South Indian scholars in the second half of the 20th century. For examples, *A History of South India*⁴² by K.A. Neelakanta Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom*⁴³ by K.A. Neelakanta Sastri, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*⁴⁴ by Y. Subbarayalu, *The Making of Southern Karnataka: Society, Polity and Culture in the Early Medieval Period 400 – 1030*⁴⁵ by Malini Adiga, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*⁴⁶ by S. Krishna Swami Ayyengar, *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas of Kanchi*⁴⁷ by C. Meenakshi and *Tamil Country Under Vijayanagar* by A. Krishnaswami etc.⁴⁸ They also trace to reveal the political history of the region and to show the achievements and administrative measures of the kings and kingdoms of the region.

Regional historical writings were developed in Kerala during the 1990s. In the context of Kerala, *Sandesa Kavyas* like *Koka Sandesa* and *Suka Sandesa*⁴⁹ etc. are earliest example for the study of the historical geography of the region. Elamkulam

⁴¹ K.M. Panikkar, *Geographical Factors in Indian History*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1955.

⁴² K.A. Neelakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1966 (1955).

⁴³ K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Pandyan Kingdom*, Oxford University Press, London, 1929.

⁴⁴ Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, 1973.

⁴⁵ Malini Adiga, *The Making of Southern Karnataka Society, Polity, and Culture in the Early Medieval Period AD 400-1030*, Orient Longman, Chennai, 2006 (2005).

⁴⁶ S. Krishna Swami Ayyengar, *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1921.

⁴⁷ C. Minakshi, *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas of Kanchi*, University of Madras, Madras, 1938.

⁴⁸ A. Krishnaswami, *The Tamil Country Under Vijayanagar*, Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu, 1964.

⁴⁹ Kodungallur Kunjikuttan Tampuran, *Rantu Sandesangal: Sukasandesavum Kokasandesavum*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

P.N. Kunjan Pillai,⁵⁰ A. Shreedhara Menon⁵¹ and K.P. Padmanabha Menon⁵² was conducted the earliest studies about Kerala. Then we can see the stage of emergence of micro or local histories in Kerala. The socio-political histories of Kerala with various dimension can be seen in the works of Pachumuthath,⁵³ Shangoony Menon,⁵⁴ K.V. Krishna Ayyar,⁵⁵ M.G.S. Narayanan,⁵⁶ Kesavan Veluthat,⁵⁷ Rajan Gurukkal⁵⁸ and M.R. Raghava Varrier⁵⁹ and K.N. Ganesh⁶⁰ etc.

With the support of the Kerala government, numerous *Panchayats*, *taluks* and educational institutes was started to documenting the historical development of their local areas. So it helps the development of micro-level or local histories in the academic and non-academic sectors of Kerala. Such studies have been attempted to understand the importance of historical and human geographical perspectives for micro-regional studies. *Vaniyamkulam Panchayat Viknjaniyam*⁶¹ and *Locality and*

⁵⁰ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1970.

⁵¹ A. Shreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1967.

⁵² K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. 1, II, III and IV, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003 (1929).

⁵³ Pachumuthath, *Tiruvitamkur Charithram*, Prathiba Publishers, Kochi, 1867.

⁵⁴ P. Shangoony Menon, *History of Travancore*, The State Institute of Languages, Kerala, 1878.

⁵⁵ K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *Zamorins of Calicut*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 1999 (1938).

⁵⁶ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala: Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013 (1990).

⁵⁷ Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahmin Settlement in Kerala: Historical Studies*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013.

⁵⁸ Rajan Gurukkal, *The Kerala Temple and the Early Medieval Agrarian System*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1992.

⁵⁹ Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *Kerala Charithram*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1991; Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *Cultural History of Kerala*, Department of Cultural Publications, Trivandrum, 1999.

⁶⁰ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1990.

⁶¹ *Vaniyam Kulam Panjayath Vinjaaneeyam*, Vaniyamkulam Panjayath, Ottappalam Taluk, Palakkad District, Kerala Council for Historical Research, Thiruvananthapuram, 2001.

*Culture in the Case of Thirurangadi*⁶² by K.N. Ganesh etc. are the finest examples of it.

Most of these earlier studies try to understand the political history of the region and keep a distance from the process of social formation. The regional formation in Kerala has been connected with the formation of *nadus*. So, the present work tries to understand the process of the formation of Eranad.

The Region of Eranad

Eranad is the largest and most typical *nadu* in pre-modern Kerala. The area comes under the major portions of present Malappuram and some portions of the Kozhikode district of the Kerala state. Geographically, Eranad is situated on both sides of the River Chaliyar and adjacent to Walluvanad. It is bound on the north by the Kozhikode and Wayanad districts, Nilagiri in the east, by Perintalmanna and Ponnani *taluks* in the south and the Arabian Sea lies on its west. The term Eranad originated from two words: *era* means bullocks and *natu* implies country. According to William Logan, it is '*Erala-natu*', the land of the bullocks or cattle.

The term Eranad must have originated from the tribal people who inhabited the mountainous tract and eastern forest areas of Eranad known as '*Aranadans*'. The contention of Eranad highlights that nomadic pastoralism prevailed in this region. According to the popular physiographic classification of the land in Tamil *Sangam* poems, Eranad belongs to the *Mullai* tract or forest areas. The people who inhabited the *Mullai* tract were *Ayar* or *Idayavar* or pastoralists.

The geography of Eranad consisting of its high mountain ridges and narrow valleys, thick forests, hill slopes, and innumerable rivers and streams influences the atmospheric conditions of the region. It consisted of three natural divisions, viz., the low land the midland and the highland. The lowland stretches along the coast, the

⁶² K.N. Ganesh, *Locality and Culture in the Case of Thirurangadi*, Publication Division, Calicut University, 2010.

midland in the centre and the highland region towards the east and northeast part of the region. Major portions come under the midland category.

The physical features of Eranad wield influence on the life patterns of people. The area surrounded by high hills and mountain slopes would be an area of relative isolation and to a certain extent free from external impacts. The tribals of Eranad especially *Malamuthans*, *Malanaickan* and *Cholanaickans* living a splendid isolation have provided a good scope for ethno-archaeological studies. Like many other parts of Kerala, Eranad is absent from the Palaeolithic map of India. Due to the complete lack of credible evidence, reconstructing the pre-history of region is nearly impossible. However, its proximity to the Western Ghats suggests that it may still hold important remains of Kerala's early settlers hidden beneath its surface.

It is assumed that the available archaeological remains of the Eranad belong to the proto-historic phase of megalithic culture. The important megalithic sites of Eranad are Tennala, Manjery, Vazhakkad, Cherukav, Chokkad, Thuvvur, Feroke, Tanur, Koduvayur, Pulpatta, Ramanattukara, Pulikkal etc. The megalithic monuments mainly included *kudakkallu* (umbrella stones), slab cists, Urn burials and *topikkallu* etc.

The important temples of Eranad are Trikkalangode Subramanya temple, Manjery Durga temple, Pulpatta Siva temple, Porur Siva temple, Manur Siva temple, Kizhuparamba Trikkalayur Siva temple etc. The Muslim monuments can be seen at Mamburam, Kondoty, Tirurangadi, Chaliyam Areakode, Malappuram and Tanur etc. The historical monuments and their architectural and sculptural associations throw much light into the history of Eranad.

The principal rivers of Eranad are Chaliyar and Kadalundi and its tributaries like Karimpuzha, Kurumbanppuzha, Kanchirapuzha, Punnappuzha and Vadapurampuzha. It helped for the growth of paddy fields and irrigational works. Agriculture is the main occupation of this area. The crops in this area are paddy, tapioca, coconut, cashew nut, areca nut, pepper, banana, ginger and pulses. The village settlements can help us to identify the earliest villages of Eranad like

Chungathara, Edakkara, Vazhikkadavu, Kondoty, Manjeri, Nediyruppu, Anakkayam, Thuvvur, Tanur, Edavanna, Pulpatta, Pandikkad etc.

Politically Eranad was originally a province or *nadu* in the Chera kingdom reigned by a clan called as *Eradis*. Nediyruppu was their provincial capital. The ruler of Eralanadu was known by different names like *Eralanadu Utaiyavar*, *Eral-thiri*, *Nediyruppu Moopan* or *Moopil Nair*. This *Eralanadu Utaiyavar* had functioned as feudatories under the Chera Perumal. The most important features of the locality lords in this period was their organization, counted in hundreds and attached to them; such as six hundred (*arunnuttuvar*) of Eralanadu. It is stated that Governor of Eralanadu called Manavepala Manaviyan had signed the famed Jewish Copper Plate (1000 A D) of Bhaskara Ravi. The Syrian copper plate is also signed by the Eralanadu ruler. Other inscription mention the *Eranattudayavar* is the inscription from Triccambaram (1040 AD), it refers to *Eralanadudaiya* Manavepala Manaviyatan. The ruler of Eranad figures as a signatory in the Kottayam Copperplate of Veera Ragava *chakravarthi* along with the ruler of Walluvanad.

The kingdom of Kozhikode rose in to prominence in the period following the Perumal era. The chief of Eranad, who were among the feudatories of the Chera Perumals, now become independent rulers staying themselves as the *Kunnalakkon* or *Sailabdhisvara* (lord of hill and sea) and claiming a donation of the last Perumal as the authority behind their power. When Cheraman Perumal partitioned his empire and abdicated, the *Eranattudayavar*, like other provincial governors, became a *swarupi* or independent king and his family came to be called Nediyruppu *swarupam*. The members of the Nediyruppu *swarupam* belong to the *Eradi* sub-division of the *samanta* section of the *Nair* race.

Eranad witnessed the martial race of Tipu Sultan from 1783-1792. One of his grandiose projects was the transfer of the capital of Malabar from Calicut to Ferokabad (Feroke) in Eranad. The city of Ferokabad was built in 1788. He was credited with the introduction of new revenue system and establishment of several

roads or so-called gun roads in different parts of Eranad.⁶³ In 1792 according to the Sreerangapatnam treaty, Malabar came under British.

Eranad became a *taluk* under the British colonial government and was the part of Malabar district under the Madras presidency. They divided Malabar into 10 *taluks* as revenue units for administrative purposes. Along with other *taluks* like Chirakkal, Kottayam, Kurumbranad, Wayanad, Calicut, Eranad, Walluvanad, Palaghat, Ponnani and Cochin. Among these, Eranad played a crucial role in British affairs in Malabar. The village settlement register of the British period is taken as a matter for drawing the boundary of Eranad. The matters concerning this *taluk* are evident from the writings of colonial bureaucrats like William Logan, C.A. Innes and F.B. Evans, and Ward and Conner etc.

Against this background, the present study explores the varied aspects of the historical geography of Eranad. It covers natural and environmental, political, social, anthropological, cultural and economic geography and so on – in brief how various factors together moulded the geo-cultural and socio-political entity of the region, which in turn imparted an identity and uniqueness to the *nadu*. We have a few studies on the formation of the *nadus* in Kerala in general, and certainly several works on the Zamorins, but a micro-study on the historical geography of Eranad has not been undertaken yet.

Objectives

The main objectives of the present study are the following:-

1. To analyse the relation between man and the environment in the region.
2. To know the concept of human and environmental geography from a historical perspective.

⁶³ C.K. Abdul Kareem, *Kerala Under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1968.

3. To understand the relationship between the landscape and ecosystem of Eranad.
4. To understand the process of the development of Eranad from early historic times to the medieval period.
5. To analyse the historical formation of Eranad as an agrarian settlement, to an economic zone and a *nadu* identity.
6. To analyse the role of the factors including geographical, cultural, economic and political in the formation of Eranad.
7. To trace out the unique socio-cultural traits of Eranad and to examine the role of geography in shaping them.
8. To identify the megalithic remains of Eranad and trace out its relation with the material culture of the area.
9. To identify the historical monuments and their architectural and sculptural associations help to understand the history of Eranad.
10. To identify the kinds of ethnic or cultural practices that provide the Eranad region a self-identity.
11. To find out the importance of ethno archaeological elements in the study of the history of Eranad.
12. To understand the micro-analysis of the region helps us to examine the general pattern of social and political developments in Kerala.

Methodology

The analytical, interpretative and multi-disciplinary methodology was followed for this study. Historical, geographical, political, economic, anthropological and sociological tools of research is also helpful in this study. The study was conducted with the use of various kinds of data available from the field and the archives and libraries. Extensive fieldwork was undertaken to tap the data on political,

economic, human, cultural, natural and historical geography. Archaeological and epigraphical data was utilized for the study of early history – apart from the published ones, more documents are obtained through field research.

Folk traditions, local knowledge and oral data is of great use- collected through systematic fieldwork consisting of structured interviews and participant observation. Archival data is a rich source for the present study, which includes *grandhavaris*, *kovilakam* records, colonial transactions (settlement registers, field maps, census data, surveys, reports and photographs), anthropological surveys and literature etc. Written materials were verified through textual criticism and cross-examination.

The study was also followed the methodological insights from Local history, micro-history, oral history and memory studies etc. Since the topic is a comprehensive study of a geographical unit, it should be undertaken as a total history for which the tools of the Annals historians is greatly helpful. Fernand Braudel's work on the Mediterranean world is a model – though the canvas is a bit small here. Studies on other *nadus* in Kerala like those on Walluvanad by Greeshmalatha, Kolathunad by K.P. Rajesh and Kadathanad by Anjana V.K. – are instances of serious research, methods that can be followed here also.

Sources

Both primary and secondary sources are utilized in this study. The study primarily focuses on the available traces of social formation from the field and the texts. The textual materials are corroborated with the sources collected from the primary context. Almost all sources are selective in nature and they may represent a selective memory of the past. Primary sources used in the study are *granthavaris*, inscriptions, *Manipravala* literatures, early Tamil literatures, travel accounts, manuals and gazetteers and archaeological remains etc. The secondary sources are in the form of books, journal, articles, souvenir, thesis and e-sources etc. are used.

Inscriptions

Primary sources are mainly include the inscriptions and *granthavaris*. Inscriptions like Chera records such as the Syrian Copper Plate inscription and Jewish Copper Plate inscription⁶⁴ mentioned about *eranattudayavar* and other temple records from Pulpatta,⁶⁵ Pukkottur,⁶⁶ Triprangotu,⁶⁷ Kurumathur,⁶⁸ Thrikkalayur⁶⁹ and Triccambaram etc. referred about Eranad and inscription from Aanandapuram⁷⁰ mentioned about *arunnuttuvar* of Eranad. The Karikkad inscription mentioned about the Brahmin settlement in Eranad.

Granthavaris

The *Granthavaris* such as *Kozhikkodan granthavaris* and *Keralolpathi* tradition especially by Herman Gundert like *Nediyirippu Vazakkam (Sammothiri Vazakkam)* is used. The *Kozhikkodan granthavari*⁷¹ is very important as a source. It is a voluminous collection of unpublished palm-leaf manuscripts. These make up a significant portion of the documents preserved in the Zamorin's archives. This collection includes seventy volumes of palm leaf books and also 200 volumes of paper records. They are mostly in Malayalam script except a few which are in *kolezhuthu*. The documents are in two types: 1) details of income and expenditure 2) details about

⁶⁴ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1972, pp. 81-82.

⁶⁵ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Pulpatta Inscription, Index No. C.12: 489*

⁶⁶ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Pukkottur Inscription, Index No. C.23: 493.*

⁶⁷ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Tripparangotu Inscription, Index No. A 13: 440-441.*

⁶⁸ Kesavan Veluthat, 'History and Historiography in Constituting a Region: The Case of Kerala' in *Studies in Peoples History*, 1 June 2018, pp. 13-14.

⁶⁹ V.S. Arya Nair, *Temples of Early Medieval Kerala: A Study Based on Archaeological and Literary Evidences*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2020, p. 164.

⁷⁰ Rajan Gurukkal, 'A New Epigraph Referring to Eranadu', in *Proceedings of the Thirty Seventh Session, Indian History Congress*, Calicut, 1976, pp. 526-531.

⁷¹ *Kozhikkodan Granthavari*, Unpublished Palm Leaf Documents, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Edappal.

rituals, festivals and similar events. So it is palace records that represent royalty and political culture. A perusal of the documents in the *Granthavaris* has convinced us that there are many gaps in our knowledge of the Zamorins. It does not give a complete picture of them. The nature of the documents does not assure us information on several aspects, as they are the day to day account of income and expenditure and not a record of day-to-day life. Despite such limitations, we can utilize these documents for the reconstruction of the culture of the kingdom of Kozhikode.

Early Tamil Literatures

The Tamil literatures like *Akananuru*,⁷² *Purananuru*⁷³ and *Pattupattu*⁷⁴ were helpful for understanding the social, cultural and political aspects of Kerala during early historical period

***Manipravala* Literatures**

Manipravala literatures was an important source for studying about the society of medieval Kerala. *Unniyachi Charitam*,⁷⁵ *Unnichiruthevi Charitam*,⁷⁶ *Unnineelisesandesam*⁷⁷ *Unniyati Charitam*⁷⁸ and *Kokasandesam*⁷⁹etc. deals with the socio-economic and cultural conditions of medieval Kerala.

⁷² Nenmara P. Viswanathan Nair (ed.), *Akananuru*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 1987.

⁷³ V.R. Parameswaran Pillai, *Purananuru*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 1969.

⁷⁴ V. Cheliah, *Pathupattu: Ten Tamil Idylls*, The South Indian Siva Sidhanta Works, Thirunelveli, 1962.

⁷⁵ N. Gopinathan Nair (ed.), *Unniyachi Charitam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016.

⁷⁶ Chathanath Achuthanunni and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Unnichiruthevi Charitam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2017.

⁷⁷ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Unnineelisesandesam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016.

⁷⁸ Sundaran Danuvachapuram, *Unniyati Charitam*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 2000.

⁷⁹ Kodungallur Kunjikuttan Thampuran, *Kokasandesam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

Travel Accounts

Travel accounts are one of the significant sources to understand the socio-cultural and political condition of Kerala. Foreign notices of Ibn Battuta,⁸⁰ Francis Buchanan,⁸¹ Duarte Barbosa,⁸² Marco Polo,⁸³ Abdur Razzak⁸⁴ and Nicolo Conti⁸⁵ etc. are used for the study.

Archival Records

The study also uses the archival documents. Among these the most important one is the settlement register and re-settlement register of Eranad *taluk*.⁸⁶ Settlement registers have been widely used for the preparation of the fieldwork of the present study. It is the register of the colonial administrators for making revenue assessments, but it includes the entire landscape either under production or non-productive wastelands. It was made on the basis of extensive field surveys. So, it gives a clear picture of the landscape and implies the pattern of settlements. The plot names in settlement register indicates the nature of settlements, production patterns, and topography etc. It also provides information about the *desams* and *amsams* of Eranad. *The Paymash* record of Eranad, obtained from the regional archives at Kozhikode provide information on revenue collection.

⁸⁰ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Ibn Battuta Kanta Keralam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

⁸¹ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988.

⁸² M.L. Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989.

⁸³ Yule, *Travels of Marcopolo*, Vol. II, Dover Publication, London, 1875.

⁸⁴ R.H. Major, 'Journey of Abdur Razzak', in R.H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Deep Publication, London, 1974.

⁸⁵ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Sanjarikalum Charittrakaranmarum*, Published by the Author, Kottayam, 2014

⁸⁶ *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

Manuals and Gazetteers

The *Malabar Manual*⁸⁷ and *Malabar District Gazetteer*⁸⁸ also offer insights in to the region's physical geography, as well as its flora and fauna of the region. *The Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*⁸⁹ is also used for this study. *Kerala District Gazetteers*⁹⁰ and *Malappuram District Gazetteer*⁹¹ also provide details on population, soil, vegetation and related aspects of Eranad.

Field Works and Archaeological Explorations

Many megalithic sites are visited as a part of this research and collected information from there.⁹² *Malappuram Jilla Panjayath Vikasana Rekhakal*,⁹³ *Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekhakal*,⁹⁴ *Panjayath Viknjaneeyam*,⁹⁵ maps, souvenirs, proverbs, onomastic, place names, field names, journals and articles etc. are also used for the study. In addition to these, interviews and fieldwork have also been carried out.

Review of Literature

The concept of *nadu* has held a prominent position in South Indian historical studies. Initially it was regarded as a political entity and an administrative sub division within larger kingdoms like the Cholas and the Pandyas. Most important work is done

⁸⁷ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2010 (1887).

⁸⁸ C.A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteers*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1977.

⁸⁹ Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1995.

⁹⁰ Adoor K.K. Ramachandran Nair, *Kerala State Gazetteer*, Vol. 11, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1986.

⁹¹ Adoor K.K. Ramachandran Nair, *Kerala District Gazetteer Malappuram*, State Editor, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1986.

⁹² Archaeological explorations conducted in Manjeri, Feroke, Trippanachi and Karikkad. These explorations helps to understand the pre-historic cultural life of the region.

⁹³ *Malappuram Jilla Panjayath Vikasana Rekhakal*, Preserved in various *Panjayaths* offices in Malappuram district of Kerala State, 1991.

⁹⁴ *Malappuram Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekhakal*, Preserved in various *Nagarasabha* offices in Malappuram district of Kerala State, 1991.

⁹⁵ *Panjayath Viknjaneeyam* published by various *Panjayaths* of Eranad taluk.

by Y. Subbarayalu (*Political Geography of the Chola Country*).⁹⁶ He presented extensive evidence to highlight the importance of the *nadu* in the Chola region. He demonstrated that *nadus* are the clusters of agricultural settlements, primarily consisting of *Vellanvagai* villages. His work offers valuable perspectives for a broader examination of *nadus* across other regions of south India. Firstly, he moves away from the traditional view of *nadu* as merely a political grouping and instead places it within context of geography and settlements in south India. Secondly, he connects the concept of *nadu* to modes of production and the traits of the producing communities, particularly the *Vellalar*. Thirdly, he links the *nadus* to rising Chola country- not as a direct expression of noble authority, but through the roles and functions of the *nadu*, the monarchy aimed to incorporate during its process during its process of consolidation.

In *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*⁹⁷ Burton Stein drew on Subbarayalu's research to argue that *nadus* existed prior to the formation of states like the Cholas. He contended that *nadus* were the actual centres of power, while the Chola king primarily served a ceremonial role. Stein also proposed the idea of Brahman-peasant alliance as the foundation for his segmentary state theory. However, this interpretation has faced significant criticism and opposition.

*A History of South India*⁹⁸ by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri is one of the most comprehensive work on South India. He deals with the formation of the region from the early historic period to the modern time and considers South India as a political entity. He proposed the idea that the *nadu* served as the core administrative unit of kingdom

Colonial authorities also made different kinds of understanding about Kerala for their administrative necessities. They published the core of their studies in the form

⁹⁶ Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, State Department of Archaeology, Tamil Nadu, 1973.

⁹⁷ Burton Stein, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1980.

⁹⁸ K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *A History of South India*, Oxford India Paper Backs, Madras, 1997 (1955).

of Manuals, Gazetteers, books and reports etc. Among these the most important work about Malabar was done by William Logan. In his *Malabar Manual*⁹⁹ Malabar has been considered as a political unit under the Madras presidency of British colonial government. The entire region was divided into several revenue divisions known as *taluks* and *desams*. According to him, there were 10 *taluks*: Kottayam, Chirakkal, Wayanad, Kurumbranad, Eranad, Calicut, Walluvanad, Palakkad, Cochin and Ponnani. It gives a comprehensive history of Malabar, drawing on *taluk*-wise surveys and the collection of oral documents from the actual field. The manual has reproduced most of the traditions and myths of the region. The flora and fauna, the pattern of productive plots and the kinds of settlement have been delineated in the manual.

The work *Malabar Gazetteer*¹⁰⁰ by C.A. Innes I C S is a comprehensive and authoritative gazetteer of Malabar. It depicts the geographical and historical background of the districts, socio-economic and cultural aspects of the populace, agricultural and industrial developments, land tenures, administration of justice and educational activities etc. He described Eranad as both largest and most representative *taluk* in Malabar, embodying the typical features of *taluks* from both the coastal and inland regions.

Another work is titled *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*¹⁰¹ by Ward and Conner. It gives vivid details of the geographical and statistical survey of the Malabar region. The descriptive details in the memoir helped to understand the wide geographical and topographical knowledge of the Malabar region. According to him, the *taluk* of Eranad is bounded on the North generally by the ridge of Ghats from Wayanad, North East by the crest of the Nilagiri and Koondah Mountains, to the South East and South by Walluvanad *taluk*, to the South West from Sheranad *taluk*, to the West and North West by the Calicut District.

⁹⁹ William Logan, *Op. cit.*

¹⁰⁰ C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*

¹⁰¹ Ward and Conner, *Op. cit.*

*The Joint Commissioners Report on Malabar, 1792-93*¹⁰² is a comprehensive study that provided a detailed account of history of Malabar, tracing it from the era of Perumal up to the establishment of the commission in 23rd March 1792. The report represents the details about the different places and principalities of Malabar. It mines deep into the life of the people, occupations, sources of income and system of administration. It also traces the character of rulers and the socio-religious life of the people. The report also made the ground for the division of Malabar into many *taluk* divisions for revenue administration. So this report is helpful source of information about the history of Malabar covering the ancient and medieval periods.

It is from this broader historical context that we aim to explore the various types of *nadus* existed in Kerala. K.P. Padmanabha Menon's work *The History of Kerala*¹⁰³ in 4 volumes is written in the form of letters of Visscher from Malabar. He made a general description of Malabar, Kochi and Travancore. It also includes natural division, geography, topography, people, and castes of Kerala. *A Survey of Kerala History*¹⁰⁴ by A. Shreedhara Menon made the history of Kerala from pre-historic times to the modern age, especially the colonization period. He gave a detailed analysis of *Kulasekhara's* age. According to him, the *Kulasekhara* Empire was divided for administrative purposes into several *nadus* or provinces. He listed provinces including *Eralanad* (Eranad areas) with other *nadus*. He identified *nadu* as a district. He mentions that Zamorins were descended from the *Eranad Utaiyavar*, who appears as a signatory in the Jewish and Syrian Christian Copper Plate.

Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai in his *Studies in Kerala History*¹⁰⁵ observed that *nadus* were administrative units or local kingdoms which became part of the Cera kingdom under the *Kulasekharas*. The administration of this *nadus* was carried out by local vassals of the *Kulasekhara* Empire. M.G.S. Narayanan in his *Perumals of*

¹⁰² J. Rejikumar (ed.), *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar, 1792-1793*, Kerala State Archives Department, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 2010.

¹⁰³ K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2003 (1929).

¹⁰⁴ A. Shreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1976 (1967).

¹⁰⁵ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Op. cit.*

*Kerala*¹⁰⁶ conducted an analysis of inscriptions from Perumal era. He referred administrative divisions within the Perumal kingdom, similar to those found in the Tamil kingdoms of South India during the same period. He mentioned about the existence of thirteen *nadus*. They are from North to South: *Kolothunatu*, *Purakilanatu*, *Kurumporainatu*, *Eralanatu*, *Valluvanatu*, *Nedumporaiyurnatu*, *Nedunkalayanatu*, *Kalkarainatu*, *Kilumalainatu*, *Vanapalnatu*, *Munninatu*, *Venatu* and *Nanrulanatu*. Further he also made description to another *nadus*, *Ramavalanatu* and *Edattaranatu*. He stated that the *nadus* in Kerala lacked well defined boundaries and added that *Eralanadu* extended across both sides of the Chaliyar River.

The work called *Keralathinte Innalakaal*¹⁰⁷ by K.N. Ganesh explained the development of *nadus* in Kerala. He argued that the expansion of agriculture led the formation of *nadus*. To him, during the medieval period, new *nadus* emerged in Kerala. Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier in their work *Kerala Charitram*¹⁰⁸ opined that the *nadus* were formed by combining different *urs*. The *ur* is a non-Brahmin *samiti* in Kerala. They argued that the *nadu* emerged after the migration of Brahmins in to Kerala. M.R. Raghava Varrier's work titled as *Village Community in Pre-Colonial Kerala*¹⁰⁹ mentioned about the appearance of *nadus* in Kerala during the medieval period. To him the exact date of these local and regional units has not been calculated due to the extreme scarcity of sources.

The work called *The Early Medieval South India*¹¹⁰ by Kesavan Veluthat is an alternative reading of early medieval South Indian History. It presented a reading of the history of South India different from the earlier notion offered by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Burtain Stain and Subbarayalu etc. *Nadu* was the most important factor in the

¹⁰⁶ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*

¹⁰⁷ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalakaal*, Department of Cultural Publication, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997 (1990).

¹⁰⁸ Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *Kerala Charitram*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 2011.

¹⁰⁹ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Village Community in Pre-Colonial Kerala*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1994.

¹¹⁰ Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, Oxford India Paper Backs, New Delhi, 2011 (2009).

socio-political structure of South India under the Pandyas, Pallavas and Cholas and the case of Cheras was slightly different. To him, in the Chera kingdom as in many other cases, we do not have the counterparts of *nadu* or *kottam* units in the rest of South India and existed *nadu* in terms such as Kolothunad, Eralanad, Walluvanad and Venad etc. Which stood for the territorial division, but they denoted whole territory under chiefly rule.

*The Zamorins of Calicut*¹¹¹ by K.V. Krishna Ayyar provided information about the history of Zamorins. This book is highly regarded for its detailed exploration of the socio-political dynamics, cultural heritage and economic prowess of the Zamorins. He stated that Zamorin's family originally belonged to Nediyruppu, a village located Eranad *taluk*, Malappuram district. The headman of the family was called as *Nediyruppu Muta Eradi*, a position held by the fifth ranking person from Zamorins during Chera period. The *Muta Eradi* ruled over Eranad under the title of *Eranad Utaiyar*. When Cheraman Perumal partitioned his empire and abdicated, the *Eranad Utaiyar*, like the other provincial Governors, became a *Swarupi* or independent king and his family came to be called the *Nediyruppu swarupam*. His work is meticulous, drawing on historical documents, inscriptions and accounts from various sources to give a vivid picture of Zamorin rulers and their administration.

Dr. N.M. Nambuthiri's work entitled *Samuthiri Charitrathile Kanapurangal*¹¹² delves into the historical and cultural aspects of the Zamorin's kingdom of Kerala. It also noted for its in-depth exploration of the rulers and their administration, societal structure and the political dynamics of the time. He presents a detailed narrative about the spans of evolution of the *Samuthiri* (Zamorin) kingdom from its inception. It included comprehensive coverage and insightful commentary on the socio-political landscape of medieval Kerala. This work also brings light on the

¹¹¹ K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 1999 (1938).

¹¹² Dr. N.M. Nambuthiri, *Samuthiri Charitrathile Kanapurangal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1987.

cultural practices, economic activities and religious influences that shaped the Zamorin's kingdom.

*Samoodiriperuma*¹¹³ by Dr. V.V. Haridas is a study about medieval Kerala from different historical perspectives. His study is mainly based on *Kozhikkodan Granthavari*. It is concentrated on the social political, cultural, religious and economic aspects under Zamorins during the medieval period. According to him, the emergence of Zamorins of Calicut was mainly during the last phase of the disintegration of Perumal rule. The *nadus* like Kolothunad, Eranad, Perumpadapp and Venad, who were the descendants of the divided Chera country later acquired more power and became strong. The Kurumbranad, Vettam, Walluvanad etc. in different times became the descendants of Eranad and later accepted the suzerainty of Kozhikode.

Dr. V.V. Haridas's another work titled *Zamorins and Political Culture of Medieval Kerala*¹¹⁴ is a significant work that comes into the political dynamics of medieval Kerala, focussing particularly on Zamorins. The book also explores various aspects of the Zamorin dynasty's governance, political strategies and interactions with neighbouring states and European powers. He provided a details analysis of how Zamorins consolidated power, maintained the authority and navigated through regional and international political landscapes. The book also brings light on the cultural and social dimensions of the Zamorin rule, offering insights into their administrative practices, economic policies and religious patronage.

Apart from these above mentioned works *Historical Geography of Walluvanadu*¹¹⁵ by A. Greeshmalatha, *Historical Geography of Kolathunadu*¹¹⁶ by K.P. Rajesh and *Historical Geography of Kadathunadu* etc. are the contemporary

¹¹³ V.V. Haridas, *Samoodiriperuma*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 2012.

¹¹⁴ V.V. Haridas, *Zamorins and Political Culture of Medieval Kerala*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2016.

¹¹⁵ A. Greeshmalatha, *Historical Geography of Walluvanad*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2008.

¹¹⁶ Rajesh, K.P., *Historical Geography of Kolathunadu: A Study of the Regional Formation in Medieval North Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2011.

work related to the formation of *nadus* in Kerala. These works are put forward the statement that *nadus* are a combination of agrarian settlements and they mentioned the process of the establishment of *nadus* as a geo-political entity.

The Organisation of the Study

The present study titled **Historical Geography of Eranad** is organized into six chapters, including introduction and conclusion. This work is used the tools provided by historical and human geography. In the introductory part, an attempt has been made to place the problem of the present research and the objectives of the study. There is a brief narrative of what is spatial, human and historical geography and a few examples. A cross-examination has been done to evaluate the micro and local histories of Kerala. The methods and methodology of the present study are also described. Sources used including primary and secondary also delineated. It also gives a brief description of the review of the literature.

The first chapter titled as **Eranad: Geography and Environment**. It explains about the region of Eranad, its geography, climate, soil, flora and fauna, rivers and natural division etc. The second chapter **Agrarian Expansion and Regional Formation** explains about the agrarian condition, paddy cultivation, megalithic distribution and settlements like Brahmin and non-brahmin settlements etc. How the development of agriculture led to the establishment of settlements in the region, which is the key factor discussed in this chapter. The third chapter **Polity: Structure and Evolution** is an attempt to understand the political formation of Eranad from Iron Age to the medieval period. This chapter mainly focussed on the establishment of political power in the region. The formation of Nediyruppu *swarupam* and process of transformation of *Eranattudayavar* from a petty chieftain to Zamorin is discussed in this chapter. The final chapter is **Social and Cultural Geography**. It explains the social and cultural condition of Eranad. What are the major cultural systems of the region, how these cultural system distinguish Eranad from other areas, how these cultural system help to form a definite cultural geography of the region are the main factor discussed in this chapter. The concluding parts of the work is summarize the

discoveries in the case of historical geography of Eranad centred on a theoretical framework.

The Period of the Study

The standard periodization of writing history is not relevant in the formation of *nadu*. So, a more flexible approach can be used in this study to identify the area as agrarian unit, reflecting the growth of human settlements and subsequently the emergence and distribution of excess production. This study examine the development of Eranad from the early period to medieval period. So we can trace out the formation of *Ernattudayavar* become Zamorins of Calicut. The political boundaries of the region changed over time but the socio-cultural milieu of the region existed on the two sides of river Chaliyar and its nearby areas remained intact. During the colonial period, Eranad became one of the prominent *taluks* in the Malabar district.

Relevance of the study

This study aids in understanding how a micro-region was formed and also sheds light on the broader patterns of regional developments in Kerala.

Chapter One

Eranad: Geography and Environment

The disciplines of history and geography are closely related. Geography is an aerial science that study with land, ocean, atmosphere, people, culture and earth phenomena concerning space and time.¹ Many historical events have a geographical connection. Similarly, geographical factors have an influence on history. Every historical event has taken place in or at a geographical place.² The formation of a region based on various environmental factors such as geography or topography, resources, water availability and production pattern. Each area forms into a settlement unit through a long historical process. However, a common pattern cannot be ascribed to a region's origin, formation and transition. Each culture is a result of material processes that have been appropriated by humans for survival in nature. Therefore, the history of any culture has to start with a delineation of its environment. Since any region is the product of human action over a long period, the disentanglement of the historical geography is a complex process.³

Throughout history, Kerala has been an integral part of the Indian subcontinent. The land of Kerala is a narrow coastal strip bounded by the Western Ghats in the east and the Arabian Sea on the west. It is located in the southern part of the Indian peninsula. This unique geographical position and distinct physical features have given it its peculiar features. By being an independent geographical and political entity, it has evolved into its unique identity over the centuries. Kerala's geographical position has helped to ensure a partial political and cultural isolation from the rest of the country. It has facilitated extensive and active contacts with countries of the

¹ Dr. S.K. Shelar, *An Introduction to Geography*, Gaurav Books, Kanpur, 2016, p. 9.

² R.D. Dikshit, *Geographical Thought: A Contextual History of Ideas*, Prentice Hall of India Private Limited, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 205-229.

³ Sumita Ghosh, *Introduction to Settlement Geography*, Orient Longman, Kolkata, 2006, pp. 1-14.

outside world.⁴ The topography of Kerala is undulated with the highland, plains and low lands. The geographical factors like the sea, mountains, hills and passes, rivers, backwaters, climate and flora and fauna have moulded the state's culture along with its position, location and shape.⁵ The passes within the Western Ghats ensured that it was not isolated from other parts of peninsular India. It worked as a cultural link. The undulated landscape along with its warm climate created a multi-crop agrarian settlements from the early periods. Hence, this undulating terrain gave resource potential for agrarian economies which facilitated the formation of a political entity since early history.

This chapter attempts to examine the influence of geographical features on the socio-political, cultural and religious life of the people. It explores the geographical nature of the Eranad region in Kerala. The chapter identifies how physical features such as mountains, hills and passes, rivers, backwaters, the sea, climate and flora and fauna wield influence on the life patterns of the people of Eranad.

Physical Geography of Eranad

The land

The Eranad region is a picturesque lowland country. It is characterised by thick forests, mountain tracts, rivers and rivulets. Streams meander through hills towards a coconut-fringed sea coast. The regional topography is undulating being rugged and forest-laden. Historically, Eranad was the largest and most typical *nadu* in Kerala. The area covers major portions of present-day Malappuram and parts of the Kozhikode district of the Kerala state. It comprised of the former *taluk* of Eranad and Ponnani.⁶

⁴ A. Shreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1967. p. 14.

⁵ Dr. P.K. Aboo Ishaque, *Geography of Kerala: the Land, People, Economy and Ecology*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, 2018, p. 313.

⁶ It consisted of the *amsams* like Nallur, Azhinjilam, Cherulav, Karad, Karumarakkad, Karipur Chelembra, Vadakkumpram, Valiyakunnu, Kattiparuthi, Atavnad, Ummattur, Irimbiliyam, Poratur, Olakara, Trikkulam, Koduvayur, Vengara, Kannamanagalam, Urakam, Melmuri, Puttur, Kottakkal, Indiannur, Valakkulam, Palachannur, Mannur, Thenjipalam, Neduva, Vellikunnu, Parappanagadi, Nannabra, Mappram, Cheekkode, Urgattiri, Mambad, Nilambur, Netiyiruppu, Kilmuri, Melmuri, Porur, Vandur, Tiruvali,

Geographically, Eranad is situated on either side of the Chaliyar river. It is adjacent to the Walluvanad region. It is bound on the north by the Kozhikode and Wayanad districts, Nilagiri in the east, by Perintalmanna and Ponnani *taluks* in the south and the Arabian Sea lies on its west.⁷

The term Eranad has been subjected to much etymological speculations. It is derived from two words ‘*eru*’ and ‘*nadu*’ which means bullocks and country respectively. According to William Logan, together it becomes ‘*Erala-nadu*’ (*Erunadu*), the land of the bullocks or cattle (bullock-country).⁸ The term Eranad is also said to have been originated from the ‘*Aranandans*’. This tribal people who inhabited mountainous tract and eastern forest areas of Eranad. This contention of Eranad highlights that nomadic pastoralism prevailed in the region. Eranad belongs to the *Mullai* tract or forest areas according to the popular physiographic classification of land in Tamil *Sangam* poems. The people who inhabited the *Mullai* tract were called *Ayar* or *Idayavar* or pastoralists.⁹ Eranad is the corrupt anglicized form of *Eranadu* or bullock country.

Similar to other regions in Kerala, Eranad did not find a place in India’s Palaeolithic map. It is difficult to construct the pre-history of the region owing to the absolute absence of reliable evidence. There is tiny evidence of the old and new Stone Age. Since Eranad lies near the Western Ghats, it probably has valuable relics of the early inhabitants of Kerala buried within. Scholars assume that the first eruption of volcanic convulsion of the Arabian Sea which left a small land strip on the western side of the Ghats was in the fourth millennium B C. Based on these factors, Eranad

Trikkalangode, Karakkunnu, Arimbra, Valluvambram, Irimbuli, Manjeri, Iruvetti, Kavanur, Chengara, Puliyaakkode, Kuzhimanna, Payyanad, Elemkur and Ponmala.

⁷ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. 1, Asian Educational Service, Madras, 1887, p. cccliv.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ During the *Sangam* period whole country was divided in to five regions called *tinais*, taking physical features of the land. They were *Kurinji*, *Mullai*, *Marutham*, *Neytal* and *Palai*. The forest regions are *Kurinji*, pastoral area are *Mullai*, cultivated area are *Marutham*, coastal tract are *Neytal* and uncultivated barren and rocky regions are *Palai*. The people who inhabited in these regions were called *Kuravar*, *Edayar*, *Ulavar*, *Paradavar* and *Kurumbar* respectively.

came under the first wave of land formation. Therefore, its pre-history dates back to the fourth millennium B C.¹⁰

The available archaeological remains belong to the proto-historic phase of megalithic culture. The area is abound with megalithic monuments. The most prominent of these are *kudakkallu* (umbrella stones), rock-cut caves, slab cists, urn burials and *toppikkalu*. These were found in many parts of the area. It is stated that the hill tribes of Eranad bury their dead body based on megalithic cult. Primitive humans seemed to have buried their dead in large sepulchral urns.¹¹ The physical features of Eranad wield influence on the life patterns of people. The area is surrounded by high hills and mountain slopes. It is thus an area of relative isolation and free from external impacts to a certain extent. The tribes of Eranad like *Malamuthans*, *Malanaickan*, *Aranadans* and *Cholanaickans* live an isolated life. Due to this, it has provided a good scope for ethno-archaeological studies.

Historical records relating to Eranad are scanty. Very little attempt has been made to narrate the early history of Eranad. Occasional references to the region have been made by scholars like William Logan,¹² K.P. Padmanabha Menon¹³ and K.V. Krishna Ayyar,¹⁴ when they have dealt with the general history of Kerala. Traditionally, the history of the region goes back to the mythical epoch of the creation of Kerala by *Parasurama*.¹⁵ He is said to have divided the land into sixty-four *gramas*. Among this, only 32 are included in the Kerala region. One of these *grama*, called

¹⁰ Devadas V.P, *Archaeology of Eranad*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1993, p. 3.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² William Logan, *Op. cit.*

¹³ K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. 11, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1984.

¹⁴ K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *The Zamorins of Calicut*, University of Calicut, Calicut, 1938.

¹⁵ According to the legend, Kerala was salvaged from the Arabian Sea by the mythical hero called *Parasurama*.

Karikkad¹⁶ falls within this region. The origin of Eranad as a politically organised territory is traced to the reign of the *Kulasekhara* Empire of Kerala. It was divided into several *nadus* for administrative purposes. Eranad was one among the fourteen *nadus* under the Cera kingdom.¹⁷ The boundaries of the districts have not been mentioned anywhere. Therefore, it is hard to understand their actual and comparative size.¹⁸

Human intervention has resulted in the gradual but definite transformation of the pristine. These changes have resulted in the transformation of livelihood patterns of in the region. It has been understood that this interrelationship between human and the environment lay at the core of historic processes in the region. Braudel has established the concept of geological time to historicize man-nature interactions.¹⁹ In this regard, the rise and fall of civilizations can be linked to the formation and destruction of human landscapes. It can also pertain to the concept that the destruction of one form of human landscape is related to the formation of a different livelihood pattern in the same natural region.

Physical Features

a) Natural sub-division

The Eranad region consists of three natural divisions- the low lowland, midland and the highland. The lowland stretches along the seacoast, the midland in the central area and the highland region towards the eastern and north-eastern parts of

¹⁶ Karikkad is a place in Trikkalangode village in Eranad. The place was predominantly a Brahmin settlement area. One of the oldest temple of Eranad namely *Subramanya* temple situated at Karikkad.

¹⁷ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013, pp. 177-205.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 176.

¹⁹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip 11*, Trns. by Sian Reynold, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, 1972.

Fernand Braudel's work *Mediterranean and Mediterranean world in the Age of Philip 11* is stands as the best example of the concept of the total history. It is the complete history of the Europe during the period of Philip 11 and total history of the entire society. The Mediterranean Sea is the centre of the book and it is written as geo-history, taking in to consideration of geography and space in shaping historical events.

the region. While the Nilambur *taluk* area lies completely in the highland region, the present day Eranad *taluk* area lies in the midland region and the Tiruranangadi *taluk* area lies in the lowland region.²⁰

Many travelers have given vivid descriptions of the geography and environment of Malabar. These contain references to south Malabar of which Eranad is a part. In this regard, it is necessary to understand the geography and environment of Eranad as a part of south Malabar. The **Topography** of the region is highly undulating. The terrain begins at the elevated and dense forest-covered eastern mountain slopes along the Nilagiri. It gradually slopes down to the valleys and small hills and end with the coconut plantations in the west. An analysis reveals that midlands region in Eranad was more than lowland and highland region. Nilambur *taluk* area constitute the highland category. This area also covers the maximum forest area of the Eranad region. It is characterized by its sparse population.²¹

In terms of landscape patterns, Eranad region can be divided into four types. One of them is the laterite, rocky elevated regions; two, the slopes stretching between the elevated regions and low-lying lands, which may be further subdivided into high, middling and low slopes; three, wetlands either near the river or in between two (or three) elevated regions; finally, the coastal lands which may be subdivided into the clayey sand regions and beach area. Though these subdivisions are tentative, they correspond to the existing human landscape categories used by the local population.²²

In local parlance, the elevated region is a *kunnu*, the elevated slope is a *maadu*, the middle slope is a *cherivu* and the lower slope adjacent to a field is a *pallaal*. The wetland is a *nilam* and the beach is a *kadapuram*. Wetlands which contain mud and silt and get waterlogged particularly during the monsoon are called *chali*. Rocky regions which are not cultivated and sometimes used for grazing are called *poraaya*

²⁰ *District Urbanisation Report Malappuram*, Department of Town and Country Planning, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, p. 4.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

²² K.N. Ganesh, *Locality and Culture in Kerala History: The Case of Tirurangadi*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2010, pp. 37-38.

or *puram*, and pure rocky regions are simply called *para*. The natural formation in the fields and river banks which forms as the result of sedimentation is called *potta*. It is thus understood that the local parlance indicates a geographical classification that is richer than the classification suggested here.²³ Areas which are used by human beings but not transformed is *kaadu*. *Kaadu* is normally identified with forest lands. If one goes by place names referring to *kaadus*, then a large part of the area remained *kaadu* long after human habitation. *Kaadu* was used for gathering food articles and firewood, foraging and grazing, and also as habitation sites. So, we can see place names and field names related to geographical classification like *kunnu*, *maadu*, *cherivu*, *pallaal*, *nilam*, *kadapuram*, *poraaya* and *kaadu* etc.

Mixed crop regions characterised by loamy soil is a *parambu*. The term can also refer to those lands with clayey sand and coconut plantations. *Parambu* thus appears to be a term that signified the nature of vegetation, rather than a soil type. Another term showing the nature of vegetation is *paatom*, which is a paddy cultivation area. The distinction between *parambu* and *paatom* go beyond the nature of cultivation. This distinction implies that *parambus* have red loamy soil and are found generally on slopes whether low, middle or elevated. They support the mixed vegetation found in forests. Notably, unlike *kaadu*, *parambus* are liable to transformation through human intervention in both the grown vegetation and subtle changes in the terrain itself. The most important feature of *parambus* is that house sites are almost invariably found here. These are contiguous with the vegetation itself. According to Raghava Varrier, this feature has led to the postulation of the *parambu-purayidam* economy in the case of Kerala history.²⁴

b) Climate, Rain Fall, Temperature, Wind and Humidity

Weather information and forecasts are vital to many activities such as agriculture, aviation, shipping, fisheries, tourism, defence, industrial projects, water management and disaster mitigation. Kerala's climate is divided into four seasons-

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²⁴ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Madhyakaala Keralam Sambath Samooham Samskaram*, Chinda Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, pp. 23-33.

winter, summer, south-west monsoon and north-east monsoon. These climatic conditions have also exercised its influence on history. The variety in the physical features of the state has caused in a corresponding variety of climate.²⁵

The Eranad region has almost the same climatic condition as prevalent elsewhere in the Malappuram district and Kerala, i.e. dry season from December to February, hot season from March to May, the southwest and northeast monsoon from June to November. The southwest monsoon is usually torrential. The climate is usually hot and humid and the temperature varies between 20⁰ C and 30⁰ C. Rainfall in Eranad is dependent to a great extent on the geographical position and the geological configuration of the region. It is considerably different from place to place. It is highest in the hilly areas of Nilambur, Karuvarakkundu and Chokkad.

Francis Buchanan²⁶ has mentioned the weather of Malabar in his work (*A Journey From Madras Through the Countries for Mysore, Canara and Malabar*). According to him, in *Kanni* (14th September- 14th October) the wind is strong westward with considerable rain and thunder. In *Thulam* (15th October -13th November) the winds usually continue; but the rain declines to once in four or five days. These are accompanied by frequent thunder. Buchanan has also stated that in *Vrichica* (14th November- 12th December), the winds shift eastward and blow strongly across the passage. Heavy rainfall occurs originating from the eastern direction three or four times in the course of this month. In *Danu* (13th December – 11th January) the southern winds are stronger and the air is cooler. There are strong fogs and dews but seldom rain in the whole month. In *Macara* (12th January- 9th February) while there is no rain and the foggy weather diminishes, dews continue. Strong easterly winds occur and the weather is cool. Buchanan has added that in *Cumba* (12th March- 10th April), the easterlies are strong but there is no rain and only slight dews. In *Minam* (12th march – 10th April) rain occurs very seldom and most rivulets become dry. In

²⁵ A. Shreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 19.

²⁶ He was the surgeon of British East India Company and was appointed to survey the Southern India. He began route surveys of the country spanning Mysore, Canara and Malabar. His work in three volumes is a scientific and ethnographic study of southern India just after the death of Tipu Sultan. It was published in 1807.

Mayda (11th April – 11th May) the winds shift westward and there are about four or five heavy showers accompanied by thunder. These generally fall at night. In *Ayduma* (*Vrishuppa*) (12th May- 11th June), the winds are westerly and not strong. In *Maytuna* (12th June- 13th July), rain increases along with strong westerly winds and heavy thunder. In *Carcataca* (14th July- 13th August), there is short thunder but westerly winds and the heavy rain. In *Singhuim*, (14th August- 13th September) the rain and wind subside along with moderate thunder.²⁷ Travellers have described higher humidity during the highest monsoon months from June to September.²⁸

c) Soil

Soil is a key natural resource, which is a direct and indirect source for other resources. It is a major land resource which defines the use of potential. It varies with colour, chemical, biological and other characteristics. Kerala is able with diverse types of soil. The case is similar for Eranad.

The soil in the Eranad region is generally very fertile. It can be classified into the following types based on its geographic peculiarities:-

1. Soil of the lowland (Alluvial soil).

These mainly occur along coastal plains and valleys. It ranges from exclusively drained to moderate or well drained sand to sandy clay in nature.

2. The soil of the mid-up lands (Laterite soil).

This area has mostly laterite soil. It is seen along the midland portion of the region. These range from deep to very deep, well-drained and gravelly to clayey.

²⁷ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries for Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988 (1807), pp. 428-29.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

3. The soil of the eastern part of the Eranad.

These soils are either deep or very deep and well drained with loamy to clayey texture. They have fairly high gravel content.²⁹

The presence of different varieties of soil in the area has helped in the growth of different crops like coconut and rice etc. To summarise, Eranad has laterite, alluvial and forest loam soils. While the soil in the lowland is moderately well-drained, the coastal alluvial soils have sand to loamy sand texture. The soils in the mid-up land are well-drained soils and the upland soils are well-drained forest soils.

The highlands of the Eranad region include Nilambur, Akampadam, Amarambalam, Chekode, Chumgathara, Edakkara, Kalikavu, Karulai, Karuvarakundu, Kurumbilangode, Nilambur, Mambad, Porur, Pullipadam, Thiruvalli, Thuvvur, Vazhikadavu, Vellayur and Wandur. These are rich in forest resources. Hilly regions are famous for spice cultivation. Pepper, cardamom, cloves, areca nut, and betel are the chief cultivations in this region. Crops like rubber and coconut are also cultivated in later period.

Majority of the places in Eranad belong to the midland region. These include Anakkayam, Areakode Cheekode, Chembraseseri, Cherukavu, Edavanna, Elankur, Karakunnu, Kavanur, Kizhuparamba, Kondoty, Kuzhimanna, Manjeri, Morayur, Muthuvallur, Nediyruppu, Pandallur, Pandikkad, Perakamanna, Pokottur, Pulikkal, Pulpatta, Thrikkalangode, Urgattiri, Vazhakkad, Vazhayur, Vettikattiri and Vettilappara etc. The staple crop in the midland region is paddy. Many parts of Eranad, especially Karuvarakundu, Kalikavu, Malappuram and Kondotty³⁰ have rich cultivations. These yield an abundant supply of high-quality rice and coconut. Arecanut, Coconut, Jackfruit, Tapioca & Cucumber are also cultivated. Coastal areas includes Areakode, Vazhakkad, Vazhayur, Tirurangadi, Tanur, Tirur, Parappanangadi, Tenjippalam & Athanikkal etc. These coastal areas comprise alluvial plains, alluvial

²⁹ *Directorate of Soil Survey and Soil Conservation*, Department of Agriculture, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, p. 5.

³⁰ *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut; Field Visits by Present Researcher.

stretches, abraded platforms and beach ridges. This area has sandy soil and saline water which are unfavourable for food grain cultivation. Coconut is also cultivated in Eranad mainly due to the sandy soil existed in the coastal area.

d) Geology

The Geology of the region, particularly its petrography has considerable influence on the life patterns of the megalithic people of Eranad. They depended on the locally available rock materials for construction of their burial monuments. The region of Eranad is very rich in laterite. This is smooth and soft. Megalithic people used it to make their burial monuments by chiselling elaborate chambers.³¹ The megalithic burial monuments like *kudakkallu*, *toppikkallu* and rock-cut chamber are unique to this region.

Laterite stone is found abundantly in the midland area. The laterite stone is a product of weathering common to areas with warm, moist climates. Laterite deposits are seen in terraces near Malappuram, Kottakkal, Pandikkad and Manjeri.³² This mineral is also found at Porur and Vettikuthu hill in Eranad. The vernacular laterite is found at Mamburam. Due to its availability, laterite is commonly used as a building stone in this region.

The biotitic gneiss is widespread in the hilly tracts of the area. Quartzes gneisses are common in Nilambur, Edavanna and Pandikkad areas of the Eranad region. Garniferous quartz gneisses occur in parts of Kondotty, Manjeri and Pandallur. The Charnockite rocks have been reported in Nilambur and hills near Edavanna. The rocky regions of the area include places like Edavannapara, Parakkod, Pothuvettipara, Parammal and Konompara.

³¹ *Geological Map of the Malappuram District*, Geological Survey of India, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, p. 8.

³² S. Sreekumar, K. Roshni, Aron Wilson and M.D. Ratheesh Kumar, '*An Evaluation of Land Use Changes and Land Degradation- A Case Study From Eranad Taluk, Malappuram District, Kerala*', Department of Geology and Environmental Science, Christ College, Irijalakuda, 2010, p. 19.

h) Minerals

Minerals are natural resources. Certain minerals like gold and Iron have been reported from Eranad. Gold has been reported in large quantities in the region. Gold ore has been found in the beds of the rivers and streams that originate from the Ghats flowing into the Nilambur valley. One of the principal branches of the Beypore river is called Ponpuzha or gold river derived etymologically from the idea that large quantities of minerals wash down the stream when it rains. Primary gold is noticed in very small quantities in the auriferous quartz reef of Nilambur and Marutha. In Eranad, gold mining working centres are scattered around Nilambur, Kappil, Marutha, Mutheeri and Porur. Placer gold occurs in the two main zones of auriferous gravels on the banks of the Chaliyar River on the Nilambur valley, namely Pandipuzha-Chaliyar Puzha zone and Punnapuzha- Marudhipuzha zone.³³ According to Francis Buchanan, gold dust is collected from the river as it passes through Nilambur. Nair has an exclusive privilege of the collection.³⁴

Iron ores have also been found in different parts of Eranad. It is observed chiefly in Chembrasserri and Pandikkad *amsams*. Many place names are brought direct hints to the presence of such ores. These are mostly seen as magnetite- quartzite. This variety has been reported from Nilambur, Kalikavu, Manjeri, Irumpuzhi and Malappuram. Laterite Iron ores are also reported from Irumpuzhi. The place name Karuvarakkundu shows the existence of the settlements of Iron smiths and Iron ores. According to Francis Buchanan, “these ores are found creating beds, veins or detached masses in the hills of the country. They are consisted of clay, quartz in the type of sand and of black Iron sand.”³⁵

³³ *District Survey Report of Minor Minerals: Malappuram District*, Department of Mining and Geology, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, pp. 14-16.

³⁴ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 441.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 437.

i) Forest and Mountains

History has been affected by the presence of forests, mountains and hills. These comprises of notified forests, private forests, and vested forests, of which only the forest possesses territorial boundaries.³⁶ The forest area is mainly focussed in Nilambur, Wander and Melattur blocks in the Western Ghats. The forests of Eranad are classified as evergreen and deciduous forests.³⁷ Forests are located in the Amarambalam, Edakkara, Chungathara, Kalikavu, Nilambur, Mampad, Uragattiri, Karuvarakkundu and Perakamanna areas.³⁸

The Nilambur valley is crucial to the Eranad region. It is the abode of various tribal communities like *Cholanaickans*, *Aranadan*, *Kattunayakan*, *Kuruman*, *Malamuthan* and *Malapanikkan*. These communities are scattered across the Nilambur valley of Western Ghats.³⁹ They were the primitive hunter-food searching tribal community. They coexist with the forest ecosystem following a subsistence economy and pre-agricultural technological capacity. They meet their needs with their primary income source through collected forest resources.⁴⁰ The Nilambur valley is bound on the north by the southern side of the Wayanad district, on the east by the Nilagiri district of Tamilnadu, on the south by Nilambur village and on the west by Manjeri.

The Nilambur valley can be divided into three forest ranges, i.e. Nilambur forest range, Chungathara range and Karulayi range. Forest cover extends across the entire Nilambur valley. It is evergreen in the Ghat region and semi-deciduous in the

³⁶ *Forest and Tree Resources in State and Union Territories: Kerala, Indian State of Forest Report*, Land Use Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, p.1 59.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ V.P. Devadas *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

³⁹ K.R.C. Nilambur *Nilimbapurathinte Naalvazhikal: Nilambur Charitram*, Nilambur Paristhithi Samrakshana Samiti, Nilambur, 2016, p. 11.

⁴⁰ C.K.B. Nilambur, *Nilambur Charitram*, Raspberry Books, Calicut, 2011, p. 15.

foothills areas.⁴¹ Trees grow immensely in size and height. The valley is abounded with teak plantations. These were started by the 1840 British Collector of Malabar, Mr Conolly. William Logan⁴² remarks, “No better site for planting could have been chosen. The Nilambur valley is of a horseshoe and lies 4000 ft. above mean sea level beneath the shadow of the amphitheatre of hills.”⁴³

The valley has alluvial deposits that are highly fertile and are immense depth. It is abundant in forest produce including ginger, dammar, cardamom, honey, arrowroot and pepper. The trees that are grown in this forest are Pali, Pine, Thambakom, Punna (*Colophyllum Podophyllum*), Vellakil, Anjili, Kulamavu, Bamboo and Kara. The deciduous forests are seen in the plain and lower Ghat slopes. Evergreen trees are seen along the river shores.⁴⁴

The Nilambur forests contain teak, venteak, rosewood and maruthu. Animals found here include Elephants, Wild Dog, Deer, Civet Cat, Rabbit, Wild Boar, Spotted Deer, Mongoose Wild Buffaloes, Bison, Tiger, Blue Monkeys and Bears.⁴⁵ Many bird and reptile varieties are also found in these forests. Except timber firewood and green manure, forest products like honey, medical herbs and spices are also collected. These are resources for tribal communities residing here.

The north-eastern part of the Eranad region contain **Mountains and Hills**. They are devoid of large plains. The presence of small Hills and elevated slopes are seen in the midland region. Francis Buchanan believes that the ‘low hills keep a very large section of the country and are clear from woods. Their sides are moulded into

⁴¹ *Nilambur: Tales Woven in Teak*, www.keralatourism.org/ecotourism, Government of Kerala, p. 4.

⁴² William Logan was a Scottish officer of the Madras civil service under the British government. His *Malabar Manual* was an exhaustive work giving the details of geography, people, religion, caste, language and culture of Malabar.

⁴³ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁴⁴ K.K.N. Nair, K. Yesodharan and K.K. Unni, ‘*Flora of Kerala Forest Research Institute Campus Peechi, Nilambur and Velupadam in Trichur and Malappuram Districts of Kerala State*, Kerala Forest Research Institute Peechi, Trichur, August 1997, pp. 10-12.

⁴⁵ C.A. Fukkar Ali, *Ethno History of Tribes in Malappuram District*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2009, pp. 5-7.

terraces for the cultivation of the hill rice variety'.⁴⁶ He added that all the hills here are low and covered with grass. They contain fertile soil. He found the place to be very beautiful. He writes of having been amazed with the green grass-laden hills along with the fields.

The important Hills found in the area under study are given below in the table.⁴⁷

Table 1
Major Hills in Eranad

| Region | Important Hills |
|---------------|--|
| Amarambalam | Kannankunnu, Kotta Kunnu, Komulla Kunnu, Kala Kunnu & Karinechi Kunnu |
| Anakkayam | Pandallur Mala, Karuka Kunnu, Kotta Mala, Eerppanachi, Arya Paramb, Mundikulam Kunnu, Vattammal Kunnu, Karuvaththala Mala, Ayiram Kunnu, Thuvva Kunnu & Vayappara Mala |
| Areakode | Valil Kunnu & Kuruvathur Kunnu |
| Athavanad | Nellithadam Kunnu, Muzhangani Kunnu, Mattummal, Avanakam Kunnu & Vellaram Kunnu |
| Chaliyar | Vellari Mala, Thamburan Kolli Mala, Kolappatti Mala, Pottanpara Mala, Andu Mala, Konan Thookki Mala & Manjappara Mala |
| Cheekkode | Puliyaram Kunnu, Chola Kunnu & Palli Kunnu |
| Chelembra | Ithilam Kunnu & Pullum Kunnu |
| Cherukav | Naadu Kunnu, Kotta Kunnu, Kanjira Kunnu, Cheppila Kunnu, Chelakkad Kunnu & Munniyur Kunnu |
| Edavanna | Thekkum Kunnu, Aala Kunnu & Pothuvan Kunnu |
| Karulayi | Nariyalam Kunnu, Kottupara Kunnu, Kozhamundakunnu, Choorakandi Mala, Thoovala Kunnu, Machi Mala & Arimala |
| Karuvarakund | Nagathan Kunnu, Nannangadi Kunnu, Chemban Kunnu & Chama Kunnu |
| Kondotty | Cheppila Kunnu & Nellikunnu |
| Kottakkal | Kottaparamb Kunnu, Valiya Paramb Kunnu & Mayiladi Kunnu |

⁴⁶ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 430.

⁴⁷ *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut; *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Field Visits by Present Researcher.

| Region | Important Hills |
|---------------|---|
| Manjeri | Rayadan Kunnu, Kanjirattu Kunnu & Vellilam Kunnu |
| Morayur | Manjalam Kunnu, Arimbra Mala, Kombathan Kunnu, Karimanakunnu & Karthyayani Kunnu |
| Nilambur | Kuttikunnu, Aruvakkode Kunnu, Banglavu Kunnu & Nedimunda Kunnu |
| Pandikkad | Eranjiri Kunnu & Thani Kunnu |
| Thuvvur | Neelikunnu, Nadukunnu & Kottakunnu |
| Trikkalangod | Thambapra Kunnu, Chozhiyatt Kunnu, Maniyatta Kunnu, Ambala Kunnu, Puliyatta Kunnu, Karakunnu, Nellikunnu, Varattilakunnu, Chozhikunnu & Muyalan Kunnu |
| Vengara | Poolan Kunnu & Urakam Mala |

j) Flora and Fauna

The variations in climate and seasons have their impact on vegetation and the development of agriculture. The flora of Eranad is special due to the presence of heavy rainfall, moderate temperature and high mountainous border. Physiographically the area is divided into coastal, midland and mountainous regions. Majority of the Eranad region consists of the midland category. The midland region with hills and dales presents an undulating tract of laterite soil.⁴⁸

The nature of the flora and fauna is another indicator for the mode of resource use. The *parambu* lands in the area contain large numbers of forest trees, such as karimaruthu, irool, and sandal. Natural vegetation is still preserved in sacred groves called *kavus*. Even though many *kavus* have changed their character and have been rapidly transforming into temples, there are still many groves which have their pristine character preserved. *Kavus* contains trees like erukku, kanjiram, nelli, ezhilampala and even bamboo. The preserved *kavus* which are still pristine character have extremely dense vegetation. Most of them also contain snake pits and are called *kotta*

⁴⁸ Sulfikar Valil, *Fauna and Flora Assessment, Eranad Taluk, Malappuram District, Kerala*, 2019, p. 6.

or *nakankotta*.⁴⁹ Most of the *kavus* contain medical plants in large numbers. These have been traditionally used for local medical practice.

k) Rivers

The rivers perform the two-fold function of fertilising the land and catering to the region's water transport and aiding its prosperous inland trade. The harbors at the mouth of the rivers provide safe anchorage to ships. Several historic and religious centres are situated on the banks of rivers. Most of the Brahmin settlements are also located on river banks. It indicates the influence of rivers in the socio-cultural life of the people of pre-modern Kerala.

There are various references to water bodies in the local parlance including *chena*, *chira*, *kulam*, *thodu* and *chaalli*. *Chena* refers to aquifers on rocky surfaces. Many rocky areas contain pools of water which were used until recently as sources of water supply in elevated regions and slopes. *Chiras* and *kulams* referred to tanks, the former referring to an artificially-built reservoir and the latter referring to a natural pond. There were several tanks of both kinds in the whole region, which again supported cultivation and habitation.⁵⁰

According to Philip Baldaeus,⁵¹ 'since the entire region is drained by rivers, it was an important early passage. However, most of the rivers present here are shallow and are not capable of bearing any ships of bulk or burden'.⁵² Francis Buchanan opined that 'it must be observed that in Malabar no river has any peculiar appellation, but each portion is called by the name of the most remarkable place near which it

⁴⁹ Suresh Mannarashala, *Sarpparadhanayum Prakriti Samrakshanavum*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2000, pp. 122-138.

⁵⁰ K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁵¹ He was a Dutch minister, missionary and writer and best known for his detailed accounts of south India. His work *A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also Isle of Ceylon* – is one of the earliest and most detailed European accounts of southern India and Sri Lanka. It is published in 1672.

⁵² Philip Baldaeus, *A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also Isle of Ceylon with their Adjacent Kingdom and Provinces*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2000, p. 621.

flows. In the rainy season, regions in proximity to these river banks are affected by floods'.⁵³

There are mainly two rivers in the Eranad region- Chaliyar and Kadalundi. The rivers exert influence on the socio-cultural, religious, economic and political life of the area. The principal river of the Eranad is the **Chaliyar River**, otherwise known as Beypore River. The main river starts from the Elembiler hills in Tamilnadu and is formed by the confluence of numerous streams and rivers. It flows from the east to the west through Eranad up till the Arabian Sea. The important tributaries of the Chaliyar are Cherupuzha, Iruvazhinji Puzha, Kurumbran Puzha, Kanchira Puzha, Karim Puzha, Punnapuzha, Vadapuram Puzha and Chaliyar Puzha.⁵⁴ These Rivers in their descent over rocky beds from several points creates cascades of astonishing beauty.

During the monsoon the river rises considerably and overflows for a few days. It is joined by several other rivers and streams in Eranad. The Chaliyar flows through Cholamala estate, Kurumbamala, Mannathiamabalam, Mambad, Edavanna, Areakode, Vazhakkad and Feroke areas of Eranad. It finally joins the Arabian Sea at Beypore. The rivers are navigable. Boats ply from the mouth of the river up to Kuttyadi. The river has a length of about 169 km. in the past, large quantities of timber were floated down to Kallayi through this river.

Kadalundi River

Kadalundi River is also known as Karimpuzha and Oravanpuram Puzha. It was formed by the confluence of two tributaries: Olipuzha and Veliyar. The Olipuzha river originates from the Cherakkobhan Mala and the Veliyar River from the forest of Erattakomban Mala. It is called Panampuzha in the Tirurangadi region. The length of the river is about 81 miles. It flows by the wilderness of the silent valley and traverses

⁵³ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 443.

⁵⁴ A.B. Anitha, A. Shahul Hameed and N.B. Narasimha Prasad, *Integrated River Basin Master Plan for Chaliyar*, Centre for Water Resources Development and Management, Kozhikode, Kerala, 2000, p. 16.

through the Eranad and Walluvanad regions. It then flows into the Sea at Kadalundi Nagaram.⁵⁵

The river was a major channel that facilitated river-born exchange and trade. It also separated the two major territorial units of south Malabar, namely Eranad and Walluvanad. The important places along the river courses are Karuvarakkundu, Melattur, Pandikad, Malappuram, Tirurangadi and Kadalundi. It takes a sharp bend in the North West at Palathingal, flows in between Tenchipalam and Vallikunnu and turns west again before joining the sea.⁵⁶ This river is important from the navigational point of view. Similarly, timber logs and bamboo rafts are floated down to Kallayi and Ponnani through this river from Karuvakkundu and other places. Although Chaliyar is perennial, others get dried up in summer. Hence, Eranad is highly drought prone.

The agricultural practices of Eranad are mainly based on the water sources from these two rivers and their tributaries. Evidence indicates that human inhabitation and the agrarian settlements in Eranad primarily arose on the banks of the Chaliyar and Kadalundi rivers. These river belts caused the development of agricultural practices in the region. These water bodies sustained cultivation and habitation. Apart from these two major rivers canals, ponds and other small water sources existed in the area.

Conclusion

From the above-mentioned factors, we can conclude that the physical and geographical features of Eranad like topography, climate, rivers, forests, mountains and hills, flora and fauna etc. influence the life pattern of the people. The area surrounded by high hills and mountain slopes would be an area of relative isolation and to a certain extent free from external impact. This can be seen in the lives of the tribes of Eranad especially the *Cholanaickans* and *Malamuthans*. They provide scope for ethno-archaeological studies. The forest ranges of Nilambur Valley have natural

⁵⁵ K. Vinod, P.K. Asokan and K.K. Joshi etc., '*Glimpses of Biodiversity in the Kadalundi-Vallikunnu Community Reserve*', ICAR- Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute, Calicut, 2020, p. 8.

⁵⁶ <http://kerala.me/lakes-and-rivers>.

rock shelters and caves which provide an abode for *Cholanaickans* who are the only cavemen of Kerala. Their settlements are found on the banks of the Chaliyar River.

Many place names are related to geographical features such as hills, rocks, ditches and fields (*parambu*) that can also be seen in the Eranad region. Some of these places are Thiruvvarshanam Kunnu, Kottakunnu, Keeramkunnu, Kuttippuram Kunnu, Kunnath, Chukkum Para, Kongadapara, Appayippara, Thekkilpara, Parakanni, Cheechippara, Muthirapara, Cherippadiyin Para, Erumapara, Pullanchal, Murikkinchal, Idayadichal, Thonichal, Chalilkundu, Kodalikundu, Athanikundu, Kappilkundu, Cherattukundu, Nelliparamb, Perumthottiparamb, Pulikkaparamb, Vattaparamb, Edariparamb, Alakkaparamb, Malaparamb, Kalluttiparam, Kottumalaparamb, Meenjaraparamb, Chenakkaparamb, Valaparamb, Naduvinthode, Konithode Karamthode and Munnuramthode etc.

Geology, especially the petrography of Eranad, has considerable influence on the life forms of the megalithic people. The megalithic monuments in the area are entirely made of laterite due to its abundant availability. Primitive people depended on locally available rock material for the construction of their burial monuments. Monuments like *Thoppikkallu* and *Kudakkallu* etc. are made with these rocks. All the burial monuments are found very near to the water sources. The importance of flora and fauna for understanding ancient environments and human cultural ecology has only been realized recently. Palaeo-botanical studies provide valuable information regarding the nature of vegetation, climate, farming history and the food habits of people during the ancient period.

Thus, the human geography of Eranad does not pertain to a simple man-nature relationship, rather to the interconnectedness of human beings with the environment they live in. Human beings have built or altered a substantial part of the natural environment in various ways. Initial landscapes have been altered including the soil, water resources and elevation. Soil is altered when paddy fields are altered to plant coconut or to erect building complexes.

The landscape that humans have created over centuries is probably the most important artefact that has represented the historical processes at work. The field

patterns, gardens, house sites, water resources, roads, market centres and numerous cultural markets have been shaped by different people over time and has transformed over centuries. These convey a deeper story that explores the processes of making of the human being and their development than the conventional political or social history.

Chapter Two

Agrarian Expansion and Regional Formation

People and the environment are interrelated. The environment encompasses the natural richness of biodiversity, landscapes and ecosystems. It influences the life of human beings, who, in turn modify their environment through their growth, dispersal, activities and even death and decay. Each area develops into a settlement unit through a long historical process. However, a common pattern cannot be ascribed to a region's origin, formation and transition. Each culture is a result of the material processes of human appropriation of nature for survival.

Agriculture is the backbone of every society. Developments in agricultural practices have brought significant changes to the human society as a whole. An agrarian or agricultural society is any community whose economy is primarily based on the production and maintenance of crops and farmland. Such societies were preceded by communities of hunters and gatherers. The transition to agriculture, which is often, called the 'Neolithic Revolution' occurred independently multiple times. Agriculture has allowed the people to settle and form the communities. This has led to the emergence of new social structures and forms of societal organization. This shift to a sedentary lifestyle marked a major transformation in human life patterns. The physical features of a region such as mountains, rivers, soil and climate have played a significant role in its agricultural development. These natural factors largely determine the agricultural geography of a region. At the core of this historical process lies the interrelationship between human beings and the environment. The Annals historian Braudel has conceptualised this relationship through the idea of geological time to historicize human-nature interactions.¹

¹ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Harper Row, New York, 1972.

The present chapter attempts to analyse the development of agriculture in the emergence of Eranad. It also examines the transformation of an agrarian unit into a *nadu* form.

Kerala as a Part of *Tamilakam*

Geographically and culturally, Kerala was part of *Tamilakam* until the eighth century.² Generally, the region stretching from Tirupati to Kanyakumari and between the Arabian Sea and the Bengal Sea is referred to as *Tamlakam*.³ During the early historic period, Kerala was a part of Ceranatu. This was further divided into five *nadus* Venatu, Kuttanatu, Kuntanatu, Pulinatu and Karkkarainatu.⁴ Although the exact boundaries of these regions are difficult to determine, some notions on it can be seen in early Tamil literature. Venatu includes present-day Thiruvananthapuram district and parts of Kollam and Pathanamthitta districts. Kuttanatu comprised areas of present-day Ernakulam- Kottayam, Idukki- Alappuzha and parts of Kollam district. Kuntanatu included present-day Thrissur, Palakkad and Malappuram districts along with parts of Kozhikode. The northernmost region, Pulinatu, encompassed the coastal areas of Kannur and Kasaragod districts and the parts of Kozhikode district. Karkkarainatu consisted of mountainous areas like Wayanad and Gudallur.⁵ During the *Sangam* period, Kerala was ruled by three major political powers. The southern region was under the control of the Ay kings, the northern region was ruled by the Elimalai kings, and the land between them known as Ceranatu, was governed by Cera kings.

The Tamil classical literary works such as *Akananuru*, *Purananuru*, *Kuruntokai*, *Nattinai*, *Madurai Kanchi* and *Pattupattu* mention about ancient Kerala.⁶ These texts also describe the physical geography and agricultural practices of early

² A. Shreedhara Menon, *Kerala Charitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2007 (1967), p. 75.

³ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Keralam Ancum Arum Nuttantukalil*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1961, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ A. Shreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 75.

⁶ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1970, p. 159.

Kerala. *Tamilakam* was divided into five *tinai*s or micro eco zones viz. *Kurinci*, *Mullai*, *Marutam*, *Palai* and *Neytal*.⁷ The *Akananuru* songs are arranged on the basis of these *Tinai* or *Aintinai*. *Kurinci*, the hilly region was inhabited by the *Kuravar* community, whose primary occupation was hunting and gathering. Archaeological evidence from these areas suggest that human habitation began in the *Kurinchi* region towards the end of the Stone Age. *Mullai*, the pastoral tract was occupied by the *Itayavar*, a pastoralist group. Many midland areas of present-day Kerala may be continuations of this eco zone. *Palai* was a barren land which was not suited for cultivation and was inhabited by the *Maravar* community, who relied on raiding and plunder for survival. *Neytal* referred to the coastal and littoral tracts of *Tamilakam*, where the *Paratavar* or *Paratiyar* who were traditionally fishermen were lived. Each *tinai* was associated with a specific deity. *Marutam*, with its fertile soil and abundant water sources was ideal for agriculture. Early Tamil literature provides insights into the agricultural practices that existed in *Tamilakam*.⁸

More detailed accounts of the early agricultural practices across various landscapes are found in the *Sangam* texts. These include shifting cultivation in the hilly forest tracts (*Kurinji*), the slash-and-burn agriculture in the pastoral plains (*Mullai*) and wetland cultivation by using cattle wealth as in wet fields (*Marutam*). In Kerala, *Marutam*-type agricultural tracts were mainly found in river basins. Such tracts were also referred to as *Vanpulam* and *Menpulam*. The *Kurinji* and *Mullai* tracts were considered as *Vanpulam*, while the wetland cultivation areas of *Marutam* were called *Menpulam*. Slash-and-burn millet cultivation was common in the *Kurinji* zone. Dry cultivation area was also termed *Punpulam*, and the open pastoral lands were known as *Viyampulam*. The *Neytal* region corresponds to the coastal zones in the present-day Kerala. Its unique features, such as fisheries and salt marshes are still seen along the coastal areas. Crops like coconut plantations were abundant in areas where the *Neytal* and *Marutam* zones overlapped, highlighting a blend of both ecological

⁷ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Op. cit.*, 1967, p. 7; K. Kailasapathi, *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1968, pp. 11-13.

⁸ M. Sreenivasa Ayyangar, *Tamil Studies: Essays on the History of People, Language, Religion and Literature*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1982 (1914), p. 344.

traits. The earliest references of the cultivated lands or *nadu* occurred in the *Kurinji* zone.⁹

However, the poetic allusions to the five eco-zones indicate that people were settled in diverse landscapes and engaged in various types of livelihoods in early historic *Tamilakam*. Communities appear to have inhabited hilly tracts, slopes, valleys, arid zones and coastal areas. Several terms frequently appear in the songs, especially in the *Akam* poems like *nadu*, *ur*, *kuti* and *ceri* in connection with the expansion of settlement areas. These references have also hinted at the gradual growth of population

The geographical divisions described in Tamil literary tradition cannot be applied precisely to ancient Kerala. The Tamil classification was closely tied to their modes of production, which helps us to understand how geography and ecology influenced the production process in ancient Kerala. However, geographically the five *tinais* were not distinctly separate regions within Kerala; rather they often overlapped into one another. Products from different *tinais* were exchanged, indicating the existence of a well-functioning exchange mechanism during the period of Tamil anthologies. The nature of ecology played a significant role in shaping the settlement patterns in Kerala. As a result, distinct habitational zones did not emerge clearly. Probably because of the peculiar ecological pattern, habitation centres were set up in all areas where production and food gathering were feasible. The natural availability of water across the most regions further enabled the proliferation of disbursed settlements in Kerala.

***Nadu* Formation**

The early references to the evolution of *nadu* appear in the *Sangam* literature of the early historic period. *Nadu* became the basic unit of socio-political organisation in pre-modern Kerala. Inscriptions from the ninth century onwards mentioned about

⁹ N. Subrahmanian, *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, University of Madras, Madras, 1966, p. 709.

nadus.¹⁰ Several of these *nadus* existed in Kerala and formed the geographical and cultural foundation of society during the early historic and early medieval periods (9th A D – 12th century A D). The agrarian system of the *nadus* was marked by a multi-crop pattern, which included wetland paddy cultivation in the plains and garden crops on elevated lands and hillock slopes.¹¹ Thus, the formation of *nadu* was the result of a complex process and the physical geography of the region influenced the *nadu* formation. In northern Kerala, the emergence of *nadus* is closely linked to the development of agriculture and the production of forest resources.¹²

There are multiple scholarly interpretations regarding the origin of *nadus* in Kerala. Two major approaches exist i.e., one view is that *nadu* as an administrative unit, while the other considers it as an agrarian unit. Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai was a pioneering historian who analysed *nadus* as administrative divisions. He studied the political structure of the Chera Empire and opined that the *nadus* were the local kingdoms under the administrative control of the vassals of the *Kulasekharas*.¹³ The representative assemblies known as *nattukootangal* played a crucial role in the administration of *nadu*. Each *nadu* was further divided into *desam*, administered by chiefs called *vazhkai* or *vazhis* or *desavazhis* which was further controlled by *desakkootams*.

M.G.S. Narayanan has examined the features of the Chera Empire and argued that the *nadus* functioned as districts governed by officials called *nadutaiyavar* or

¹⁰ Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *Kerala Charitram*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, Edappal, 2011 (1991), p. 115.

¹¹ K.P. Rajesh, *Historical Geography of Kolathunadu: A Study of the Regional Formation in Medieval North Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2011, p. 53.

¹² Anjana V.K, *Geo-political Formation of Nadus in North Kerala: A Study of Kadathanadu*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2020, pp. 35-36; E. Rekha, *Nadus in the Age of Perumals (AD 800- AD 1200)*, Unpublished M. Phil Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2001, pp. 48-81.

¹³ Elankulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Op. cit.*, 1967, pp. 250-251. He given a list of the *nadus* under the Ceras like Venad, Odanad, Nanrulainadu, Munninadu, Vempolinadu, Kizhmalainadu, Kalkarainadu, Nedumporayurnadu, Valluvanad, Eralanad, Kurumpurainadu, Puraikilanadu and Kolathunadu.

Natuvalumavar, under the central authority of the Cheraman Perumal.¹⁴ Alternatively, historian like Y. Subbarayalu examined *nadu* as an agrarian unit. In his *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, he stated that the *nadu* was the agricultural region formed by the grouping of agricultural settlements. He emphasised that the *nadu* consisted of *Vellanvagai* villages (the non-Brahmin villages), collectively organised under the *Nattar* assembly which was involved in the productive activity within the locality.¹⁵

Rajan Gurukkal,¹⁶ Raghava Varier¹⁷ and K.N. Ganesh¹⁸ also considered *nadu* as an agrarian unit. K.N. Ganesh argued that the expansion of agriculture, especially in fertile river valleys led to the increase of production, which paved the way for the emergence of *nadus*. He stated that the *nadus* were the groupings of food-crop-producing units developed in the *Marutam* and *Mullai* lands.¹⁹ In their *Kerala Charitram*, Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier described *nadu* as a spontaneous grouping of agrarian settlements and it comprised of several *ur*, the basic agrarian settlement.²⁰ Kesavan Veluthat (*The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*) also saw *nadu* as pre-existing groupings of peasant settlements, which

¹⁴ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy Political and Social Conditions of Kerala Under the Chera Perumals of Makotai (C AD 800 – AD 1124)*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2013 (1996), pp. 90-105. He listed fourteen *nadus*: Kolathunatu, Purakilanatu, Kurumporainatu, Ramavalantu, Eralanatu, Valluvanatu, Netumporayurnatu, Netunkalainatu, Kalkarainatu, Vempalanatu, Kilamalainatu, Munnninatu, Nanrulainatu and Venatu.

¹⁵ Y. Subbarayalu, *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, State Department of Archaeology, Tamilnadu, 1973, p. 36.

¹⁶ Rajan Gurukkal, *Agrarian System and Socio-Political Organization: The Early Pandyas*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1984.

¹⁷ Raghava Varier, *Village Community in Pre-Colonial Kerala*, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1994.

¹⁸ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Department of Cultural Publication, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997 (1990).

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

²⁰ Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varier, *Op. cit.*, 2011 (1991), pp. 166-67.

spontaneously came together. He emphasised that the *ur*, the agrarian village represented the smallest identifiable peasant community in South India.²¹

From the above-mentioned opinions and statements, it is clear that there is no unanimous opinion on the functions of *nadu*. It may refer to a political division within a major kingdom, a grouping of agrarian settlements, or a micro-regional unit. The available sources like colonial documents (settlement and re-settlement register, gazetteers and manuals) and pre-colonial records like *granthavaris*, inscriptions and literature of early historic and early medieval periods have highlighted the agrarian base of the *nadu*. In the case of Eranad, mono-crop cultivation was not feasible due to the region's diverse terrain, which includes the hilly regions, slopes, river valleys and coastal plains. Thus, the formation of *nadu* was closely tied to the spread of agriculture including wetland cultivation, garden lands and seasonal cultivations in mountain regions.

The ruler of the *nadu* was known as *nattudayavar* or *naduvazhi*. Some of the inscriptions mentioned *nattudayavar*. For example, the *Tarisapalli* copper plates of 849 AD²² mention *nattudayavar* or *naduvazhi* and the Jewish copper plates of Bhaskara Ravivarman mention various *nadus* such as Venatu, Vempolinatu, Eranatu, Valluvanatu and Netumpurayurnatu.²³ The *naduvazhis* accepted the suzerainty of the Perumals from the ninth to the twelfth century.

Hence, we can consider the features of Eranad as a *nadu* as a part of the Cera political system and also a grouping of agrarian settlements. There was no uniform pattern in the formation of Eranad, largely due to the undulated topography of Kerala. Some *nadus* were emerged in the river valleys and the cultivated units are spread mainly to the plains rather than gardens. In some other *nadus*, the number of wetlands

²¹ Kesavan Veluthat, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1993, pp. 77-192.

²² Kesavan Veluthat and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Tarissapllli Pattayam*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Sahakarana Samgham, Kottayam, 2015 (2013).

²³ Elankulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Op. cit.*, 1967, pp. 377-88.

was less compared to the garden lands and vice versa.²⁴ In the Eranad region, wetland cultivation was more prominent than garden farming.²⁵ This pattern can apply into the pre-colonial Eranad.²⁶

The term *nadu* continued to be used during the colonial period. The colonial government conducted systematic surveys and classified cultivated and resourceful land for administrative purpose. Based on such surveys, the lands in Malabar were divided into wet, garden, occupied dry and unoccupied dry.²⁷ Wetlands were used almost exclusively for the cultivation of paddy and coconut; while arecanut and jackfruit trees were grown in the garden lands.

Pre-Historic Phase and Early Iron Age

The earliest evidence of ancient human habitation in Kerala dates to the upper Paleolithic Age (25000 to 3000 years). During this time, Paleolithic people were able to survive primarily in high-altitude environments.²⁸ However, like the upper Paleolithic period, the Mesolithic tools were found in Kerala have not yet been scientifically dated, as they have not been discovered in precisely datable stratified archaeological contexts.²⁹ The Neolithic, or the new Stone Age, was more than a mere stone age. People began to use well-shaped tools, invented agriculture, domesticated

²⁴ The proportion of the cultivated lands in wet and garden lands and also occupied and unoccupied dry lands of revenue units of the colonial time was described by C.A. Innes I C S in his *Malabar Gazetteer*.

²⁵ C.A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteers*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1977, p. 208.

²⁶ If we go through the lands of Eranad, the undulated nature of the landscape can be experienced. The wet lands are distributed in the valley of the hillocks. The wet plains are narrow and lengthy, but the hillocks are larger. It is stated that most of the lands in the Eranad *taluk* (of colonial times), was unoccupied dry lands. The proportion of the occupied and unoccupied dry lands in 19th century A D was 349:222 acres. The proportion of wet and garden land cultivated areas was 65:53 acres. This may show that the amount of unoccupied dry lands was higher in the region under study even during the 19th century. Most of the laterite plains have been recently occupied. For details, C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *History of Kerala Prehistoric to Present*, Orient Blackswan, Telengana, 2020 (2018), pp. 30-31.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p, 34.

animals, manufactured earthen pots, fabricated cloths and used fire for cooking. This period saw the shift from food gathering to food production, ushering in the first major socio-economic transformation. Agriculture and cattle rearing brought about fundamental changes in human life.³⁰

The advent of Iron was a path-breaking development in the history of mankind. It enabled the ancient communities to clear the forests for cultivation, expand cultivation to fresh areas and protect themselves and their crops. Scholars agree that early Iron Age societies were composed of different tribes and clans with differing levels of access to Iron technology. Their means of subsistence differed from hunting and gathering to agro-pastoralism and craft production. The Early Iron Age economy was based on kinship-based production, redistributive consumption and reciprocity-based exchange. This society is primarily understood through archaeological studies, particularly from remains like burial monuments and their contents. These remains form the bulk of our understanding of the social and economic structures of the time.³¹

Megalithic Culture

In the case of Kerala, it is difficult to clearly differentiate the cultural layers between the Iron Age and the early historic period. The major archaeological remains from this phase are burial monuments referred to as ‘megaliths’, which span a long period from the Iron Age to the early historic period. Based on available scientific dating, the Iron Age and early historic phase in Kerala is broadly dated from 1000 BC - 500 AD.³²

The Megalithic culture is considered the earliest known cultural phase that introduced an agricultural economy in Kerala. The remains of megalithic are often aligned with the timeline of the Tamil heroic poems. Scholars such as K.R. Srinivasan and R. Champakalakshmi have pointed out that the early Tamil anthologies are

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p, 35.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p, 42.

³² Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varier, 1991, *Op. cit.*, p. 128.

contemporaneous with the megalithic culture, suggesting a co-relation between the two.³³ According to Gururaja Rao, “Iron which makes rather a sudden, but widespread appearance arrived either with this megalithic culture or closely followed it.”³⁴

Megalithic remains found throughout Kerala show not only the spread of Iron technology, but also the expansion of communities who possessed technological knowledge. The increase in population, growth of settlements, and the wider availability of implements contributed to this process of expansion.³⁵ Based on both material evidence and literary references from the Iron Age and early historic periods, it is evident that the megaliths of north Kerala reflect a multifaceted, advanced society. This society developed within a mixed crop agrarian economy and engaged in internal and external exchanges.³⁶

Although the megaliths primarily represent burial monuments containing the remains and belongings of the deceased, they are also the most significant evidence of early permanent human settlements in the region. These sites reflect the formation of an agro-pastoral society equipped with agricultural knowledge, iron technology, knowledge of climatic and environmental changes, mathematical and masonry skills, and reciprocal production and exchange relations.

It is important to note that not all megalithic monuments are made of stone. The megalithic culture was not restricted to any single region- its remnants are found across the world. Etymologically the term ‘Megalith’ means ‘huge stone’ and is derived from two Greek words viz, *mega* (huge or big) and *lithos* (stone). It was

³³ K.R. Srinivasan, ‘Megalithic Burials and Urn Fields of South India in the Light of Tamil Literature and Tradition’, in *Ancient India*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1952, pp. 9-16.

³⁴ Gururaja Rao, *Megalithic Culture in South India*, University of Mysore, Prasaranga, 1972, p. 267.

³⁵ Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

³⁶ K.P. Rajesh, ‘Megaliths of North Kerala: Formation of Technologically Advanced Agro-Pastoral Iron Age and Early Historic Society,’ in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archeology*, 5 (2017), Department of Archaeology, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017, p. 486.

coined by Algernon Herbert.³⁷ Generally, megalithic burials contain mortal remains and the belongings of the deceased.

Archaeological evidence shows two types of burial practices during the megalithic period in South India; primary and secondary burials. Primary burials include extended human skeletons buried completely, along with pottery, metal objects, semi-precious stones and stone beads. However, no such burials have yet been discovered in Kerala. Secondary burials involve fractional remains, typically bone fragments collected from different parts of the body. These are buried alongside various burial goods.

Kerala contains a variety of megalithic monuments, including *kudakkallu* (umbrella stone), *topikkallu* (hat stone), rock-cut chambers, dolmen, cist, urn burials, stone circles and menhirs.³⁸ Among these, rock-cut chambers, *kudakkallu* and *topikkallu* are unique to Kerala and are mainly found in the northern regions of the state.

Megalithic Distribution of Eranad

Megalithic remains discovered across various parts of Kerala reflect the expansion of agriculture in the region. The distribution pattern of megaliths reveals evidence of human activity in a range of landscapes including highlands, slopes, midland areas and coastal zones. A significant number of megalithic sites have been discovered in the area under study. The wide distribution of Iron Age burial monuments in Eranad has also pointed to the antecedent settlement formation of the region, suggesting the continuous occupation from the early Iron Age to modern times. Many villages in Eranad have yielded different types of megalithic burial

³⁷ Algernon Herbert, He was a British antiquarian. In his work *Cyclops Christianus; an Argument to Disapprove the Supposed Antiquity of Stone Henge and Other Megalithic Erections in England and Britain*, mentioned about megalithic. It was published in 1849 by Kessinger Publishers, United States (1849), 2010.

³⁸ K.R. Srinivasan, 'The Megalithic Burials and Urn-Fields of South Indian in the Light of Tamil Literature and Tradition', in *Ancient India*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1952; B.K. Gururaja Rao, *Op. cit*; Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit*.

monuments, primarily located in the midland laterite regions and few found in the high lands. However, megalithic remains are rarely in the coastal areas of Kerala.

The first report of megalithic monuments in the Eranad region came from J. Babington³⁹ in 1823, when he discovered a group of burial monuments at Chattaparambu at Feroke, near Calicut in north Kerala. This marked the beginning of pre-historic archaeological discoveries in Kerala. Babington was followed by William Logan,⁴⁰ who reported a solitary megalithic tomb called *kudakkallu* at Manjeri, along with other sites in the region.

Subsequently, numerous other sites were brought to light by Robert Sewell.⁴¹ This was followed by scholars such as Colonel Congreve, F.B. Evans, and C.A. Innes etc. The most prominent types of megalithic remains identified in Eranad are *kudakkallu*, *topikkallu*, rock-cut chambers and urn burials. Other types such as slab cists, stone circles, multiple hood stones and dolminoid are also present in the region, although they are less commonly distributed. Rock-cut caves are yielded varieties of Iron objects like arrowheads and spears showing their involvement in agriculture. The present study also relies on published reports and scholarly studies on the megalithic discoveries⁴² and megalithic cultures.⁴³

³⁹ He was the British antiquarian and credited to the study of megaliths in south India especially Malabar. His work was published under the title *Pandoo Coolies of Malabar* in 1823. After the publication of the report by Babington in Kerala, so many megalithic monuments were reported not only from South India but also from eastern and northern parts of India. But after this publication the scholars began to give attention to these type of monument.

⁴⁰ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2010 (1887).

⁴¹ Robert Sewell, *Lists the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol.1, Indological Book House, New Delhi, 1882.

⁴² J. Babington, 'Description of the Pandoo Coolies in Malabar', in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, Vol. 111, Bombay Education Society's Press, London, 1823, pp. 324-330; A. Aiyappan, 'Rock-cut Cave-tombs of Feroke, South Malabar', in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXII, reproduced in M.R. Manmathan (ed.), *Archaeology in Kerala Past and Present*, Farook College, Calicut, 2007, pp. 12-29, Robert Sewell, *Op. cit.*, pp. 238-61.

⁴³ William Logan, 'Finds of Ancient Pottery in Malabar', in Jass Burgess (ed.), *The Indian Antiquary A Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII-1879, Swasthi Publication, Delhi,

The important megalithic sites are as follows: -

Table 2
Megalithic Sites of Eranad⁴⁴

| Sl. No | Site Name | Type of Megalith |
|--------|------------------|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | Abdurahman Nagar | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 2 | Amarambalam | Slab cists and stone circles |
| 3 | Anakkayam | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 4 | Areakode | <i>Kudakkallu</i> & Urn Burialds |
| 5 | Aruvakkad | Urn Burial |
| 6 | Asankunnu | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 7 | Athavanad | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 8 | Charaye | Slab cist & Menhir |
| 9 | Cherukaav | Stone Circle |
| 10 | Cherukav | Multiple hood stone & Cairn Circles |
| 11 | Chokkad | Urn Burial |

1984 (1879), pp. 309-11; William Logan, *Op. cit.*, 2010 (1887), pp. 178-81; Clarence Maloney, 'Archaeology in South India: Accomplishments and Prospects', in Burton Stein (ed.), *Essays on South India*, University Press of Hawaii, USA, 1975, pp. 1-40; L.S. Leshnik, *South Indian Megalithic Burials: The Pandukal Complex*, Franze Steiner Verlag GmbH, Weisbaden, 1974; A. Shreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, S Viswanathana Pvt. Ltd, Chennai, 2003 (1967), pp. 50-58; Udaya Ravi S. Moorti, *Megalithic Culture of South India*, Ganga Kaveri Publishing House, Varanasi, 1994; Ajit Kumar, *Archaeology in Kerala: Emerging Trends*, Department of Archaeology, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011; K.N. Dikshit and Ajith Kumar (ed.), *The Megalithic Culture of South India*, Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi, 2014; Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Cultural History of Kerala*, Department of Cultural Publications, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, pp.101-56; K.P. Rajesh, *Archaeology of Iron Age Burials of North Malabar, Kerala, India: A Cognitive Analysis-UGC Minor Research Project Report*, Department of History, NSS College, Manjeri, 2016; B.K. Gururaja Rao, *Op. cit.*

⁴⁴ Field visit at some of the places on 15/1/2022, 25/1/2022, 28/1/2022 & 2/2/2022; Devadas V.P, *Archaeology of Eranad*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1993. pp. 53-83; Sujatha K.S, *Formation of Material Culture in the Bharathapuzha Basin During the Pre-Historic and Early Historic Period- A Study of Megalithic Burials*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2019; C.A. Innes I C S, *Malabar Gazetteer, Op. cit.*, pp. 438-449; William Logan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 309-311; Babington, *Op. cit.*, pp. 324-330; A. Aiyappan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-29.

| Sl. No | Site Name | Type of Megalith |
|---------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 12 | Edakkad | <i>Thoppikkallu & Kudakkallu</i> |
| 13 | Edappal | Dolmen |
| 14 | Edavanna | Dilapidated Slab cist & Urn Burial |
| 15 | Elamkur | Dolmenoid cists |
| 16 | Elankure | Slab cist |
| 17 | Feroke | Rock Cut Chamber & Cap stone, Urn Burial |
| 18 | Irumpuzhi | Rock Cut Chamber & Dolmen |
| 19 | Iruvetty | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 20 | Kaattumoochi | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 21 | Kallarakunnu | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 22 | Kandalapatta Paliya Paramb | Urn Burial |
| 23 | Kannamangalam | Dolmen & Menhir |
| 24 | Karad | Dolmen & Menhir & <i>Toppikkallu</i> |
| 25 | Karakot | Dolmen & Menhir |
| 26 | Karippur | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 27 | Karthola | Urn Burial |
| 28 | Karulayi | Stone Circles & Dilapidated Cist Burial |
| 29 | Karunnayimala | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 30 | Kattupparuthi | <i>Kudakkallu</i> , Menhirs & Stone Circles |
| 31 | Kavannur | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 32 | Kerakunnu | Dolmen & Menhir |
| 33 | Kodakal | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 34 | Koduvayur | <i>Kudakkallu</i> & Urn Burial |
| 35 | Kolamangalam | Urn Burial |
| 36 | Kolappuram | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 37 | Kuttilangadi | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 38 | Mailuthth | <i>Thoppikkallu & Kudakkallu</i> |
| 39 | Malappuram | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 40 | Manjeri | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 41 | Mavandiyur | Urn Burial & <i>Kudakkallu</i> |

| Sl. No | Site Name | Type of Megalith |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 42 | Melmuri | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 43 | Mundakkal | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 44 | Munniyurkunn | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 45 | Muthukad | Urn Burial |
| 46 | Nagalasseri | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 47 | Nannabra | <i>Kudakkallu</i> & Rock Cut Chamber |
| 48 | Nilambur | Urn Burial |
| 49 | Niramaruthur | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 50 | Ozhur | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 51 | Pallikkal | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 52 | Pandikkad | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 53 | Panga | Dolmen & Menhir |
| 54 | Paripapuram | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 55 | Pathapiriyam | Stone Circle |
| 56 | Patterkulam | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 57 | Ponmala | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 58 | Ponmala | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 59 | Pookattiri | Urn Burial & <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 60 | Pulikkal | Urn Burials |
| 61 | Pulppatta | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 62 | Puntala | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 87 | Puthukkotta | <i>Kudakallu</i> |
| 63 | Ramanattukara | A Pyriform Jar |
| 64 | Taliyappankunnu | Urn Burial |
| 65 | Tennala | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 66 | Thennala | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 67 | Tirur | <i>Kudakkallu</i> & Rock Cut Chamber |
| 68 | Tiruranagadi | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 69 | Trikkulam | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 70 | Trikkulam | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 71 | Trippanachi | Rock Cut Chamber |

| Sl. No | Site Name | Type of Megalith |
|--------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| 72 | Trippurangode | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 73 | Triprangode | <i>Kudakkallu</i> |
| 74 | Tuvvur | Urn Burial |
| 75 | Ugrapuram | Urn Burials |
| 76 | Urakam | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 77 | Valamangalam | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 78 | Vallikkunn | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 79 | Vaypparappadi | Urn Burial |
| 80 | Vazhakkad | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 81 | Vazhayur | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 82 | Velluvambarm | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 83 | Vengara | Rock Cut Chamber & Urn Burial |
| 84 | Vettikkattiri | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 85 | Vettikkattiri | Rock Cut Chamber |
| 86 | Wandoor | Slab cist, Dolmen & Menhir |

From the available data, it is evident that the geographical divisions of each region in Kerala may correlate with the typology of monuments. For instance, the nature and construction of monuments vary across the coastal, middle and high ranges. Dolmens, typically constructed using granite slabs, are predominantly found in the high ranges, where such stone resources are abundant. Cist burials are widely distributed in middle ranges, while urns and other related types are common in the coastal regions.

However, regional variations and exceptions can also be observed, indicating that these monuments reflect human adaptation to the local geography. This might have happened due to the geographical significance of this area. From this table, we can also understand that geography and environment have played a crucial role in the construction of various monuments in Kerala. A close observation of the megalithic distribution of Kerala by us shows that monuments like dolmens, dolminoid cists, cists etc. were located in hills and tablelands. It was also later observed that the developed

monuments such as urns were found to be located closer to the cultivable regions at times. It can be exhibited as evidence of the gradual movement of people from hills to tablelands. In another sense, it shows the possibility of mountain cultivation preceding wetland agriculture.

Inscriptional Evidence

Almost all inscriptions of the early medieval period record the fiscal support provided by ruling authorities to the temples, typically through land grants, offering a share of produce or occasional gold donations to meet the daily requirements of the temple.

Inscriptions discovered from the Eranad region provide insights into the agrarian conditions of the area, particularly highlighting the Brahman settlements and their functioning. A widespread distribution of temples attached to Brahman settlements can be observed. These early medieval temples of Eranad were developed in association with Brahmin settlements and were located in prosperous agrarian tracts. Some of the temples containing inscriptions include Karikkat, Pulpatta, Pukkottur, Triprangotu, Eravimangalam, Trikkalāyur, Kurumattur, Ponmala and Indyanur. Others like Pullanur, Trippanachi, Karakkunnu, Natakavungal, Athavanad, Trippangot and Trikknadiyur have survived with early medieval architectural features. The architectural grandeur of these temples reflects their economic and political backing, having received land grants and enjoying the over lordship of rulers of Eranad.

Karikkatu temple is dedicated to Subramanian and has yielded five inscriptions. The temple inscriptions ascribed to the 11th century and temple records of medieval times suggest that it had once been prosperous with extensive properties.⁴⁵ The records hint on the existence of *Calai*, the education institution for Brahmin students and the land assigned for its maintenance (*Calaippuram*).⁴⁶ They

⁴⁵ Kesavan Veluthat, *Op. cit.*, p. 47; Dr. V. Rajeev, *Aryadhinivesavum Nambudiri Samskaravum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2015, p. 62.

⁴⁶ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Karikatu Inscriptions, Index No. C 7,8,9,10,11*, pp. 488-89.

also mention land and gold donations to meet expenses for Brahmin feasts at the temple (*Uttamakkiram, Tiruvakkiram*).⁴⁷

Another important piece of information is on the Pulpatta Siva temple. The temple is a massive circular edifice dedicated to Siva built on laterite blocks and a granite basement with *dwitala vimana*. It is built in typical Kerala style with Dravida influence. The architectural features show that it was an early medieval structural temple. A notable feature is an inscription at the base of the shrine, and to the right of the *sopana* (i.e., the inscription is on the octagonal *kumuda* of the *adhishthanam*),⁴⁸ written in the *grantha* script. This epigraphical evidence is a record of the land transfer for the temple by three bodies: *Pulipotai ur* (temple administrative body), *Eranattu arunuttuvar* (five hundred militia of *Etattirainattu*) and *Etattirainattu munnuttuvar* (three hundred militia of *Etattirainattu*), who collectively make the provisions for *uttu* (feast) by assigning land to the Pulpatta temple.⁴⁹ As the inscription mentions, *ur*, the temple body, in the name of the settlement or temple and Eranad, it can be assumed that the settlement must have received the patronage of the ruling powers of Eranad⁵⁰ This inscription has pushed back the date of the temple to the 11th century CE.

Another inscriptional evidence is that of the Pukkottur Siva temple. It refers to the presence of *Pukkottur Parataiyar, Urpattar, Koyil, Potuval* and *Valluvar* which implied the possible survival of a Brahmin settlement in the name of the temple.⁵¹ Another is the Tripprangott inscription which mentions the *Tirupparankottu Parataimar, Urpattarar* along with the *Alkoyil* and *Potuval*. This also shows the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, Index No. C 8-11, pp. 488-89.

⁴⁸ Arya Nair V.S, 'The Early Medieval Temple of Eranad: A Study of Karikkad, Pulpatta and Trippanachi', in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 5, 13 November 2017, p. 557.

⁴⁹ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Pulpatta Inscription, Index No. C.12: 489*; H. Sarkar, *Architectural Survey of the Temple of Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 1978, pp. 202-203.

⁵⁰ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 185, 490.

⁵¹ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Pukkottur Inscription, Index No. C.23:493*.

presence of a Brahmin settlement related to the temple.⁵² It was deciphered by M. G. S. Narayanan, who drew insights on the conditions in Thavirannur *kaccam* (*kaccam* was the rules and regulations for the conduct of temple affairs and administration of temple properties based on the Tripprangott inscription and Sukapuram inscription. The system of *kaccam* declined after the Perumals. It was replaced by another set of customs called *keezhmaryada*). That is as follows:-

1. Do not prevent the cultivation of temple land and don't steal the crop.
2. If the members of *urala samiti* or *karyadarshi* do the above, they have to pay 25 *kazanj* gold to the emperor and 12 and ½ *kazanj* gold to the royal representative.
3. In addition to the fine, they will be expelled from the *urala samiti*.
4. Temple land should not be mortgaged.
5. No one should buy it.
6. The property of the person will be captured, those who gave the temple land.
7. Don't take bribery in the name of *karanma*
8. If the share to be paid to the temple is delayed, double should be paid.
9. The *uraler* do not associate with the women of *karaler*.⁵³

It is speculated that the *uraler* may have started intercourse with the woman of *karaler* from the 10th century onwards, and the Thavirannur *kaccam* may have intended to prevent the draining of temple wealth through this.

Another prominent inscription is from the Kurumathur Vishnu temple near Areakode. It was unearthed during the renovation of Kurumathur temple. The Sanskrit inscription in Pallava *grantha* script is engraved on a granite slab from the Vishnu temple. It was deciphered by M. R. Raghava Varrier. It refers to the Chera ruler King Rama Rajasekhara (9th century A D) and is dated to 871 CE. It is a record that gives

⁵² M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Tripprangotu Inscription, Index No. A 13: 440-441.*

⁵³ M.G. Sasibhusan, *Desacharithram Keraleeyakshetrangalilude*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2009, p. 530.

an exact date for the first Chera king. It is actually in the form of eulogy or *prasasthi* praising and legitimizing the ruler. It states that during his rule twelve Brahmanas constructed a temple pond and also installed an idol of God Vishnu in the temple.⁵⁴ While it does not give direct information about agrarian practices, it shows that the area was a Brahmin settlement.

The next important inscription is the Trikkalayur near Kizhuparamba, Areakode. The Trikkalayur inscription was found in the courtyard of the temple. It seems to mention the functions of the *Potuvals* in the temple. About 13 lines were noticed but not legible to read. Based on palaeographic analysis, Raghava Varrier believed that this inscription belonged to the 10th or 11th century AD.⁵⁵

Krishigeetha is a type of poetry that gives an understanding of ancient farming practices and is also the first reference to agriculture in Kerala. It is designed as a part of the *Parasurama* story. It presents the vision that agriculture is a productive economic activity. It is not clear who composed it or when.⁵⁶ K.P. Padmanabha Menon discusses the *Krishigeetha* in his *Kochi Rajya Charitram*.⁵⁷ It has different version as it was first transformed orally and written down in different forms. Agriculture is its main theme. It describes some of the customs and rituals followed by farmers.⁵⁸ It also emphasizes the importance of water in agriculture. It also explains soil preparation, fertilizer use and the types of plants that need to be watered in summer, etc. The second part of the *Gita* mentions different types of agriculture.⁵⁹ It specifies what crops should

⁵⁴ Kesavan Veluthat, 'History and Historiography in Constituting a Region: The Case of Kerala' in *Studies in People's History*, 1 June 2018, pp. 13-14.

⁵⁵ Arya Nair V.S, *Temples of Early Medieval Kerala: A Study Based on Archaeological and Literary Evidences*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2020, p. 164.

⁵⁶ M. Gangadharan, 'Krishigeethakkoru Amugham', in K.T. Ramohan (ed.), *Kerala Padanangal 1*, April- June 1993, Chithira Publishers, Ernakulam 1993, p. 105.

⁵⁷ K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *Kochi Rajya Charitram*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2021.

⁵⁸ T.T. Sreekumar, 'Sasya Vaividya Krishigeethayil', in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keraleeyathayude Nattariv-3 Vithth*, July-August 1995, Kanimangalam, Trissur, 1995, p. 269.

⁵⁹ M. Gangadharan, *Op. cit.*, p. 108.

be cultivated in each land according to its nature.⁶⁰ It also describes paddy cultivation and coconut plantations, and mentions how land should be ploughed.⁶¹

Many aspects such as seeds, topography, weather, crop variety, weeding, fertilization, implements, farming moments, and all aspects of agricultural life are summarized in the *Krishigeetha*.⁶² The main rule of farming strategy is to cultivate according to time. Depending on the amount of rainfall, the crop may either flourish or fail. All types of agriculture are closely related to *Njattuvela* (it means that the time is based on the zodiac and the agricultural year started with the Malayalam month *Metam*).

The mention of rice seeds from north Tulunad to south Venad *Gita* is particularly noteworthy. According to *Gita*, Eranad belonged to Edanad. The seeds of Edanad mentioned in the *Gita* is *Karimbala, Ariyan, Kazhama, Vattan, Mundappalli, Navara, Kozhivaala, Punjavithth, Kuttanadan, Kodanell, Cheppilakkadan, Kunalakkadan, Palavechala, Kumbalavan, Chendarmaniyan, Velliththayan, Karingali, Arikkuruma, Ariyangali, Thanikkali, Cheranali, Swarnnali* etc.⁶³

⁶⁰ *Kolaneerum Vananeerum Kalneerum
Valaneerum Malaneerumurneerum
Aaruneerozhukeedunna Bhumiyl
Eereyunduvilavennu Nirnnayam*

⁶¹ *Karinannayithaththiketeettuda-
Nerumbettanguzhenam Pratiprathi
Munbil Puuttunnakannine Veritta-
Ngambode Bharikkenam Visheshichchum
Thelichchittanguthanneeyuzhename
Kalichittum Thaikkaruth Kannine
.....
Valppidiyum Thulakkalpidiyulla
Kolkkarikettiththazhthiyuzhename
.....
Valkkozhuvum Chevikkozhuvumittu
Melkkumelangu Paaththikkozhuvittum
Karivalammelittangurappichu
Karutherunna Kalakal Puttanam*

⁶² C.P. Gangadharan, *Krishigeetha Chollum Vayanayum*, Nattarivu Padana Kentram, Trissur, 2012, p. 11.

⁶³ M. Gangadharan, *Op. cit.*

This *Krishigeetha* depicts the cultivation of pepper. It is as follows:-

“*Thiruvathira njattu nila thannil*
Orumbettu nadenam mulakukal”

It also explains the importance of manure in agriculture. That is as follows:-

“*Valam padathidanjalorikkalum*
Thelivilla vithachalum nattalum
Athuthanneyumalla vilavingal
Athikashtam kurachilumayi varum”

The *Krishigeetha* also mentions etiquettes and manners that are to be followed by farmers: - 1) the path should not be blocked 2) do not cultivate beyond the boundary 3) farmer should have devotion to God 4) don't be too interested in sleep 5) alcoholics should not be farmers 6) cheaters should not be farmers 7) those who cannot be properly accounted for are not suitable for farming.

***Kavus* as Part of the Agrarian System**

Kavus or sacred groves are worship centres that act as enclosures or gardens,⁶⁴ where the mother goddess is worshipped. They are the dwellings of the goddess, surrounded by immense trees, shrubs, and foliage. They served as protectors of traditional medical practices by preserving rare medicinal herbs. The worshipping patterns in *kavus* are related to the fertility cult. It is commonly believed that the deities worshipped in *kavus* protect the people and their land from calamities.⁶⁵ Generally, a *kavu* is situated near agricultural tracts. There are many rituals connected to agricultural practices. During sowing time, people performed specific rituals in *kavus* which included offering harvested paddy to the deity.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Herman Gundert, *Malayalam-English Dictionary*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2013 (1872), p. 251.

⁶⁵ Nanditha Krishna and M. Amirthalingam, *Sacred Plants of India*, Penguin Random House India, Haryana, 2014, p. 53.

⁶⁶ Dr. K. Vidyasagar (ed.), *Nammude Nattarivukalum Pazhanjollukalum Kadangadakalum Nammude Samooham*, Vol. 11, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011, p. 19.

James Freeman in his article ‘*Gods, Groves and the Culture of Nature in Kerala*’,⁶⁷ studied the institution of sacred groves in Kerala. According to him, physically the *kavu* is indeed a piece of garden or forest land, but what culturally defines it is that it is dedicated to the exclusive use of particular deities. The groves usually adjoin, or are a short distance from, an associated structural temple or shrine, though sometimes the sacred structure may be within the *kavu* itself.⁶⁸ He identified the principal features of *kavus* as groves or gardens dedicated to particular deities, with religious belief and worship being central.⁶⁹ He opined that the origin of a *kavu* may indeed result from the dedication of a patch of virgin forest to a deity, but it could also have developed from what was once a stand of cultivated toddy palms, from patches of shrubbery on laterite hillocks.⁷⁰

Another article written by Catrien Notermans, Albertina Nugteren and Suma Sunny (*The Changing Landscape of Sacred Groves in Kerala (India): A Critical View on the Religion in Nature Conservation*),⁷¹ argued that sacred groves are an age-old and global phenomenon. Traditionally, they consist of forest zones protected by local people based on their spiritual relationship with the deities or ancestral spirits believed to reside there. A traditional *kavu* can be defined as a relatively undisturbed patch of evergreen vegetation, mostly dedicated to female deities who have been revered by local populations for centuries. Such groves are home to various medicinal plants, reptiles, birds and butterflies and often contain water resources like ponds, streams or wells.⁷²

⁶⁷ James Freeman, ‘*Gods, Groves and the Culture of Nature in Kerala*’, in *Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press, U K, 1999, pp. 257-302.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 265.

⁷¹ Catrien Notermans, Albertina Nugteren and Suma Sunny, ‘*The Changing Landscape of Sacred Groves in Kerala (India): A Critical View on the Religion in Nature Conservation*’, in *Religions*, 9 April 2016, pp. 2-14.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

Vettekkorumakan, Bhadrakaali, Kaali, Anthimahakaalan, Karimkaali, Ayyappan and serpent gods are the main deities of *kavus* in Eranad.⁷³ *Kuruti*, or animal sacrifice- of goats, cocks, and domestic animals was an important ritual in *kavus*. References to *kuruti* can be found in *Akanauru* and *Madurai Kanchi*.⁷⁴ Almost all the *kavus* in the areas under study are located on agricultural lands, with the intention of protecting them from the danger of animals, evil spirits, natural disasters and diseases. The rituals in *kavus* are related to agricultural practices. *Nira, Puttari, Kuruti* and *Tirayattam* are important rituals in *kavus* of Eranad. Many trees were found here, namely, Neem, Pipal, Sandal, Akil, Tamarind, etc. A *kavu* is not only a worship center, but also an ecological system. There is an interrelationship between the pond and the *kavus*. Almost all *kavus* have a pond nearby, which is used for agricultural purposes and bathing.⁷⁵

The wholesale transformation of the physical environment led to changes in the groves of Kerala. There is a need to reconsider the complex issue of the groves themselves during this transformation. Many of them (*kavus* in Eranad) were sold to other communities like Christians and Muslims. These groves were included in the tracts of lands they purchased and were accordingly burned or felled for conversion into plantations. Many of these were ritual centres for the lower castes, who were traditionally denied entry to temples and worshipped in *kavus* with monthly rites and annual ritual celebrations. The sale of forest tracts not only deprived these labouring communities of their subsistence base, but also of their cultural and religious centres.⁷⁶

The *kavus* found in Eranad are known for their bio-diversity. Mundakkal *Karinkali avu* at Kuzhimanna village, Pazham Parambu *Karinkali kavu* at Kizhuparamb, Pathanapuram *Karinkali kavu* at Kizhuparamb, Iruveti *Karinkali kavu* at Kavanur, Kavanur or Pariyarakkal *kavu* at Kavanur, Parappur *Karinkali kavu* at

⁷³ Chelanatt Achuthamenon, *Keralathile Kaaliseva*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2015, p. 18.

⁷⁴ Nenmara P. Viswanathan Nayar (ed.), *Akananuru*, Vol. I, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 1987, p. 46.

⁷⁵ E.P. Rajagopalan, 'Kaavum Kulavum', in Prof. Pathmana Ramachandran Nair (ed.), *Kerala Samskara Padanagal*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2013 (2011), pp. 820-23.

⁷⁶ James Freeman, *Op. cit.*, p. 291.

Vilayil Parappur, Palakkad *Karinkali kavu* at Pulppatta village, Kappil *kavu* at Wandoor, Palakkod *Karinkali kavu* at Porur, Tiruvali *Karinkali kavu* at Tiruvali, Karakkunnu *kavu*, Vakyathodi *kavu*, Karuvambram *kavu* at Manjeri, Melmuri *kavu* at Malappuram, Parola *kavu* at Morayur, Poyilikavu at Nediyrrippu, Kilinakkodu *kavu* at Kannamangalam, Peruvathum *kavu* at Vazhayur and Mannur *kavu* etc. were important *kavus* of the Eranad region.⁷⁷ The rites and rituals practiced in these *kavus* indicate the continuation of ancient belief systems. Several place names related to *kavus* also existed in Eranad.⁷⁸ For instances, Kaalikaav, Karinkalikavu, Perurkaav, Karumakankavu etc. showing the presence of *kavus*.⁷⁹

The Spread of Agrarian Settlement

The period from the eighth to the 12th century marked the emergence and decline of Ceras of Mahodayapuram (Second Cera Empire). This era witnessed the proliferation and consolidation of temple-centered Brahman settlements, which were based on agriculture and spread across the fertile areas of Kerala. The distinguished features of this period are as follows:-

1. The establishment of kinship based on the *Chakravartin* model.
2. The consolidation of temple-centered rural Brahman settlement.
3. The formation of a new society, shaped by the institutional socio-economic functions of the temple.⁸⁰

Brahmin Settlements

There were three kinds of settlement in pre-modern Kerala.

1. Brahmin settlement

⁷⁷ Field visit conducted at these *kavus* on 5/10/21, 12/ 10/ 21, 6/11/2021, 8/11/21; Personal Interview with Midhusha, Kalyanukutty Amma and Gopalan.

⁷⁸ Dr. K. Vidyasagar, *Nammude Nattarivukalum Pazhanjollukalum Kadangathakalum: Nammude Samuham*, Vol. 11, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011.

⁷⁹ Field visit conducted at these *kavus* by the present researcher.

⁸⁰ Rajan Gurukkal, 'The Socio-Economic Millie of the Kerala Temple: A Functional Analysis 800- 1200 A D', in *Studies in History*, Vol. 11, Sage Publication, India, 1980.

2. Non-Brahmin settlement
3. *Cherikkal* settlement, owned by ruling families

The migration and establishment of Brahmin settlements was one of the major factors that changed the course of Kerala's history. Several Brahmin settlements were founded in Kerala well before the establishment of the Chera kingdom. It is assumed that these settlements took shape between the closing years of the Sangam age and the 7th century A D. These settlements were generally located in the fertile river valleys.

The spread of agrarian settlements in these river valleys is closely associated with Brahmin migration. The ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries marked the establishment of Brahmin settlements in Kerala. By the ninth century, the Cera Kingdom had been revived, with Mahodayapuram as its new capital. While examining the background of the Makotai Kingdom, it was noticed that the Aryan Brahmins who migrated from the north established themselves as superior social elements through their superior agricultural techniques and military organization.⁸¹ The Cera of Makotai patronized these Brahmins, who in turn accumulated wealth and respect. The temple-centered lifestyle, which was an offshoot of Aryanisation, became a defining feature of Kerala from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Brahmins, being the elite class, were in a position to assign different functions to other groups with the approval of the rulers. For instance, a section of people was entrusted with the protection of the country.⁸²

The traditional account of early Brahmin settlements is preserved in the *Keralolpathi*.⁸³ According to the *Parasurama* legend, Brahmins were brought to the southwest coast of India by *Parasurama*, and settled in thirty-two *gramas* each in the

⁸¹ Ammukkutty K.P, *The military System of Kerala (C 1000 A D to C 1600 AD)*, Unpublished M Phil Dissertation, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1990, p. 20.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahman Settlements in Kerala Historical Studies*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013 (1978), p. 25; Herman Gundert, *Keralapazhama, Keralolpathi, Ayirattirunnuru Pazhanchollukal*, Sahitya Pravarthaka Cooperative Society, Kottayam, 2014, pp. 111-12; M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 262-71.

South Canara and Kerala. However, in this context, 'Kerala' refers to the land stretching from Gokarnam in north Canara to Kanyakumari at the peninsular tip.⁸⁴ Most of the traditional Brahmin settlements of Kerala have Iron Age burial complexes in their locality. This shows the earlier entity of the agro-pastoral society in the region⁸⁵

Inscriptions are the most important sources that enable this study. These were mostly temple records. Evidence suggests that 32 Brahmin settlements were well established by the early 9th century A D. These have been identified with the help of various sources:-

1. Eighteen settlements identified through inscriptions discovered within the locality.
2. Four villages that appear prominently in inscriptions from other places.
3. Three mentioned in contemporary or recent literature.
4. Six identified through ongoing Brahmanical tradition and structural temples.⁸⁶

Kesavan Veluthat has conducted a detailed study of Brahmanical settlements in Kerala.⁸⁷ According to him, most major Brahmin settlements in Kerala originated between the late Sangam age and the seventh century A D. A significant feature was that they were temple-centred, where temples were synonymous with Brahmin settlements and vice versa. According to him, these Brahman settlers claimed superiority over the rest of the society, gradually managing to re-orient the semi-tribal, semi-nomadic society of Kerala into a temple-centered agrarian caste society.⁸⁸ Veluthat also emphasised that original settlements took shape on the fertile plains rather than on hilly regions or coastal tracts, though many emerged on river banks and

⁸⁴ Kesavan Veluthat, *Op. cit.*, pp. 25-26.

⁸⁵ Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Cultural History of Kerala*, Department of Cultural Publications, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999. p. 239.

⁸⁶ M.C. Vasist, 'Kerala Through the Ages Pre-History to 1498', in J.V. Vilanilam, Antony Palackal and Sunny Luke (ed.), *Introduction to Kerala Studies*, International Institute for Science and Academic Collaboration, USA, 2012, p. 138.

⁸⁷ Kesavan Veluthat, *Op. cit.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

many of them are found clustered in the more fertile region.⁸⁹ Apart from these original thirty-two settlements, additional settlements came into being by fusing elements from existing ones leading to the formation of *upagramas* and other independent settlements. These constituted a wider network of settlements across Kerala enjoying land ownership, tenant support and entailing feudal privileges. The influence of these settlements were expressed through their representation in the king's council, known as the *nalu tali*.⁹⁰

Veluthat described the organization and administration of Brahmin settlements, noting that they became a major unifying force in the post-Chera period.⁹¹ The Brahmin population started to cultivate in virgin land, and began wetland agriculture. Their knowledge of seasons and management practices helped them to establish a Brahmin-dominated agrarian society in Kerala. They cleared forests using Iron equipment, contributing to the expansion of agriculture. However, the scope of his work does not cover aspects like agricultural expansion, settlement patterns, general agricultural pattern, agricultural production process, agrarian relations and surplus in production or exchange centres.

The size and wealth of a Brahmin settlement largely depended on the wealth of the temple associated with it. Therefore, the distribution of the Brahmin settlements in the early medieval period has to be understood through the study of distribution of early medieval temples. This period also witnessed the proliferation of different occupational castes. Place names associated with these occupational classes also suggest that each Brahmana village had its corresponding occupational groups. These Brahmana villages functioned as independent production units attached with the families of working classes from different categories. The dwelling places of the Brahmanas were called the *mangalams*. Some of these *mangalams* might have been

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

place names, while others referred to individual house names. These dwelling sites such as *mangalam* and *illam* were rarely distributed in the *nadu* areas.

Brahmin Settlements and Eranad

Inscriptions discovered from different parts of Eranad from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries mention early Brahmin settlements of Eranad. This indicates that Eranad was not exempt from the effects of Brahmin migration and settlements. Terms such as *illam*, *parambu*, *mana*, *mana parambu*, *mangalam* and *cennamangalam* signify the presence of Brahmin settlement in the area.⁹² Place names recorded in the settlement registers of Eranad provide information regarding the Brahmin settlements of Eranad.

The clearing of forests and reclamation of land for cultivation was a common practice during the Cera period, continuing to the post-Cera period. It can also be noted that the geographical location and geological formation, understood by the nature of the soil, were responsible for the limited presence of Brahmins in the coastal areas of Eranad. Many early medieval temples have been surveyed in the Eranad area, reinforcing the possibility of a wider distribution of Brahmin settlements.⁹³ Among the 32 settlements mentioned in *Keralolpatti*, Karikkatu was the only Brahmin settlement located in Eranad.

According to Kesavan Veluthat, Karikkatu is located about two miles north of Manjeri town. The local temple, dedicated to Subramanian, has yielded five inscriptions ascribed to the 11th century. These inscriptions, as well as the medieval temple records, suggest that Karikkatu was once a prosperous temple with extensive properties.⁹⁴ The records also hint at the existence of a *calai*, the education institution

⁹² M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Madhyakala Kerala: Sampattu Samuham Samskaram*, Chintha Publications, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 12; *Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut.

⁹³ The present researcher has surveyed many early temples in Eranad as part of field work.

⁹⁴ Kesavan Veluthat, *Op. cit.*, p. 47; Dr. V. Rajeev, *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

for Brahmin students and the land assigned for its maintenance (*calaippuram*).⁹⁵ The inscriptions also mention the donations of land and gold used to meet the expenses of the Brahmin feast at the temple (*uttamakiram, tiruvakkiram*).⁹⁶

Besides the prominent Karikkatu Brahmin settlements, several other areas like Pullanur, Pulpatta, Trippanachi, Ponmala, Kunnath, Karakkunnu, Natakkavungal, Indyanur, Triprangotu, Eravimangalam, Trikkalayur and Kurumattur, also had widespread Brahmin presence. Some of these temples in these areas like Pulpatta, Pukkottur, Triprangotu, Eravimangalam, Trikkalayur, Kurumattur, Ponmala and Indyanur contain inscriptions, while others like Pullanur, Trippanachi, Karakkunnu and Natakkavungal have survived with early medieval architectural features.

In attempting to understand the common features, existence and settlement patterns of prominent Brahmin villages in Eranad, we can identify some of the facts. That is as follows:-

The regions like Trippanachi, Pullanur, Pulpatta, Ponmala, Kunnath, Karakkunnu, Natakkavungal, Indyanur, Triprangotu, Eravimangalam, Trikkalayur and Kurumattur⁹⁷ etc. are the examples of Brahmin villages in Eranad. It is difficult to construct the pre-history of these regions owing to the absence of reliable evidence. The available archaeological remains primarily belong to the proto-historic phase of megalithic culture.

Kesavan Veluthat noted common features of Brahmin villages in Kerala. Firstly, he mentions the geographical features of the particular Brahmin area.⁹⁸ He mentions that it existed on fertile plains rather than on the hilly regions or the coastal tracts where the original settlements took shape, mostly clustered on river banks. Many of these are found in clusters in highly fertile regions. When we correlate these

⁹⁵ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Karikatu Inscriptions, Index No. C 7,8,9,10,11*, pp. 488-89.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Index No. C 8-11*, pp. 488-89.

⁹⁷ The present researcher has conducted wide field work in these area.

⁹⁸ Kesavan Veluthat, *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

geographical elements to the above-mentioned villages, it can be understood that these are fertile plains useful for agriculture and existed in acres of *parambu* and field lands that were suitable for paddy cultivation.⁹⁹

Secondly, there is evidence of the existence of *illoms* in different parts of the above-mentioned villages, especially Trippanachi and Pulpatta. In Trippanachi alone, there are seventy-three *illoms* (Brahmin residences) with the seventy-third being called 'Koraliyad', known for its wealth and prominence. However, only the names of twenty-six of these *illoms* can be identified.¹⁰⁰

The names of existed *illoms*:-

1. Pathirisheri *illom*
2. Akkad *illom*
3. Pattelath *illom*
4. Palatt *illom*
5. Velakkatt *illom*
6. Kadumundath *illom*
7. Muthedath Palasheri *illom*
8. Kiliyengizh Palasheri *illom*
9. Pullur *illom*
10. Mullengizh *illom*
11. Puliyyara *illom*
12. Kunduli *illom*
13. Koraliyad *illom*
14. Meppalasheri *illom*
15. Pottengizh *illom*

⁹⁹ *Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹⁰⁰ The names of *illoms* are collected from the *A Register*, Trippanachi *Amsom* of Pulpatta village, Eranad (Preserved in village office of Pulpatta) and from Rafeeq (48), village surveyor of Pulpatta village office) and also from Survey and Settlement register of 1901 (Descriptive Memoir of Trippanachi *Desam* (DMT) No. 117 of the Ernad *Taluk* of Malabar District (1901), Regional Archives Calicut.) and Re- Survey and Re- Settlement register 1935 (Descriptive Memoir of Trippanachi *Amsam* (DMT) No. 55 of the Ernad *Taluk* of Malabar District (1935), Regional Archives, Calicut).

16. Thamarakkulath *illom*
17. Meppalasheri kuzhikkal *illom*
18. Vadasheri *illom*
19. Eranjippurath *illom*
20. Manakkad *illom*
21. Matam
22. Nenmini Mangalath *illom*
23. Arakkunnath *illom*
24. Konallur *illom*
25. Akkare Palasheri *illom*
26. Modanikkott *illom* ¹⁰¹

We can also identify the existence of *illoms* not only Trippanachi region, but also in Pulpatta, Pookottur, Pullanur, Trippangot and Trikkalayur as a Brahmin settled village in Eranad. In the Pulpatta region, Cherukazinjamanna and Natuvila Matham etc. were the main Brahmin *illoms*.¹⁰² Pudayur *illom* and Palakkal *illom* etc. existed in Pookottur region.¹⁰³ The Pullanur region had *illoms* like Naduvath and Areepurath etc.¹⁰⁴ The Karippotta, Varikkasheri, Mambatta and Mundasserri etc. were the main *illoms* of the Ponmala region.¹⁰⁵ Pullur, Velakkatt, Mangattasserri, Kizhedathu and

¹⁰¹ Unnikrishnan Nambudiri of Palasheri *mana* also helped the scholar to identify the names of the *illoms* and the dairies of Shankaran Nambudiripad of Palasheri *mana* also became a helpful one. The scholar can corroborate the information given by him with survey and settlement register and re-survey and re-settlement register of Trippanachi *desam*. The personal diary of him was a very helpful source material to identify social, cultural and political affairs of Palasheri *mana*. This includes four kinds of details like 1) *nalvazhi chilavukal* (daily income and expenditure of the Palasheri *mana*, 2) *thiratt* (book for *kudiyans* or farmers), 3) *ezhuthukuthukal* (personal matters) and 4) case related details etc. It helped to understand the temple and land transaction details.

¹⁰² S. Jayashanker, *Temples of Malappuram District*, Directorate of Census Operations, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997; *Descriptive Memoir of Pulpatta Amsam (DMP)* No. 54 of the Ernad *Taluk* of Malabar District (1935), Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹⁰³ *Descriptive Memoir of Pookottur Amsam (DMP)* No. 94 of the Eranad *Taluk* of Malabar District (1935), Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹⁰⁴ *Descriptive Memoir of Pullannur Amsam (DMP)* No. 69 of the Eranad *Taluk* of Malabar District (1935), Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹⁰⁵ *Descriptive Memoir of Ponmala Amsam (DMP)* No. 37 of the Eranad *Taluk* of Malabar District (1935), Regional Archives, Calicut.

Muthedathu are prominent *illoms* of Trikkalangode village.¹⁰⁶ Chembazhi, Vadakkiniyedath, Kirangatt, Naduvathedam, Pulliurmana and Azhinjillam *illoms* etc. are the main Brahmin residences in the Trikkalayur area.¹⁰⁷

Thirdly, there is evidence of lease-holding groups, like the *Nairs*, residing in the above-mentioned regions. According to Rajan Gurukkal (*The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*), most of the temple property and individual holdings of the Brahmanas were leased out to *karalars*, who were predominantly non-Brahmanas. The community which later came to be called *Nair* seems to have been the foremost among this non-Brahmana order. Forming the major part of the *karalar*, this community denoted the second dominant force in the socio-political realm of medieval Kerala. It was from this class that the *samanta* chieftains emerged. It seems that the major military recruits were also made from among this community.¹⁰⁸ The descendants of old *karalar* groups can be seen in different parts of these villages.

Fourthly, we get evidence about the habitat or residence of temple-oriented people surrounding the above-mentioned Brahmin settled areas, i.e., groups like *Ambalavasis*, *Varasyar*, and *Nambishans* exist in these region.¹⁰⁹ According to Rajan Gurukkal, in addition to the employees directly connected with the daily rituals of the temple, there were a few artisans and craftsmen who were settled within the limits of the temple-centered village and obliged to render their services to the temple.¹¹⁰ When we correlate these elements into the above-mentioned regions, we can understand that the village settlement register of these *desams* indicated place names that show the existence of artisans, craftsmen, or occupational groups. The place names like *Kollamkandiparambu*, *Perumkollan Thodikaparambu*, *Parayarakandi*, *Aasharikandi*

¹⁰⁶ *Descriptive Memoir of Trikkalangode Amsam (DMT)* No. 62 of the Eranad Taluk of Malabar District (1935), Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹⁰⁷ *Descriptive Memoir of Areakode Amsam (DMA)* No. 12 of the Eranad Taluk of Malabar District (1935), Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹⁰⁸ Rajan Gurukkal, *The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1992, p. 57.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Unnikrishnan Nambishan (60) and Radha Varasyar (53), Natives of Trippanachi.

¹¹⁰ Rajan Gurukkal, *Op. cit.*, p. 57.

Parambu, Kaliya Parambu, Asari Thodika Paramb, Chala Kandi Paramb, Chakkala Kandi and *Thattalakandi*¹¹¹ etc. indicate the presence of such occupational groups. They rendered services to the Brahmins in this area.¹¹²

Fifthly, we have evidence of the existence of the actual tillers of the land. The *Pulayar* and *Cherumar*, who were the actual tillers, constituted the base of the society. They were the most servile group, who were exchanged like goods along with land. It appears that landholders possessed them as a part of their property, such that they could be sold, mortgaged, or gifted. When we travel through these regions, we can see the habitats of descendants of the old *Pulayar* and *Cherumar* groups (now belonging to the scheduled castes), who once rendered services to the Brahmins of this region.¹¹³

Some of the other Brahmin settlements¹¹⁴ are associated with temples. For example, Pullanur Bagavati temple, Ponmala Siva Temple, Indianur Mahaganapati temple, Kurumattur Maha Visnu temple, Karakkunnu Siva temple, Iravimangalam Maha Visnu temple, Trikkantiyur Siva temple, Sukapuram Daksinamurti temple, Athavanad Alvanceri Siva temple etc. are associated with Brahmin settlements in the respective areas. In these areas, we can also observe the expansion of agriculture. The distribution of these temples indicates that the majority were located in multi-crop agrarian tracts that consisted of wetlands, gardens and catchment areas of rivers, rivulets, or other water bodies in the midlands. But this does not mean that they were entirely absent in the hilly or coastal areas. The major distribution of settlements in Eranad was found in the catchment areas of rivers like the Chaliyar. The above-mentioned distribution pattern of early medieval temples associated with Brahmin settlements was mainly spread across the midland and coastal zones of Eranad, supporting multi-crop agrarian production and internal as well as external exchanges. So, we can say that almost all the Brahmin settlements of the early medieval period developed in connection with temples.

¹¹¹ *Village A register*, Preserved in Village Offices of Eranad.

¹¹² Interview with Gopalan Nair (49).

¹¹³ Interview with Chathan (57) and Santa (46).

¹¹⁴ H. Sarkar, *Op. cit*; Field survey conducted by present researcher.

Property Right

In an agrarian society, land is the most important instrument of production. There is no unanimous opinion regarding property rights in pre-modern Kerala. It was the British who introduced significant changes to the land system in Kerala. The traditional land system in Kerala has been referred to as *janmi kudiyan-sampradayam* or *janmam-kanam-maryadai*, which denotes a lord-tenant relationship.¹¹⁵ *Janmam* means hereditary right or birth right, while *maryadai* refers to custom. Another term, *kanam*, refers to a mortgage cum lease tenure. *Kanam* and the associated *kuzhikkanam* tenure gave rise to an intermediary class called *kanakkar*, particularly with the growth of money economy.

During the medieval period, lands were generally considered as *brahmaswam*, *devaswam* and *cherikkal* land. The term *swam* signified the form of personal or institutional right over land. Another term used was *avakasom*, which was determined based on a person's position within a kinship or familial group. In simple terms, *avakasom* denotes any kind of right over a resource, profession, or ritual. These rights were not limited to land ownership but also extended to land transactions. The lands classified as *devaswam* and *brahmaswam* cannot be considered strictly as private property as understood in the present-day legal system.

Brahmaswam

The *janmam* properties of the *Nambuthiris* or Brahmins were known as *brahmaswam*. The term *janmi* refers to landlords. *Janmam* signifies a hereditary or birth right, i.e., the right acquired by a landlord through descent from predecessors who held the land.¹¹⁶ Historical references indicate that *brahmaswam* was not an individual holding during the early medieval period. Instead, it was often part of temple property, and the right over *brahmaswam* land were likely held by Brahmin

¹¹⁵ K.N. Ganesh, 'Ownership and Control of Land in Medieval Kerala: Janmam Kanam Relations During the 16th-18th Centuries', in *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 28, 1991, p. 3.

¹¹⁶ K.N. Ganesh, 'Agrarian Society in Kerala (1500-1800)' in P J Cheriyan, (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Vol. II, Kerala Gazetteer, Trivandrum, 1999, p. 140.

families associated with the temple.¹¹⁷ However, this did not imply absolute ownership. The Brahmin landlords were merely one link in a chain of ownership relations. Some *brahmaswam* lands were also granted to Brahmins by royal donations.

Institutions like the *sabha* (organization of Brahmins) and *Paraṭai* (an executive council carried the day-to-day administration) dealt with matters related to the Brahmins associated with the temple and the temple property. Each Brahmana household and its land was owned by the eldest male member. This system of ownership is known as primogeniture, which indicates that the ownership was not absolute proprietorship.¹¹⁸ The Brahmins leased out their lands to *Karaler* for cultivation, who paid a fixed share of produce to the Brahmanas. The lease hold rights of the *Karaler* were hereditary, and stated that *purushantharam* (succession duty) should not be demanded when the next generation inherits these rights.

The important *brahmaswam* lands in Eranad¹¹⁹ during medieval period was Keraladeeswara Puram, Pariyapuram Oottu, Thacharakavil, Melappattu, Kattasseri, Nadasseri, Thalayur, Parayanjeri, Kalappakasseri, Chembazhi, Pullurmana, Mappttu, Nageri, Thenjeeri, Kirangattu, Kizhakkumbattu, Puthiyillathth, Kizhakkedathu, Cherukattu, Karuthedathu, Thirayanjeri, Naduvathedathu, Cherukuttisseri, Palakkal, Cherumangalath, Puthiyedath, Nallur Nanjeri, Cherukad Kunnath, Pulapre, Naduvathedathu, Puthiyedathu, Naduvathu, Kattanikkatt, Manappattu, Pootheri, Pullanikkattu, Cheramangalathu, Palasseri, Naduvathedathu, Mudappilappalli, Mangattu, Thenjeri, Mannazhi, Meledathu, Mundakasseri, Maranattu, Palasseri, Puliyasseri, Kavanattu, Pallisseri, Manakkal, Pailasseri, Pullanikkattu, Podayur, Cheramangalam, Kidangazhi, Chiramangalathu, Pudayur, Pullurmana, Pathirisseri, Vattallur, Pullanikkattu and Perinjeri.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, 2020 (2018), *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹¹⁹ *Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut.

Devaswam

Theoretically, the Lord (God) was considered the owner of *devaswam* land. However, in practice, it was controlled by the owners of the temple. Administrative bodies like *ganam* were also in place to manage various *devaswam* lands. Inscriptions reveal that the majority of these lands were granted to temples in the name of the deity or endowed for conducting temple functions. In the case of *devaswam* lands, the temple itself acted as the landlord. These landed properties were collectively owned by Brahmana village lords, who shared ownership along with the responsibility of fulfilling specific services for which the land had been endowed.¹²⁰ During that period, land transfers (it is called *attipper* grants) included the complete parcel of land, both cultivated and uncultivated, encompassing everything within its boundaries: grass, stone, shrubs, snakes and everything became the absolute property of the temples.

The important *devaswam* lands in Eranad¹²¹ during medieval period was Ponmala, Meledath, Karikkatt, Pulpatta, Chikkare, Trikkalayur, Nenmini Mangalam, Saligramam, Irppalli, Trippanachi, Pazgangara, Punnappala, Porur, Eraambra, Cherukuttisseri, Mangatt, Aanatt, Nallur Palli, Thiruvangattu, Pariyampuram, Thaliyil, Putrakkovil, Thiruvangattu Kodasseri, Punnappala, Manmavil, Paravur, Thiruvechamkunnu, Cherukuttasseri, Thacharakkavil, Cholakkara, Pottakulangara, Chirakkara, Nallur, Udaya Mangalam, Arikkodikavu, Mannur, Vengittathevar, Karingali, Neermangatt, Nirakaithakkotta, Chemmantada, Meledathu, Shreemutrakunna, Kidangazhi, Karuvambram, Irivetti Karingali, Edakkad, Pandumangalam, Thayikkatt, Muthuvallur Bagavati, Tripuranthakan, Thiruvechamkunnu, Vandur, Karuvambram, Kariyamparamb, Metrikavil, Vaakkethodi Karingali, Podiyattu, Mannur, Mangatt, Trikkandiyur, Nannabra, Porur, Poyil Karingali, Cheramangalathu Vettakkorumakan, Keraladeeswara Puram, Shree Karumba Bagavati, Kalattu, Vennayur, Kalari, Sharika, Vennayur, Theruvaththu Ganapati, Pandallur, Keerththikovil, Mammavil, Poolamanna, Kizhuthukkovil,

¹²⁰ Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, 2020 (2018), *Op. cit.*, p. 85.

¹²¹ *Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut.

Vengasseri, Kodasseri, Naduvaththu, Valakkulam, Koduvayur, Ponmula, Ravimangalam, Kadasseri, Palakkatt Karingali, Kadungallur, Kovil Mangattu, Pulpatta, Karingalikavu, Punnappala, Kandumangalam, Cherukanna Bagavati, Venniyur, Kaladu, Cholakkara, Meledathu, Chikkeru, Trikkulam, Kokkarani, Ullanam, Unnimura, Valakkulam, Kottakkal Vensssgitta Thevar, Ravimangalam, Perur, Putrakovil, Kozhisseri, Kattuchira, Pappannur, Shreekrishnapuram, Kodasseri and Neermangattu.

Cherikkal

The ultimate authority over land rested with the ruling powers, which could be the Chera rulers or the *nattutaiyavar*. Lands owned by the ruling powers were generally referred to as *cherikkal*.¹²² The local chieftains, known as the *naduvazhis*, also held attached to their *kovilakams*, which were likewise classified as *cherikkal* lands. These ruling powers granted *cherikkal* lands to temples on a conditional basis to support daily expenses. The temple bodies were entrusted with managing these lands and were placed under the supervision of the rulers. This suggests that the *cherikkal* was among the earliest forms of land ownership in Kerala. Over time, the land under the *kanakkars* began to resemble permanent property due to their long and continuous stay in them for years. The customary tenurial co-existence is referred to in *Keralolpathi* as *kana janma maryada*.¹²³ In short, we can say that the practice of king and local rulers granting their *Cherikkal* land to temples resulted in the development of two additional land ownership rights associated with temples like *devaswam* and *brahmaswam*.

We can also see the gradation of rights over land emerging in this period. The *Naduvazhi*, the chief was at the top, followed by the *uralar*, *karalar* and *adiyars* at the bottom. During that time, legal codes were arranged (*kaccams*) to protect the interests of temples. These sustained the authority of landowners over tenants and the servile

¹²² Herman Gundert, *Malayalam English Dictionary*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2000 (1962), p. 24.

¹²³ M.R. Raghava Varier (ed.), *Keralolpathi Granthavari*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1984, p. 10.

class. Later, the *kaccams* were replaced by customs or *maryadas*. Since the 15th century, the term *maryada* has been commonly used to denote customary payments. Towards the end of the Chera period, land mortgages began to increase. Another term related to property rights that emerged during the medieval period was called *kuzhikkanam*. This referred to virgin lands where paddy cultivation was initiated or new trees were planted. Such lands would be granted a remission in rent for a stipulated period, or until the plant or tree begins to provide yield.

Non-Brahmin Settlements

From the 9th century onwards, we begin to see references to *purayidam*- house sites occupied by individuals. The climatic conditions, nature of the soil and crop patterns supported a lifestyle in which each habitational site is within a compound growing articles like coconut, arecanut, betel leaves, pepper and ginger are grown to exchange them for essential goods. Due to the peculiarity of the disbursed settlement pattern in Kerala, the village space is generally divided into a large number of fields, with each field given a distinct name. Each village register includes hundreds of field names. Some of these fields are named after its flora and fauna, while others are named with reference to cardinal directions. In the region under study, there are place names that indicate natural terrain, availability of water resources, caste orientation and occupational groups.¹²⁴

There are also indications of non-brahmin settlements in the *nadus*. The *Thirunelli* inscription and *Tharisappalli* Copper plate mention about a group called *Vellalas*. Based on these epigraphs, it is claimed that the *Vellalas*, in the Kerala context, were the *karalar* who held the *karanmai* rights.¹²⁵ The servile labourers attached to the lands located in marshy areas is called *Pulayar*, and they continued to exist in *ur* settlements. The servile labour collectives including *Pulayar* were assigned the status of *Al* and *Adiyar*, indicating their existence as primary producers who contributed a substantial part of their labour to the production of agrarian resources as

¹²⁴ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Village Communities in Pre-Modern Kerala*, Place Name Society of Kerala, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1994, pp. 8-9.

¹²⁵ Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*, p. 67.

instruments of production.¹²⁶ The settlement units of the non-Brahmin cultivators are called *kutis*, and the settlers were called *kutimakkal*. *Kutis* of various occupational groups like craftsmen, metal workers and menial labourers are involved in the production process in the *ur* settlements.¹²⁷ *Kutis* began to be changed when households and local chiefs developed their over lordship over these cultivating settlements. Over time, the meaning of *kuti* evolved to mean the settlements of early settlers and clan groups, who followed different livelihoods, and cultivators who eventually became occupant cultivators.¹²⁸ When the *nattudayavars* amalgamated their power over the *nadus*, the production localities of the settler cultivators and the cultivating *kutis* in the respective *nadus* came under the control of the *nattudayavar* and chiefly families.

Village communities in pre-colonial Kerala can be reconstructed with the help of the settlement registers, which consisted place names and field names. This is evident even in Eranad. The basic composition of these village communities consisted of *Kollan* (blacksmith), *asari* (carpenter), *Musari* (bronzesmith), *Vannan* (washerman or ritual dancer), *Panan* (traditional singer of songs), *Veluthedan* (washerman), *Chaliyan* (weaver), *Chakkalan* (oil presser), *Tiyyan* (coconut plucker or toddy tapper) and agricultural groups like *Pulayan*, *Parayan* and *Kanakkan*.¹²⁹

There also existed a dual structure in the sites of occupational groups. The specific part is designated with the name of *jati*, while the generic part indicates the type of the site. One of the widely distributed groups is that of *Kollan* (blacksmith). This indicates the extensive use of Iron in the settlement. They resided in separate compounds within these villages. For example, *Kollanthodika* (*Kollan* can be identified as a blacksmith community and *thodika* is a compound adjacent to a house) and *Karuvanthodika*, where *Karuvan* can be identified as blacksmiths. Similarly, the

¹²⁶ K.S. Madhavan, *Primary Producing Groups in Early and Early Medieval Kerala: Production Process and Historical Roots of Transition to Castes (300-1300 CE)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis. Department of History, University of Calicut, 2012, p. 227.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 226.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*, p. 15.

asari (carpenters) formed an essential element of the village community. A carpenter's house site is usually called as an *asarikanti* (*asari*, carpenter and *kandi* a portion of the compound) or *Asarithodika*. House site names of all occupational groups follow this uniform principle. It is also stated that cultivators and occupational groups jointly lived together, and their shared habitations were called 'thara', for example, *asari thara* and *mannan thara*. These *tharas* were established by *tarawadus*, groups of these *tarawads* came to be known as *pradesam* (*desam*). Pazedam, Amayur and Cheruvannur are examples of such habitats in Eranad.¹³⁰

The above-mentioned communities were involved in agricultural activities either directly by tilling, sowing weeding, reaping, etc. or indirectly by supporting the act of cultivation by supplying necessary tools and implements. Services of blacksmiths and carpenters were necessary for the ruling class, their associates, other landowning groups, and even ordinary people including agricultural and non-agricultural sections. This necessity ensured their presence in every settlement.

Goldsmiths and Bronze smiths were skilled workers working with luxury items, catering to the needs of the wealthy sections of society. In addition to the indication of luxury of village life, they also represent the spread of knowledge of metallurgy and alloy technology. The raw material for these groups were came from outside. Therefore, they were responsible for establishing a linkage between the local village communities on the one side and the outside world on the other side.

Washer man were also present in all settlements. They belonged to two types: one section served upper sections exclusively, and the other served all *jati* groups in the entire village, except the lowest-ranking agricultural workers. Among these, those who claimed higher social status were called *Veluthedan*, while other groups were known as *Vannan*. Apart from washing duties, *Vannan* also performed a ritual dance during festivals and other special occasions in non-Brahmanical *kavu* temples.

¹³⁰ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha, Thrikkalangode Panjayath.*

Land Tax

Another discussion concerns the existence of land revenue in pre-modern Kerala. However, this remains an unsettling issue. Buchanan held the view that there was a lack of land tax in Kerala.¹³¹ He stated that there was no land tax under the rulers of Kerala, and that the Brahmins possessed all landed property prior to the conquest of Hyder Ali. They functioned as the actual lords of the soil, except for the *devasthanam* (to the support of religious ceremonies) and *cherikkal* (appropriated to the supporting families of the *Rajas*).¹³² Therefore, all these lands were considered tax-free.

Hence, some historians have rejected the possibility of the existence of land tax in the medieval times. However, there existed a systems to share the produce like the *melvaram*, *melodi* or *pattam*. Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai stated that though there was no organized form of land tax in Kerala till the 13th CE, all landed property had become either *brahmaswam* or *devaswam* which were tax-free lands.¹³³ As opposed to this, M.G.S. Narayanan stated that though there was no conception of total state revenue, other kinds of taxes like professional tax, house tax, land tax and protection fee existed.¹³⁴

So, the existence of a systematic collection of land revenue is less. However, terms like *pattam* indicate that the share of produce to the overlord. The share of produce to be paid by the *pattam* holders was normally a fixed amount.¹³⁵ Terms like *melvaram*, *melpathi* and *melodi* implied that a portion of the produce was collected from different types of land, usually by rulers, temples or chieftains. During this period, the term rent essentially meant a share of the produce. The share of produce

¹³¹ C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*, p. 308.

¹³² Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, Madras, 1988 (1807), p. 360.

¹³³ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Janmi Sambradayam Keralathil*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1959, p. 45.

¹³⁴ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹³⁵ P.K. Gopalakrishnan, *Keralathinte Samskarika Charithram*, Kerala Bhasa Institute, Trivandrum, 1994, p. 265.

was determined based on the conditions of production, such as actual yield, type of crop, land fertility and cultivation and the time of harvest.¹³⁶ Thus, *Brahmaswam*, *Devaswam* and *Cherikkal* lands were tax-free lands, in the sense that the landholders were not to pay regular taxes, but only certain dues and presentations as part of customary obligations to the overlord.

Kerala had no standardised system for land measurement during the medieval times. Measurement was based on agricultural produce, either based on the number of seed sown (*vithupadu*) or the number of pits dug for planting trees (*kuzhi*). This would mean that taxes were imposed on the actual produce. It is, thus understood that dues were either collected in various forms like protection tax, occupational tax etc. or as produce share from the cultivators, rather than being directly levied on landholders.

Paddy Cultivation

Eranad includes the low, mid and highland areas, where laterite soil is predominantly found. The physical geography of the region was suitable for large-scale paddy cultivation resulting in it being the most important fiscal activity there. This cultivation depended upon various factors such as terrain, soil texture and water management facilities. These factors varied from region to region. Hence, there was no uniform pattern in paddy cultivation. The region was also suitable for mixed-crop cultivation. These two, formed the foundation for the economic stability in Eranad. Garden crops like pepper, coconut, plantain and arecanut etc. are also cultivated here.¹³⁷

The settlement register of Eranad reveals the existence of *parambu* or garden lands. However, wetland cultivation was more than garden lands in the area.¹³⁸ In the garden lands, crops like arecanut, coconut, pepper, jack fruits, banana and betel leaf

¹³⁶ K.N. Ganesh, *Agrarian Relations and Political Authority in Medieval Travancore (A.D.1300-1750)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1987, p. 132.

¹³⁷ *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹³⁸ C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

were grown. The existence of *purayitams* is considered as an indicative of non-Brahmin settlement units, and these spread over garden lands. The spread of *purayitam* also signalled the extension of garden land cultivation.

The expansion of mixed-crop cultivation led to the development of compound sites in the midland area of Eranad. The laterite soil found in Eranad was particularly fit for mixed crop cultivation, and it is in these areas where the compound sites usually appear. The terms like *kuti* and *kuṭimakkal* (agricultural labourers) refer to kin-based production units. The occupants of these lands were called *kutis*, which reflects the settlement patterns of settlers and occupational groups inhabiting the region. Settlements of cultivators, craft collectives, and other occupational groups is also called *kuti*.¹³⁹ Names of plots or houses recorded in settlement records highlight the kin-based production units of Eranad.¹⁴⁰

The term *ur* is closely associated with agrarian clan settlements.¹⁴¹ Over time, it became associated with Brahmin settlement units. A group of *urs* is called a *desam*, and multiple *desams* come together and form *nadu*. The place names prefixing or suffixing with *ur* certainly indicate the occurrence of agrarian settlements in Eranad. For instances, Amayur, Anantayur, Ariyallur, Chembrakattur, Chathallur, Chengottur, Cherur, Cheruvayur, Chevayur, Chunar, Elamkur, Elayur, Indiannur, Iringallur, Karippur, Kavanur, Kenallur, Koduvayur, Kolathur, Kotuvayur, Kottur, Koyakottur, Kuttur, Kuntur, Mannur, Mattathur, Morayur, Mozangallur, Munniyur, Muthannur, Muthuvallur, Muttayur, Nallur, Nangallur, Nilambur, Olavattur, Omanur, Ozhukur, Pandallur, Palanchannur, Parappur, Paravur, Porur, Peruvallur, Pukkalathur, Pukkayur, Pokkottur, Puthur, Pullannur, Thavanur, Trikkalayur, Tuvvur, Vakkalur, Vavur, Veembur, Vazhayur, Vellayur, Vellur, Vengallur, Venniyur, Vennur, Villur, and

¹³⁹ K.N. Ganesh, *State Formation in Kerala: A Critical Overview*, ICHR, Bangalore, 2010, p. 28; K.S. Madhavan, 2012, *Op. cit*; K.S. Madhavan, 'Kutis and Agrarian Production in Early Medieval Kerala', in *Journal of South Indian History*, Vol. 5, Issue 2, University of Calicut, May 2019, p. 65.

¹⁴⁰ *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut.

¹⁴¹ K.P. Rajesh, *Vatakkal Malabar: Samuhavum Charitram*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2011. p. 36.

Wandur etc. are the place names suffixing *ur*.¹⁴² The popularity of *ur* in the names of places in Eranad, showcase the dominance of *ur* settlements in the region.

Similarly, place names with the suffix or prefix *ceri* indicate a settlement unit of technical and occupational caste-based groups, typically non-Brahmin. The *ceris* are mainly formed near trading centres and temples. Place names prefixed or suffixed with *ceri* can be found in Eranad. Chemrasserri, Kizhisserri, Chembrasserri, Karisserri, Pattisserri, Palisserri, Pattilasserri, Thottasserriyara, Kottasserri, Kozhisserri, Mottappilasserri, Valancheri, Vidanasserri, Valanjerri, Vattasserri etc.¹⁴³ are *ceri* settlements in Eranad. Temples, Brahmin settlements, non-Brahmin settlements and settlements of occupant groups developed within the same agrarian system forming an interconnection between them. In later periods, there was a dominance of non-Brahmin settlement units and households in the region.

Agriculture was mainly concentrated in wetlands and garden lands. The area of wetland cultivation is comparatively larger than garden cultivation in Eranad. Due to human interference, many wetlands have been transformed into garden lands over time. The following table¹⁴⁴ shows land transformation and human intervention in physical geography of Eranad. This has resulted in the increased conversion of paddy fields into plots. This showcases the large-scale transformation of the paddy-based economy into a cash crop economy.

¹⁴² *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut; Field visits by present researcher.

¹⁴³ *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut; Field visit by present researcher.

¹⁴⁴ K.N. Ganesh, 2010, *Op. cit.*, p. 44; *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut; Field visits by present researcher; *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha* of Malappuram District.

Table 3
Agrarian Field and Crops

| Place Name | Name of the Field | Type of Cultivation Today |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Trikkalangod | Kattil Puthuvaya, Kakkodi Mann, Idathod Mann & Mannappadam | Cashew Tree, Rubber plantation, Arecanut, Tapioca and Coconut |
| Chelari | Chernur Patam, Vaikkathupatam & Valiyanipatamq | Coconut & Arecanut |
| Thalappara | Munniyurpatam & Thekkepatam | Coconut |
| Velimukku | Kattuvayapatam | Arecanut |
| Tenjippalam | Mundakkattu <i>Nilam</i> , Manattu <i>Paramb</i> & Pottayil Kandan <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut & Arecanut |
| Anakkayam | Nedungodu <i>Nilam</i> , Parakathodi <i>Aruka Nilam</i> & Pandan <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut & Arecanut |
| Andiyurkunn | Kuttasseri <i>Paramb</i> , Kakkanattu <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut |
| Areakode | Kodikuzhi Manna <i>Nilam</i> , Manna <i>Paramb</i> & Vellatta Chola <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Arecanut, Pepper, Mango Tree & Jackfruit Tree |
| Arimbra | Ramanattu <i>Paramb</i> & Palisher <i>Paramb</i> | Mangoes, Jack & Tapioca |
| Cheekode | Kozhalipurath <i>Paramb</i> & Kunnath <i>Paramb</i> | Vegetables & Banana |
| Cherukavu | Chalanilam, Karuppath <i>Paramb</i> & Thadiyambalath <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Tapioca, Banana & Vegetables |
| Edavanna | Tharamittam <i>Paramb</i> , Palara <i>Nilam</i> & Perinjeeri <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Pepper, Rubber & Cashew Tree |
| Kadalundi | Keeranthara <i>Paramb</i> & Vennakkottu <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut |
| Kalikavu | Kalikunnu <i>Paramb</i> & Kizhakke Valiya <i>Patam</i> | Vegetables & Rubber |
| Karuvarakkundu | Pulakkal Chola <i>Nilam</i> , Karimbana <i>Nilam</i> & Thacharakkoda Karimba <i>Nilam</i> | Rubber, Coconut, Vegetables & Banana |

| Place Name | Name of the Field | Type of Cultivation Today |
|-------------------|---|---|
| Kavanur | Parottu <i>Paramb</i> , Cholakkara <i>Paramb</i> & Ellar Thodika <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Vegetables & Banana |
| Kizhuparamb | Chirakulam <i>Paramb</i> & Iduvattukuzhi <i>Nilam</i> | Rubber, Coconut, Arecanut & Banana |
| Kondotty | Perakan Thodika <i>Paramb</i> , Kandil Thodika <i>Paramb</i> , Pottammal <i>Paramb</i> , Kolathara <i>Nilam</i> & Pazhaya <i>Nirath</i> | Coconut, Arecanut, Banana & Vegetables |
| Kottakkal | Kozhura <i>Nilam</i> & Karappatta Palliyal | Coconut, Arecanut, Betel Leaf & Pepper |
| Kuzhimanna | Parakkattu <i>Paramb</i> , Edakkattu Thodika <i>Paramb</i> & Kizhakkethil <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Arecanut, Cashew Tree & Pepper |
| Malappuram | Nelli <i>Paramb</i> , Chakkikuzhi <i>Paramb</i> & Kannamkuzhi <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut, Arecanut, Tapioca, Banana & Vegetables |
| Mambad | Kuttiyadan <i>Paramb</i> , Amappil <i>Nilam</i> & Karikkada Manna <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut & Arecanut |
| Manjeri | Kozhisseri <i>Paramb</i> , Sulathodika <i>Paramb</i> , Puranthoda <i>Nilam</i> & Chundayil <i>Thottam</i> | Coconut, Arecanut, Banana & Vegetables |
| Munniyur | Pala Kandalodi <i>Paramb</i> & Kunnath Thazhe <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut, Arecanut & Tapioca |
| Melmuri | Neerattikkal Mala <i>Paramb</i> , Puttur Kallu Mala, Karakkoda Mala & Malambolla <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut & Arecanut |
| Muthuvallur | Parathodika <i>Paramb</i> , Kara <i>Paramb</i> & Kuttiyil Moochi <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut & Cashew Tree |
| Nediyirupp | Ariyikkada <i>Paramb</i> , Parappurath <i>Paramb</i> , Kadiyan Thodika <i>Paramb</i> & Melekkatt <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Cashew Tree & Pepper |
| Nilambur | Mundappadam <i>Nilam</i> , Kallumunda <i>Nilam</i> , Vellengava <i>Nilam</i> & Konamunda <i>Paramb</i> | Rubber & Cashew Tree |

| Place Name | Name of the Field | Type of Cultivation Today |
|-------------------|--|---|
| Olavattur | Karikkattu <i>Paramb</i> , Palakkalkandi <i>Paramb</i> , Anakuzhi <i>Paramb</i> & Mundayil Chola <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut & Cashew Tree |
| Pallikkal | Velutha <i>Paramb</i> , Pukkoottu <i>Paramb</i> , Mannara Thara <i>Nilam</i> & Erathi Padam <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut, Arecanut, Cashew Tree, Ginger & Sesame |
| Pandikkad | Pulichimukkal <i>Thodika</i> , Mangatta Poyilu <i>Nilam</i> & Murikunnu <i>Paramb</i> | Rubber, Cashew Tree & Ginger |
| Parappangadi | Kadappuram <i>Paramb</i> , Pazhayanirathu Vadakke Kadappuram <i>Paramb</i> , Vadasseri <i>Paramb</i> & Ambalakandi <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Tapioca & Vegetables |
| Parappur | Ambadi <i>Palliyal</i> , Kottapunja Chiru <i>Nilam</i> & Vallikkattu <i>Nilam</i> | Cashew Tree & Pepper |
| Pukkottur | Kotta <i>Paramb</i> & Aalakkatt <i>Paramb</i> | Vegetables, Pepper & Arecanut |
| Pulpatta | Palakunnu <i>Paramb</i> , Palattukunnu <i>Paramb</i> & Elathuvazha <i>Nilam</i> | Vegetables & Arecanut |
| Tirurangadi | Erasseri <i>Paramb</i> , Illikkalthodi <i>Paramb</i> , Chembathu <i>Paramb</i> & Chembayil <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut, Arecanut, Vegetables & Ginger |
| Trippanachi | Cheeralkuzhi <i>Paramb</i> , Balimanna <i>Nilam</i> , Palasserimanna <i>Nilam</i> & Thelakkattu <i>Nilam</i> | Vegetables & Arecanut |
| Urgattiri | Malakunda <i>Nilam</i> , Neermukku <i>Paramb</i> & Maruthan Kanda <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut, Arecanut & Banana |
| Vazhayur | Mannattodi <i>Nilam</i> , Vazhinada <i>Nilam</i> & Neerpadam <i>Nilam</i> | Vegetables & Banana |
| Vallikkunnn | Aringattuthomma <i>Nilam</i> , Mamankandi <i>Paramb</i> & Thodika <i>Paramb</i> | Coconut & Arecanut |
| Wandoor | Cherumunda <i>Nilam</i> , Chulli <i>Nilam</i> & Vilakkumpadam <i>Nilam</i> | Rubber, Cashew Tree & Ginger |
| Vengara | Karattu <i>Paramb</i> , Kadengal <i>Paramb</i> & Karatturu <i>Nilam</i> | Coconut, Pepper, Tapioca & sesame |

| Place Name | Name of the Field | Type of Cultivation Today |
|--------------|---|---------------------------|
| Velluvambram | Kozhiparamb, Mannanthodika <i>Paramb</i> , Nalukanda <i>Nilam</i> & Kuzhikkadan Chola <i>Paramb</i> | Vegetables & Arecanut |

Majority of the habitation sites in Eranad belonged to the midland region. These regions were also the cultivation areas for paddy. Hill tracts and the *parambu* uplands in the region were also utilised for paddy cultivation. The term *vayal* or *padam* indicates the paddy fields. Place names like Pookottu Padam, Madathil Padam and Vadakkum Padam indicate the existence of such fields in the region. *Punchavayal* and *Modanvayal* are also major fields in the region. The following table¹⁴⁵ mention names of cultivated paddy fields in different areas of Eranad. These had varying ownership in different areas. While most were under the control of Zamorins in the medieval period, some locality chiefs also existed as *janmis*.¹⁴⁶

Table 4
The Name of Important Paddy Fields

| The Region | The Name of Important Paddy Fields (<i>Padam</i>) |
|-------------|---|
| A R Nagar | Pattisheri <i>Padam</i> , Peruvallur <i>Padam</i> & Kuttur <i>Padam</i> |
| Amarambalam | Parakka <i>Padam</i> , Vattapadam & Chettipadam |
| Arekode | Mutheripadam & Nechipadam |
| Cheekode | Chalipadam & Vavur <i>Padam</i> |
| Cherukavu | Kodappuram <i>Vayal</i> , Poothpadam, Cherapadam, Pengad Peringavu & Noonji |
| Chungathara | Anakkall <i>Padam</i> , Ramacham <i>Padam</i> , Kottepadam, Kattilapdam, Pulimunda <i>Padam</i> , Kattichirapadam |
| Edakkara | Pathiri <i>Padam</i> , Velumbiyam <i>Padam</i> , Muthukulam & Manakkad |
| Edavanna | Chalipadam, Chembakuth & Aryanthodika |

¹⁴⁵ *Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut; *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*; Field visits by present researcher; Interviews conducted with farmers, agriculturalists, natives and labourers etc. in different places of Eranad.

¹⁴⁶ See Appendix 11 (Table 1) for more details.

| The Region | The Name of Important Paddy Fields (<i>Padam</i>) |
|-------------------|--|
| Karulayi | Kareeri <i>Padam</i> , Thalkolli <i>Padam</i> , Pulikkal Kaipadam & Mangadi <i>Poyil</i> |
| Karuvarakundu | Puthanazhi, Chulliyode & Kalkundu |
| Kavanur | Palakkathadam & Vattaparamb |
| Kizhuparamb | Parakkad, Changam Puthuvayal, Chalippadam, Trikkalayur & Ayiranipadam |
| Kondotty | Neerad, Mudamparamb & Neetanimmal |
| Malappuram | Cheruparamb, Muthuvathu Paramb & Vilakku <i>Paramb</i> |
| Nilambur | Thekkuipadam, Karuvankuzhi, Manguthth & Kallompadam |
| Pallikkal | Unyalpadam, Thekkupuram & Karaparamb |
| Pandikkad | Maruthapadam, Karapadam & Maniriparamb |
| Parappur | Amalapadam |
| Pulikkal | Olakarapadam, Punjapadam, Chalipadam, Kuzhimbattupadam, & Avarathipadam |
| Thirurangadi | Manipadam, Vellanikkad & Kannadithadam |
| Trikkalangode | Vadakkumpadam, Vennekkad <i>Vayal</i> & Parakkodu <i>Padam</i> |
| Urgattiri | Vilakkuparamb & Edakkatuparamb |
| Valancheri | Patteriparamb & Pulikkal <i>Paramb</i> |
| Vazhakkad | Ambali, Vadakkepadam, Aanathayur, Akkode, Noonjikkara & Kalathupadam |
| Vazhayur | Ponnembadam |
| Vazhikkadav | Puthiripadam, Manalpadam & Chakkapadam |
| Vengara | Areekattupadam & Ullattupadam |

There existed the practice of breaking up regional red rocks to form farmlands in the Eranad region. The idea of burial monuments erected from rocks helped the early inhabitants to convert red rocks into clay for agricultural purposes. The names of many fields indicate the physical activity behind this. For example, in Eranad we can see the field names like *kattil puthuvaya kakkudi mann*, *idathod mann*, *mannappadam* and *ottappokk*, which indicate that rocks are being broken up and turned into farmlands. The active presence of water played a major role in shaping these farms. Plot names like ‘*kilachundakkiya poyil*’ and ‘*nirathiyundakkiya padam*’

etc. are described in revenue records, indicating the painstaking labour process behind this. Names like *kandan-kandappan* and house names like *iruppu kandan* were the signs of agricultural labour.¹⁴⁷

According to M.R. Raghava Varrier, the nature of the field, the structure of the soil and the water diversion facility etc. were depended on the profit and loss of agriculture. But these factors vary from region to region.¹⁴⁸

The important changes in agrarian relations in later periods were as follows:-

1. The proliferation of mediators (via the lease-mortgage system) who appeared as temporary landlords.
2. Emergence and publicity of agrarian linkages in which production from land and productive land are increased.
3. Utilization of money to acquire rights over land.
4. Continuation of birth right.
5. It is customary to hold the land as a pledge by paying interest.

Major Paddy Seeds

There existed *oruppu*, *iruppu* and *muppu* types of agriculture. There were also *mundakan* and *punja* types of agriculture. Additionally, *modan* agriculture was practiced by tilling the fields or *parambu* lands. The major paddy seeds cultivated in Eranad were *kumbalan*, *aryan*, *ponnaryan*, *thavalakannan onattan*, *chetteni*, *theakkan cheera*, *cheruvelleri*, *puram pottan*, *amamngari*, *padannavalla*, *chengazha*, *parambuvettan*, *chuvannayma*, *kochithonnuran*, *cheruvellari*, *ennapatta*, *aruvakkari*, *kumbolan*, *nagara*, *karippali*, *vellari*, *thottacheera*, *kumbalavan*, *parambuvetta*, *nayar vithth*, *palliyaral*, *erkkil chemban*, *chonnattan*, *punjacheera*, *kuttumunda*, *vellari*, *kazhama*, *navara*, *kalluruni*, *katta*, *ittikannappan*, *vembala*, *chettadi*, *navara*, *malappuravan*, *chondakkan*, *iriyakkari*, *thonnuran*, *vellathan*, *cheruvith*, *mungattan*,

¹⁴⁷ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Thrikkalangode Panchayath, pp. 16-17.

¹⁴⁸ M.R. Raghava Varrier, 'Keralathile Karshika Vyapanam (1200-1500 AD)' in Kunjiraman (ed.), *Samskara Keralam*, April- June 1995, pp. 14.

chengazhama, thakara, mangalapuran, kuttadan, vattan, palliyaral and *kattadan* etc. The diversities in seeds can be seen in different parts of Eranad.

For *virippu* and *mundakan* type of agriculture, varieties like *aswathi, ponni, jaya, konna, masuri veluthavattan, thavalakannan* and *chittani* type of seeds were used. In the *punja* type, *chuvanna, triveni* and *athira* seeds were utilised. For *moden* types of agriculture, seeds like *kannan kura, koottivith* and *kallurunni* etc. are used. On *parambu* lands, other seeds like *thotta cheera, veluthakutti*, and *kalluruni* can be seen.

Apart from paddy, cultivation of vegetables and fruits were also carried out on valley slopes. Spices like pepper, turmeric and ginger, fruits like jackfruit, mango and banana etc and vegetables like cucumber, ladies finger, brinjal and chilly etc. were also cultivated.¹⁴⁹ Plough, spade and hoe were the primary implements used in cultivation. The terms *purayitam, tottam, parambu, kari, arai, veli, vayal, man, odi, nadu, kadu, kalam, konam* and *nilam* were commonly used to describe production and exchange zones. The terms *purayitam, tottam* and *parambu* specifically denoted the mixed crop regions, where paddy is grown alongside other crops such as coconut, arecanut, betel leaves and plantain.

Types of Farming

1. Wet Land Cultivation

Rice cultivation in the fields require significant attention and physical effort. Wet land farming was reserved for those who had knowledge on the method of cultivation, seeds, labour teams etc. From the beginning to the end of this cultivation process, the active presence of the farmers in the field was essential. The main paddy seeds for wet land cultivation is included *thavalakannan, aryangali, ottalamoodan* and *kozhivalan*. Once the seeds were sown, a guard was appointed to watch over the field and protect it from birds. After sowing, it was transplanted. The next stage was involved in removing weeds growing between the plants. Once the paddy ripened, it

¹⁴⁹ Interview with Cheriyanathan (Farmer).

had to be protected again from birds that would come to eat it. When the paddy was to be harvested, it was usually done by the women folk.

Special rituals was followed by them during post-harvesting period. The threshing floor was prepared by waxing it with dung to make it suitable for sheaving. The houses and surroundings of the field owner were also cleaned. Later, the women of the farming community brought the harvested sheaves to clean the floor. After harvesting, the key to the locked floor was ceremoniously handed over to the owner. This was done by *Atiyala* farmers belonging to the *Pulaya* community. It was customary to sprinkle the dung and light a lamp for seven days. On the seventh day, it was the right of *Adiyalas* (who arrived with devotion) to open the plot (*kalam*). This event was called *karingatti*, i.e. *karingatti* will arrive after taking a ritual bath on the first day of the month of *Makaram*. They were to be received by the *karanavar* with lamp.¹⁵⁰

2. Parambu Farming

The second type of farming was practiced in *parambu* lands or *valapp*. Paddy cultivation in *parambu* lands required less maintenance, time and labour compared to field cultivation. It was a form of homestead farming. In *parambu* lands, three-month-old single crops like *echiladan*, *karuthedan*, *chomala*, *periyavithth* and *nakara* are sown. Farmers prepared the plots by tilling the compound and removing the grass before sowing the seeds. The seeds were then immediately covered with soil. Later, grass growing between the seedlings were removed. The crop was harvested after three months. Following the harvest, intercrops (*idavila*) were cultivated.

3. Mountain Farming (Punam Cultivation)

Another type of cultivation was in the mountain regions. Farming in the hills began by the month of *Kumbam*. Forest areas were cleared by cutting and burning the vegetation to prepare it for cultivation. This type of farming was done from the month of *Kumbam* till *Tulam*. The area for cultivation was assigned for the one who intends

¹⁵⁰ K. P. Rajesh, *Op. cit.*, pp. 151-53.

to cultivate which was called *aadumari iduka*. After this, the area was measured by using a wooden stick and divided into different *kandam* (plot). Then, the seeds like *koyyala*, *velutha koyyala*, *karutha koyyala*, *karala*, *villan*, *erayan* and *kavungum poothala* etc. were sown. After sowing, a guard would be appointed to watch over the field. In earlier times, it was called *elamkaval*. Later, a large *pandal* (shed) was constructed by laying thatch on top of a tall tree. This was known as *pandal kaval*. Only male members would be assigned for guard duty. Those on duty would stay in the mountain with necessary foods.

Before harvesting, the main duty was to prepare the *kalam* (plot). This had to be done with great ritual purity. A *kuzhikalam* (pit in the *kalam*) was also made. Harvesting had to be done before the 10th of *Tulam*. The harvested sheaves were threshed in *kalam*, the chaff was removed and the paddy was taken. In addition to everyone's share, farmers had the right to collect the paddy mixed with stones and soil after hitting the plot. After the paddy was threshed, rice was given as wages to the workers. After wages were measured and distributed, the remaining paddy was stored in the *kuzhikalam*, which was then sealed. The *kalam* would be opened only after seven days. The guard continued to watch over until then.¹⁵¹

Manuring existed in the region. It was mainly practiced in two ways: green leaves and cow dung. There are also references to forests attached to paddy fields, possibly for manuring.

Other Cultivation

Manipravalam Literature provides insights into the agricultural system of Kerala. Works such as *Unniyachicharitam*¹⁵², *Unniyadicharitam*¹⁵³ and *Unnichirudevicharitam*¹⁵⁴ are significant in *Manipravalam* literature. These texts

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵² N. Gopinathan Nair (ed.), *Unniyachicharitam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016.

¹⁵³ Sundaran Anuvachapura (ed.), *Unniyadicharitam*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 2000.

¹⁵⁴ Chathanath Achyuthanunni and M.R. Raghava Varier (eds.), *Unnichirudevicharitam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2017.

mention cultivated lands and market places, indicating agricultural practices of the time. The authors mention that main crop of Kerala was the varieties of rice seed, paddy, pepper, coconut, plantain and betel, mango, sugarcane, tamarind, plantain, brinjal, drumstick, corn and pulses. Through these references, we gain a better understanding of the agrarian conditions and agricultural production of Kerala during the medieval period. It also gives references to the *nadus* of north Malabar. The texts *Unnineelisesandesam*¹⁵⁵ and *Kokasandesam*¹⁵⁶ mention different varieties of paddy cultivated in medieval Kerala. *Unnunilisesandesam*, in particular refers to about a fine variety of plantain. Coconut plantations are also mentioned in several works, including *Sukasandesam*, *Unnunili Sandesam*, and *Unniyaticaritam*. These literary references are corroborated by the accounts of foreign travellers such as Ibn Battuta, Ma-Huan, Wang Ta Yuan and Fei-Hsin.

Many foreign travellers have visited and stayed in Kerala, leaving detailed accounts of its socio-cultural, economic and political conditions. These **foreign notices** give information about the agricultural practices of the region. Pepper was probably the most important of the cash crops, and Malabar was often referred to as the ‘land of pepper’ in the accounts of many travellers. They mentioned spice mainly pepper, exports from Kerala to distant countries. The Arab traveller Yaqut (1179-1229) was of the opinion that pepper grew freely without any designated owner. It bore fruit both in summer and winter.¹⁵⁷ Another traveller Al-Qazwin said that there was no owner of the pepper.¹⁵⁸ Marco polo (13th century A D)¹⁵⁹ specifically mentioned the pepper from Coilam (Quilon), Eli, Canannur and Malabar. He also wrote that pepper grew in great abundance throughout the country. He also described

¹⁵⁵ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Unnineelisesandesam* (ed.), National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016 (1954).

¹⁵⁶ Kodungallur Kunjikuttan Tampuran, *Rantu Sandesangal: Sukasandesavum Kokasandesavum*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

¹⁵⁷ M.H. Nainar, *Arab Geographer’s Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, Madras, 2011 (1942), p. 202.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁵⁹ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Marco Polo Indiyil*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2002.

the growth of pepper trees in detail.¹⁶⁰ Ibn Battuta (14th century A D)¹⁶¹ also referred to Malabar as the 'land of pepper'. He observed that pepper plants were often cultivated near the coconut trees and bore small clusters of berries.¹⁶² Varthema¹⁶³ mentioned the cultivation of pepper, ginger and jackfruits in North Malabar. Francis Buchanan,¹⁶⁴ who visited Kerala later, mentioned cardamom cultivation and the clearing of forests for agricultural expansion. Duarte Barbosa¹⁶⁵ provides accounts of ginger farming. The traveller Ma-Huan noted that pepper was grown extensively on the hills.¹⁶⁶

These descriptions confirm the fact that pepper was extensively cultivated by local farmers, often planted alongside coconut and arecanut trees in multicultural gardens. Cardamom and ginger were another item of spices grown in the hill tracts of Malabar. They were in great demand among foreign traders. These items were sold at the local markets. The Tamil text *Maduraikanci*¹⁶⁷ has made references to the cultivation of ginger, turmeric, and pepper. We can also find descriptions of other crops such as cinnamon, aromatic roots, dye plants, muscat, cloves turbo and several other types of nuts.

Water Sources and Irrigation System

Water management depends largely on the geographical location and the nature of the soil. Organized paddy cultivation in the area under study required

¹⁶⁰ Yule, *Travels of Marco Polo*, Vol. II, Dover Publication, London, 1875. p. 363.

¹⁶¹ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Ibn Battutta Kanta Keralam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

¹⁶² K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, Madras University Historical Series, Madras, 1939, p. 237.

¹⁶³ Richard Canark Temple (ed.), *The Itinerary of Ludovico di Varthema of Bologna From 1502 to 1508*, Argonaut Press, New Delhi, 1997 (1963).

¹⁶⁴ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries of Mysore Canara and Malabar*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988 (1807).

¹⁶⁵ Mansel Longworth Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 307.

¹⁶⁷ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, 1970, *Op. cit.*

efficient water management and systematic preparation of land. The use of extensive water management devices and efficient ground preparations made these areas particularly suitable for wetland agricultural operations.¹⁶⁸

In certain areas, water had to be channelled from rivers using sluices. In contrast, other areas- especially water-logged areas of coastal tracts required water to be pumped out.¹⁶⁹ Simple dams were also constructed to retain water and divert it into fields. For example, a simple dam existed in the eastern area of Eranad near Karulayi, about 8 km from Nilambur. A Tamil Brahmi cave-label inscription written in the later Brahmi script of the 6th or 7th AD mentions the existence of a *nirana* (dam) in the place.¹⁷⁰

Water wheels were employed to drain the excess water. A variety of water storage devices were used including ponds, wells, pits and other localised irrigation facilities. Traditional water-drawing devices like *tekkotta* (a watering bucket- a device used to draw water for watering crops), *tulam* (the lever for drawing water), *etham* (water drawing device) and *ethakkotta* (water drawing device- a bucket with a crossbar, whereby it is strung to a long shaft) were used to draw water from wells, ponds and pits for irrigating agricultural fields.

The proximity of water sources is often reflected in local place names and field names. On the hill slopes, agriculture mainly depended on natural water sources like *chola* (pool and stream etc.). A significant number of place names in Eranad incorporate the prefix or suffix '*chola*' such as Chalaparambu, Cholakkad, Cholakulam, Chundathichola and Cholakkunnu etc. Similarly, the term *kulam* appears in numerous place names, reflecting the prevalence of tank irrigation in Eranad. These can be understood from countless place names suffixed or prefixed '*kulam*'. For

¹⁶⁸ K.N. Ganesh, 'Lived Spaces in History: A Study in Human Geography in the Context of Sangam Texts', in *Studies in History*, 25, 2, 2009, p. 174.

¹⁶⁹ Vijayakumar Menon, 'Puzha- Samsarika Charitra Bimbam', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 99.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

examples, Pattarkulam, Thannikulam, Kulathur, Patterkulam, Cholakulam, Kumankulam, Valayamkulam and Thamarakulath etc.

Local terminology also points to the types of water bodies used in this region. These include *chena*, *chira*, *kulam*, *thodu* and *chaalli*. *Chena* refers to aquifers on rocky surfaces and many such rock-bound areas contained pools of water. These were used as sources of water supply in elevated regions and slopes until recently. *Chiras* and *kulams* referred to tanks, the former referring to man-made reservoirs, while the latter referred to natural ponds. Numerous tanks of both kinds existed across the region, supporting both agriculture and human settlements.¹⁷¹

In short, Place-names related to pond, tank or other water resources indicate the presence of water in the region. Several small water channels like *thodus* can be seen in the Eranad area. *Thodu*-related place names like Tottinkara, Tottummal, Kolathode, Muthode and Valiyathode clearly indicate the presence of flowing water in the region. Ponds were commonly found in *Nayar taravads* and temples. *Nair* houses were often attached to ponds. There were public and private ponds, though not equally accessible to everyone. During the medieval period, lower caste communities were denied the right to use ponds for bathing or other activities. These reflected the social inequalities tied to access to water resources.¹⁷²

Njattuvela

In the early period, agricultural practices were closely tied to the system of *Njattuvela*, it means the time based on the zodiac and the agricultural year started with *Metam*. It also refers to specific periods determined by the positions of the twenty-seven stars, from *Aswati* to *Revati*. The paddy cultivation is related to the fifteen stars of *Njattuvela*.¹⁷³

¹⁷¹ K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹⁷² See Appendix 2 (Table 2) for more details.

¹⁷³ Muraleedharan Tazhakkara, *Krisiyile Nattarivu*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2013, p. 348.

Based on the *Njattuvela*, different types of crops like *Virippu*, *Mundakan*, *Punja*, *Modan*, etc. were cultivated. *Virippu* is the first crop of the season, which begins during the month of *Medam-Edavam* (April- May- June) and is harvested during the months of *Chingam-Kanni* (August-September- October). This harvest is popularly known as *Kanni Koithu*. The second crop, *Mundakan*, is carried out in the same land of *Virippu* crop, soon after its harvest. It is sown in the month of *Chingam-Kanni* (August- September- October) and is harvested in the *Dhanu-Makaram* (December- January- February) months. It is called *Mundakan Koithu* or *Makara Koithu*. The third crop is called *Punja* and it is cultivated only in those lands where water is available during the summer. Sowing begins in the months of *Vrichikam* (November- December), *Dhanu* (December- January) or *Makaram* (January- February) based on the availability of water. Among these, *Virippu*, *Mundakan*, and *Punja* constitute the seasonal cultivation of paddy. *Modan*, on the other hand, is cultivated in *parambu* fields. It is from the name of the seed '*Modan*', the cultivation method practiced in the *parambu* fields is commonly known as *Modan* cultivation.

A successful harvest depended on various factors such as the knowledge of climate, weather, season, soil types, seed varieties and their preservation, methods of manuring, water management, sowing seeds, transplantation of seedlings, various stages of growth, weed control and pest management etc. These are also vital for cultivation. Interestingly, information on these is preserved in the form of local **proverbs**, which act as an accessible source of knowledge. These proverbs were not only easy to remember but also made it easy for them to align their agricultural practices with nature, particularly weather patterns. Some sayings (*choll*) or proverbs that encased traditional wisdom, like the nature of the rain and change in weather.¹⁷⁴ For examples, *Thiruvathira thirumuriyathe*, *Makayiram mathimarann*, *Puyyathil puzhi vari erinjapole*, *Ayilla kallan aka the puratho*, *Kumbathil mazha peithal kuppayilum manikyam*, *Makarathil mazha peythal marunnumkudi illa*, *Chothi kazinjal chodyamilla*, *Nattitt moodiyal pattitt moodiyapole*, *Mangav pukanjal*

¹⁷⁴ M.V. Vishnu Nambuthiri, *Nattarivu Padanangal*, Poorna Publications, Kozhikode, 2018, p. 126; Interview with Chozhi, Farmer.

mazayurapp, *Narril pizhachal corril pizhachu*, *Kumbathil nattal kudayolam*, *Vithugunam pathugunam* and *Narrurachal corurachu* etc. are important proverbs existed in Eranad. These expressions reflect traditional understanding like which type of paddy was suitable to be cultivated and which climate is suitable for cultivation etc.¹⁷⁵

The agricultural labourers of Eranad engaged in some **entertainment** like *Kalapoottu Malsaram*, *Kootta Urcha* and *Nadeel Pattukal* etc. Fairs, festivals and rituals related to agricultural practices existed in Eranad like *Thira*, *Nira- Puthari* and *Thalappoli*. *Thira* is an art form performed as a part of the festival at *kavus*. It began in the Malayalam month of *Kumbham* (February-March). The *Puthari* festival was celebrated in *Chingam* (August-September). During *Puthari*, cooked rice was prepared and freshly harvested paddy was offered to the deity.¹⁷⁶ This harvest festival is also known by other names like *Katiru Vela* and *Karirulsavam*.

Songs

Songs have long existed within society to exemplify the relevance and importance of agriculture and animal husbandry. There also existed folk songs describing various stages of farming and seed handling.¹⁷⁷ The rich variety of ***Krishipatukal*** (agriculture songs) have been passed down from generation to generation, revealing both the process of agricultural production and the involvement

¹⁷⁵ Jose Pulluveli, *Natu Pacha Nattormakalude Samaharam*, Insight Publication, Kozhikode, 2014, pp. 331-32.

¹⁷⁶ Anjana V.K, *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

¹⁷⁷ M.V. Vishnunamboodiri, 'Utharakeralathile Viththuppattukal', in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keraleeyathayude Nattariv-3 Vithth*, July-August 1995, Kanimangalam, Trissur, 1995, p. 224.

*“Munbil Veenu Janicha Varinell
 Karariyan Nalla Porariyan Vithth
 Kasthakan Modakan Chennal Kareem Chennal
 Kathaka Pothada Nalikan Vithume
 Kanjirakottan Kadinjola Nadanum
 Peradan Karinjodan Veliyanum Vayakan
 Nallakavungil Pothadayumangane
 Ennakuzhambanum Ponkizhivalanum
 Ponninnidayon Ponnariyan Vithth”*

of the primary producers in different agricultural operations. Agriculture songs form a distinct genre within folklore, embedding historical consciousness and reflecting the lived experiences of labouring communities. They portray the life and hardships of the working class who directly engaged in various stages of labour process in agrarian production.¹⁷⁸

There are also folk songs in Eranad that shed light on the hardships faced during the month of *Karkkidakam*, a time traditionally known for scarcity and hardship. One such song expresses the widespread poverty and despair of the season:

*“Thalum tharem patheesam
Chenem chembum patheesam
Anganem inganem patheesam”*¹⁷⁹

Another song depicts the extreme poverty and suffering endured by farmers:

*“Thaalum thakarem mummasam
Chenem kurkkem mummasam
Chakkem mangem mummasam
Mukkeem mooleem mummasam”*¹⁸⁰

These songs not only reflect the bleak economic conditions of agrarian life, but also cultural resilience and oral traditions that preserved the memory of struggle and labour that have been passed down generations.

Colonial Intervention

The colonial British government had conducted inquiries into the agrarian condition of Malabar and these have been published as reports. *The Joint*

¹⁷⁸ M.V. Vishnu Namputhiri, *Nadan Pattukal Malayalathil*, The State Institute of Languages, Thiruvananthapuram, 2008, pp. 1-10; M.R. Pankajakshan, *Kerala Bhashaganangal*, Vol. 3, Kerala Sahithya Academy, Trissur, 2005 (1989).

¹⁷⁹ K. Ramachandran, *Mannanjeriyude Innalakal*, Speed Prints, Areakode, 2020, p. 39.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

*Commissioners Report on Malabar 1792-93*¹⁸¹ described the agricultural practices of Malabar. Charles Boddam and William Gamul were the joint commissioners appointed by the British government for this task. Their report is a comprehensive account that sheds considerable light on the history of Malabar, with particular reference to its people, land, social customs and practices, as well as military and judicial administration. The report states that the main agricultural products in the area were pepper, paddy, ginger and tapioca. In addition to this, crops such as coconut, jackfruit, plantains, palm trees, mango trees and cashew nuts were cultivated there. Both export and import trade were active, especially involving spices like pepper, ginger, cinnamon, nutmeg, cardamom, tobacco and piece goods.¹⁸² The report provides significant insights into the agricultural systems of the region during the 18th century.

Graeme's Report of the Revenue Administration on Malabar, dated 14th January 1822,¹⁸³ contains information on the hobbles of Eranad *taluk* like Manjery, Elankoor, Wandoor, Kilmoory, Karikkad, Mampooram, Iryvetty, Changara, Nidiripoo and Edeady. According to this report, the primary agricultural product in the area was rice, while coconut, betel nut and jackfruit trees were also cultivated. This report mentions that the *patum* of this *taluk* was generally less than one-third of the gross produce in any place.

The report examines the assessment of rice lands, coconut trees, betel nut trees and jackfruit trees. It mentions that rice lands were typically located at the foot of gentle declivities. Eranad is said to be more fertile than Shernad and other northern districts. The report also mentions that the assessment of coconut is highest in the hobble of Karikkad in the Eranad *taluk*. It describes the assessment of betel nut as

¹⁸¹ J. Rejikumar, *The Joint Commissioners Report on Malabar 1792-93*, Kerala State Archives, Government of Kerala, Kochi, 2010.

¹⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁸³ J. Rejikumar, *Graeme's Report of the Revenue Administration on Malabar*, Kerala State Archives, Government of Kerala, Kochi, 2010.

moderate in the hobble of Wandoor and in the hobble of Nediyruppu, where coconut and jackfruit trees were also assessed.¹⁸⁴

Some villages of the old Eranad area were included in the Shernad *taluk* during the colonial period. According to this report, rice continued to be the main agricultural product in the area. Coconut trees, betel nut trees and jackfruit trees were also cultivated there. The report describes the presence of low-lying rice lands. The highest revenue from betel nut trees was recorded in the hobble of Pootoor, while the revenue from jackfruit trees were moderate in the hobble of Chellembra. The hobble of Naloor showed a moderate assessment for coconut trees, betel nut trees and jackfruit trees.

The *Malabar District Gazetteer*¹⁸⁵(1908) by C.A. Innes I C S, is a comprehensive and authoritative work on the Malabar region. It covers the geographical and historical background of the districts, as well as the socio-economic and cultural aspects of the people, agricultural and industrial development, land tenures, administration of justice and educational activities etc; in addition to being a detailed gazetteer of erstwhile *taluks*. According to Innes, Eranad was the largest and most typical *taluk* in Malabar, combining the characteristic features of both the coastal and interior *taluks*. Eranad comprised the *nadus* of South Parappanad, Ramnad, Cheranad and Eranad.

The gazetteer notes that the soils in Eranad *taluk* mostly belonged to the red ferruginous series. Except along the coast and in the *amsams* of Nilambur, Mambad and Wandur, the paddy lands were uniformly good and in the *amsams* between Kottakkal, Malappuram and Urot *Mala* are unsurpassed in Malabar. The sandy coastal soils were particularly favourable for the cultivation of coconut. The banks of Beypore and Kadalundi rivers were lined with lush gardens of coconut and areca palms.

Ginger was cultivated in most *amsams*, but it thrived best on the uplands of Vengara, Kannamangalam, and adjoining *amsams*. Nannabra is famous for betel and lemon grass which grew wild in the eastern *amsams* and the oil being manufactured

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 218-23.

¹⁸⁵ C.A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteers*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1977.

at Pandikkad. The gazetteer also mentions a rubber plantation established in the Nilambur valley and on hill slopes near Kalikavu. Iron smelting was practiced in Chembrasserri and Tuvvur and gold washing was carried out in the Beypore river. Major trades in the area included timber, coir, ginger and dried fish.¹⁸⁶

*A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*¹⁸⁷ by Ward and Conner offers detailed accounts of the geographical and statistical survey of the Malabar region. The description in the memoir played an essential role to enhance the understanding of the geographical and topographical knowledge of the Malabar region. According to Ward and Conner, the *taluk* of Eranad was mostly bounded on the North by the ridge of Ghats from Wayanad, on the north-east by the Nilagiris and Koondah Mountains, to the south and south-east by Walluvanad *taluk*, to the south-west by Sheranad *taluk*, and to the west and north-west by the Calicut district. The *taluk* was divided into 10 hobbelies, which were further subdivided into 26 *amsams*, containing a total of 116 *desams* or villages scattered across the western and southern portions of the district.¹⁸⁸

The memoir mentions that the production in Eranad *taluk* was generally different varieties of rice, along with several species of dry grain, pulse and coconuts. Although pepper was produced, it was not grown as extensively as coastal districts. Sugarcane was cultivated in large quantities in the central regions of Eranad. Mountains and forests provided honey and beeswax.¹⁸⁹ In later period significant tracts of land in this area were cleared for the cultivation of rubber and cardamom. This era also marked the expansion of the money economy in Eranad.

Conclusion

The *nadu* was the basic unit of the socio-political formation of pre-modern Kerala. The historical reproduction of the process of formation of *nadu* is a complex

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 438-39.

¹⁸⁷ Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

endeavour. The geographical features of Kerala are significant for the development of the *nadu*. Each *nadu* passed through a long historical process to become a geopolitical unit. It has been stated that *nadus* have no clear-cut boundaries and it functioned only within the limits of the respective territorial unit of settlement contained in them. In the case of *nadus* of pre-modern Kerala, natural boundaries like rivers, forests and mountains often defined the limits of a *nadu* rather than a clear-cut political boundary. *Nadus* seem to have formed or developed on both sides of a river or along forested or other natural boundaries.

Eranad was a *nadu* division that existed during the Chera period. Geographical division, land, climate, etc. played an important role in the formation of *nadu*. The expansion of agriculture and the starting of settlement units led to the emergence of the *nadus* in North Kerala. The roots of Eranad can be traced back to the megalithic period. Archaeological evidence from the region, including the megalithic remains, indicate early human settlement in the region.

Like any other region in Kerala, Eranad was not present in the Palaeolithic map of India. Due to a lack of reliable evidence, it is difficult to construct the pre-history of this region. The available archaeological remains belonged to the proto-historic phase of megalithic culture. The wide distribution of Iron Age burial monuments in Eranad has suggests a long-standing pattern of settlement formation of the region. Historically, the region has witnessed a continuous occupation from the early Iron Age to the modern times.

During the early historic period, Eranad was part of Kuntanatu, where agriculture was also practiced. According to the *Tinai* concept of eco-zones, Eranad belonged to the *Mullai* tract or pastoral lands. The occupation of these *Tinai* was based on the physical features of the land. The people who inhabited the *Mullai* tract were the *Ayar* or *Idayavar* or pastoralists. The other divisions like *Kurinji*, *Marutam*, *Naytal* and *Palai*. Elements of these micro eco-zones are still visible in Eranad through the place and field names. For example, the place name *katu* indicates *Mullai*

tracts; names indicating water bodies and its sources refer to *Marutam* tracts, while names on table lands suggests *Palai* tracts. Such types of place names are largely found in Eranad. These place names indicate the historical continuity of this region.

Kavus, or sacred groves, were centres of agrarian society. These were worship spaces typically consisting of groves of trees, plants and even medicinal plants. Many of these *kavus* were established as part of the spread of Buddhism and Jainism in Kerala. There were many *kavus* found in the area as a part of the study. *Nagas* (snakes) and female goddesses were the main deities in these groves. *Yaksas* and *yaksis* were also worshipped here, reflecting the presence of the fertility cult. There is evidence that major *kavus* in the region were emerged as a part of the temple.

Kerala has historically witnessed the migration of several communities including the Brahmins, *Tiyyas* and *Nairs*. The Brahmins were considered as the most prominent among these immigrants. Like in any other region in Kerala, Brahmin migration and settlement led to notable impacts in Eranad. They cleared forests and cultivated in the fertile river tracts. Their expertise on agricultural practices helped them establish a Brahmin-dominant agrarian society. This transformation is reflected by the expansion of agriculture which resulted in the emergence of settlements like Karikkad, Pulpatta, Trippanachi, Sukapuram, Trikkalayur, Trippangott, Pullannur and Kunnath. Each of these settlements were centred on a temple. During the medieval period, Brahmin became property owners and established temples or *sanketams* to control the property in agrarian tracts. It led to the emergence of Brahmin-dominated culture in society. Temples such as Karikkatu Subrahmanya temple, Pulpatta Siva temple, Thrikkalayur temple, Perumtrikkovil Siva temple at Trippanachi and Pukkottur temple were some of the major temples in this region. Temples played dual roles as religious institutions and also acted as landlords. These temples controlled the large tracts of paddy lands in Eranad.

Ur and *sabha* were key Brahmanical institutions. There are many place names related to *ur* in Eranad and it reflecting the early Brahmin presence. Amayur,

Anantayur, Ariyallur, Chembrakattur, Chathallur, Chengottur, Cherur, Cheruvayur etc. The inscriptions from the Karikkattu temple, Pulpatta Siva temple, Tirkkalayur temple and Pukkottur temple further confirm Brahmin presence and influence in the region. Terms such as *mana*, *illom*, *mangala* and *tirumangalam* indicate the existence of Brahmin residential areas. The agrarian settlements in Eranad primarily emerged in the fertile areas in the river valley, especially those of the Chaliyar and Kadalundi river basins.

In the Brahmin-dominated agrarian society, there existed kin-based *kutis*. Both *ur* and *kuṭi* were important terms used to define agricultural settlements. *Kuti* referred to the habitation of settler and occupational communities who inhabited the region. Certain place names like *Kollamkandiparamb*, *Asarikandi* and *Parayarakandi* indicated the presence of occupational and other labour groups in the area. They were attached to Brahmin settlement areas.

The main agricultural settlements in Eranad are found in the midland area. The major crop cultivated in this region was paddy. Velumbiyam Padam, Olakarapadam, Punjapadam, Chalipadam, Kuzhimbattupadam and Avarathipadam were the main agrarian tracts in Eranad. Apart from paddy cultivation, there is also evidence of *parambu* cultivation. Some of the field names suggest the existence of *parambu* cultivation like coconut, arecanut and jackfruit.

Pre-colonial land law in Kerala known as *janmakaran kudiyan sampradayam* or *janmam-kanam-maryada*. While the first term referred to the relationship between the landlord and the tenant, the second addressed the relationship between the rights and obligations of both parties. The emergence of Brahmin settlements in river valleys, the expansion of agrarian settlements, the emergence of temples, *brahmaswam* and *devaswam* lands contributed to the development of a distinct agrarian social structure in Kerala. Astronomical knowledge and the invention of the calendar enabled the Brahmins to organise, plan and control agricultural activities

effectively. However, they rarely participated directly in agriculture, instead relying on existing cultivators to cultivate the land.

In conclusion, it can be determined that the formation of *nadu* in Eranad was a complex historical process. Early settlements in this region were developed in the fertile river tracts and were controlled by the *nattutayavar*. The expansion of agriculture led to the emergence of trade and exchange centres in the region. Early medieval temple inscriptions from Eranad hint at the existence of diverse power structures within the region. Ultimately, the temples of Eranad became vital hubs of both the economic and political functions of the *nadu*.

Chapter Three

Polity: Structure and Evolution

The discussions in the earlier chapters have contributed to an understanding of the agricultural development of Eranad. Such progress is feasible only in a region where a strong political foundation exists. While the geographical boundaries of a region are relatively constant, its political boundaries may change due to factors like war, invasion, and matrimonial alliances among the ruling families. This chapter, therefore seeks to understand the political formation of Eranad. However, available sources provide only limited information regarding such matters.

During the British period, Eranad was one of the largest administrative divisions in the Malabar region. The settlement registers compiled during this time serve as a valuable source to understand the landscape, land type and land use of the village in Eranad region. These documents give detailed accounts of field names within the area. According to the settlement records¹ of Eranad *taluk*, it contained 221 *desams*, while the re-settlement records² indicate a total of 94 *amsams*. According to Ward and Conner, the Eranad *taluk* was bounded to the north by the ridges of the Western Ghats from Wayanad, to the north-east by the Nilagiri and Koondah mountains, to the south by the Walluvanad *taluk* and part of Tirurangadi, to the south-west by Shernad *taluk*, and to the west and north-west by the Calicut district.³ The division was subdivided into 10 hobbelies, which were further divided into 26 *amsams*, which contained 116 *desams* or villages, predominately located in the western and southern parts of the district.

¹ *Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut, 1905.

² *Re- Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut, 1935.

³ Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1995, p. 112.

According to C.A. Innes, Eranad is both the largest and most typical *taluk* in the Malabar region, includes in itself the characteristic features of the *taluks* both of the coast and interior. In the northern part of the *taluk* opposite Ariyakkode, the Western Ghats make a sharp right-angle turn toward the east. After extending a few miles further, they recede northward, forming a horseshoe-shaped enclosure around the Nilambur valley.⁴

The *Sangam* texts refer to four principal kingdoms in ancient *Tamilakam*, i.e. Tontainatu, Ceranatu, Polanatu and Pandyanatu. *Tamilakam* was further subdivided into twelve *natus*, including Pantinatu, Kuttanatu, Kuntanatu, Pulinatu, Kakkarainatu, Venatu, Aruvanatu, Vatakke Aruvanatu, Sitanatu, Malanatu and Puranatu.⁵ It is believed that during the Sangam period, the Eranad was a part of Kuntanatu. Over time, many *nadus* mentioned in the early Tamil texts disappeared, giving way to the emergence of new *nadus*.

The earliest accounts concerning the history of Kerala are found in the *Keralolpathi* and its more Sanskritized counterpart, the *Keralamahatmyam*. However, William Logan dismissed these versions as ‘farrago of legendary nonsense having for definite aim for securing the Brahmin caste of unbounded power and influence.’⁶ He further argues that they could have been composed at a relatively late period and are replete with anachronisms, rendering them virtually unreliable as historical sources.

The *Sangam* literature, or early Tamil poetry, is regarded as an important source to understand the history of ancient Kerala. The Chera kingdom, which flourished from the ninth to the twelfth century is generally seen as a nominal revival and continuation of the Chera polity of the Sangam age.⁷ Mahodayapuram

⁴ C.A. Innes, *Malabar District Gazetteer*, Government of Kerala, Kerala Gazetteer Department, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 438.

⁵ Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Keralam Ancum Arum Nuttantukalil*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1973, p. 10.

⁶ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2010 (1887).

⁷ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013 (1996), p. 15.

(Kodungallur) served as the capital during this period. The formation of *nadu* in Kerala was the outcome of a complex historical process, influenced by the physical geography of the region. The term *nadu* denotes an agrarian and also an administrative unit, that initially emerged in the fertile river valleys conducive to paddy cultivation.⁸ It refers to a cluster of agrarian settlements shaped by natural features like slopes, soil, water and resource distribution. The expansion of agriculture along these fertile tracts played a central role in the evolution of *nadu* as an administrative and economic unit.⁹

Kerala witnessed the emergence of the *nadu* as a significant administrative unit during the Cera Period, when the Cera kingdom was divided into several such entities. According to available sources, at least fourteen *nadus* existed during this period,¹⁰ although K.V. Krishna Ayyer suggests that there may have been about seventeen *nadus* existed under the Cheras.¹¹ During this period, the administration of the *nadu* was done by the *natuvazhi*, *natuvazunnavar*, or *nattudayavar*. Each *nadu* was further divided into *desams*, presided over by *desavazhi*. The *desams*, in turn, were subdivided into *tharas*, which were traditional *Nair* territorial units. There existed two categories of *nattudayavar* 1. The traditional rulers, such as the *Venatu* and *Kolothunattu utayavar*. 2. Nominated rulers, like the *Ramavalanatu* and

⁸ Y. Subbarayalu, *South India Under the Cholas*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2012, p. 124.

⁹ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Department of Cultural Publication, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997 (1990), p. 21.

¹⁰ Elankulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai, *Studies in Kerala History*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1970, pp. 250-251. He given a list of the *nadus* under the Ceras like Venad, Odanad, Nanrulinadu, Munninadu, Vempolinadu, Kizhmalainadu, Kalkarainadu, Nedumporayurnadu, Valluvanad, Eralanad, Kurumpurainadu, Puraikilanadu and Kolathunadu. M.G.S. Narayanan also listed fourteen *nadus* like Kolotunatdu, Purakilainadu, Kurumranadu, Ramavaladu, Eralandu, Valluvanadu, Netumpurainadu, Netunkainatu, Kalkkarainadu, Vempalanadu, Kizmalainadu, Munninadu, Nanrulinadu and Venadu. See M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, pp. 177-204.

¹¹ K.V. Krishna Ayyer, *A History of Kerala*, Achagam Publishers, Kozhikode, 1968, p. 45. He listed the seventeen *nadus* like Thulunad, Kolothunad, Polanad, Kurumranad, Puravazhinad, Eranad, Parappanad, Valluvanad, Ravananad, Vettathunad, Thirumanasserinad, Perumbadappnad, Nedunganad, Venganad, Muringanad, Onanad and Venad.

Netumpurayurnatu utayavar.¹² These *nadus* are mentioned in various Chera inscriptions, as well as texts like *Keralolpathi*. However, a comprehensive list of the feudatory chieftains is absent from extant records, and their total number remains uncertain. Similarly, the precise boundaries of these *nadu* are not recorded in any surviving documents.¹³ Following the decline of the Chera state, the *nadus* within the kingdom evolved into independent principalities, some of them even rising into prominence. Notably, the conventional boundaries of medieval kingdoms roughly corresponded with the boundaries of the district under the Cheras of Mahodayapuram. This is a distinct feature of political continuity, which is rarely visible in other ancient or medieval kingdoms in South India.

Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai held that the political structure of the ‘*Kulasekhara State*’ was that of a centralized monarchy. According to him, the *nadus* functioned as administrative units under the authority of the state, each governed by the ruler directly or through a royal representative known as *Koyiladhikarikal*.¹⁴ M.G.S. Narayanan, in his doctoral thesis on the ‘*Kulasekhara Kingdom*’ critically re-evaluated this model. He shifted away from the earlier position that the Chera state was a centralised monarchy or an ‘*Empire*’, arguing instead that it was a weak state sustained by Brahmanical institutions or a Brahmanical oligarchy. His work marked a significant departure from the interpretations advanced by Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai. He not only challenged the idea of a monarchical state.¹⁵ But radically revised the dynastical chronology, introducing new rulers based on recently discovered evidence. His re-interpretation reflected a broader shift in historiography, emphasizing the role of Brahmin settlements, temples, and landholding patterns in sustaining political authority, rather than centralized royal power.

¹² V.V. Haridas, *Samutiri Kalathe Kozhikode: Kathayum Charitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2012, p. 23.

¹³ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 178.

¹⁴ K.N. Ganesh, *Reflections on Pre Modern Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2016, p. 17.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Kesavan Veluthat, another prominent historian who contributed to the scholarly discourse on the Chera state, argued that the Chera polity of Makotai had acquired the characteristics of a full-fledged state by the 11th century. However, he contended that this state formation cannot be accurately described as a case of 'ritual sovereignty', as proposed by M.G.S. Narayanan, nor did it resemble the imperial state model advanced by Elamkulam P.N. Kunjan Pillai.¹⁶

The post-Chera period witnessed significant changes in the structure of the *nadus*. The disappearance of the Perumal led to the gradual loss in the significance of the political establishment. During the Perumal era, the governmental responsibilities were largely carried out by the chieftains of the *nadus* under the normal suzerainty of the Perumal. However, with the decline of the Perumal, even this symbolic lordship which he enjoyed over these chiefdoms vanished, resulting in the emergence of the *nadus* as independent principalities. The post-Chera period marked a transition in regional power dynamics, with certain principalities evolving into more powerful kingdoms, while others diminished into less powerful chiefdoms. This reflects the fragmented and decentralised nature of political authority in post-Chera Kerala.

According to *Keralolpathi*, the last Chera Perumal partitioned his kingdom among his relatives and dependents before departing for Mecca to embrace Islam. This narrative appears to be a retrospect justification- an attempt to put the stamp of recognition on the fait accompli of the dismemberment of the kingdom, and the independence that the hitherto dependent chiefs had acquired. Consequently, rulers across medieval Kerala often claimed their authority as deriving from a donation of the Perumal, there by invoking a symbolic continuation of the throne.¹⁷ The chiefs of prominent *nadus* like Venadu, Eralanadu, Valluvanadu and Kurumpranadu became independent kingdoms, collectively falling under the category of *samantha swarupams*. Simultaneously, some *nadus* like Kalkkarai *nadu*, Nedumporaiyur *nadu*, and Nanrulai *nadu* was disappeared. In contrast, smaller *nadus* like Thirumanasseri,

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

¹⁷ Kesavan Veluthat, 'Political Forms', in P.J. Cheriyan, (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Vol. 11, Kerala Gazetteer, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p. 64.

Perumbadapp, Vettam, Parur and Ambalapuzha emerged, often under Brahmanical dominance. Other *nadus* like Puravazhinad, Parappunad, Beppur and Kodungallur came under Kshatriya rule. The *udayavars* of various *nadus* extended their territorial influence by occupying nearby regions. The Perumal story gave a certain legitimacy to the kingdoms, which had arisen on the ruins of earlier kingdoms.

The thirteenth-century work *Thirunizhalmala* mentions about eight *nadus* as *enmar samanthar*. They are Venad, Odanad and two Vembanad (Thekku Kur and Vadakkum Kur) in the south and two Eranad and two Walluvanad in the north.

“*Enmar chamandar nadennidampeda vakanthavettil*
Venadum modanadum venpolanadu randum
Cheneedum malanattinnu thenthichakkaren chamathu
Valluvanadu randum vazhcahayay vakanthavettil
Palliyur muranayennum parimala nakari thannil
Maradi varuval nenjil valar kalithalam niruthum
Eranadu randum kudittinamkina vadakkin thikkil”¹⁸

This shows that Eranad was a prominent *nadu* during this time. During the Chera period, there is a possibility that this area might have risen as an important locality due to its agricultural potential. This might have led to it being incorporated within the state structure of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram. While the boundaries of this *nadu* are not mentioned explicitly in any document, the conventional boundaries of the medieval kingdoms were roughly the same as the boundaries of the district under the Cheras of Mahodayapuram.

Like any other *nadus* in Kerala, Eranad was divided into *desams* for administrative convenience. The *desams* were controlled by *desavazhi*, and were further divided into *tara*. The head of *tara* was *Karanavar* of the *Nair taravad*. The *tarakuttams* were the lowest unit of administration.

¹⁸ M. Purushotahman Nair, *Thirunizhalmala*, Sandhya Books, Trissur, 1981, pp. 40- 41.

Keralolpathi Tradition

The *Keralolpathi* text holds considerable significance for its attempt to historicize Kerala as a distinct cultural and geographical unit. It opens with a mythical account of the origin of Kerala, attributing its creation to Lord *Parasurama*, who is said to have reclaimed the land between Gokarnam and Kanyakumari by throwing his axe into the sea. According to the text, *Parasurama* also initiated the first human settlements in Kerala. Numerous versions of the *Keralolpathi* exist across Kerala, with each *naduvazhi* promoting their own versions to reinforce their social superiority.¹⁹ These texts were composed in a society where *swarupams* functioned as the dominant political authority. According to Kesavan Veluthat, the discourse constituting Kerala as a separate region with its own identity has been constructed in these document.²⁰ Similarly, K.N. Ganesh emphasises that *Keralolpathis*, along with other related narratives, reflect a historical consciousness that emerged from a complex socio-political process. This process involved two major elements: first, the formation and continuity of the Brahmana *gramas* accompanied by land acquisitions of the Brahmanas and temples, classified as *brahmasvam* and *devasvam*. The second, was the emergence of the *nadus* as autonomous territorial entities, shaped through the formation of settlements and population migration.²¹

Every *swarupam* maintained its own version of the *Keralolpathi* tradition, which repeatedly emphasised how they had received their territorial rights and authority to rule directly from the Perumal. This narrative strategy was employed by the *swarupams* to legitimize their political privileges and social status. While multiple versions of *Keralolpathi* exist, they generally shared a common description up to the end of Perumal's reign. However, divergences emerge in the sections that deal with

¹⁹ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Keralolpathi*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2008, p. 16.

²⁰ Kesavan Veluthat, 'History as Performance: A Note on *Keralolpathi*', in *Paper Presented in the Seminar in Honour of Romila Thapar*, India International Centre, New Delhi, March 15-18, 2018, p. 66.

²¹ K.N. Ganesh, 'Transitions of Historical Consciousness', in M.P. Mujeebu Rehiman and K.S. Madhavan, (eds.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2011, p. 51.

the origins and genealogies of each *swarupam*, reflecting localised attempts at self-legitimation. The *Keralolpathi* can be broadly divided into three phases: 1) Age of Parasurama, 2) Age of Perumal, and 3) Age of *Thampurans*. It is in this third phase- Age of *Thampurans*- that the text specifically mentions *nadus* and *swarupams*. These narratives are often tailored to justify the *naduvazhis* and other ruling authorities claim over the land.

Inscriptional Remarks

Inscriptions are generally considered as the most reliable sources of historical information. Among them, the Jewish Copper Plate grant of 999-1000 CE, issued by Bhaskara Ravi, holds a particular significance in the context of early history of Eranad. This inscription was issued to the Jewish trader Joseph Rabban of *Anjuvannam*. Notably, the final section of this copper plate lists the names of the signatories and the scribe. The witnesses recorded in these inscriptions were primarily *udayavars* of *naduvazhi* lineages, who later became *swarupis*. These people possessed the rights related to monetary transactions and their economic resourcefulness helped them to develop.

The inscriptions were attested by the governors of Eralnadu, along with those of Venad, Venpolinadu, Valluvanadu and Nedumpurayurnadu, as well as the commander of the eastern forces. The *eranattudayar* mentioned in the inscription is identified as Manavelappa Manaveeyan.²² This suggests that this was a likely hereditary title held by the ruling chiefs of *Eralanatu*.²³ This record points to the presence of a well-established royal rule in Eranad during this period. The rulers of Eranad, at the time were said to be two brothers, each commanding his own militia known as *nuttukuttangal*. The elder king maintained an army of 600 soldiers, while the younger king had 300. The size of the army suggests that Eranad was

²² M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1972, pp. 81-82; *The Jewish Copper Plate Inscription* cited in M.G S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 11.

²³ V.V. Haridas, *Zamorins and Political Culture of Medieval Kerala*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2016, p. 25.

comparatively more prosperous and militarily significant than other *nadus* of that time.

The Pulpatta temple inscription also attest to offerings made by the *Eranattudayavr*.²⁴ This epigraphical record documents the transfer of land to the temple. The inscription mentions the *Pulipotai ur* (temple administrative body), *Eranattu arunuttuvar*²⁵ (five hundred militia of *Etattirainattu*) and *Etattirainattu munnuttuvar* (three hundred militia of *Etattirainattu*) jointly make provision for *uttu* (feast) by assigning land to the Pulpatta temple. This record pushes back the origin of the Pulpatta temple to the 11th century CE.²⁶ The numerical strength of the hundred organizations- particularly the six hundred of the senior prince suggests that Eralanadu was about the same size as Ramavalanatu, Valluvanatu, Kizhmalainatu and Venatu. Therefore, the chief of *Eralanadu* can be considered one of the leading feudatories under the Chera Perumals. The architectural grandeur of the Pulpatta Siva temple appears to reflect the economic and political support it enjoyed. This temple has received land grants and has enjoyed the over lordship of the rulers of Eranad. The inscription also records the proceedings of an assembly that included representatives from the *arunnoottuvar* and the *munnoottuvar*.

The Kollam Rameswaram temple inscription²⁷ of Ramavarma *Kulasekhara*, dated to his 13th regnal year (1102), refers to Manavikara *Punturakkon*, the chief of Eranadu. This mentions the feudatories starting with *Punturakkon*, which may be an indication of his being the foremost of feudatory chiefs. The record also mentions several key administrative and religious bodies of the time, including the *Nalu Tali*

²⁴ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Pulpatta Inscription*, Index No. C.12: 489; H. Sarkar, *Architectural Survey of the Temple of Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 1978, pp. 202-203.

²⁵ This organization of *Nuttuvar* (the hundred) seems to be a sort of police force of *Natu Udayavars*. It varied in strength from *nadu* to *nadu* and ranged from 300 to 700.

²⁶ Arya Nair V.S, 'The Early Medieval Temple of Eranad: A Study of Karikkad, Pulpatta and Trippanachi', in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 5, 13 November 2017, p. 559.

²⁷ T.A. Rao Gopinath, *Travancore Archaeological Series (TAS)*, Vol. V, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1920, pp. 40-46; M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions, Kollam Ramesvara Temple Inscription*, Index No. C. 14.

(Brahmin council of Cheras of Mahodayapuram), the feudatories starting with Manavikrama, the ruler of Eranadu, the *Ayiram* (the thousand- a body attached to the Perumal and also bigger form of hundred organization (*nuttuvar*) of *nadus* and the Arya Brahmans of the Rameswaram temple.²⁸ A medieval *Manipravalam* poem stated like this: ‘no one can take Netiyiruppu head on, as it was on the ruler of that territory that the last of the Ceramans, Ramavarma conferred (the gift of land) with liberations of water on the sword’.²⁹

The chief of Eralanadu is referred to by the title *Eralanatutaiya Manavepala Manaviyan*, which appears to have been a hereditary title for the ruling lineage of *Eralanadu*. It appears in an undated 11th century inscription from Triccambaram, as noted by M.G.S. Narayanan.³⁰ Further evidence of political significance of Eranad in the post-Cera period is found in the Syrian copper plate of 1225, which mentions the grant of certain privileges and trade monopolies to the merchant chief Iravi Kothan. This inscription explicitly states that the charter was ‘issued with knowledge of Venatu, Otanatu, Eranatu and Valluvanatu’, implying that these *nadus* were among the most influential regional principalities during the post-Cera period, particularly in matters concerning charters of trade.³¹

An important source of information regarding the early history of Eranad is discussed by Rajan Gurukkal,³² based on epigraphs discovered at the foundation of a temple in Anandapuram, near Irinjalakuda. This inscription is written in *vattezhuthu* with occasional *grantha* characters, has been palaeographically dated to about the period between the 11th century and the 13th century. The historical significance of this record lies in the fact that it is the earliest known reference from the post-Chera period,

²⁸ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 26.

³⁰ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, p. 96.

³¹ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

³² Rajan Gurukkal, ‘A New Epigraph Referring to Eranadu’, in *Proceedings of the Thirty Seventh Session, Indian History Congress, Calicut, 1976*, pp. 526-531; M.G.S. Narayanan, ‘The Hundred Groups and the Rise of Nayar Militia in Kerala’, in *Proceedings of IHC, Burdwan, 1983*, pp. 113-19.

which explicitly mentions Eranad as a political entity. It is thought that the temple during this time was within the territory of Eranad. The police force of the Eranad is exercising power over this region and it would mention that by this time this region had become under the control of this principality. The extension of this principality of Eranad to this region in less than a century after the disintegration of the Cera kingdom explains why the chieftains of this district was called the first feudatory chieftains under the Cera kingdom.³³ This inscription also made references to Eranad *nizhal* (police force), which is significant for multiple reasons. First, it highlights that Eranad had become strong enough to reach as far as Anadapuram in the southern parts of present-day Thrissur district. Second, the mention of its military or policing presence (*nizhal*) indicates the political and administrative strength of Eranad during this period. Additionally, it also signifies that by the time of the Anandapuram inscription, Eranatu was strong enough to out stead Valluvanadu and the presence of a hundred organizations of different *nadus* close to one another did not have any implication for the political power of the respective *nadu*.

The Muchunti Mosque inscription at Kuttichira in Calicut is also an important inscription of the early document of the Zamorin. Dating to the 13th century, it is a bilingual record written in Arabic and old Malayalam. This Inscription documents a land grant made by *Punturakon* to support the daily expenses of the Muchunti mosque. While the name of the Zamorin is not mentioned in this inscription, his title '*Punturakon*' was used.³⁴ This record is particularly significant, not only because it is one of the rare surviving stone inscriptions related to the Zamorin, but also because it provides evidence of a permanent endowment of property by a Hindu monarch to a Muslim place of worship within his capital. It reflects a notable characteristic of co-existence through religious patronage in pre-modern Kerala.

According to N.M. Namboothiri, it is not clear whether the mention of 'Eramavalanad' in the Thiruvannur inscription during Rajaraja refers to Eranad. But it was issued during the reign of Paliyathu Kandan in the Eramavalanad.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 529.

³⁴ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Op. cit.*, 1972, p. 38-42.

Eranattudayavar was also the witness in the Ramaeswaram inscription during Ramavarma *Kulasekhara*.³⁵

An examination of the evidence from these inscriptions allows us to make the following observations:-

- a. Eranad was one of the significant *nadu* units under the Cera kingdom and likely became the foremost *nadu* towards the end of Perumal rule.
- b. The chief of Eranad had titles like Manavepala Manaviyan, Manavikraman and *Punturakon* during the Perumal rule.
- c. The title *Punturakon*, was a title later used by the Zamorins of Calicut, once a title that the chief of Eralanatu used even under the Perumals.
- d. Eranad continued to be important in the period after the Chera kingdom ceased to exist.³⁶

The *Keralolpathi* tradition preserves the fact that the feudatory chiefs of Eranad emerged as the Zamorins, becoming independent rulers of Calicut. Over time, they became the most important ruling houses in medieval Kerala. When the *Eradis* gained access to the sea through the gift of Calicut from the Perumal, they quickly developed it into a thriving port. Following the Zamorin's conquest of Polanatu, the maritime influence and control around the port expanded significantly, fostering further growth and development.

The royal lineage adopted the name Nediyrippu *swarupam* to honour their origins in Nediyrippu. According to tradition, the founders of the dynasty, two brothers named Manichan and Vikkiran, were legendary warriors -they had to 'kill and die' in their efforts to expand their territory. They began with only a 'broken sword' (*odinja vaal*) and a 'broken conch' (*odinja sangu*) as their symbols of authority. As

³⁵ Dr. N.M. Namboothiri, *Kerala Samskaram Akavum Puravum*, Calicut University Central Co-operative Stores, Calicut, 2004, p. 235.

³⁶ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, 2016, p. 27.

the Zamorins expanded through conquest, they proudly assumed prestigious titles such as *Kunnala Konathiri* and *Sailabdiswara* (the lord of mountains and waves).³⁷

Formation of *Swarupam*

The formation of the *swarupam* marked a significant shift in the political structure of the *nadus* in Kerala. According to K.N. Ganesh, the term *swarupam*, referred to the self-form of ruling houses and signified the extent of the political and cultural domain of the rulers.³⁸ Myth are serve as the primary source for studying the origin of various *swarupams*. Most *swarupams* developed within the agrarian regions called *nadus*. *Swarupams* of Kerala has a unique form among South Indian local rule. At the same time, they have similarities with feudal systems found elsewhere. Thus, the study of a *swarupam* becomes a study of the medieval social order in Kerala. In medieval *granthavaris*, this term is used to specifically denote royal families.³⁹

Kerala, while deficient in food grains, was rich in cash crops- especially spices such as pepper, ginger, cardamom, other herbs and timber. That were in high demand across both the western and eastern world. This definite surplus led to the proliferation of markets, fairs and port towns throughout Kerala. The development of new agricultural tracts and exchange centres necessitated effective managerial strategies of surplus produce. Consequently, powerful territorial authorities asserted their control, establishing rights over the revenue generated from their territories. These developments caused the strengthening of the territorial authorities and the weakening of the central power of the Perumal. Over time, territorial authorities became strong enough to assert their claims over the land forcefully, instead of waiting for a formal partition of the kingdom. This resulted in the *Nattudayavar* of various *nadu* units, who, following a *kuru* share system of matrilineal succession, consolidated power

³⁷ T. Madhava Menon (ed.), *A Hand Book of Kerala*, International School of Dravidian Linguistic, Thiruvananthapuram, 2000,p. 157.

³⁸ K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

³⁹ V.V. Haridas, *Samoothiripazhama*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2012, p. 38.

within their territories, expressing a new form of sovereignty. These emerging centres of power found their institutional expression in the *swarupam* organization.⁴⁰

The study of *swarupam* was mainly undertaken by M.R. Raghava Varrier in his work '*State as Swarupam: An Introductory Essay*'. According to him, the *swarupam*, which was unique to Kerala, has been interpreted by scholars in various ways- as a royal household, a feudatory, or even a dynasty ruling over an empire. The organization has also been compared and contrasted with the *naduvazhis* to highlight their over lordship within the political power structure of the period.⁴¹ According to V.V. Haridas, the family of chieftains who ruled the *nadus* during the post-Cera period was referred to as the *swarupam*, which can be translated as 'house'. In the medieval Malayalam chronicles, the term *swarupam* signified any influential family, not necessarily a royal family.⁴² Additionally, Herman Gundert gave a different meaning to *swarupam*, interpreting it as 'natural condition'.⁴³

Other scholars have defined the '*swarupam* as a political authority in medieval Kerala, which was based on the organization of a large number of small territorial units over which a powerful matrilineal joint family exercise their political and judicial authority'.⁴⁴ The core territories of the *swarupams* included the natural units rooted in the local cultural framework, including agricultural and artisanal production, exchange networks, social organizations, political structures, ritual practices, folklore and folk life and communication. These cultural and economic areas corresponded to the *nadus* of medieval Kerala, which were spontaneous units of economic, social and cultural life.⁴⁵

⁴⁰ Dr. M.R. Raghava Varrier, '*State as Svarupam: An Introductory Essay*', in R. Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat, T.R. Venugopalan and C. Achutha Menon (eds.), *State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2002, p. 124.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁴² V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, 2016, p. 53.

⁴³ Herman Gundert, *Gundert Nikhandu*, SPCS, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2013 (1962), p. 957.

⁴⁴ Dr. M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*, p. 120.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

Most of the *swarupams* developed in the agrarian regions known as *nadus*, which emerged during or even before the period of the later Chera state (9th to 11th centuries CE). Some scholars suggest that the *swarupam* was a pre-state political authority, based on a complex system of lineage and seniority within the household. Thus, the *swarupams* of Kerala stood out in both structure and function among neighbouring cultures.⁴⁶

As in any regime, in *swarupams*, the resources are indispensable elements for military operations and counter attacks. Hence, the existence of *swarupams* were fundamentally based on their resources. This resource base was consisted of agrarian settlements with paddy fields and *parambu* upland areas cultivating food and cash crops, owned by different groups under different rights, the *cherikkal* lands with their *kutis* and the fairs, markets, towns and ports with their various functionaries.⁴⁷ A notable feature of the *swarupam* phase was the crystallization of the extraction processes from diverse groups of property holders. Thus, the *swarupam* with their system of the rule of *muppu* became an effective mechanism to extract surplus from primary producers at the local level and to manage newly expanding territories.

The original seats of the *swarupams* were located within the *nadu* divisions, as indicated by inscriptions from the Cera period. These *nadu* divisions were governed by the *nattudayavar*- literally the owners of the *nadu*- whose ownership rights over their territories were recognized by the Perumal rulers. The earliest reference to a *nattudayavar* appears in the *Tarissappalli* copperplates dated to 849 AD.⁴⁸ This inscription attested that the oldest ones among *swarupams* are came into being as *kuruvazhcha* families since Perumal rule. It shows that the mentioned *nattudayavar* in the inscription was the ruler of Venatu and had the power to carry out the land

⁴⁶ Dr. M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Madyakala Keralam Swarupaneethiyude Charitra Patangal*, SPCS, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016 (2014), p. 13.

⁴⁷ M.R. Raghava Varrier, 'Naduvazhi Swarupangalude Valarcha', in V.J. Vargees, Dr. N. Vijayamohanan Pilla and Dr. Scaria Zacaria (eds.), *Anjooru Varshathe Keralam Chila Arivadayalanganal*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2001 (1999), p. 49.

⁴⁸ M.R. Raghava Varrier and Kesavan Veluthatt, *Tharissappalli Pattayam*, SPCS, Kozhikode, 2015.

transactions and alienate landed property and judicial rights over the inhabitant. The inscriptions also mentions various functionaries such as *Atikarar*, *Prakriti*, *Pati* and *Arunurruvar*, reflecting a well-organised system of local and official infrastructure, which was headed by the *nattudayavar* and regulated through the *kuru* system of sharing rights and privileges. Another inscription, the Jewish copper plate of Bhaskara Ravi from 1000 AD,⁴⁹ lists five *nattudayavar* as the signatories to a deed issued for Joseph Rebban. These include the *nattudayavar* of Venatu, Venpolinatu, Eralantu, Vettatunatu and Nedumpurayurnatu.

The agrarian lands were cultivated by labourers known as *al* or *alatiyar*. Their economic and social status remained largely unchanged from the previous period. These labourers were attached to the land and transformed along with it, effectively being treated more as properties rather than as human beings. They had no claims over the produce except what their masters chose to give them. These masters formed the higher social and economic strata in society and they consisted of various types of property holders, such as *kanam* and *pattam* types of landed properties. Above these, *janmam* right holders consisted of various sections such as ruling houses of *desams*, *natus* and the *swarupams*. The *kanam* right became popular before the widespread use of cash transactions. Regular forms of income from the land included *pattam*, *melvaram* and *melodi*. The *desavazhi* appointed *kaval* or protection forces to safeguard the land and crops. In *cherikkal* areas, the *swarupam* arranged for the *kaval*. The share from the cultivators was called as *kaval palam* and that of *swarupam* was called *cangatta mukanokku*. This payment was paid periodically by the landholders to the head of the *swarupam*. *Cangatta mukanokku* was one of the seven regular sources of income extracted by the *swarupam* from the *kaval* of the *desam* areas.⁵⁰

Medieval literature, especially *Manipravalam* works, depicts the early phase of the ascendancy of the *swarupams*. Through their rich descriptions, we gain insights into the political landscape and the prominence of powerful *swarupams* during the

⁴⁹ The Jewish Copper Plate Inscription cited in M.G.S. Narayanan, *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 11.

⁵⁰ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

medieval period. *Manipravalam* poems beautifully portray newly established settlements, vast expanse of cultivated food and cash crops, bustling fairs, markets, towns and emporia, along with the trade routes linking these vibrant centres of economic activity. These works also praise the kings of various *swarupam* as protectors and proprietors of towns and emporia. Moreover, they celebrate the pleasures of local life and the flourishing linguistic and cultural milieu of the region.⁵¹

The **important *swarupams*** of Kerala are: Nediyruppu or Zamorin, Arangottu or Valluvanad, Perimbadappu or Kochin, Trippappur or Travancore, Kurumbiyathiri or Kurumbanad, Puranattukara or Kottayam, Kolathiri or Chirakkal, Kolathiri or Kadathanad, Tarur or Palaghat, Pappukovil or Beypore, Parappukovil or Parappanad and Trippappur or Venad.

Nediyruppu *Swarupam*

One of the most successful *udayavars* was the *udayavar* of Eralanad, who occupied the region to the north of the Chaliyar river, including Polanadu and Panthalayini. Thus, the significance of Eranad persisted even after the decline of the Cera kingdom. The rulers of Eranad or Nediyruppu, bore the hereditary title *Punthurakkon* and official titles such as *Manavikrama* or *Manaveda*, all attested in Cera records. The Eralanad chief expanded his territorial authority southwards by conquering economically vital regions like Ponnani-Thirunavaya. The occupation of Kozhikode, Panthalayani and Ponnani enabled the Eralanadu chief to control trade and commerce, laying the foundation for the emergence of the Eralanatu chief as the ‘Zamorin’ of Calicut amid the flourishing Arab trade along the Kerala coast.

The original seat of the Zamorins was Nediyruppu, a village in the Eranad *taluk* of present-day Malappuram district. The members of the Nediyruppu *swarupam* belonged to the *Eradi* subdivision of the *samanta* section of the *Nair* caste. When Cheraman Perumal partitioned his empire and abdicated, the Eranad *udayavar*, like other provincial governors became *swarupi* or independent king and his family came to be called the ‘Nediyruppu *Swarupam*’. The chief of Eranadu belonged to the house

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 127.

of Nediyruppu. Today, it remains a village in Eranad *taluk* of Malappuram district. During the Perumal period, it was a landlocked area without large agrarian settlements.

The head of Nediyruppu *swarupam* used various titles like *Nediyruppil Muta Eradi*, *Kunnalakkon*, *Silabandisvara*, *Punturakkon* and *Kukkutakroda Puradesvara* etc. The title *Punturakon* was used in his official records. The diversity in the titles of the head suggested that *Nediyruppil Muta Eradi* was the sovereign and sole authority of the land which extended from the mountains to the sea to the Calicut port. A large number of scribes existed to prepare administrative accounts and wrote royal orders such as *nittu* and *tiruveluttu*.

The *Kozhikodan granthavaris*⁵² of the Zamorins provide detailed information about the various types of revenue collections from *desams*. These documents help us understand the procedure of revenue collection under the Nediyruppu *swarupam*. The head of the *swarupam* was granted a hereditary right to the chief of the *desam* to collect different types of revenues from the property holders within his territory. During the customary rituals, these heads were also bestowed with specific titles. Additionally, the *desavazhi* had the right to collect income from both the *desam* and the *cherikkals*. Some other records further indicate that the same authority was entrusted with overseeing more than one *cherikkal*.

⁵² It is a voluminous collection of unpublished palm-leaf manuscripts. These constitute a major chunk of records that formed part of the archives of the Zamorins. There are about seventy volumes of palm leaf books as well as 200 volumes of paper records in this collection of documents. They are mostly in Malayalam script except a few which are in *kolezhuthu*. The documents are in two types: 1) details of income and expenditure 2) details about rituals, festivals and similar events. So it is palace records that represent royalty and political culture. A perusal of the documents in the *granthavari* has convinced that there are many gaps in our knowledge of the Zamorins. It does not give a complete picture of them. The *granthavaris* also refers to the various types of collections from *desams*. The head of the *swarupam* confers on the hereditary chief of the *desam* the right to collect various incomes or *varis* from the property holders of this territory. The nature of the documents does not assure us of information on several aspects, as they are the day-to-day account of income and expenditure and not a record of day-to-day life. Despite such limitations, we can utilize these documents for the reconstruction of the culture of the kingdom of Kozhikode.

Several types of income were derived from *cherikkal* lands, including *ankam* (payments remitted for settling disputes), *cunkam*, toll, *vali* (collected for the protection of pathways), *pila*, fines, *cangatamukanokku* (share for *kavalpalam*), *ponnarippu* (payment for shifting gold from riverside sand), *arralatakkam* (confiscation of the property from extinct families) and *purusantaram* (fees for recognizing succession rights) etc. There were also existing arrangements for protecting the *tura*, port, *angadi* and the town. An officer called the *Menoki* was appointed to look after all affairs in the *tura* and *angadi*, including fixing the prices of commodities arriving at the *tura* and *bazars*. In addition, other functionaries such as the *tura arayan* and *sabandarkoya* were responsible for managing the affairs of the port town. The most important income for the Nediyruppu *swarupam* came from maritime trade, highlighting the elaborate administrative system governing the Kozhikode port town.⁵³

Legendary stories and narratives are popularized among society about the manifestation of the popular image of the king and his relation with the subject. These were not deliberately circulated as a strategy by the *swarupam* or its administrative machinery. Instead, they reflect how the *swarupam* and its functionaries were genuinely concerned about the safety and well-being of their territories, often depicted as protectors who rescue travellers from robbers and dangers.

The *swarupam* maintained control over local *desam* units through a structured system of functionaries and officials. The head of each *desam* was called the *desavazhi*, who was loyal to the *swarupam*. Each *desam* had its own militia, called the *lokar*. There are multiple records of *swarupams* punishing *desavzhis* for their disobedience or reluctance to comply with them. The *swarupams* exercised control over the *desams* and sometimes even interfered in the succession rights of local ruling houses. In the early phase of history of *swarupam*, a direct power relationship existed between the *desam* units and the *swarupam*. The authority of the *swarupams* is evident at both micro and macro levels. For instance, local institutions such as temples and *kavus* served as venues for ordeals, trials and punishments acting as seats of justice.

⁵³ Dr. M. R. Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*, p. 125.

The royal treasury was institutionalized through various rituals, ceremonies and performances, which also served as occasions for extracting income. Another important component of the *swarupam* was the mint, called *kammattam*, which was directly controlled by the various *kuru sthanams* of the *swarupam*. In short, we can say that the *swarupam* functioned as a state-like entity, with the existence of components of the state such as massive body of bureaucracy, subordinate officials, local magnates, treasury, mint and army etc. However, there are also smaller *swarupams* that lack many of these components.⁵⁴ The Nediyruppu version of the *Keralolpathi*⁵⁵ and the *Mamangam Kilipattu*⁵⁶ acclaims the rule of the Zamorin, underscoring its relevance.

Polanad and Porlatiris and Acquisition of Eranattudayavar over Polanad

Historians have various opinions about the origin of the *Porlatiris*. Polanadu was composed of twenty-two *urs* around Kozhikode, including the places like Polur, Poliur, Chellur and Chevur. It was also known as *Mukkatham Vazhi*. It also said that Polanadu included *munnu kuttam* (*natu kuttam*), which consisted of thirty-two *tharas* (administrative unit). Geographically, Polanadu lay between the Elattur and Chaliyar Rivers, covering the eastern part of Kozhikode including Vellarimala, Vaithiri, and areas such as Puthupadi, Nellippoyil, Kodasseri, Mavur, Panathurangavu, and Kadalundi. Polur existed as the capital and was agriculturally prosperous, while

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ Each *swarupam* had its version of *Keralolpathi*. Nediyruppu version of *Keralolpathi* started with claiming their descent from *Agnikula*. This version of *Keralolpathi* acclaims the rule of Zamorin. His victorious wars against Krishnadeva Raya and others are mentioned in this *Keralolpathi*. Generally, it is assumed that *Keralolpathi* is written by *Naduvazhis* or their officials. They used the popular stories of *Parasurama* and try to legitimize their rule and describe their society.

⁵⁶ K.C. Manavikrama Raja (ed.), *Keralolpathi Kilippattu*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2016, p. 25.

It is a new form of historical writing that emerged in the period of Nediyruppu *swarupam*. This is used to describe the famous festival of *Mamankam*. The whole details of the festivals are designated in the form of a bird's narrative. The main feature of this *Kilippattu* is that it is a continuous description of a person and events. The *Keralolpathi Kilippattu* describes about *Chaver*. The main ideology behind the writing of this *Kilippattu* is to eulogize the rulers of Nediyruppu *swarupam*. The loyalty of the people towards the ruler is illustrated in the details of the discourse between people watching *Mamankam*.

Kozhikode was its port town. The ruler of Polanadu was known as *Porlatiri*.⁵⁷ The *naduvazhis* of Kozhikode, who supported the *Porlathiri* administration included the Poozhayi Nayanmar, Manathanathu Nayanmar, Karana Pallikuruppanmar, Puliyan Nayanmar (from Wayanad), along with the *Uralers* of the Thali temple like Nambi (*Mussath*) and the *Adiyodis* of Vadakkumpurath at Kozhikode and *Menokikal* etc. The *Porlathiris* also had escorts like Paranambi (Malappuram) and the Perumbilakkal *Menonmar* (Kottakkal). He ruled directly with the support of *Adiyodikal* and *Menokkikal*. The areas like Elathur, Thalakkulathur, Makkada, Chathamangalam, Kunnamangalam, Thamarasseri, Kuruvettur, Padinjattumuri, Karanthur, Edakkad, Kacheri Nagaram, Kasaba and Valayanad were under him. Broadly, the present Kozhikode district and its surrounding areas were under the *Porlathiri* administration. Polanadu was generally fertile, owing to its abundant watercourses and agricultural lands.

According to *Keralolpathi* tradition, Cheraman Perumal appointed King Vallabha as *Porlatiri* of Polanadu. It also known as *Mukkatam Nadu* or *Natukalil Mikacca Nadu* (best among the *nadus*), and *Perumal* granted several rights and privileges to them. He gave *Mukkatam Nadu*, *Irupatti Rantutara*, *Patinayiram Nayars*, *Rantutara*, *Munnu Kuttams*, *Nalu Akampati* and *Patinettu Acharam* and placed him at *Polanttur Kovilakam*. The *Porlatiri* ruled from the 9th to 13th centuries, with *Nair* chieftains managing local administration under their control. The commercial prosperity and strategic position of Kozhikode attracted the *Eratis* of *Netiyirippu*, who sought to expand into the territories of *Porlatiri*. This led to prolonged political crises between Polanadu and *Netiyirippu*. The *Eradis* got support from the *Naduvazhis* of *Porlatiri*. There is evidence that the war continued for forty-eight years. Hence, ‘the port of Calicut’ became central in the historic rivalry between the *Zamorins* (*Eratis*) and the *Porlatiri*. In the final phase of the conflict, the *Eradis* had an advantage through betrayal which led to the victory of *Netiyirippu*. *Chalappurathamma*, the wife of *Porlatiri*, reportedly helped the *Eradi* militia by opening the palace doors, allowing

⁵⁷ K. Balakrishna Kuruppu, ‘Polanatum Porlatiriyum’ in N.M. Namboothiri and P.K. Sivadas (eds.), *Kerala Charitrathinte Nattuvazhikal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2015, p. 395.

them to defeat *Porlathiri*. Upon discovering this treachery, the *Porlathiri* takes asylum at Kolottunadu with the help of his family members.⁵⁸ This ended the era of *Porlathiri* dominance, and the rise of the Zamorins of Calicut. . The conflict between Zamorins and *Porlathiri* was mainly for the ownership of the areas of economic importance and also for the control over the trade routes, which spread all over the hinterlands outlet not only to the sea but also the areas beyond the Western Ghats.⁵⁹

After winning the war through strategic efforts, the Nedyiruppu *swarupam* fulfilled the promises made to their allies who helped them to secure victory. For instance, they gave the leadership (*nayakathwam*) of Vadakkumpuram *Nairs* to Keezhur *Menokki*, the *naduvazhi* of Polanad. Another *Menokki*, who had served as a minister of *Porlathiri*, was given the post of ‘*Ayyayiram Prabhu*’. Besides the promised elephant and money, *Porlathiri*’s wife *Chalappurathamma* was given the honour of ‘*Nalakaththutamma*’. Moreover, the eldest male member of her family lineage was given the titles ‘*Nalamkur*’ and ‘*Kozhikottu Thalachennor*’ and he was consecrated at *Kovilakam* in Azhchavattom, a place that previously belonged to *Porlathiri*.⁶⁰

In short, we can say that the *Porlathiri* family that governed Kozhikode from the 9th to 13th centuries might have produced two dozen *Porlathiris*. But similar to other *swarupams* of that period, no ruler was able to maintain his own distinct identity, so the personal names of any *Porlathiris* do not even survive in legends.

From *Eranattudayavar* to Zamorins of Calicut

The history of Kerala from the 11th to the 16th CE AD is mainly associated with the rise of the Zamorins of Calicut. By the early 11th century, the *utayavar* of Eralanad (Eranad) came to be known as the Nedyiruppu *swarupam*. Throughout the medieval period, Calicut remained the royal seat of the Zamorin dynasty. The

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-97.

⁵⁹ M.R. Raghava Varrier, ‘Calicut in History: Rise and Growth of the Royal Seat of the Nedyiruppu *Swarupam*’, in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman and K.S. Madhavan (ed.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014, p. 234.

⁶⁰ K. Balakrishna Kuruppu, *Op. cit.*, pp. 405-406.

Zamorins established their kingdom and became independent rulers after the disintegration of the Ceras of Mahodayapuram in the 12th century AD. It is well documented that they originally served as local chiefs under the Perumals before asserting their sovereignty. According to K.V. Krishna Ayyer, the rise and growth of Calicut is explained as at once a cause and consequence of the ascendancy of the Zamorins.⁶¹

The Perumal tradition of the *Keralolpathi* was shared not only by the Zamorins, but also by the other chiefs in Kerala, who seized power and became independent. The chiefs were originally the *samantas* of the Perumals. As they asserted sovereignty, they began to style themselves as *samanta kshatriyas*.⁶² K.V. Krishna Ayyar, who authored the first detailed monograph on the Zamorins observed that ‘legends and traditions constitute the main, if not the sole, source of our information for the early history of Zamorins’.⁶³ Similarly, P.K.S. Raja in *Medieval Kerala*⁶⁴ argued that the origin and early history of the Zamorins remain shrouded in mystery.

The term 'Kozhikode' is explained in different ways. Locally, it was called *Kolikkotu*. The people called it *Kolikkotu*. According to the *Keralolpatti* tradition, this area is called Kozhikode to denote that this tract of land was so small that even a cock crowing could be heard all over the area.⁶⁵ Similarly, Herman Gundert described Kozhikode as a land where the sound of a cock's crow from its perch could be heard far and wide.⁶⁶ Sanskrit writers interpret the name as *Kukkutakrotaram* meaning Hencoop. Another popular view is that Kozhikode is a corrupt form of ‘*Koyilkotta*’,

⁶¹ K.V. Krishna Ayyer, *Op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁶² V.V. Haridas, 2016, *Op. cit.*, p. 1.

⁶³ K.V. Krishna Ayyar, *Zamorins of Calicut*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 1999 (1938), p. 53.

⁶⁴ P.K.S. Raja, *Medieval Kerala*, Navakerala Co-Operation Publishing House, Thiruvananthapuram, 2005.

⁶⁵ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Keralolpathi Granthavari*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2016 (2013), p. 41.

⁶⁶ Gundert Herman, *Malayalam-English Dictionary*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2013 (1872), p. 320.

where *koyil* means 'palace' and *kotta* means 'fort'. This port city was known in various names by foreign visitors. It was referred to as '*Kalikoot*' by the Arabs, '*Kulifo*' by the Chinese and '*Calicut*' by the Europeans. Later, *Swami Tirumulpad* (Zamorin) came to be called as '*Samuri*' or *Samuthiri*. Ibn Battuta referred to the Zamorin as the '*Samari*'.⁶⁷ When the Europeans came to Kerala they called *Samuthiri* as Zamorin. This title was thus an adaptation to Muslim ears of a foreign name.⁶⁸ The Zamorins themselves were known by different titles like *Punthurakon* (the lord of Punthura), *Kunnalakon*, *Sailabdiswara* (the lord of hill and sea) and most importantly, *Samutiri* or Zamorin. According to V.V. Haridas, the earliest reference to the name Zamorin is found in the accounts of Ibn Battuta.⁶⁹

The emergence of Zamorins as independent rulers from the position of petty chiefs is a fact to know the aim of using strong titles. That means Zamorins emerged as the king of Kozhikode from the small post of *Eranattudayavar* (a locality chief). So they used various ways for legitimisation his power. The propagation of the *Keralolpathi* tradition was one way and this tradition narrates the partition of Kerala by the Perumal, who granted a small tract of land, his sword and advice to “die or kill to annex (*chathum konnum keezhadakkuka*)”. This is an indication of the humble beginnings of the Zamorin along with a powerful legitimisation of their rule.

A common characteristic of the kinship structure in the ruling houses or *swarupams* across all *nadus* in Kerala was the practice of the *marumakkathayam* (matrilineal) system of inheritance. This meant that descent was traced through the mother's line. Consequently, the eldest male member of the female line became the ruler. For example, the eldest male member of the Nediyrrippu *swarupam* became the Zamorin. *Swarupam* were made up of different *thavazhis* (branches). In the Nediyrrippu *swarupam*, for instance, there were three *thavazhis*: *puthiya kovilakam*,

⁶⁷ H.A.R. Gibb (ed.), *The Travels of Ibn Battuta*, The Hakluyt Society, London, 1958, p. 234.

⁶⁸ *Samari*, being a word familiar to theologians as the legendary ancestor of the Samaritans. The Malayalam word *Samutiri* or *Samuri* meaning 'Sea King'. This title is familiar to European readers in its Portuguese form Zamorin.

⁶⁹ V. V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

padinjare kovilakam and *kizhakke kovilakam*. Across all *nadus* a clear pattern of succession existed. There was no rotation of power among the *thavazhis* of *Nediyirippu swarupam*. Hence, no particular *thavazhi* held privilege in succession. The sole criteria for the succession was seniority of age.

Many instances demonstrate the centralization methods and strategies employed by the *Nediyirippu swarupam*. One such strategy was interfering in the succession of traditional institutions and rights. For example, the Zamorin was required to personally perform the *ariyittuvazhcha* ceremony for the king of Vettathunadu. The direct involvement of the *Samutiri* in the *udavalanakkal* ceremony of the *desavazhis* and other local residents further illustrates the central authority of the Zamorin. The entire land under the *swarupam* was similar to the *Cherikkal* land. This emphasises that the *cherikkal* land was known in the name of each *desam*. For example, *Kaladi cherikkal* and *Manjalur cherikkal*. Each has the authority to collect revenue. The revenue was collected through various divisions like *angam*, *chungam*, *ezha*, *kozha*, *vazhi*, *pizha* and *chanthamukannokk*. The authorities would use the collected revenue for monthly expenses and remit the surplus to the treasury, known as *bandaram*. Additionally, the *Nediyirippu swarupam* maintained its own soldiers called *Lokar*.

The political structure of the Zamorin state was complex. They strengthened their authority through various means. There exist different modes of power in addition to the king and his functionaries. The locality chiefs, royal kinsmen and local magnates exercised significant centres of power within the realm. Kingship was hereditary and followed matrilineal system. The residence of Zamorin was varied according to circumstances. He bestowed honours on different individuals during various occasions and for different purposes. As the head of state, the Zamorin was recognised as the supreme chief, while junior princes also took on important responsibilities within the governance.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ V.V. Haridas, 'The Form and Functioning of a Medieval State in Kerala: The Zamorins of Kozhikode', in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman and K.S. Madhavan (eds.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, SPCS, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014, pp. 264-272.

The Expansion of Kingdom

The Zamorin undertook several annexations of neighbouring territories. Firstly he turned his eye towards the Polanad. The siege was long and arduous, but by the beginning of the 12th century, the conquest was achieved, driven largely by the intent of control of economically important areas and overseas trade routes. The sea trade in the port city of Calicut especially with Chinese and Arab merchants, brought considerable wealth and prosperity to the rulers of Nedyiruppu. Following the conquest of Polanad, the rulers of Nedyiruppu shifted their residence from Eranad to the newly conquered region. They established a town called 'Vikramapuram', centred on a Siva temple or Tali. With the crucial support of Arab traders, Calicut developed into a major hub of maritime commerce, contributing to the financial growth and political power of the Zamorin of Calicut.

After the conquest of the port city of Calicut, the Zamorin turned his attention towards Ponnani. At this time, the *kur-matsaram* between the two *Nambuthiri* villages of Panniyur and Chovaram in the Ponnani *taluk* of the Malabar district had reached a critical point. The Raja of Tirumalachery, a Brahmin and head of the Panniyur *Nambuthiri*. He requested the Zamorin for help and promised to cede Ponnani as a gift for this help. This became a golden opportunity for the Zamorin to acquire Ponnani. Then the Zamorin advanced both by land and sea, Later they occupied Ponnani and Tirumanasseri and attacked the *Vellattiri* from the west. The campaign was harsh and prolonged. After the success Zamorin became the master of Tirunavayi and assumed the esteemed position as the protector of the *Mamankam* festival.⁷¹ During this time, Parappur, Beypore, and Vettatt accepted the suzerainty of Zamorin. Nedunganad was also incorporated without much difficulty for Zamorin. The occupation of Nedungnad is still commemorated in the *Eralpad's* journey to Karimpuzha after his *ariyittuvazhcha* ceremony. Subsequently, Malappuram was assigned to a member of the Varakkal family of Paranambi, who was honoured with the title of 'Malappuram Paranambi'. Nilambur was placed under Taccharakkavu *Eralan*, Vellappunattukara under Tarakkal Eroma Menon, the commander of

⁷¹ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Mamangam Rekhakal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 2005.

Chunangad, and Manjeri under Karanavappad. The western campaign was particularly brutal, marked by treachery and crime. Some territories came under Zamorins through marriage alliances between their families.⁷² To summarise, the Zamorin expanded his dominion through a combination of military strategy and power, warfare, marriage alliances, treachery, and diplomacy. Some chieftains voluntarily accepted the Zamorin's suzerainty. By the end of the 15th century, nearly all most all chieftains except the *Raja* of Travancore and the *Kolathiri* chiefs in North Malabar were compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Zamorins.

Kuruvazhcha

Five positions or *thavazhis* have existed in the royal line of Nediyirippu. The order of descent is called *sthanam*. The *sthanam* defined the position of the individual in the royal line as per the seniority (*kuruvazcha*). The eldest male member of the royal house becomes the Zamorin, while the eldest female becomes Nedivirippil Mutta Kovil. The position of the male was as follows:-

1. *Samutiri* (Zamorin)
2. Eranattu Ilankur Nampiyatiri or Eralapatu
3. Eranattu Munnmkur Nampiyatiri or Munnalppatu
4. Etatturnnattu Nampiyatiri or Etattralppatu
5. Neduvirippil Mutta Erati or Netuttttralppatu

Among the succession of women in the family, there exists three positions:

1. Nedivirippil Mutta Kovil or Ampatti Kovilakam *Tampuratti*
2. Nediyirippil Ilaya Kovil
3. Nedivirippil Cheriya Kovil

The political structure of medieval Kerala followed the practices of *muppu mura* and *kuruvazhcha*. The strict adherence to *kuruvazcha* in the Zamorin's ruling line often led to succession challenges. Each *thavazhi* had its own heads, called the

⁷² N.M. Nambuthiri, *Op. cit.*, 2004, pp. 298-99.

Valiya Tampuran and *Valiya Tampuratti*. However, the members from respective *thavazhis* who made it to the ruling positions were not considered for the posts of the male and female heads of each *thavazhi*. Thus, succession strictly followed the *kuru vazhcha* system and seniority of the age was the only criterion for succession. No *thavazhi* enjoyed any special privilege in succession. Apart from the senior lineages, there were junior lineages as well, but these had no right to succession under *kuru vazhcha*. In the case of the Nediirippu *swarupam*, members of the junior lineages were known as *Eratis*. They had their own *Kovilakam* and sources of revenue, yet they were not eligible for succession under the *kuruvazhcha* system.⁷³

According to K.V. Krishna Ayyer, the Zamorin's kingdom was in the form of an autocracy.⁷⁴ Many Zamorins were advanced in age and physically disabled, which naturally led them to depend on royal princes, functionaries, local magnates and locality chiefs to manage the affairs of the kingdom. Although the Zamorin was the supreme head of state, various forms of power were exercised by multiple authorities within the kingdom. Persian traveller Abdu Razzak (1442)⁷⁵ mentioned the matters of succession existed in the kingdom of Kozhikode. Duarte Barbosa⁷⁶ also indicated about bad physical condition of Zamorin who suffered from disabilities. It is also evident from the *Granthavari* documents.⁷⁷

For understand the political structure of Zamorin's kingdom, it is necessary to know the role of women in administration. Available evidence suggests that women held a high status during this period. Except for Brahmins and Muslims, most communities including the ruling lords, followed a matriarchal system. For instance,

⁷³ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, 2014, pp. 265-66.

⁷⁴ K.V. Krishna Ayyer, *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

⁷⁵ Abdur Razak (Kamaluddhin Abdur Razak Ibn Ishaq Samarkandi), 15th century, was a Persian historian and scholar. He visited Calicut in 1442 as a representative of Timur's successor, Sultan Shah Rukh. Sultan sent many mournful gift to Zamorin including an Arabian horse.

⁷⁶ Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese commercial agent who lived in Cochin and Cannanore between 1500 and 1515. According to his contemporaries he was very fluent in Malayalam and his account contains detailed ethnography. His accounts about Kerala can be seen in the work titled as *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*.

⁷⁷ Dr. V.V. Haridas, 2014, *Op. cit.*, p. 267.

in the Kozhikode kingdom, each branch (*thavazhi*) of the Zamorin clan was headed by an elder *Thampuram* (lord) and a *Thampuratti* (mistress). *Nediyirippil Mutta Kovil* or *Ampatti Kovilakam Tampuratti* was the senior most female member. She resided in the *Kovilakam* and was respectfully called 'mother' by the Zamorin, regardless of their age or relation to her. She also managed her own private lands (*Cherikkal*). Other princesses, such as those of *Nediyirippil Ilaya Kovil* and *Nedivirippil Cheriya Kovil* had separate revenue sources.⁷⁸ *Kozhikkodan granthavari* furnishes the details about Zamorin taking his wife and daughter with him even during the battle. It reflecting the general respect and consideration to women. The *Pendiyanmar* was a women's security force, highlighting their active roles. Additionally, it is said that along with the male actors *Chakyar*, the women *Nangyar* are also performed in *Kudiyattom* (temple art form).

During the Perumal regime, there were thirty two Brahmin *gramas* along with other small villages in the region. Among these, only Panniyur and Sukapuram were part of the Zamorin's domain. Although the Brahmin villages were fewer in number within the *Samuthiri* kingdom, their influence was significant enough to cause considerable concern for the Zamorins. In the medieval period, two major opposing fractions emerged among the Brahmins- Panniyur and Chovvaram. There also exist the *Kur-matsaram* of these two villages, which eventually led to open conflicts spanning from 1200-1766 AD. During this rivalry, the *Valluvakonathiri* supported the Chovvaram fraction, while the Zamorin initially backed the Panniyur fraction. However, this alliance was not permanent. Over time, the Zamorin distanced himself from Panniyur and aligned more closely with the Chovvaram faction. By the early 18th century, the Brahmins of Panniyur village were demoted to the position of *Mussaths*. Later, in 1760, the Zamorin restored their original status.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 268.

Administration of Zamorin

The administration of Zamorin was undertaken with the help of administrators. Their names and details can be understood from *Kozhikodan granthavari*. It is as follows:-

1. Mangattachan
2. Thinayanjeri Ilayath
3. Thamme Panikkar
4. Para Nambi
5. Tharakkal Menon
6. Vallattavazhi Kunji Kurikkal⁷⁹

Mangattachan was an important administrator of the Zamorin. Francis Buchanan, who visited Malabar, recognised Mangattachan as a prominent figure in the administration. This is further supported by traditional sources such as *Keralolpathi* and *Keralolpathi Kilipatt*. William Logan considered Mangattachan to be a traditional minister, while K.V. Krishna Ayyer identified him as the chief minister of the Zamorin.⁸⁰ These accounts collectively highlight indispensable role of Mangattachan in the administration of the Zamorin. Duarte Barbosa notes that after the death of a Zamorin, for 13 days (impurity days) the new Zamorin did not give any command and he did not rule and did not conduct a succession ceremony. During this interim, the Mangattachan acted as the administrator.⁸¹

The elder member of the Mangattachan family was known as Mangatt *Valiya Achan*, while the younger member was called Mangatt *Cheriy Achan*. Their presence was notable in most of the Zamorin's ceremonies. They were also present in the ceremonies of the *naduvazhis* under the Zamorins, as recorded in the *Kozhikodan granthavari*. For instance, Mangattachan's participation is specifically mentioned in the *thirumuzhipazhavaricharth* (succession ceremony of *naduvazhis*) and the *ariyittu*

⁷⁹ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, 2012, pp. 95-113.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

vazhcha ceremony of *Vettam Udaya Mutha Kovil*.⁸² In return for his involvement, he was rewarded with money (*panam*). For example, in 1650, Mangattachan received 200 *panam* from Kuthiravattath Nair after participating in the ceremony of giving him a sword and garment (*valum pudavayum nalkal*). On the said occasion, Mangatt *Cheriyā Achan* got 150 *panam*. The amount paid varied according to the status and position of the respective *Naduvazhi*. The *Kozhikodan granthavari* also records Mangattachan's presence at ceremonies such as *kuthuvilakk nalkal* to the Zamorin's wife Nethyar. For example, in 1585, he accepted 32 *panam* after participating in the ceremony of *kuthuvilakk nalkal* of Kaithamana Ittichiruthevi Netyar, and in 1678 for Pazhanjeri Ittichiruthevi Netyar. Mangattachan also took part in the ceremony of *peru vili* (calling the name of the chiefs) and *kett nalkal* (giving the knot), where he would also receive *panam* according to tradition. It is said that no other Zamorin administrator received more payment than Mangattachan for such functions, although administrators like Thinayanjeri Ilayath were paid almost as much. This underscores the fact that the Mangattachan was the highest ranking official in the Zamorin administration.⁸³

The relationship between the Zamorin and Mangattachan was not always harmonious; there were several instances of conflict between them. Such incidents are furnished by N.M. Nambuthiri in his work *Samuthiri Charitrathile Kanapurangal*.⁸⁴ For example, in 1583, Mangattachan sold the Elephant belonging to the Kozhikav temple without obtaining the permission of the Zamorin and failed to deposit the proceeds into the treasury (*Bhandaram*). This act led to a serious dispute between the two. As a consequence, according to the Zamorin's orders, Mangattachan's residence at Melappatt *Tharawad* was set on fire.⁸⁵ K.V. Krishna Ayyer⁸⁶ says that Zamorin's

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 99.

⁸⁴ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Samuthiri Charitrathile Kanapurangal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1987.

⁸⁵ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

⁸⁶ K.V. Krishna Ayyer, *Op. cit.*

attack on the Dutch at Enamakal was interrupted due to the defection of Mangattachan.

Thinayanjeri Ilayath:- The *Keralolpathi* also mentions Thinayanjeri Ilayath as one of the important executors of the Zamorin's administration. It states that he was a *deshavazhi* with the power to appoint *naduvazhis*. According to K.V. Krishna Ayyer, Thinayanjeri Ilayath was a Brahmin, which gave him more rights than Mangattachan and Thamme Panikkar.⁸⁷ He served as both minister and commander-in-chief. In his work *Thuhfat-Ul-Mujahidhin*, Zaikh Zainudheen⁸⁸ describes Thinayanjeri Ilayath, the prime minister of the Zamorin, as the leader of the siege against the Portuguese fort in Kozhikode during the Zamorin's absence. He was the eldest member of the Mongandambalath family. The *Kozhikodan granthavari* indicates that he belonged to the *Mussath* category, and the women of this family were known as *Manayamma*. The second and third members of their family are Thinayanjeri Cheriya Ilayath and Thinayanjeri Unni Ilayath respectively.⁸⁹ Their ancestral home was located at Morayur near Nediyrupp in Eranad.

Thinayanjeri Ilayath also actively participated in the succession ceremonies of the *naduvazhis* and played a significant role during the *ariyittu vazhcha* ceremony, where he held the ceremonial plate to bless the head of Zamorin. There are several instances recorded in the *Kozhikodan granthavari* on the receiving of various *panam* and lands by the Thinayanjeri Ilayath on different occasions. For example, the Zamorin granted him the *cherikkal* lands at Perumundamukk, Parappur *desam* and Kadalur in 1678 for conducting the *oottu* (feast) at Thirunavaya. This grant was an addition to his existing income from the Kaduvacheri, Nariparamb and Chunangad *cherikkals*. The Zamorin also instructed that the cost of the feast should be included in the *cherikkal* accounts, and detailed income and expenditure statements be submitted to the treasury.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ K.K.N. Kurup, *Sheikh Zainudheen Makhdoom Second*, Malabar Institute of Research and Development, Vadakara, 2016.

⁸⁹ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

Thinayanjeri Ilayath actively participated in various important functions and received *panam* across different *naduvazhis*. For instance, he participated in the *thirumudippazhivaricharth* ceremony of Vettam Udaya Mutha Kovil in 1650, where he accepted 32 *panam*. He also attended the ceremony of presenting swords and garments to *naduvazhis*. In one instance, he accepted 200 *panam* during the ceremony for Kuthiravattath Nair and 16 *panam* from Pedikapurath Kadingi Menon in 1673.⁹⁰ The *Kozhikodan granthavari* further records his presence at the *Thaippuyam* and *Mamangam* festivals, emphasising his prominence in the Zamorin's court. Additionally, there is evidence suggesting his assistance to the Zamorin in defending against Dutch attacks at Kodungallur. According to K.V. Krishna Ayyer, Thinayanjeri Ilayath's official duties included overseeing the armoury and he was served as the shooting instructor and shoot master. Symbolising this role, he was bestowed with 'fire and wick' (*theyyum thiriyum*) during the succession ceremony.⁹¹

Thamme Panikkar:- He was an important administrator of the Zamorin. He played a key role during coronation by presenting the sword to the Zamorin and instructing *kalari* (martial art) to kings. According to K.V. Krishna Ayyer, Thamme Panikkar or Dharmoth Panikkar was one of the traditional military trainer. This view is also supported by *Keralolpathi Kilipattu*.⁹² The *Kozhikodan granthavari* refers to him as Tharma Panikkar and highlights his role as the main executor during the *udavalanakkal* ceremony (ceremony during accession) for the Zamorin and young princes. The *granthavari* describes his involvement during the *udavalanakkal* ceremony of Eranad Munnamkur Nambyathiri in 1666, where he also received *panam*. He was paid 101 *panam* during the Zamorin's *udavalanakkal* and 21 *panam* at the same ceremony for the Nediviruppil Mutha Eradi in 1666. The following table details the *panam* paid by Zamorins and other *sthanis* (members) during their *udavalanakkal* ceremonies:-⁹³

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁹¹ K.V. Krishna Ayyer, *Op. cit.*

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, pp. 102-03.

Table 5

| No | <i>Tamburans (lords) who paid for Udavalanakkal</i> | Money received by Mutha Panikkar | Money received by Ilaya Panikkar |
|----|---|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>Samuthiri</i> | 101 | 21 |
| 2. | Eranad Ilamkur Nambyathiri | 60 | 16 |
| 3. | Eranad Munnamkur Nambyathiri | 51 | 16 |
| 4. | Edatharanad Nambyathiri | 32 | 16 |
| 5. | Nedivirippil Mutha Eradi | 32 | 16 |

The relationship between Zamorin and Mangattachan was not always cordial. The incidents of dissatisfaction between them are described by K.V. Krishna Ayyer.

Para Nambi:- The *Keralolpathi* mentioned Para Nambi as *Karyakkar* of Nediyrup swarupam. According to *Keralolpathi*, Shangara Para Nambi captured Malappuram from *Valluvakonathiri*. Later Zamorin called him ‘*Malappurath Para Nambi*’. *Kozhikodan granthavari* also indicated Para shangara Nambi has been appointed as Malappuram Para Nambi. Based on the *Kozhikodan granthavari*, N.M. Nambuthiri says about Para Nambi got ‘fire and wick’ (*theeyum thiriyum*) by Zamorin.⁹⁴ Their house was located at Varakkal and some fraction of them stayed at Malappuram and Rayiranallur. Para Nambi accepted *panam* during the accession ceremony of Vettam Udaya Kovil. For example, Para Narana Nambi and Para Itti Vathu Nambi got 12 *panam* during that occasion. He also had a role in the ceremony of *valum pudavayum nalkal*. For example, Para Krishna Nambi got 14 *panam* during the ceremony of giving *valum pudavayum* of Tharakkal Unnikanda Menon in 1649. The amount obtained varies according to the status of *deshavazhis*.⁹⁵

Tharakkal Menon:- The *Keralolpathi* also mentioned about Tharakkal Menon. He was an elder member of the Tharakkal family and he got a sword and garment (*valum pudavayum*) from Zamorins. Zamorin allotted various *cherikkal* lands to him and

⁹⁴ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Op. cit.*

⁹⁵ V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, pp. 104-07.

appointed him as *pozhti*. In 1649 after the death of Tharakkal Chekara Menon, Tharakkal Unnikanda Menon became *mutha sthani* or elder member and Zamorin appointed him as the *pozhti (kayakkar)* of *cherikkal* lands like Chunagad, Aliparamb, Nenmini, Chenkurichi, Chanthiyiruthi, Vellappanattukara and Manjalur etc. He also accepted *valum pudavayum* (sword and garment). Several examples can be seen in *Kozhikodan granthavari* related to Tharakkal Menon.

The Zamorin gives writing (*thiruvezhuth*) to Tharakkal Menon stating the duties and rights of each *cherikkal*. It requires various expenses to be paid out of the income from *cherikkal* lands and a certain amount to be paid into the treasury of Zamorin. *Kozhikodan granthavari* also furnished details about the acceptance of 12 *panam* each by Tharakkal Kelappa Menon, Tharakkal Itti Unnirama Menon and Tharakkal Iramma Menon during the succession ceremony of Vettam Udaya Mutha Kovil in 1649. For the *valum pudavayum* ceremony of various *deshavazhis*, Tharakkal Menon received different amounts of *panam* according to the status of *deshavazhis*. They belonged to the *Varyar* caste. Sometimes there existed an occasion of dissatisfaction of Zamorin towards Tharakkal Menon. They were also the warriors of Zamorin.

Vallattavazhi Kunji Kurikkal:- The *Keralolpathi* did not mention about Vallattavazhi Kunji Kurikkal. K.V. Krishna Ayyer mentions him while discussing the income and expenditure of Zamorin. But he had got prominent position among the administrators of Zamorin. *Kozhikodan granthavari* gives little mention about him and his family. His appointment was considered as the prominent authority (*sarvadhikari*) of Nediyruppu *swarupam* in 1671, is mentioned in *granthavari*. For example, Vallattavazhi Kunji Kurikkal discussed with *karyakkar* of Zamorin about the money to be paid by Vettam Udaya Mutha Kovil during his succession ceremony. He also accepted *panam* on various occasions. They were also maintained *kalari* in Zamorin's kingdom⁹⁶

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 111-12.

In short, from the above-mentioned, we can understand that all these five functionaries played a crucial role in the administration of Zamorin. They were appointed by tradition. They also possessed lands and got *cherikkal* lands from Zamorins. They acted as the intermediaries and co-ordinated and supervised many actions of princely states under Zamorins.

Major Sources of Income

According to the *Kozhikodan granthavari*, different types of income existed in the Zamorin's treasury. *Pattam* (land tax), *vaaram* (land tax paid in grain), *angam* (money paid to a competition for settling dispute between two people), *chungam* (commercial tax), *tharak* (broker money), *ezha* and *kozha* (penalties), *vazhi* (protection tax), *pizha*, *aanamala* (payment to catch and sell elephants), *kadalott panam* (payment for overseas trade), *mukkor kazhcha panam* (money to be paid by the *mukkuva* or fishermen community to Zamorin), *mukam nokk panam* (money to be paid by retainers of soldiers), *raksha bogham* (money paid for providing security), *kaval changatha panam* (money to be paid for using the service of soldiers), *virunna meethth panam* (feast money paid for the Zamorin's *ezhunallath* (journey)), *kannukk panam* (paid for funeral rites), *thirumulkazhcha* (goods given as payment to the Zamorin), *arayum purayum* (money to be paid by markets and ware houses), *charkkara thatt* (viewing fee), *purushantharam* (payment to be paid by *naduvazhis*, *deshavazhis* and administrators during their accession), *attaladakkam* (confiscation of properties), etc. are the important income of Zamorins.⁹⁷

Coins

During the Chera period, coins were not commonly used in Kerala, though Roman coins circulated widely. The Perumal rulers issued very limited coinage. However, coins became more popular during the *Samuthiri* period. The *Kozhikkodan granthavari* mentions several coins used by the Zamorins, including *veerarayan panam*. Apart from this, other coins such as *tharam*, *irayal* (riyal), *drama*, *uruppika*

⁹⁷ V.V. Haridas, 'Madhyakala Kozhikodan Samuham', in *Samskarika Paithrikam*, Book 2, Issue 4, March 2009, p. 49.

(rupa), *raji* (raashi), *chakram* and *kash* etc. were used. According to the *Kozhikkodan granthavari*, eighty cash was equal to one *panam*. *Panam* was a gold coin and the *tharam* was a silver coin. The *granthavari* also records about Zamorin's mint (*kammattam*), where *tharam* was struck in 1647. Foreign travellers in the 17th century, like Pirars Laval mention the Zamorins's *kammattam* and coins such as *panam* and *tharam* in his accounts. The *granthavari* describes the mold (*achch*) of various *nadus* were under the Zamorin's dynasty. It indicating the monetary system was localized during this period. It makes a reference to around fifty-eight molds including Kozhikode *achch*, Karanthur *deshath achach*, Olliur *achch*, Chevayur *achch* and Payyur *desath achch* etc.

Local coins issued by the Zamorin were relatively small value and mainly used within their own regions. Records suggest that the Zamorin tried to fix the value of such local coins. There are also descriptions of the buying and selling ratio to *panam* for such coins.⁹⁸ It is assumed that the exchange rates of *panam* and other currencies in circulation during medieval period can be calculated on the basis of *Kozhikkodan Granthavari*. Usually, sixteen *achch* is equal to one *panam*, two *panam* is equal to *raji*, three and a half *panam* is equal to one *uruppika*, and ten *panam* is equal to one *irayal* (riyal). The records in 1679 and 1683 mention the use of *uruppika* coins. There were also references about the *irayal* being given as *dakshina* to important persons like Thamme Mutha Panikkar and Ilaya Panikkar. They were the participants of *udavalanakkl* ceremony of Zamorins. Walter Elliot's work *Coins of Southern India* also makes references to coins used in the medieval period.

Weight and Measurements

During medieval Kerala, a variety of weights and measures were used. The *Kozhikkodan granthavari* provides detailed information on these. The most important of these were the grain measures like *uri*, *nazhi*, *azhiyan*, *idangazhi*, *narayam*, *thuni*, *para*, *muda* and *pothi*. Liquid measures such as *manam*, *chothana* and *kutti*, and ground measures like *kalappad* were also used. *Palam*, *thulam* and *panathukkam* are

⁹⁸ Dr. V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, p. 51

weights and *muzham* and *maar* are length measures. Time is calculated based on *nazhika* and *adi*. There existed regional variations in both weights and measures. The *Kozhikkodan granthavari* furnished details about regional variation. Some examples of these include *edappalkotha perunazhi* (*perunazhi* used in Edappal), *marayanjerikotha perunazhi*, *elipara* and *kuthirapara*.⁹⁹

Development of *Sanketam*

The growth of temples as an autonomous power centres in medieval Kerala was marked by the development of *sanketams*.¹⁰⁰ It consisted of the temple along with its associated lands. The managing body of the temple applied exclusive juridical rights within the *sanketham* and no outside agency, including the *swarupam*, could interfere or forcibly collect its produce. If such intrusions (*sanketam azhikkuka*) occurred, the *swarupam* had to pay retribution (*dandapariharam*) in the form of money weights of silver, gold or even an elephant. This clearly shows that *Sanketams* was recognised as separate power centres within the polity. Additionally, the enforcement of *maryadai* was also localized. These localised enforcements were called *desa maryadai*, *nattu maryadai* and *sanketa maryadai*.

Evidence regarding *sanketams* can be found in the *Vanjeri granthavari*. The *Vanjeri illam*, located in the Trikkandiyur village of Tirur *taluk*, Malappuram district, was under the small principality of Vettathu Raja, who ruled an area comprising 12 *taluks*. Although he was nominally independent, but he accepted the suzerainty of the Zamorins of Calicut. The *Namboothiris* of *Vanjeri illam* played a crucial role in the management of the Trikkandiyur Siva temple. They became the custodians of its landed properties and feudal privileges.¹⁰¹ The relationship between the *naduvazhi* and the *sanketam* resembled that of a lord and Vassal. A notable feature of the *sanketam* was its power to impose fines.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 81.

¹⁰¹ K.A. Muhammed Anwar, *Naduvazhis and Sanketam in Medieval Kerala*, M.Phil Dissertation, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1988, p. 5.

Sanketams enjoyed the freedom of administering justice in the cases such as theft, house-breaking, pollution, murder, and disputes, in addition to responsibilities like the *kaval* (agreement of watch and ward).¹⁰² The temple also maintained a kind of communal court within its territorial feudal framework. In effect, temple *sanketams* acted as legal courts. The *Vanjeri granthavari* records incidents of theft, offenses and payment of fines in the Trikkandiyur territory.¹⁰³ It also mentions administrative positions such as *Adhikari*, *Keezhadhikarikal* and *Vettathadhikari*. Even the *naduvazhi*, who acted as the *koyma* of the *sanketam*, remained under its jurisdiction.

Cherikkal Land

The land of the ruling powers was generally referred to as *cherikkal*.¹⁰⁴ There were several such *cherikkal* lands under the Zamorins. These included Chunangad, Aliparamb, Nenmini, Thengurichi, Chandiyiruthi, Vellappanattukara, Manjalur, Ponnani Vazhke, Ariyur and Kaladi Idavaka etc. Each branch of the *Samuthiri kovilakam* has its own *cherikkal* lands. For the supervision of *Cherikkal* lands they appointed the post of *Pozhththi* and *Karyakkar*. These officials paid annual rent to the *Samuthiri* as a fixed sum of money or in the form of grain. The *Kozhikkodan granthavari* records that Tharakkal Irammamenon served as *pozhththi* of several *cherikkal* lands under the Zamorin. It also provides details of the amount he had to pay to the treasury from these lands. Based on this reference, the amount paid by the Tharakkal Irammamenon from various *cherikkal* lands is given below:-

¹⁰² M.G.S. Narayanan (ed.), *Vanjeri Granthavari*, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1987, p. 5.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, Doc No. 43A.

¹⁰⁴ Herman Gundert, *Malayalam English Dictionary*, National Book Stall, Kottayam 2000 (1962), p. 24.

Table 6

| Sl. No | Name of <i>Cherikkal</i> Lands | Amount to be Paid |
|---|--|---|
| 1 | Ponnani Vazhke <i>Cherikkal</i> | ----- |
| 2 | Kaladi Idavaka <i>Cherikkal</i> / Kaladi Angadi/ Madathum Keezhnad | 4232 <i>panam</i> 5 ½ <i>veecham</i> |
| 3 | Aliparamba Anjara <i>Cherikkal</i> | 514 <i>panam</i> |
| 4 | Chunangad Pala <i>Cherikkal</i> /Perum Kurichi/ Puliyanur | 350 <i>panam</i> |
| 5 | Ariyur <i>Cherikkal</i> | 260 <i>panam</i> |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● ‘<i>Veecham</i>’ is equal to one ‘<i>panam</i>’ | | |

Sources: Dr. V.V. Haridas, ‘Madhyakala Kozhikodan Samuham’, in *Samskarika Paithrikam*, Book 2, Issue 4, March 2009, p. 49.

Locality Chiefs, *Naduvazhis* and *Kovilakams* in the Eranad Region Under Zamorins

There were both locality chiefs and local magnates in the Kozhikode kingdom. The Zamorin usually appointed the locality chiefs on a hereditary basis. They acted as landlords and had both political and military privileges. There even existed a hierarchy within the group. These chiefs held a closer status to royalty, using titles such as *Raja*. Some of them even claimed to be representatives of the *gandharvas* (a god). While they acknowledged the over lordship of the Zamorin, maintained a degree of independence within their own localities. They actively participated in royal rituals, ceremonies and festivals of royalty and also required to pay revenue to the royal treasury. During their investiture ceremony, the Zamorin would preside and sprinkled rice on their heads as a mark of recognition. For examples, Vettan Utayan Mutha Kovil, Thalappalli Punnathur Nampati, Thalappil Kakkattu Nampati, Thirumanacheri Namputhiri, Thalappal Kakkattu Nampati, Parappur Karippuva Kovil, Chitter Namputhirippattu Manakkulatil Muppil, Parappur Valavil Kovil, Parappur Kayyavil

Kovil, Venginnaattu Nampati, and Kurumpuranatu Matampu Unithiri etc. are the important locality chiefs in Eranad region.¹⁰⁵

The relationship between the Zamorins and the local chiefs was characterised by mutual dependence and co-operation and at the times conflict also. There were the instances of both loyalty and tension, reflecting the interplay of cordial ties and hatred. For example, Vettam Utaya Mutha Kovil, an important locality chief whose territory included parts of present-day Tirur *taluk*, acknowledged the over lordship of the Zamorin, resulting in the Zamorin's participating in his accession ceremony. However, there were disagreements, as seen during the *puram* festival at the Trikkavil *Bhagavati* Temple, when the Zamorin quarrelled with Tirumanacheri *Nambudiri*, preventing the idol of the deity from being brought out in procession. These incidents illustrate how religious rituals and political authority were interrelated in the governance of the region.

Like the locality chiefs, the local magnates under the Zamorin enjoyed special privileges. During their accession ceremonies, they accepted symbols of authority, such as 'the sword and garment' (*valum putavayum*), 'the shawl and dagger' (*chelayum chirikayum*), and 'the turban' (*thalayil kett*), signifying their formal recognition by the Zamorin. While they often became independent in their region, but they accepted the over lordship of the Zamorin and acknowledged his political hegemony over them.

Important *Naduvazhis* and *Desavazhis* in Eranad Under the Suzerainty of Zamorins

The Zamorin appointed the *naduvazhis* and *desavazhis* on a hereditary basis. They agreed to the over lordship of the Zamorin, but existed as independent in their locality. Important *naduvazhi swarupams* are as follows:-

¹⁰⁵ Dr. V.V. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, 2014, p. 269.

Vettathunad

During the time of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram, there were fourteen *nadus* in Kerala. Evidence for these *nadus* are seen in several ancient works, such as the 14th century *Unnineelisanadesam*, which mentions ‘*rajyanaminginiya pathinettinum*’, and the literary work *Chandrolsavam*, which refers to ‘*chattatta chandrolsava vela kanan ashtadadikkukal vannapole*’. After the decline of the Chera dynasty, many of these *nadus* became independent, while some of these disappeared and new ones emerged as ‘*Swarupams*’. Among these Venad, Perumpadapp, Kozhikode and Kolothunad become prominent. Smaller new *nadus* includes Ilayidathu Swarupam, Ambalapuzha, Deshinganad, Punjar, Koratti, Kunnathur, Manakkulam, Chittanjur, Vettam, Parappanad, Kodungallur and Idappali etc. are the new small *nadus* appeared during this time.¹⁰⁶ A notable *nadu* among these was Vettathunad, also known as ‘*prakashavishayam*’ in Sanskrit, and holds a significant place in the history of Kerala. Like other *nadus*, its origin is associated with legends, claiming that its kings ruled the *ettukatham* soil from ‘river to river’. Although it maintained a certain degree of independence, Vettathunad remained under the suzerainty of the Zamorin. Initially under Brahmanical dominance in the early period, the region later came under *Kshatriya* authority, reflecting shifts in political and social control over time.

Geographically, Vettathunad was situated in the central part of Kerala, along the western coastal region, extending from the northern part of the Bharatapuzha river to Purapuzha (the river between Parappangadi and Tanur). Some scholars however included Ponnani, located south of Bharatapuzha within Vettathunad. The boundaries of the *nadu* were not fixed and expanded and contracted on the basis of power held by successive rulers. This pattern can clearly be observed in Vettathunad. According to A. Shreedhara Menon, areas like Thanur, Trikkandiyur, Trippangode and Chaliyam were the part of this *nadu*.¹⁰⁷ Vettathunad also had important religious and cultural

¹⁰⁶ Lalu Keezhappatt, *Vettathunadinte Samskarika Charitram- Oru Patanam*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Malayalam, University of Calicut, 2013, pp. 257-58; Velayudhan Panikkasser, *Keralathile Rajavamsangal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2012, pp. 64-65.

¹⁰⁷ A. Shreedhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 130.

sites, including the famous Thrikkandiyur temple, Trippangotu Siva temple, Navamukunda temple at Tirunavaya and the prominent Brahmin *grama* called Alathiyur. The presence of Alathiyur village gave historical significance to the Alathiyur Hanuman *kavu*. The most important Brahmin family of Vettathunad was Vanneri *Mana*, who played a key role in managing the Trikkandiyur *sanketham*, and their deeds are meticulously recorded in the Vanneri *granthavari*, reflecting their significance in Kerala history.

Vettam, or Vettathunad, was a small princely state or *nadu*, comprising several territories in the present Tirur and Ponnani *taluk* of Malappuram district. Its geographical extent included the parts of old Eranad. This indicates that Tirur, Thanur and their surrounding areas were once the part of Eralanadu (Eranad). However, there are no surviving records or documents that precisely indicate when Vettathunad emerged as an independent princely state. Similarly, the exact boundaries and full territorial extent of the place remain uncertain.¹⁰⁸

The boundary of Vettathunad extended from the Ponnani River in the south to Purapuzha, with the Arabian Sea forming its western border and the present-day national highway marking its eastern limit. To the south and east, it was bordered by Valluvanad, while Parappanad lay to the north under the suzerainty of the Zamorin. Despite being a relatively small princely state, Vettathunad held significant political, historical, economic and cultural importance. Although it eventually declined, there are no surviving documents to indicate precisely when it emerged as an independent administrative region. On 24th May 1793 AD, the last Vettathunad *Raja*, Ramavarma *Tampuran* was died without heirs and the territory was transferred to British Malabar, eventually coming under the control of the Zamorin. It marked the end of this state.

The king of Vettathunad was referred to by the Portuguese as the ‘king of Tanur’, while Dutch records mention Vettam as ‘Bettam’, and it is generally known as ‘Tanur *Swarupam*’. In Sanskrit and Malayalam literature, the region is called ‘*Prakashabhu*’ or ‘*Prakashavishayam*’ and its king is referred to as

¹⁰⁸ Lalu Keezhappatt, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

'*Prakashabhupalan*'.¹⁰⁹ He was also known as '*Keraladheesan*' and Keraladeeshapuram was believed to cover the central region of Kerala, stretching from Gokarna to Kanyakumari. The *kozhma* (control) of the Thrikkandiyur temple was under the Vettathunad Raja, reflecting his religious and administrative authority. The palace complex of the Vettathunad raja consisted of four *kovilakams*: Cheriya *kovilakam* in the east, Kadi *kovilakam* in the south, Chelatt *kovilakam* in the west and Poothiri *kovilakam* in the north. Their family temple was Vettathu *Bhagavati* temple, with Kurumba *Bhagavati* serving as their tutelary deity.

Vettathunad played a significant role in trade relations with foreign powers such as the Arabs, Portuguese, Dutch, and British, owing to its strategic coastal location between Kochi and Kozhikode. This *nadu* also actively promoted agricultural development and the cultivation and trade of food crops and cash crops contributed greatly to its economic prosperity. Alathiyur village, one of the old Kerala village became a prominent Brahmin centre as a result of this wealth. The *illam* of Azhvancheri *thambrakkal* (lord), they are described as 'the last word of *Nambuthiris*' was located in Vettathunad. Its prosperity fostered the growth of literature, arts, and scientific subjects, giving rise to many notable figures. Although Vettathunad existed for a relatively short period in Kerala's history, but it successfully carved out a distinct identity and left long lasting impact on the region.

The *kovilakam* of the Vettathunad *Raja* was located in Vettam, which was the capital of the Vettathunad and Vettathukavu is located near the *kovilakam*. During the conflict between the *Samuthiri* and Valluvakonathiri over the right to participate in *Mamangam*, the Vettathunad headquarters was temporarily shifted to Trippangote to support the *Samuthiri*, and the Vettathunad *Raja* even provided a military base within his territory to *Samuthiri* for his military preparations during campaign. Later, during

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

“*Jagannathan gobhissatham margam*
Prakashashreekaro rajaravi varma virajathe”
Samkshepa Bharatham- Vasudeva Kavi

the decadence of Vettathunad, the headquarters was shifted to Keraladeeshapuram, near Tanur. This led to the region becoming known as Tanur *Swarupam*.¹¹⁰

The Vettathunad *Rajas* constructed numerous forts across their *nadu* to protect their territory. Eight prominent forts like Mangattiri Fort, Kappalpadi Fort, Chennara Fort, Nirammaruthur Fort, Valamaruthur Fort, Thengathe Fort, Mushnnur Fort and Pariyapuram Fort were constructed. Initially, the southern part of Vettathunad was Chamravattam and the northern part was Yayirimanagalam, but the king aimed to extend the northern boundary up to Poorapuzha. To achieve this, they attempted to defeat the Pulinthiruthi *kovilakam*, which controlled the area between Rayirimangalam and Purapuzha, and after a prolonged struggle, they succeeded in capturing their *kovilakam* and incorporating it into Vettathunad.¹¹¹

During the emergence of the princely state, Kerala consisted of small kingdoms without clearly defined boundaries, making it difficult to determine the exact limits of the *nadus*. According to the ancient system of Kerala, there were *janmies* and magnates, who were loyal to the rulers of other *nadus* within the kingdom of same *naduvazhi*. For example, Trikkandiyur *sanketham* was located in Vettathunad, but was under the influence of Zamorin.¹¹² According to K.V. Krishna Ayyer, during the conflict (*kuru malsaram*) between Chokiram and Panniyur *gramas*, the Vettathunad *raja* supported the Panniyur fraction with four thousand *Nair* soldiers.¹¹³ More information on Vettathunad's history and political relations of Vettathunad from the 15th century onwards comes mainly from foreign sources. Vettathunad emerged as one of the earliest trading centres for the Portuguese. Records indicate that the King Vettathunad permitted the construction of a fort on the banks of Ponnani river when the Portuguese arrived, But the effort was wasted as ship carrying the materials needed to build the fort was wrecked in a storm.¹¹⁴ In AD 1525, the Zamorin destroyed the

¹¹⁰ Sasidharan Clari, *Vettathunattile Thottam Pattukal*, Olive Publication, Kozhikode, 2007, p. 18.

¹¹¹ Parameswaran Thanur, *Vettam*, Thanur Sanjara Grandhalayam, Thanur, 2011.

¹¹² Lalu Keezhappatt, *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

¹¹³ K.V. Krishna Ayyer, *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 245.

Portuguese fort at Kozhikode, prompting them to build a new fort at Chaliyam in 1531 with the help of the Vettathunad *Raja*. This fort served as a strategic check on the Zamorin's movements towards Kochi. But in 1571, the Zamorin destroyed this too with the help of local Muslims.¹¹⁵ This highlights how Vettathunad *Raja* engaged in politics with the Portuguese in opposition to the Zamorins.¹¹⁶

The Vettathunad king held the position of *samantha* under the Zamorin, which earned him the high honours and privileges. Their relationship included familial relations, as seen in the matrimonial alliances with the Zamorin family. The Vettam *tharawad* at Thali in Kozhikode is an example of this. However, this relationship was not always harmonious; rivalries and assertions of hegemony often led to conflicts. The looting of Vettathangadi at the instigation of the Zamorin demonstrates such incidents. The *Kozhikodan granthavari* records several instances of rivalry.¹¹⁷ One such instance is the competition during the *Thaippuyam* festival in 1634, described as '*naduvazhchakondum nalum kolum kittazhka kondum thangalude kulicheka kondumman vettavarumayi aarthiyirikkunnath*' in *Kozhikodan granthavari*.¹¹⁸ There are also existing references to the direct fight between the Zamorin and Vettathunad kings, which has caused damage to both sides. Eventually, the relationship was improved. After the rivalry in 1634, it is unknown when the Vettathunad king has reconciled with *Samuthiri*. By 1650, the Zamorin conducted the succession ceremony (*ariyittu vazhcha*) of the Vettathunad king, and he took part in *Mamangam* festival using his rights.¹¹⁹ On a particular occasion, the Vettathunad raja allied with the Portuguese against the Zamorin, which led to the Zamorin opposing him during the Dutch treaty of 1719. Despite occasional conflicts, the Vettathunad rajas usually held a special status in Zamorin ceremonies like the *ariyittu vazcha* (coronation ceremony)

¹¹⁵ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Samuthiri Charitrathile Kanapurangal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1987, p. X1.

¹¹⁶ T. Madhava Menon (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

¹¹⁷ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

and *thiruvanthali*.¹²⁰ Interestingly, among the *naduvazhis*, the Vettathunad king was the only one who had the right to stand with the Zamorin on the *nilapad thara* (floor) during *Mamangam*.¹²¹

After the death of a Zamorin, several rituals were performed to mark the succession of the new ruler. One such ritual was called *pulakuli*, a ceremonial bath in which the successor would dive into a pool to symbolically remove impurities. During this ritual, the Zamorin held the hands of two important allies: the Punnathur king (who ruled in Guruvayur and adjacent areas) held the left hand, and the Vettathunad king held the right. The Vettathunad king was included in this ritual until 1793, when the *nadu* disappeared. This ceremonial act is proof of the close relationship between these rulers. Similarly, in the *ariyittu vazcha* ceremony of the Zamorin, the first ceremony was performed by the Brahmin representative of the Panniyur fraction (*kur*) called Kothachirakkal *Nambuthiri*, and by the Vettathunad king as the *Kshatriya* representative of Kerala. Their participation highlights their prominent status and clan glory within the Zamorin kingdom.¹²²

The *udavalanakkal* was another significant ceremony conducted along with the *ariyittu vazcha*. It is a ceremony equivalent to the re-appointment of his subordinates along with the new ruler's succession. A key element of this ceremony was the giving of the sword and garment (*valum pudavayum nalkal*), which symbolised the authority and recognition. There is an evidence of giving a sword and garment to the Vettathunad king. It highlighted his elevated status and the close ties with the Zamorin. Alongside this, there was also the ceremony of giving the *chela* and dagger (*chelayum churikayum nalkal*).¹²³ Although the Vettathunad king had *samantha* relationship with Zamorin. But they had more emotional attachment or connection with the Kochi dynasty. In terms of caste hierarchy, Kochi and Vettam

¹²⁰ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Malabar Patanangal Samuthirinad*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram 2013 (2008), p. 396.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

¹²² K.V. Krishna Ayyer, *Op. cit.*, p. 35.

¹²³ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Op. cit.*

kings were considered superior to the Zamorin. Therefore, as *Kshatriyas*, they engaged in marital relations with each other. Consequently, as *Kshatriyas*, the Vettathunad and Kochi royal families frequently engaged in matrimonial alliances, strengthening political and familial ties with each other.

The Vettathunad kings were deeply involved in succession matters, both within their own family and in relation to neighbouring powers. Conflicts between the *mutha thavazhi* (elder candidate) and *ilaya thavazhi* (younger candidate) often arose during the succession, and the Zamorin's involvement could either complicate or help to resolve these disputes. The Vettathunad rulers also involved in the adoption of successors when there was no direct heir. This practice is documented in the sources like *Keralolpathi Kilippat* by Kadanjeri Nambudiri. A. Shreedhara Menon called this succession history as the 'war of Vettam succession.'¹²⁴ In short, Vettathunad maintained close connections with the two prominent dynasties like Kochi and Kozhikode, at the same time they can influence in succession and uphold dynastic continuity. This position granted the Vettathunad to hold a significant position in the political, social, and economic spheres of Kerala.

Records providing detailed information about the administration of Vettathunad are very limited. Most of what we know comes from oral traditions, legends, and place names. Like any organized polity, they had courts and jails as essential elements of governance. In Vettathunad, there was a pond in front of the *kacheri* (court), which led the area to be called *Kacherichira*. The administration of justice was strict, and serious crimes could be punished. Executions took place on a tree at a location called Kazhuppadam in Vettam, where the heads of those executed were severed and floated into the Tirur-Ponnani river. The heads that drifted into the forest on the eastern side of the river gave rise to place names like 'Thalekkara' for the riverside land and 'Thalakkad' for the spot where the heads fell into the forest, preserving an grim but vivid memory of Vettathunad's judicial practices.¹²⁵

¹²⁴ A. Shdheerdhara Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 250.

¹²⁵ Sasidharan Clari, *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

Vettathunad was agriculturally prosperous, benefiting from abundant irrigation provided by the Bharatapuzha in the south, Purapuzha in the north, the Arabian Sea to the west, and the lands of Valluvanad to the east. The soil in this region was highly fertile, supporting extensive cultivation. The Tirur- Ponnani river, which flowed through the heart of Vettathunad, facilitated not only irrigation but also the transport of trade goods from various regions. The Vanneri *granthavari*¹²⁶ provides evidence of the abundant rice cultivation in the region. Other important crops included pepper, paddy, betel leaf, arecanut, coconut, and banana reflecting a diverse agricultural economy. Fishing was also a significant occupation, supplementing both the diet and economy of Vettathunad.

In Vettathunad, there were streets specifically for weavers, known as *Shaliyas* or *Chaliyas*, and their streets were called Krishnatheruvu. Among the *Chaliyas*, two groups existed: *Idangar* and *Valanger*. They also established their street at Kattilangadi. A notable place called Vishupadam became the centre of an important agricultural market called *Vishhuppada Vanibham*, initiated by the Vettathunad kings to ensure that farmers received fair prices for their produce instead of selling them through Brahmin intermediaries. This market has special plots for selling each agricultural product conducted on the eve of Vishu day. The agricultural festival at Vishupadam was controlled by the *tamburans* (lords) of *Kadiya kovilakam*.¹²⁷ In addition, there was a weekly market at Vettam, while Vettath Puthiyangadi served as a daily market established by the kings. Another trading hub was Thalakkadathur, where coconut and arecanut were the main commodities.

Thrikkandiyur Sanketham under Vettathunad kings

In medieval Kerala, a *sanketham* referred to a temple corporation that functioned as a system of governance and administration, linking temples with local communities. It was a key institution for the management of temple lands and resources essential for sustaining the socio-economic fabric of the region. According

¹²⁶ M.G.S. Narayanan (ed.), 1987, *Op. cit.*

¹²⁷ Dinesh Thirur, *Ariyappedatha Charitra Veedhikal*, Published by Author, Thirur, 2012, pp. 18-19.

to M.T. Narayanan, the *sanketham* was the principal mechanism through which *Nambudiri* Brahmins exercised the political influence in Kerala.¹²⁸ The Trikkandiyur temple, believed to be one of 101 Siva temples established by *Parasurama* for the protection of Kerala, existed during the Chera rule. After the Perumal period, its *urazma* came under the *Mussath* family and later it became a village temple managed by the Alathiyur Brahmin *sabha*. Subsequently, the control of the Trikkandiyur temple passed to the Vettathunad kings. Historically, the temple area was a centre for scholars. Many individuals were proficient in disciplines such as architecture and *Gajashastram* (the study related to elephants).

The Vanjeri *Granthavari*¹²⁹ reveals that the local chieftains, Vettathunad kings and Zamorins depended on the constitution of the Trikkandiyur *sanketham*.¹³⁰ The Vettathunad kings and the Zamorins deputed the *Nair* soldiers to guard the *sanketham* and received a fixed share of the revenue in turn. The *sanketham* sought the permission of Vettathunad kings and Zamorins on different occasions like the trying and punishing of the criminals, resolving internal conflicts and the transferring of birth rights. A representative of the Vettathunad king, who was called 'Kovil Nambi', was required to attend the *sanketham* meetings. This representative held land tenure rights. Although Trikkandiyur *sanketham* was formally an autonomous institution, but in reality, like any other feudal institution in Kerala, it was under the supremacy of the Vettathunad kings. As *desakoyma* (chief) of the Trikkandiyur *sanketham*, Vettathunad kings had the authority and responsibility to manage the *sanketham*. However, he was not given any special status in *sanketham* etiquette (*sanketha maryada*). Therefore, the king was obligated to perform atonement if there was a violation in the *sanketham* etiquette.¹³¹

¹²⁸ M.T. Narayanan, *Agrarian Relations in Late Medieval Malabar*, Northern Book Centre, Calicut, 2003, p. 49.

¹²⁹ M.G.S. Narayanan (ed.), *Op. cit.*; Mishitha K, *Dominium Populy Dominium Terra: Social Construction of Property Right in Pre-modern Kerala (A.D.1200-1800 A.D.)*, Un Published Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2019.

¹³⁰ V.V. Haridas, 2012, *Op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹³¹ K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

In Vettathunad, the Brahmin presence was extensive, with over 2700 *Nambudiri* houses stretching from Alathiyur Perumtrikkovil to Rayirimangalam in the earlier period.¹³² The Trikkandiyur area, where the Trikkandiyur Maha Siva temple, was predominantly inhabited by Brahmins. Along the road from Tirur city to Trikkandiyur, Brahmin houses lined both sides, giving the area the name *Agrahara Patha*, indicating a traditional Brahmin settlement. Near the Trikkandiyur Siva temple, there was a *matam* where *Nambudiri* boys were taught reading and religious studies. Vedic education was also conducted at other notable centres in Vettathunad, such as the Othanmar *matam* at Thavanur, the Triikkaikattu *matam* at Pariyapuram in Thanur and the Thirunavaya on the banks of the Nila river.¹³³

Parappanad

Parappanad was another significant *nadu* that emerged during the medieval period, following the decline of the Cheras. It is also referred to as ‘Parappukoyil’ and existed under the suzerainty of Zamorins. Geographically, it lay between Kozhikode and Valluvanad, immediately north of Vettathunad. The kings of Parappanad maintained close ties with the *Samuthiri kovilakam*. For instance, the Nediyruppu *Muppil* did not attack Parappanad, because they were the relatives of the mistress of the Nediyruppu royal family. Parappanad was divided into two branches: North Parappanad (Beppur *swarupam*) and South Parappanad. The North Parappanad was under the Beppur branch of the Parapur *swarupam* of the *Kshatriya* clan, which assumed nominal supremacy under the Zamorin. This included the Panniyangara, Cheruvannur and Beppur *amsams* of present-day Kozhikode *taluk*. Beppur *kovilakam* was also known as Karippa *kovilakam*, with its branch called Pazayanjeri *kovilakam* (also called as Aliyar Kode *kovilakam*)

South Parappanad was ruled by the Parappur royal family and formally accepted the supremacy of Zamorin. Geographically, it included parts of present-day Tirur *taluk*, with the *amsams* of modern Eranad *taluk*- such as Pazhanjannur, Mannur,

¹³² Dinesh Thirur, *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

¹³³ Dinesh Thirur, ‘Thunjethzhuthachan’, in *Vettam Kalasamkarika Vedi Smaranika*, Thirur, 2012, p. 28.

Thenjippalam, Neduva, Vallikunnu, Parappanagdi, and Nannabra. The main centre of South Parappanad was Parappanagdi, while the principal seat of the royal family was Mekkottayil *kovilakam*. The Parappur royal family followed the matrilineal system of inheritance and was divided into three branches (*thavazhi*): Parappangadi, Beppur and Kilimanur. The territorial domain of the Parappanad *raja* from Purapuzha to Chaliyam, including Velimmuk and Olakara *amsams*.¹³⁴ South Parappanad also had significant social influence, because members of this family were often chosen as consorts of the *ranis* of the Travancore royal family, reflecting their high status among Kerala's *Kshatriyas*.¹³⁵ Politically, the Parappanad *Raja* held a prominent position in the *ariyittu vazcha* ceremony of the Zamorin. The *Kozhikodan granthavari* of Zamorin also mentioned Parappanad, further confirming its historical significance.¹³⁶

Parappanad remained *samanthas* of the Zamorin until the invasion of Tipu Sultan. During Tipu's campaign, five mistresses and three *tampurakkals* of Aliyar Kode *kovilakam* fled to Travancore fearing forced religious conversion. The Travancore King offered them for protection. Although the kings of Parappanad were ousted from their territories by the Mysore Sultans, many did not return and instead settled in Travancore. Their descendants formed what became known as the Kilimanur dynasty. Some branches also settled in Mavelikkara (Lakshmipuram), Cherukol, Palayam and Paliyerkkara. The Travancore mistresses were married by Parappanad kings. Fearing Tipu's campaign, the younger *tampuran* (Rajaraja Varma), sought refuge in Travancore and lived in Changanasseri Neerazhi *Kovilakam*, marrying Lakshmi bhai *tampuratti* of Travancore. Their son was Swathitirunnal Maharaja. Lakshmi bhai *tampuratti* constructed the Lakshmipuram palace at Changanasseri. A branch of this family later moved to Harippad. The Lakshmipuram palace became home to prominent scholars such as Kerala Varma, the author of *Mayura Sandesam* and A.R. Rajarajavarma, the author of *Kerala Panineeyam*. Additionally, the Travancore kings constructed *Kovilakams* at Karaya and Pallam in Tiruvalla village

¹³⁴ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Parappangadi *Panjayath*, 1996, p. 13.

¹³⁵ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. ccclxii.

¹³⁶ N.M. Nambuthiri, *Op. cit.*, p. 398.

to accommodate members of the Parappanad royal family who had come from their homeland.¹³⁷

Important *Kovilakams* in Eranad Under the Suzerainty of Zamorins

1. Manjeri *Kovilakam*

Manjeri *kovilakam* was one of the prominent *kovilakams* in Manjeri, existing as *samanthas* of the Zamorins. The growth and prominence of the *kovilakam* were largely due to the development of agriculture in the region. Another important factor was its connection with the Zamorins. The *thampuran* or *Raja* of Manjeri *kovilakam* was known as ‘*Eranattile Thampuran*’. The presence of the *thampuran* of Manjeri was considered essential for the ceremony of *ariyittu vazcha* (accession ceremony) of the Zamorin. During the ceremony, the newly appointed *Samuthiri* was seated on a pedestal, and the Manjeri *thampuran* took rice in his hands, asking permission aloud to pour it, and then offered it to the head as a part of the ritual. When the news of Zamorin’s death reached Manjeri, the members of this *kovilakam* participated in the post-death ceremony. Conversely, when a death happened in the Manjeri *kovilakam*, the Zamorin had to be officially informed, reflecting the close ceremonial and political ties between the two dynasties.

2. Nilambur *Kovilakam*

Nilambur and its surrounding areas are described as eastern Eranad (*kizhakkann* Eranad). Therefore, it would be easy to study the rise and development of Nilambur in connection with the history of Eranad. Several legends exist regarding the origin of Nilambur *kovilakam*. It is believed that it was built in the 13th century AD by the Thachirakavil *Eradis*, who came from Nediyruppu. Up to the 18th century, it remained under the control of the Zamorins of Calicut.¹³⁸ Historical accounts suggest that the

¹³⁷ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Op. cit.*, pp. 65-66.

¹³⁸ Dr. Fukker Ali C.A, ‘ Festival As A Power Legitimising Tool: A Study of Nilambur Pattu’, in K. Rajan (ed.), *Perspectives- A Journal of the Department of Post Graduate Studies in History and Centre for Advanced Studies in Local Knowledge*, Vol. V, No. 5, Government Victoria College, Palakkad, 2013, p. 15.

Nediyirippu *swarupam* comprised two families: the *Samuthiri kovilakam* and the Chirayil Kudalmanna *kovilakam*. Both families worshipped Thiruvilayanattukavu *Bagavathi* as their family deity. When the *Samuthiri* family gained extensive royal power, they supported their close relatives, the Kudalmanna family. Later the Kudalmanna family, empowering them to administer and protect the eastern provinces of the *Samuthiri* kingdom. When the Zamorin expanded northward, the Kudalmanna family was given the charge of an area along the banks of the Chaliyar river. Initially, their seat was known as Thiruchirakavu *kovilakam*, referring to their original village Chirayil (Thiruchirakavu). Over time, this was shortened to Thachirakavu. Thachirakavu *kovilakam* had two *thavazhis*: one in Mannazhi (Mambad) and another in Edavanna. Later, Mannazhi *kovilakam* merged into Nilambur *kovilakam* due to the lack of a male progeny. Edavanna *kovilakam*, facing threats from Muslim forces, relocated to Amarambalam, eventually becoming Amarambalam *kovilakam*. When the male line of Kudalmanna *kovilakam* was ended and only female members remained, they moved to Nilambur *kovilakam* and their properties were merged into *kovilakam* estate.¹³⁹

If we examine the traditional belief regarding the development of Thachirakavu-*Nilambur swarupam*, it reflects how the royal power from Nediyirippu *swarupam* extended to Nilambur, effectively bringing eastern Eranad under their control. According to Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, the development of agriculture in Kerala coincided with the emergence of *nadus*. Agricultural expansion required clearing of forests and cultivating new lands. So all *swarupams* sought to maximise their territories in this way. During the peak time of the Nediyirippu *swarupam*, they were forced to clear the forests in the eastern region (Nilambur) to settle populations and expand their influence there. Consequently, Thachirakavu or Nilambur *swarupam* was established by the family members of Nediyirippu *swarupam*, who migrated specifically for this purpose. They seem to have first settled in Edavanna, then in Mampad and later in Nilambur. This development was likely

¹³⁹ G. Amrithraj, 'Nilambur *Kovilakam*: Avasana Raja Swarupathinte Kadha', in Dr. N.M. Nambuthiri and P.K. Sivas (eds.), *Kerala Charitrathinte Nattuvazhikal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2009, pp. 366-67.

supported by the Zamorins, Originally, this *kovilakam* functioned as the vassals of the *Samuthiri*. Then after the disintegration of the Zamorins, they began claiming the title of 'swarupi'.¹⁴⁰

The expansion of Nediyruppu *swarupam* into eastern regions and the establishment of Nilambur *kovilakam* can be understood in the context of the historical processes that followed the emergence of the *nadus*. According to K.N. Ganesh, a major factor behind the political process during this period was agrarian expansion.¹⁴¹ With the rise of *nadus*, agriculture grew tremendously and allowing the *naduvazhis* to acquire more cultivable lands. Unsettled lands were gradually brought under plough cultivation and transforming the significant portions of the tribal people into peasants.¹⁴² As demand for forest produce increased, the newly established Nilambur *kovilakam* had to rely on the nearby forests for their income and daily expenditure. Hence, the *Raja* of Nilambur became the lord of the forests with command over resources such as spices, timber and wild animals. However, the rulers soon realized that tribal support was essential for expanding the power towards east and managing the forest resources. Consequently, the installation of tribal deities and the granting of privileges to tribal communities must be examined in this historical context.¹⁴³ One example is the famous Nilambur *pattu* (song) festival held at *Vettakkorumakan* temple in Nilambur, managed by the royal family. This festival is known for its *kalamezhuthu pattu* or ritual powder drawings on the floor. The legend related to the origin of this festival and the construction of the *Vettakkorumakan* temple is connected directly to the early nomadic life of the forest dwellers in the Nilambur valley. Tribal chieftains played an important roles in the rituals and ceremonies that took place during this festival.¹⁴⁴ Through the ritualistic installation

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 370; Velayudhan Panikkasserri, *Op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

¹⁴¹ K.N. Ganesh, 'Agrarian Society in Kerala (1500-1800)', in P.J. Cheriyan (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p. 73.

¹⁴² Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*, p. 196; K. N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁴³ Dr. Fukker Ali C.A, *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

of the *Vettakkorumakan* deity, the royal family sought to assert suzerainty over the rich Nilambur valley, incorporating the tribal population as a distinct segment of society. Additionally, the festival functioned as a mechanism for revenue collection, gifts and donations and providing both economic resources and ideological legitimacy to the royal power established in the tribal lands.¹⁴⁵

To understand the relationship between Nilambur *kovilakam* and the *Samuthiri*, it is important to note the role of Nilambur *raja* in the *ariyittuvazhcha* (coronation ceremony) of the Zamorin. While the *raja* of Nilambur gave consent for this ceremony, but this act does not necessarily indicate the glory or prestige of Nilambur at that time. . It is possible that the family relationship with Thachrakavu *swarupam* and the presence of an abundance of forests in the eastern parts of the kingdom were beneficial for Zamorin, which caused for assigning *samatha* title to Nilambur *swarupam*. The names like *Eradikal* and *Eralpappad* indicated the relationship of Nilambur *kovilakam* with Nediyrupp. Because *Eralpappad* is the traditional title of the young king in Eranad. It is suggesting that a member of this lineage may have taken the initiative to establish the *kovilakam* in the eastern regions of the kingdom.¹⁴⁶

In short, the political, social, and economic development of the old Eranad reached significant growth during the period of the Zamorins, creating new commercial opportunities with the arrival of foreigners. Nilambur *kovilakam* had favourable conditions for its growth, which never got to any other princely kingdoms during that time. There were no strong enemies to hinder its expansion. Because the presence of most powerful neighbouring king Zamorin was a relative of them and offered help instead of obstacles from his part. Additionally, during the arrival of foreigners, the Zamorin needed a reliable agent in the eastern parts of Eranad to collect forest resources. Therefore, the Nilambur *kovilakam* was left unconquered. Due to these favourable factors, *kovilakam* had been able to expand its royal power by conquering the forests of Eranad. They also took the initiative to make human

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁴⁶ G. Amrithraj, *Op. cit.*, p. 375.

settlements and villages in the newly converted agricultural lands. People were even brought for this purpose from outside lands. For example, occupational groups like *Kumbaranmar* (pottery makers) were invited by the *kovilakam*, and they eventually settled there. The presence of tribal people was another positive factor to *kovilakam* for agriculture and collection of forest resources. They were often enslaved during clearing of forests and they assisted in creating new agricultural lands and facilitated trade in forest products. During this period, human settlements spread to areas such as Chungathara, Edakkara, Pokkootupadam, Kalikavu and Karulayi. This is evidenced by temples like Chungathara, Mannathi temple and Pookottupadam Villothth temple and the remains of older temples in Kalikavu and Karulayi areas.

3. Amarambalam Kovilakam

Amarambalam *kovilakam* is stated to be the place of *Amaranmar* or the sages. It was generally believed that they arrived from Edavanna *kovilakam* and the lords who settled there belonged to the *Nair* community. They lived on the banks of the Amarambalam River. There were fourteen prominent *janmi* families under this *kovilakam*.

Apart from these *kovilakams*, Pokottur *kovilakam*, Mamabad *kovilakam*, Edavanna *kovilakam*, Chekkakkode *kovilakam*, Kuzhimanna *kovilakam* etc. also existed under the suzerainty of the Zamorin. These are of less importance when compared to those mentioned above.

Locality Chiefs in Eranad Under the Suzerainty of Zamorins

In some parts of Eranad, locality chiefs ruled under the Zamorin's suzerainty. For example, Kappedath Muppil *Nair* administered the *amsams* of Mamburam, Pukayur, Koduvayur, etc. The Idimuzhikkal and Kallingal *amsam* were ruled by Chappan *Nair*. Kakkasseri Bhattathirippad ruled the Kakkanjeri *amsam* while Perunneri was under Perumanasseri *Mussath*. Some areas of Eranad were ruled by the *Mussaths*. An example of this is the Areakode *amsam*, which was under the authority of Chembazhi, Pullurmanna and Attumpuram *Mussaths*. Other areas of Eranad were administered by different *kovilakamas*. For instance, the Muthuvallur *amsam*, under

the Zamorin's suzerainty, was governed by Cheekkakkode *kovilakam*. Several *illams* such as Kottekkad, Pookkatt, Chembazhi, Manad and Thalayur were under this *kovilakam*. The stone inscription at Perumtrikkovil temple in Muthuvallur provides valuable evidence on the historical significance of this area.

In Eranad, several *amsams* were governed by local rulers under the suzerainty of the Zamorin. The Cherukavu *amsam*, Peringav *amsam* in Vazhayur and Puthukkod *amsam* were ruled by the *samantha* of Zamorin, known as Thinayanjeri Ilayath. His Thinayanjeri *kovilakam* played a crucial role in administration. Certain *tharavads*, or joint families, also had the right to govern their areas. The *karanavars* of Edamana *tharavad* acted as *naduvazhis* of the Edayur *amsam*, and their descendants continued in Palliyalil *tharavad* of Poovathumthara *amsam*. Similarly, some *manas* held administrative rights over their respective areas. These include Elamkulam *Mana*, Muthukurussi *mana* and Puthu *mana* which ruled the Elamkulam *amsam*.

The *naduvazhi* family of the Karulayi area was known as the Alliyil *Idam*, with their headquarters at Peruvayal near Mavur. The *karanavarmar* of this family were known as *Angunnamar*. In ancient history, this region fell under the influence of Nilambur, Amarambalam, and Manjeri *kovilakams*, as well as the Chemmanditta *devaswam*. According to legends, the Alliyil *Idam* clan was founded in connection with the Chemmanditta *Bhagavati* temple. The *karanavanmar* of the Alliyil *Idam* family, who were in administrative positions at that time, oversaw the transfer of *devaswam* lands to intermediary families under the terms of *kanam*, *charth* and *pattam*. The principal intermediary families included the Kalluvetti family, Thandupara family, Karindar Kalam, Pulliyil Kalam and Thondi Kalam, who managed land transfers and engaged in cultivation during this time. Under these middlemen, several cultivators migrated from Kondotty, Manjeri and Areakode, leasing and working on this land. They were supported by labourers like *Paniyar*, *Kanakkar*, *Cherumakkal*, and *Arandanmar*, who became the ancestors of the present population in this region.

In the Karuvarakkundu *amsam*, the main ruling Brahmin family was the Thrikkaderi *illam*, though other landlords, including Elamkulam *mana*, Cherukara

Tharavattu *mana* and Karumayappetti Kalam *Eradi* also held significant positions. The Kizhuparamb *amsam* was governed by the Kakkuzhi *illam* and Naduvathedath *illam*, both of whom had strong positions under the Zamorins. In Kondotty *amsam*, major landholders included the Thinayanjeri Ilayath, Muthuvallur Thalayur *Mussath*, Kondoty Thakkiyakkal, Vazhakkad Koyappathodi and the Melangadi Thayyil family. Notably, Thalayur *Mussath* granted the land tax-free to the old Pazhayangadi mosque at Kondotty, which still stands as a symbol of religious harmony. At the time, the region had dense forests and was populated by wild animals. Other important Brahmin families, such as Puliyaseri, Narangatt, Thenjeri, and Pulimadam were also prominent *janmis* in the Kondotty *amsam*.

The Kottakkal *amsam* existed under the *kizhakke kovilakam* and Azhvanjeri *Mana*. Kottakkal, known as *Kshetra Durgam* in Sanskrit and Venkali Kotta or Vengitta Kotta in Malayalam, was originally a small military base of the Walluvanad king in the early period. Karuvayur *Mussath*, who was a prominent warrior and minister of the *Walluvakonathiri*, resided there. The fort, along with pits and ditches constructed by Karuvayur *Mussath*, likely gave the village the name 'Kottakkal'. The area surrounding the fort came to be known as Changuvettikkad and Iyyakkad. Karuvayur *Mussath*, acting in loyalty to his master, brutally killed Thinayanjeri Ilayath, one of the Zamorin's ministers. Subsequently, Munnalppad Tampuran, a nephew of the Zamorin, killed Karuvayur *Mussath* in a skirmish and took control of the fort. Later, the descendants of this Tampuran settled in the Kottakkal area and established the Kottakkal *kovilakam*.

In the Kuttippuram *amsam*, the principal ruling Brahmin families were Naduvattam and Karingamanna *mana*, who acted as the main landlords of the area. Kuzhimanna *amsam* was governed by a prominent family known as Kuzhimana *illam*. The early temple of this region was the Pullanjeri Shree Vishnu temple. Morayur *amsam* was the seat of Thinayanjeri Ilayath, a chief among the Zamorin's ministers. He was also recognised as the head of the old *janmi* family called Mongandabalath *Mussath* of Morayur *amsam* and played a central role in performing the *ariyittu vazhcha* ceremony of the Zamorin. Central portions of Morayur *amsam*, such as the

Ozhukur area, were allotted to the Nilambur *kovilakam*, while the Arimbra area came under the jurisdiction of the Kottakkal *kovilakam*.

The Nilambur *kovilakam* and Chemmanditta *devaswam* served as the principal lords of the Muthedam *amsam*. Within the Nilambur *kovilakam*, certain families held rights as intermediaries under the terms of *kanam*, *charth*, and *pattam*. The most prominent among these intermediary families were the Kalluvetti family, Valiya Pedikakkal family, Puthiyara family, and the Thandupara family. The Kamariyan, Eranjikkal and Muringodan families later settled in the area after acquiring lands from these middlemen on lease for cultivation. There was also a division of lands among the families, with the Palangara section allotted to the Kalluvetti family, the Karod part to the Valiya Pedikakkal family, and the Vattapadam part to the Thandupara family.

In the Nannabra *desam*, the main *naduvazhi* families included Muthedath *mana*, Elamkulam *mana* and Thrikkakkode *Madapram*. The Nannamukk *amsam* was ruled by the *naduvazhi* family known as the Pozhiyur Nannatt Nairs, with Azhvancheri acting as their intermediary. Certain parts of this *amsam*, such as Kallurmma, Kanjiyur, Mukkuthala, Pallikkara, and Pidavanur, were under the control of the Perumbilav Menon family, who served as the *naduvazhi*. Under the Zamorins, several other *naduvazhis* existed in the Nediyruppu *amsam*, including families like the Vallikkatt, Puthiya *kovilakam*, and Kondotty Thakkiyakkal. The *Janmi* landlords also held the position of *naduvazhi* in the *desams* of Mattathur, Puthur and Othukungal. The most prominent among them were the Channazhi *illam*, Karippott *mana*, Kottakkal *kovilakam*, Kuttippuram *Panikkar*, Cherukunnu *devaswam* and the Pullanikkatt *mana*. In the Ozhur *desam*, the main *Janmi* landlords and the local rulers included Karuthattil *tarawad*, Pannikkatt *illom* and Nellur Bhandaram Kodyeri *tarawad*.

The Zamorin assigned the Karippur, Puthur, Muzhangallur, and Pallikkal *amsams* to various *naduvazhis* and landlords for administrative convenience and efficient tax collection. Among the notable landlords and families of this area were the Valuputhu *kovilakam*, Karippa *kovilakam*, Parappanad *kovilakam*, *Kizhakke*

kovilakam, Guruvayur *devaswam*, Vellimuttath *Mussath*, Kalppakasseri Muppil *Nair*, Mangalasseri *Nambudiri*, Parappurath *Nambudiri* and the Kondovetti *Thangal*. The Karippur *amsam* was a particularly large administrative unit, encompassing smaller localities like Kannankottupara, Vellar, Kumminiparamb, Puliyam Paramb, Palampetti and Tharayittal. Place names like Karichathan *Kunnu*, Kumminiparamb, Cherukkante *Kandi*, Kannankottupara, and Ayyappan Chola within the Karippur *amsam* indicate the historical presence of the *Harijan* community. In the Parappur and Iringallur regions, the Kolappuram Keezattukunnath Panikkar family was the main local landlord. They recognised the authority of the Zamorin and their faction was aligned with the Kottakkal *kizhakke kovilakam*.

Under the Zamorin suzerainty, the Ponmala *amsam* was largely controlled by *Kizhakke kovilakam*, Vadakathu *mana*, Pullanikkatt *mana*, and Ponmala *devaswam*. The majority of the population consisted of tenant farmers and agricultural labourers, with very few intermediaries. The farmers and agricultural labourers lived in poverty and ignorance, bound to give not only the lord's share (*janmi bogam*), but also whatever the landlords demanded. They were subjected to harsh and often violent tax collections like *vashi*, *nura*, and *vechukanal*. Beyond all these hardships, the peasantry was also trapped in social and moral subjugations, leaving them extremely vulnerable under the prevailing system.

In Thanur *amsam*, the chief local ruler was a member of Elamkulam *mana*, while families like Mullasseri, Pokkatt and Kozhisseri acted as intermediaries and gained prominence in administration. The Thavanur *amsam* was ruled by leading Brahmin families such as Vellayil *mana* and Thavanur *mana*. A proverb (*pazhanjoll*) existed among the local people of this *amsam* - “*Vellayude vakkum thavanuruinte panavum*” reflected the rivalry and assertion of upper-class supremacy between these two *manas*. The Thenjipalam and Vallikkunnu *amsams*, along with adjacent areas, were under other *samathas* of the Zamorins, specifically the Parappanad Valiya Puthiya *kovilakam rajas*. They administered the region through *tarakootams* centered on Siva temples, including Vallikkunuu (Thekkil Siva temple), Mannur (Mannur Siva temple), Chelebra (Elannummal Siva temple), Thenjippalam (Pappannur Siva temple)

and Vennayur (Vennayur Siva temple). The palace of the Parappanad kings was near the Mekketu *Bagavati* temple at Vallikkunnu, and the remains of trenches and tunnels surrounding the temple are proof of this. It was also here that the soldiers of the *Kovilakam* did their weapon training. Later, the Parappangadi *kovilakam* split into the Beppur lineage and the Parappangadi lineage. The Parappangadi lineage, also known as the Kilimanur dynasty, migrated to Mavelikkara and settled in the Anthapuram and Lakshmipuram palaces. Vallikkunnu remained the headquarters of the Parappanad *rajas*. Ullor S. Parameshwaran Nair in *Kerala Sahitya Charitram* and Mazamangalam in *Bhasanaishadham* identified the ‘Valligramam’ mentioned in the Chambu literature as ‘Vallikkunnu’. The famous Valliyar river is mentioned by Udhandu Sastri in *Kokila Sandesam*. Due to the presence of a hill near the river, this place came to be known as Vallikkunnu.

The Punnappala, Chadangakulam, and Thiruvali *amsams* were under the control of the Naduvathu *mana*, which acted as the main *uraler* of the Punnappala Siva temple. The Thuvayur, or Thuvvur *amsam*, was under the authority of four *kovilakams*- Ariptra, Kadannamanna, Ayiradi and Mangada, each of which held rights over the area. The Elamkur, Thrikkalangode, and Karkunnu *amsams* were under the jurisdiction of the Karikkad temple. Among them, Thrikkalangode *amsam* stood out as a religious centre, hosting three prominent temples from the past- a Siva temple, the Vettakkorumakan temple, and a Shree Krishna temple. The largest of these *amsams* was Elamkur, whose name reflects its historical connection to the immediate descendants of *naduvazhis*. This underscores the enduring link between Elamkur and the *naduvazhis*. The heir of this lineage, who stood beside the Zamorin during Mamngamthara was called Eranad Elamkur *Nambyatiri*.

The Puvathikkal, Maitra, Therattammal, Vadakkammuri, and Urgattiri *amsams* were under the control of different landlords. Among the prominent *janmis* of these areas were Thacharakkal Tirumulppad, Thrikkalayur *devaswam*, Attumpuram, Naduvathedam, Kizhakkumpadam, Chembazhi and Unnimura *devaswam*. Families such as Koyyappathodi and Kalluvetti acted as intermediaries, facilitating administration and land management. The Valanjeri *amsams* were under

the oversight of families like Nellakkott, Kunjanikkatt, and Eeradapadinjarethil, with the Nellikkat family holding the influential position of *natu pramani* (chief). The approval and presence of this family was mandatory for marriage ceremonies among lower-caste people in the region. Over time, the Vellattu family also rose to prominence in these *amsams*. The wandur *amsam* was governed by several *illams* and *kovilakams*, with Karumanampatta, Kadavath, and Pullur being the most important *illams* in this area. Significant landlords included Karikkad *mana*, Amarambalam, Naduvath *mana*, Kidangazhi *mana* and Karikkad *devaswam*. They also served as the *uraler* of village temples such as the Siva temple at Ambalapadi.¹⁴⁷

Trade Networks and Markets

Every *nadu* maintained extensive trade networks that played a crucial role in increasing their revenue. The growth of trade in turn fuelled the socio cultural and economic development of the *nadu*, allowing them to consolidate power and expand influence. The Malabar Coast, during the medieval period, emerged as one of the key centres of Indian Ocean trade.¹⁴⁸ The geographical features of the region were significant factors in shaping trade patterns. Eranad was broadly divided into three major geographical zones- lowland, midland and highland- each offering the distinct advantages for agriculture, settlement, and commerce. Which directly influenced the prosperity and strategic importance of the *naduvazhis* and *janmi* families.

According to Sanjay Subramanian, trade in pre-colonial southern India- both maritime and over land- was primarily focused on two categories of commodities. On the one hand, there were high-value goods, which for many decades led the historians to dismiss Asian trade as a ‘splendid but trifling’ activity,¹⁴⁹ underestimating its economic and social significance. The concept of a market encompasses all business

¹⁴⁷ *Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekha*, Malappuram *Nagarasabha*, 1996; *Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Kozhikode; Field Work Conducted by Present Researcher.

¹⁴⁸ R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade Ideology and Urbanization in South India 300 BC to 300 AD*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996.

¹⁴⁹ Sanjay Subramanian, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2004, p. 46.

activities related to the movement of goods and services from producers to consumers. Historical evidence indicates that South India (*Tamilakam*) maintained brisk trade relations with the Roman Empire in the early centuries of the Christian era. The classical Greco-Roman writers such as Pliny, Ptolemy, and the author of *Periplus of Erythrean Sea*, along with native Tamil *Sangam* poets, vividly describe the prosperity and extent of this trade, highlighting the exchange of commodities between the two regions.

In Eranad, various forms of trade flourished including local trade, long-distance trade, and overseas trade. Rivers, streams, and canals played a crucial role in facilitating the movement of goods and people across different areas. The Chaliyar and Kadalundi rivers, along with their tributaries were particularly important in promoting trade within the region and providing convenient routes for transporting commodities. The hilly areas of Eranad were renowned for spice cultivation, and these rivers served as vital channels through which the products from the hills reached major trading centres and connecting local production to larger markets.

Chantas, *Angatis* and ferries were important facts of trade in Eranad, serving as centres for local commerce and communication. People bought and sold commodities at these points and goods from the hinterlands were transported to *Angatis* and port towns for further distribution. *Angatis* functioned as market places for the transaction of small products, while *Chantas* were central to local trade. *Chantas* also hosted celebrations and festivals. Early *Sangam* literature highlights the variety of *chantas* and the diverse goods sold in *chantas*.¹⁵⁰ Different types of *chantas* existed, including morning markets (*Nalangadi*), evening markets (*Anthichanda*), weekly markets and annual fairs. Trade itself was conducted on two-levels: small-scale transactions by producers cum traders, typically in daily or weekly markets and large-scale transactions by full-time merchants primarily seen in annual markets.

¹⁵⁰ Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Kerala Charitram*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1991, p. 231.

An institutional form of local exchange existed in the village markets, which were held at regular intervals on fixed week days.¹⁵¹ The medieval texts often mentioned these local markets across different regions. The growth of markets and surplus production was driven by the abundance of certain agricultural products, the scarcity of certain others and the rich variety of goods available. *Chantas* or *angatis* functioned as formal institutions where the exchange process took place. Most goods exchanged in these markets were essential for the day-to-day life of ordinary people. Participants in local commercial activities included people from all sections of the society, including the lower strata. Barter was the dominant system of exchange, and petty bargaining was the common method of acquiring goods. The articles bartered were largely items for immediate consumption such as rice, paddy, grains, vegetables, millet, plantains, coconut, oil and fish.

The emergence of *chanthas* can be considered as an established phase of primitive exchange. In which large-scale and diversity of transactions were made possible. The social and economic change along with the development of agricultural and habitation areas caused to the emergence and growth of *chanthas*. Wide and varied demands of people were met in the *chanthas*. Different regions produced a wide variety of agricultural products. So people went for their necessary items, which had scarcity in their areas. It helped them to enrich their agriculture as well as their livelihood. It also existed as a center for imparting traditions and local customs.

In Eranad, numerous *chanthas* were established along the river basins, serving as important centres of local trade. On the Kadalundi river basin, these markets were often located at *kadavus* or ferry points, facilitating the movement of goods and people. Notable among them were Parappangadi, Parappur, Tirurangadi, Nellikuth, Anakkayam, Malappuram, Kuttulangadi, Pandikkad, Melattur, and Karuvarakund. While some of these *chanthas* were extensive and prominent and others were relatively small. Certain markets such as Anakkayam and Manjeri,¹⁵² gained particular

¹⁵¹ M. R. Raghava Varrier, 'Socio-Economic Structures' in P. J. Cheriyan (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Kerala Gazetteer Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p. 99.

¹⁵² Interview with Moosa Haji (73), Native in Manjeri and worked as merchant in Manjeri *chanda*.

renown for cattle trade. Similarly, the Chaliyar river basin witnessed the flourishing of ferry-based trade centres including Elamaram, Areakode, Kizhuparamb, Oorkkadav, Kadalundi, Pullipadam, Vallikkunnu, Monniyur, Vazhakkad, Vazhyur and Ugrapuram, reflecting the integral role of riverine transport in the economic life of Eranad.

In Eranad, many *chanthas* were held on fixed weekdays. For example, the Parappangadi *chantha* operated on Mondays, Anakkayam *chantha* on Thursdays, Malappuram *chantha* on Tuesdays and Kutilangadi on Sundays. The commodities exchanged in these *chanthas* were primarily food items like rice, paddy, vegetables, millet, plantains, coconut, oil and fish. In addition to foodstuff, iron implements such as knives, spades, hoes, and tripods were traded. Bamboo products like mats and baskets, pottery, palm-leaf umbrellas, bronze items, cloth, herbs and various agricultural tools were also exchanged. *Chanthas* functioned as nodal points for trade and were often situated in the flourished hinterland areas. Examples include the markets at Anakkayam, Manjery, Mongam, Chelari, Parappur and Melattur. On the Kadalundi river, merchants transported cloth, mirrors, etc. from Anakkayam, while arecanut and timber was carried back from Karuvarakundu.¹⁵³ Anakkayam, an important ferry on the Kadalundi River, served both subsistence goods and luxury items. The *chantha* facilitated trade in cattle, sheep, vegetables, grains, hill products like pepper, ginger, spices and turmeric as well as salt, various types of clothes, dry fish, gold, precious and semi-precious stones, bamboo products and iron implements.¹⁵⁴ Manjeri *chantha*, held on Tuesdays was particularly significant. Its importance is seen in *vamozhi* (proverbs) like “*bappem immem ozhich bakkiyellam chandayil kittum and chandayillel adutha pradeshathullavarannum uppum mulakum kootula,*” indicating its centrality to local commerce. Even people from distant areas depended on the Manjeri *chantha* for essential commodities. The items like dried fish from Tirur and Parappangadi, betel leaves from Kottakkal, coconut from

¹⁵³ Interview with Muhammed Kutty (65), Merchant at Anakkayam.

¹⁵⁴ Interview with Abdu Anakkayam (79), Native in Anakkayam and Merchant.

Malappuram, and tapioca and potato from Kodur etc. were bought in to *chantha*.¹⁵⁵ William Logan confirms that weekly and daily markets were well-established in Manjeri and were generally well-attended by the local population.¹⁵⁶ Similar weekly *chanthas* existed at Chelari, Mongam, and Morayur.

Household products were also found in the markets. Commodities such as pepper, arecanut, turmeric, tamarind, banana, yam, black gram, peas, and other vegetables were commonly traded. Each item had a specific space in the market like *aattutheruvu* or *mattutheruvu* (for cattle), *aritheruvu* (for rice), *mothan theruvu* (for gold and silver), *tholpetta*, *panditheru*, *meentheru* (for fish), *kumbaratheru* (for pottery) and *paratheruvu* (for bamboo products). The *Vanikar* and *Chetii* communities were also seen around the markets. Later, other communities like *Chakkalan*, *Saliyar* and *Vaniyan* also seen. Chettitheruvu in Nellikuth, Chettiyarpadi in Malappuram and Chettippadi in Eranad are examples of settlements of *Chettis* adjoining these markets.

Angatis were another category of markets in the local trade of Eranad. In colloquial parlance, they were often referred to as *Nattangadi*. The use of prefixes and suffixes with the term *angati* underscores their importance as major trading centres during the medieval period. Place names in Eranad such as Pazhayangadi, Puthangadi, and Valiyangadi belong to this category. The primary commodities traded in *angatis* included spices such as pepper, turmeric, pulses and cardamom. Cardamom and pepper in particular were significant export items to foreign markets. Arab travellers of the period documented the pepper-growing places of Malabar. Literary sources also attest to the agricultural productivity of region. The *Sukasandesakavya*¹⁵⁷ remarks the pepper-bearing coconut trees of Malabar, while the *Koka Sandesa* describes the areca nut gardens and the cardamom plantation of the areas.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁵ *Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekha*, Manjeri *Nagarasabha*, 1996.

¹⁵⁶ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. ccciv.

¹⁵⁷ Kodungallur Kunjikuttan Tampuran, *Rantu Sandesangal: Sukasandesavum Kokasandesavum*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

¹⁵⁸ N.P. Unni (ed.), *Kokilasandes of Uddandda*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 1972, pp. 37-38.

Other evidence points to the existence of old trade routes in Eranad. The terms such as *Attani*, *Thaneerpandal*, *Athanikkal*, *Kanjipura*, *Chungam* and *Kadavu* are closely associated with commercial activities and words like *attani*, *thaneerpandal*, and *kanjipura* denote resting places for load carriers travelling to and from the markets. The *attanis* provided crucial support to those transporting goods on their heads, offering facilities for rest and refreshment. Similarly, *kanjippuras* functioned as food stations for traders, serving as a significant relief during long journeys. The term *chungam* refers to locations where taxes were collected from merchants. Several places bearing this name can be found throughout Eranad.¹⁵⁹ For example place name like Athanikkal and Chungam etc.

By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Kerala experienced significant transformations in both its political structure and economic growth. The emergence of *swarupams*¹⁶⁰ played a pivotal role in reshaping the political landscape, while the expansion of trade emerged as the most conspicuous driver of economic development. During this period of commercial growth, new trading centres, like Kozhikode rose to prominence. A significant feature of the trade of this era was the gradual decline of mercantile corporations (guilds) such as *Manigramam*, *Anchuvannam* and the *Valaciar*, which had been active during earlier historical periods.

The Malabar Coast occupied a significant position within the international trade networks of the medieval period, as evidenced by both archaeological findings and literary sources. Trading communities from Arabia, China, Yemen, Greece, Rome, Egypt and Africa frequented the port cities of Malabar and actively engaged in commercial activities. Medieval travellers consistently noted that many urban centres along the Malabar Coast functioned as international trading emporia, facilitating extensive maritime commerce. The ports of medieval Kerala were integrated into the larger networks connecting the littoral states of the Indian Ocean. The annexation of Calicut from *Porlatiri* by Zamorin, followed by the shifting of the Zamorin's capital from Nedyirupp to Calicut, significantly contributed to the development of Calicut

¹⁵⁹ Interview with Suresh, Merchant in Pazhayangadi and Native in Malappuram.

¹⁶⁰ M.R. Raghava Varrier, 2002, *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

as a major port. During this period, Arab and Chinese merchants dominated trade in the Indian Ocean and Calicut emerged as one of the most popular port towns in the medieval world distinguished by its efficient trading facilities and a prosperous mercantile community.

As the capital city of the Zamorins, Calicut developed a complex social structure comprising the royal family, priests, bureaucrats, soldiers and men of letters and arts. The local demand for goods and services among these groups contributed to the establishment and growth of local exchange centres. The emergence of Calicut as a major oceanic trade hub was facilitated by a combination of factors, including its peculiar sea board features, favourable climatic conditions and hinterlands abundant in agricultural produce and forest resources. The soil of Calicut kingdom was not so productive for the growth of paddy and so there always been a scarcity in staple food of rice. But the region was highly productive in spices. This disparity in agricultural output rendered foreign trade both necessary and lucrative.¹⁶¹ Additionally, the availability of mineral resources like clay, iron ore and gold supported craft production and a thriving artisanal community. Merchants from diverse regions and communities were attracted to Calicut, engaging in trade regularly, largely due to the protection and security offered by the city and its ruler- a fact consistently attested to by numerous medieval travellers.

The Zamorins emerged as the chief patrons of Arab trade along the Malabar Coast. They were particularly noted for their integrity in commercial dealings, which fostered trust and encouraged the settlement of Arab merchants in large numbers within their dominions and it led to the flourishing of trade in Calicut.¹⁶² The emergence of the Zamorin was underpinned by two critical factors. First, there was the notable absence of interference from other dominant powers of the subcontinent, which allowed the Zamorins to become consolidate authority. Second, the Zamorins maintained strategic alliances with the *Mappila* community and Arab traders, creating

¹⁶¹ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Vadakkan Pattukalude Paniyala*, Vallathol Vidyapeedam, Sukapuram, 1987, pp. 65-66.

¹⁶² C.A. Innes and F.B. Evans, *Op. cit.*, p. 41

a mutually beneficial coalition.¹⁶³ The extensive trade relations with Arabs also facilitated the advancement of the indigenous Muslim population and their marital alliances with Arab traders further strengthened this community and enhancing their economic position.

During the medieval period, Calicut attracted Arab, Chinese, and European travellers who extensively documented their observations of the city. These visitors arrived in diverse capacities- as merchants, ambassadors, rulers, pioneers, administrators, scholars, and conquerors. Their travelogues encompassed socio-economic, political, administrative and cultural affairs, while also providing detailed accounts of the region's topography, people, ideas and concepts, trade and exchange and local flora and fauna. By the early 14th century, Calicut had emerged as a central hub in the pepper trade. Certain merchant families dominated trade with the Malabar ports, notably the *Karimi* merchants of Egypt, who specialized in the spice trade. Among the goods exported from Calicut, a fine variety of cotton known as *bukram* was particularly prominent.¹⁶⁴

Building upon Calicut's prominence as a major center of the spice trade, several travel accounts offer valuable insights into its commercial vibrancy. Among these, Ibn Battuta's observations are particularly noteworthy. Ibn Battuta (1342-1347 A D) visited Malabar and Calicut on multiple occasions (1343, 1344 and 1346), referring Malabar as *Mulaybar* and Calicut as *Kalikut*.¹⁶⁵ He noted the presence of merchants from all parts of the world and specifically mentioned a prominent merchant ship owner, who had many ships that were sent to different parts of the sub-continent and also to China and Yemen.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ Roland E. Miller, *Mappila Muslims of Kerala: A study in Islamic Trends*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1976, p. 54.

¹⁶⁴ K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (ed.), *Foreign Notices of South India*, University of Madras, Madras, 1939, p. 84.

¹⁶⁵ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Ibnu Batuta Kanda Keralam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

¹⁶⁶ Mahdhi Hussain (ed.), *Rehla of Ibn Batuta*, University of Baroda, Baroda, 1953, p. 192.

Al Beruni¹⁶⁷ or Abu Raihan (973-1048 AD) similarly noted the presence of merchants from diverse regions in Malabar. He highlighted that shipbuilding and the sale of vessels to foreign traders were seen in Kozhikode and Kollam.¹⁶⁸ He explained that the king of Calicut (Zamorin) paid special attention to the ship building industry and provided all help for traders. Muslims were appointed as representatives of the king to receive merchants.¹⁶⁹

The extensive commercial links of Calicut with China further underscore its prominence in the maritime trade networks of the medieval period. The Calicut port was notably large, capable of accommodating a massive Chinese fleet. Chinese records including the writings of Wang Ta Yuan,¹⁷⁰ Feihsin,¹⁷¹ and Ma Huan,¹⁷² provide detailed insights into this trade, particularly that of pepper trade. The Chinese engaged in bartering and exchanging silk and porcelain for local commodities. They noticed the existence of public godowns in Calicut for storing pepper.¹⁷³ Ma Huan offers an interesting account of the town and port of Calicut, portraying it as a major

¹⁶⁷ Al Beruni or Abu Raihan (973-1048 AD), was a native of Birun. He was well versed in Astronomy, Mathematics, Geography, Religion and Philosophy. He was attached with the court of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (999-1030 CE). He accompanied the Sultan in his Indian campaign. His important work is *Kitab-Al-Hind*, which reveal comprehensive, deep and scientific study of Indian life and thought during 10-11th century.

¹⁶⁸ C. Sachu, *Al-Beruni's India*, Rupa Publications, New Delhi, 2002, p. 85.

¹⁶⁹ A. Shreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1967, p. 34.

¹⁷⁰ Wang Ta Yuan (1330-1349 AD) was the Chinese traveller arrived at Kerala. He was the head of a group of merchants conducted trade between China and foreign countries. His work titled as *Tao- I- Chilio* (Description of the Barbarians of Isles). He has visited all the major trading centre of Kerala, like Kayamkulam, Kozhikode, Ezhimala and Shreekandapuram etc. He described about Calicut.

¹⁷¹ Fei Xian (15th century AD) was a Chinese traveller visited Kerala and his account can be seen in *Sing Cha Sheng Lan* (A Canoe Journey to the Starry Lake). He mentioned about Kochi and Kozhikode in this work. He mentioned about those countries had maritime trade relation with China, its people, custom and culture etc.

¹⁷² Ma Huan (15th century AD) was a Chinese Muslim traveller, who came to India. He also described about Kerala. His accounts about Cochin and Kozhikode are particularly notable. To him Kozhikode is region that stretches from Kochi to Kannur and the Arabian Sea to Western Ghats.

¹⁷³ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Kerala China Bandangal*, Vallathol Vidyapeedam, Sukapuram, 1990.

emporium frequented by merchants from all over the world.¹⁷⁴ Wang Ta Yuan records that goods transacted at the market included rose water, jackfruit, coral, pearl and frankincense. Rice was described as an essential item of import.¹⁷⁵ His account also highlights the Zamorin's active support of foreign trade and traders, providing protection to merchants and their goods. His accounts also describe the escalation in pepper cultivation in the countryside and forests of Calicut. In his accounts, Feihsin describes the trade in spices, silver, gold, blue-and-white porcelain, satin, musk, quicksilver, beads and camphor. Both Wang Ta Yuan and Feihsin have reports on the horse traders of Malabar. Place names and street names in Calicut attest to the historical trade relations with the Chinese. Among the imported items from China, silk was especially valued by the wealthy people, while copper and tin imports influenced the local society.

The travelogues of Abdur Razzak¹⁷⁶ and Nicolo Conti¹⁷⁷ further illuminate the commercial vitality of the Calicut city under the Zamorins, particularly emphasising the prominent role of Muslim merchants. Abdur Razzak highlighted the safety of the port and the trustworthy nature of its inhabitants, especially wealthy Muslim traders. He observed that the people of Calicut were adventurous sailors. He was also amazed by the substantial Muslim population, they constructed large mosques at Calicut with the consent of Zamorin. The Zamorins appointed *khasis* (priests) to these mosques, indicating both administrative oversight and religious accommodation.¹⁷⁸ He also

¹⁷⁴ A. Shreedhara Menon, *Kerala Charitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2007 (1967), p. 38.

¹⁷⁵ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Sanjarikal Kanda Keralam*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2014, pp. 189.

¹⁷⁶ Abdur Razzak (Kamaluddhin Abdur Razak Ibn Ishaq Samarkandi), 15th century, was a Persian historian and scholar. He visited Calicut in 1442 as a representative of Timur's successor, Sultan Shah Rukh. Sultan sent many mournful gift to Zamorin including an Arabian horse. He left his account in his *Muthala- Uzza- Adaini*.

¹⁷⁷ Nicolo Conti (1385-1469) was a Venetian merchant, who visited major ports of Kerala like Kollam and Calicut in 15th century. His account has two parts. The first half included an account of his journey, which is valuable for the precision of its geography. The second part is about India and it divided in to three parts. His account is similar to that of Marco Polo.

¹⁷⁸ R.H. Major, 'Journey of Abdur Razzak', in R.H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Deep Publication, London, 1974, pp. 13-14.

remarked on the absence of pirate attacks on traders and the extensive variety of goods available in the market.

Nicolo Conti was also fascinated by the pepper and ginger trade of Calicut. He was also impressed by the taste of mangoes and jackfruit. He described Calicut as a major commercial center of India, renowned for its maritime trade.¹⁷⁹ He described the city to have reached its peak during his visit, with merchant ships arriving from all parts of the world, carrying fine wares that could be easily sold. He emphasised the efficient administration of justice and organised rescue operations, which allowed the foreign merchants to unload and transport goods from abroad can directly to the market without fear. He noted that the entire responsibility for the market rested with the king, ensuring his oversight over it.¹⁸⁰

Duarte Barbosa¹⁸¹ acknowledged the progress of international trade and shipbuilding in Kozhikode. He listed the goods such as pepper, ginger, cinnamon, cardamom, tamarind, precious stone, pearls, aloes wood, cotton cloths, copper quick silver, coral, velvet, rose water, silver and gold.¹⁸² He was particularly informative about the socio-cultural aspects of the city. Similarly, Ludovico De Varthema¹⁸³ described Calicut as a large city situated near the ocean and also crowded with clean streets, markets, houses of trading communities, Zamorin's palaces, temples, and churches. He was also amazed at the beauty of the city and stated that he

¹⁷⁹ R.H. Major, 'Travels of Nicolo Conti', in R.H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Deep Publication, London, 1974, p. 19.

¹⁸⁰ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Sanjarikalum Charittrakaranmarum*, Published by the Author, Kottayam, 2014, p. 27.

¹⁸¹ Duarte Barbosa was a Portuguese commercial agent who lived in Cochin and Cannanore between 1500- and 1515. According to his contemporaries he was very fluent in Malayalam and his account contains detailed ethnography. His accounts about Kerala can be seen in the work titled as *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*.

¹⁸² Mansel Longworth Dames (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. 111, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1989 (1812), p. 33; Duarte Barbosa, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1866.

¹⁸³ Ludovico De Varthema (1504-1510) was an Italian traveller and writer. He visited the city of Calicut at the dawn of 16th century. The description of Barbosa and him was similar in many respects. Unlike other travellers of that era, he traveling set out with the aim of seeing the countries, not for trade.

had never seen a safer city for merchants than Calicut, where peace and order was strictly enforced. Varthema also highlighted the presence of money changers and brokers, indicating a brisk trade involving foreign people and foreign currencies.¹⁸⁴

Building upon the accounts of foreign travellers, it is evident that the overseas trade of Kozhikode was significantly enabled by the creation of trading diasporas¹⁸⁵ along the Malabar coast. Calicut emerged as the focal point for the development of Islamic diasporas, whose secular activities often positioned them as brokers mediating trade between their host country and merchants from their homelands. Trade in Calicut encompassed a wide variety of goods and extended across a vast region, ranging from China to the Mediterranean.¹⁸⁶ Under the Zamorins, this trade flourished until the arrival of the Portuguese and other European powers. Subsequently, the Mysorean invasions disrupted the Zamorin's authority. The entry of the Portuguese into Malabar, coupled with their atrocities against the Arabs and Muslim traders, compelled many Muslim merchants to leave. Despite initial resistance, these traders ultimately migrated to the interior regions of Eranad. Several new settlements emerged as a result of this migration.

During the war time of Mysorean rule, Tipu Sultan brought most of the regions under his jurisdiction. In 1792 February 23 after the failure of Tipu Sultan, the British and him signed the treaty at Sreerangapatanam. Under the said provision of that treaty, the British got half of the territories under the control of Tipu. The treaty also stipulated a payment of three crore and thirty lakh rupee and unconditional release of prisoners of war by Tipu. According to this treaty, the British got the territories from Tipu including Malabar, which Tipu captured from Zamorin. Later British ceded

¹⁸⁴ George Percy Badger (ed.), *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema*, Deep Publication, London, 1863, pp. 168-70.

¹⁸⁵ *Diasporas* shows that socially interdependent but spatially dispersed communities.

¹⁸⁶ M. Vijayalakshmi, 'Calicut in the International Trade of Medieval World', in *Indian History Congress, 67th Session Souvenir*, Farook College, Calicut, March 10-12, 2007, p. 68; M. Vijayalakshmi, *Trade and Trading Centres in Kerala (A.D 800-1500)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1997.

the Malabar territories under their control to the local kings and lords, who had previously ruled those areas on the condition that pay a fixed land tax.¹⁸⁷

In 1793, based on the treaty by the British commissioner and the king at *kizhakke kovilakam*, the following lands were to be leased out in the name and surety of the Zamorin.

In Kozhikode- Kasaba and Ramanadu

In Kurumbranad - Vadakkamburam and Kizhakkamburam

The Kurumbranad kingdom agreed to cede the following territories to the Zamorin.

In Vettathunad - Ponnani, Cheranad and Vengattakotta

In Chavakkad –Chavakkad, Nedunganad and Karimbuza

In Eranad – Eranad and Malappuram

In Palakkad – Kollangode, Koduvayur and Mangara

Subsequently, the Beppur king, Parappanad king, and the Vettathunad king agreed that the taxes collected from their respective territories would be remitted to the Company through the Zamorin, reflecting both respect for and acknowledgement of the Zamorin's supremacy. It was also recognized that, over these subordinate rulers, the authority to administer justice, as exercised in earlier times, remained vested in the Zamorin.¹⁸⁸ In 1793, the last Vettathunad king died without an heir, resulting in the Company incorporating the property of the royal family into its holdings.¹⁸⁹ The Joint Commissioner¹⁹⁰ prepared a report documenting these territories that had been annexed due to the absence of a legitimate heir.

¹⁸⁷ C.K. Abdul Kareem, *Kerala Under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1968, p. 122.

¹⁸⁸ William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 122.

¹⁸⁹ William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to the British Affairs in Madras*, (2nd edition), Madras, 1984. p. 160.

¹⁹⁰ J. Rejikumar (ed.), *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-1793*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 2010.

Conclusion

Every form of progress in a region is contingent upon the presence of a strong political foundation. The physical geography of a region played a significant role in shaping the formation of the *nadu*. While the geographical boundaries of a region were relatively fixed, political boundaries were subject to change due to factors such as invasions, warfare and marital alliances between royal families. The *nadus* within the Cera kingdom evolved into independent principalities, some of which attained considerable strength after the decline of the Cera state. Consequently, Eranad possessed a robust political base from the period of the *nadudayavars* onwards. Inscriptional evidence further attests to this political foundation. Historically, the *nadus* underwent several stages of development. It has been stated that the *nadus* of Kerala represented territorial divisions and variations in settlement patterns contributed to these distinctions. The formation of *swarupams* constituted a significant shift in the political organisation of *nadus* of Kerala. The Nedyiruppu *swarupam* played a crucial role in the political landscape of Kerala's history. It expanded its territorial authority through the conquest of economically strategic regions. The occupation of such areas enabled the Nedyiruppu *swarupam* to exercise control over the trade and commerce of the region. This political and economic consolidation provided the foundation for the emergence of the Eralanadu chief as the 'Zamorin' of Calicut, who subsequently became a prominent political figure in the context of the significance of the Calicut port and the growing Arab trade along the Kerala coast.

Chapter Four

Social and Cultural Geography

The term culture can be understood as the collective accumulation of knowledge, experiences, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, social hierarchies, religions, perceptions of time, roles, spatial relationship, universe concept and material possessions that a community develops and passes down over generations through both individual and collective efforts. The origin of the word 'culture' comes from the French word 'colere', which means cultivation or nature. It is through arts and symbols, that the early man expressed their ideas before the introduction of language and writing. The historical indication for the settlements of early man can be seen in everywhere in Kerala. The evidences of the settlements of early people are seen in almost all areas of the region under study.

The study of the impact of human culture on the landscape is called cultural geography. The study of the names of places with references to their historical significance and cultural aspects through the centuries forms a part of cultural geography. Names of localities generally have some cultural significance and meaning. The origin of a name is based on several factors such as physical, cultural, ethnographical and religious features.¹ Carl O Sauer (University of California) is considered as the father of cultural Geography. He coined the term 'cultural landscape' to describe how a place was 'fashioned from a natural landscape by a cultural group'.²

Social geography is a field of human geography that focuses on the study of social groups, social structures, and social activities. It was W. Fitzgerald (1946), who defined social geography for the first time. He stated that social geography

¹ G. Pauldurai, 'Cultural Geography of Milalaikkurram', in Dr. S. Aruldoss (ed.), *Indian Historical Studies*, P G and Research Department of History, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Vol. X111 (No. 2) & X1V (No. 1), April & October 2017, p. 66.

² Christopher G. Boone Ali Modarres, *City and Environment*, Pearson, New Delhi, 2007, p. 2.

studied the 'spatial arrangements of social phenomena, which are significant to man', thus nearly equating it with human geography. The concept of 'social geography' itself contains an element of ambiguity. The difference between social and cultural geography is somewhat unclear. Thus, the view that has become widely accepted among geographers is that social geography involves an analysis of social phenomena in relation to spatial patterns.³ The term 'social phenomena' refers to the entire framework of human interaction with the environment, which results in different human groups shaping and expressing social space in varied ways.⁴ Factors like caste, tribe, language or dialect or even religious identity have consistently found expression within a regional or spatial context.

The cultures that existed before the emergence of script, writing and language are generally referred as pre-historic. The pre-historic period in Kerala is divided into three; Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic. This reflects the shift of early humans from hunter gatherers to the advent of agriculture, animal domestication and development of wheel technology. Agriculture and cattle rearing brought a fundamental change in the lives of people. When we analyzed the sites of Eranad, we can state that the evidence of human habitat from the historical times have been found in Nilambur, Karulayi, Karuvarakkund and Pandikkad areas.⁵ The artifacts used in the Paleolithic age are rare in Eranad.

The New Stone Age of Neolithic in human history was far more than a stone age. During this period, people used well-shaped and polished tools of smooth surfaces. In terms of cultural developments, the Neolithic age is markedly distinct and significantly more advanced than the other stone ages. It marked a transition from food gathering to food production, bringing the first major socio-economic transformation. The Neolithic phase is often conceived as a revolution in human

³ Aijazuddin Ahmad, *Social Geography*, Rawat Publications, New Delhi, 2006, p. 21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵ Field visit on 3/6/ 2022.

history.⁶ Thus, Gordon Child called it a 'Neolithic Revolution'.⁷ The earliest kin-based village settlements in Kerala are believed to have begun during Neolithic period.⁸ Various Neolithic artifacts such as blades, beads, stone axes and flakes have been discovered across different parts of south Malabar

The next phase of transformation can be seen in Iron Age or Megalithic period. This culture is characterized by large stone burial structures called 'megaliths'. These megalithic monuments are constituted the most significant archaeological evidence of the Iron Age culture. It is involved the custom of constructing large stone monuments to the dead. But all burials were not megalithic in style. The megalithic tradition seem to have arrived in Kerala around the mid-first millennium B.C and remained widespread until mid-first millennium A.D., lasting roughly ten centuries.⁹ Based on the material evidence and literary traditions of the Iron Age and the early historic period, we can argue that the megaliths of North Kerala represent an advanced and knowledgeable multifaceted society that developed in the background of mixed crop agrarian economy along with internal and external exchanges.¹⁰

The extensive distribution of burial monuments from the Iron Age in Eranad indicates the early settlement formation in the region. It should be noted that historically this region has witnessed a continuous occupation from the early Iron Age to the modern times. Most burials are seen in the midland laterite regions while some are in the highlands. The remains of megalithic people were rarely discovered in

⁶ Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *History of Kerala From Prehistoric to Present*, Orient Black Swan, Telengana, 2020 (2018), p. 35.

⁷ Gordon Childe, *Man Makes Himself*, Aakar Books, New Delhi, 2017, p. 59.

⁸ Rajan Gurukkal and Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*

⁹ K.R. Srinivasan, 'The Megalithic Burials and Urn-Fields of South Indian in the Light of Tamil Literature and Tradition', in *Ancient India*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1952; Gururaja Rao, *Megalithic Culture in South India*, University of Mysore, Prasaranga, 1972, p. 267; Rajan Gurukkal and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ K.P. Rajesh, 'Megaliths of North Kerala: Formation of Technologically Advanced Agro-Pastoral Iron Age and Early Historic Society,' in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology*, 5 (2017), Department of Archaeology, Thiruvananthapuram: 2017, p. 486.

coastal areas. The villages of Eranad have yielded different varieties of megalithic burial monuments.

The finding of diverse types of megalithic remains in the area under study has helped to understand that the whole region was inhabited by people.¹¹ The people of the megalithic age believed in life after death, ancestral worship and hero worship. They buried their dead in mud urns; called as an urn burials (*nannagatis*). They also placed food and other things of the dead in these urns. Such kinds of burial places are found in large parts of Eranad. When compared to other megaliths, the urn burials are more numerous than others in the region under study. The presence of grains, utensils and objects in the sites of Eranad provides insight into the social and cultural life of the people, who once inhabited the area. After the emergence of agriculture, they began to nature worship to seek protection from wild animals and natural disasters. The festivals, traditions and modes of worship followed during the early ages is continued by the present generation. In regions of Eranad the practice of ancestral worship is still prevalent. The worship of these spirits was primarily for the protection of agriculture and cattle, as cattle is essential in the agricultural process.

The post-Chera period witnessed the emergence of *Jatis* due to the development of *nadus*, which resulted in the creation of new castes.¹² The caste system of medieval Kerala is entirely different from other regions.¹³ In Kerala, many castes are found in *nadu*. It shows that the service of various castes was necessary for the existence of a *nadu*.¹⁴

P.K. Balakrishnan studied the caste system of Kerala (*Jathi Vyavasthithiyum Kerala Charithravum*). He gave some insights about the caste system in Kerala. He

¹¹ See Appendix 1 (Map 2)

¹² Mangat John Ebrahim, *Madhya Kerala Charithra Veekshanam*, Jonathan Road, Cochin, 2013, p. 248.

¹³ Somasekharan, *Keralappazhama: Oru Charitra Sanjaram*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2010, p. 86; E.M.S. Namboothirippad, 'Kerala Charitram Jati Vyavasthiyum', in *Samskara Keralam*, April- June, Book 9, Issue. 2, Samskarika Prasadheekarana Vakupp, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p. 4.

¹⁴ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Keraliyatha Charithramanagal*, Vallathol Vidyapeedom, Sukapuram, 2009, p. 146.

opined that caste was regarded as a system of enduring backwardness and initiated a primitive structure in the economy and society of early and early medieval Kerala.¹⁵ Available evidence shows the presence of different communities- comprising of early inhabitants, immigrants and their settlements in Eranad, which can be classified for convenience into five:

1. The Brahmins and other ritual functionaries
2. Intermediaries and other groups
3. Craft, occupational and other service groups
4. Agricultural production groups
5. Other communities

The Brahmins and Other Ritual Functionaries

Many castes can be found in Eranad. Among the groups *Namboothiri Brahmins* were the most prominent caste in Eranad. They asserted that their villages and social customs owe their origin to the legend of *Parasurama*.¹⁶ The Brahmins described in *Keralolpathi* are divided into three; Arya Brahmins, foreign Brahmins and others.¹⁷ We can recognize the fact that Brahmin settlements in Eranad were less than Walluvanad, as the geographical peculiarity of these two *nadus* was entirely different. The midland area in Walluvanad was larger than Eranad.

The customs and practices of Kerala Brahmins were different from the rest of other areas. It is known as 64 *anacharas* or irregular customs. The text *Sankarasmriti* by Sankaracharya is considered as the commandment of the Kerala Brahmins. Several divisions and a hierarchical order existed among the Brahmins in Kerala. They followed the *Makkathayam* system, where typically only the eldest son could enter into a formal marriage with *Namboothiri* woman, while the younger sons were limited

¹⁵ P.K. Balakrishnan, *Jathi Vyavasthithiyum Kerala Charithravum*, Current Books, Trissur, 1983, p. 322.

¹⁶ C.K. Namboothiri, *C K Namboothiriyude Lekhanangal*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2012, p. 43.

¹⁷ Scariya Zachariya (ed.), *Herman Gundert, Kerala Pazhama, Keralolpathi, Ayirathirunooru Pazhanjol*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2016, p. 138.

to forming *sambandham* relationship with women from lower castes in the social hierarchy like *Nairs* and *Ampalavasi* castes. They maintained distance from other social groups, yet readily accepted different kinds of material gain and services from these communities. Their texts prescribed rigid and complicated rules of untouchability and unapproachability, by employing the concept of purity and pollution as tools to establish their power.

Variations exist within the Brahmin communities. Nediyrippu version of *Keralolpathi* divided the Brahmans into three; Foreign Brahmans, Arya Brahmans and others. The division of Brahmans into *Namboothiri*, *Thamprakkal*, *Bhattathiri* and *Empran* existed in Eranad. The Brahmans also include many sub-sects like *Thabrakkal*, *Adhyanmar* and *Bhattathiri* etc. The clear differences were visible in their rituals and customs. Among them, distinctions exist in the study of the *Rigveda* and *Yajurveda*, thus revealing who are eligible for Vedic study and who are not.¹⁸ The rituals and ceremonies associated with birth, naming, marriage and deaths in Brahmin families are astonishingly extensive.

The temples in Kerala exercised a pervasive influence on the society. In medieval Kerala, a new caste group emerged as a result of the proliferation of temples. The castes associated with temple maintenance became a separate group.¹⁹ They were superior to *Sudras*, but inferior to Brahmans. The temple-focused nature of the economy and society contributed to the creation of classes, castes and groups under the institutional guidance and direction of the temple.²⁰ So ritual functionaries were developed in association with temples.

¹⁸ D. Parameswaran Nambuthiri, *Charitrathinte Desavazhi Melattur*, Kerala Sahittya Academy, Trissur, 2012, pp. 130-31.

¹⁹ R. Sonima, *Domination and Degradation: A Study of Social Stratification and Caste Hierarchy in Medieval Kerala (C. 1200-1750 AD)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2021, p. 90.

²⁰ Rajan Gurukkal, *Social Formation in Early South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010, p. 316.

The word *Ambalavasi* shows ‘the dweller in temple’ and is a general term used for all categories of temple attendants in Travancore and Malabar.²¹ They are also called ‘*Ambaladasar*’.²² Their role and practices were most prominent in the temple-centric medieval society. This category comprises the *Pothuval* caste, with its subdivisions both *Akappothuval* and *Purappothuval* and considered other castes like *Pisharakan*, *Pushpakan*, *Pisharoti*, *Chakyar*, *Nangyar*, and *Unithiri* as *Ambalavasis*.²³ Most of the sub-castes are believed to have originated out of the interrelations between the members of the higher and lower classes. They can be broadly categorized in to two groups: those who wear the *punul* (sacred thread) and those who do not.²⁴

Intermediaries and Other Groups

The culture and practices of intermediary groups has been in existence in the medieval period. Various functionaries were developed in connection with the *nadu*. The development of *nadus* created a group of service castes under each *naduvazhi* and *desavazhi*. Most of the *Nair* castes became the service holders under *naduvazhis*. This community represents the second dominant factor in the socio-political realm of medieval Kerala. This group acting as intermediaries in the land system and enjoying noble rank and privileges, while owing loyalty to Brahmin landowners and managed to establish their influence in the temple through its institutional framework, although they had no direct relation with the rituals of functions as such.²⁵

²¹ V. Nagam Ayya, *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. 2, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1989, p. 329.

²² Dr. K. Vidyasagar, *Nammude Nattarivukalum Pazhanjollukalum Kadangathakalum: Nammude Samuham*, Vol. 11, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011, p. 549.

²³ Scaria Zachariya, *Op. cit.*, p. 139.

²⁴ Dr. Nellikkal Muraleedharan, *Kerala Jathi Vivaranam*, Rainbow Publishers, Chengannur, 2008, p. 29.

²⁵ Rajan Gurukkal, *The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1992, p. 57.

It is argued that the term *Nayar* is derived from *Patanayar*.²⁶ While analyzing about *Nair* caste it is evident that variations exist in the positions among *Nairs*.²⁷ According to M.G.S. Narayanan, it was a by-product of the Brahmin settlements. It consisted of individuals drawn from the indigenous tribes to serve in the military service during the Chera period and like other hereditary offices, this also gave birth to a new sub-caste.²⁸ Variations also exist in the positions among *Nayars*.²⁹ Fawcett stated that in South Malabar, the highest rank among *Nair* is referred as *Kiriyar* or *Kiriyathil*.³⁰ Edgar Thurston observed that the *Nairs* were primarily engaged in military activities and functioned as a military caste.³¹ William Logan conferred eighteen subdivisions of *Nairs*. He opined that the *Nairs* follow the *Marumakkathayam* system of inheritance.³² Their service to the higher caste was regarded as essential for the social structure.

Veluthedan and *Vannan* castes are washer men. They found in every *desam* as their service is desired for all rituals.³³ M.R. Raghava Varrier argued that *Veluthedan* is reflected as the washer men of higher castes and *Vannan* of lower castes.³⁴ The cloth washed by the *Vannan* was called *vannathan mattu*. It was used for ceremonies. The women in the higher caste especially in the *Nair* community after their menstruation

²⁶ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalakkal*, Department of Cultural Publication, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997 (1990), p. 153.

²⁷ C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

²⁸ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy Political and Social Conditions of Kerala Under the Chera Perumals of Makotai (C AD 800 – AD 1124)*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013 (1996), p. 274.

²⁹ C.A. Innes, *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

³⁰ F. Fawcett, *Nayars of Malabar*, Vol. 111, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1985 (1915), p. 187.

³¹ Edgar Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1975, p. 424.

³² William Logan, *Op. cit.*, p. 161.

³³ Raghavan Payyanad, *Vadakkanpattu Padanangal*, Center for Folklore Studies, University of Calicut, 2000, p. 22.

³⁴ M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Keraliyatha Charithramanangal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 2009 (1990), p. 150.

would wear the *mattu* washed by *Mannathi* or *Vannathi* (the women folk of *Vannan* caste).

Tiyyas were a prominent caste of South Malabar in the medieval period. *Thiyyas* followed *Marumakkathayam* in the northern region and *Makkathayam* in the southern region. Their traditional occupation involved climbing trees, plucking coconuts and engaging in toddy tapping. The *Tiyyas* who are found in the Eranad and Walluvanad areas regard themselves as a distinct caste. The word *Thandan* is essentially a title used for the headmen of the local caste groups among *Tiyyas* and *Kammalas*, who are responsible for specified functions during marriages and other ceremonies.³⁵ The *naduvazhis* of coastal areas in Eranad give more importance to *Ezhavas* than the *Nairs*.³⁶

Craft and Other Occupational Groups

A large number of occupations and craft groups were developed in correlation with agricultural production. People who worked as smiths and artisans are generally called as *Kammalas*.³⁷ The origin of *Kammalas* is not traceable. The common belief is that *Kammalas* existed in Kerala from the Iron Age onwards. The megalithic folk typically utilized the local raw materials and traditional techniques for Iron smelting. The development of Iron technology facilitated the growth of artisan communities in Kerala.

Keralolpathi mentions the *Kammalas* as belonging to the lower castes who are five in number.³⁸ The wide distribution of megalithic monuments and availability of Iron in Eranad show the presence of *Kammala* groups from the early period onwards. According to Kanippayyur Sankaran *Nambudiripad*, these artisanal groups were

³⁵ Interview with Chozhi, a *Tiyya* caste man worked as climber in coconut trees.

³⁶ N.R. Krishnan, *Ezhavar Annum Innum*, Seena Publishing, Engandiyur, 1967.

³⁷ M.A. Sherring, *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*, Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1975, p. 119.

³⁸ Velayudhan Panikkassery, *Op. cit.*, p. 61.

brought by the Aryans when they migrated to Kerala.³⁹ Francis Buchanan⁴⁰ who visited Malabar enlightens us of the availability of Iron in Malabar. He stated that Iron is available in all the hills of Malabar.⁴¹ The place names in Eranad like Karuvarakkundu, Irumbuzhi, Irimbilyam, Arakka Paramb, Areekkundu and Irumbothungal at Vallikkunn etc. and field names like Aalathodi and Alapparambu and mountains like Cheriya Uthalakunnu, Valiyauthala Kunnu, Areekunnu, Arimadakunnu, Narikunnu and Keedakunnu etc. and streams (*thode*) like Areechola, Arimanal Chola, Arimanal and Areekkundu indicates the presence of Iron in Eranad.⁴² It is stated that the ore workers (*ayiru panikkar*) had the family name 'Aripanikkar' existed in the Karuvarakundu area of Eranad.⁴³

Kammalas are generally worked as service groups for settlements, temples and royal functionaries. Their association with the temple and royalty gave them certain privileges such as titles and names; on the other hand they were still considered to be an inferior caste.⁴⁴ Certain field names like *Kollamkandiparambu*, *Perumkollan Thodikaparambu*, *Parayarakandi*, *Asarithodi*, *Thattankandi*, *Parayankuzhi*, *Aasharikandi Parambu*, *Kaliya Parambu*, *Asari Thodika Parambu*, *Chala Kandi Parambu*, *Chakkala Kandi* and *Thattalakandi*⁴⁵ etc. are indicative of the existence of occupational groups in Eranad. The Veera Raghava Copperplate of 1225 A D

³⁹ Kanippayyur Sankaran Nambudiripad, *Aryanmarude Kudiyettam Keralathil*, Panchangam Pusthakasala, Kunnankulam, 2014 (1966).

⁴⁰ Francis Buchanan, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries for Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, Reprint, 1988 (1807). He was the British East India Company's surgeon and was appointed to survey the Southern India. He began route surveys of the country spanning Mysore, Canara and Malabar. His work in three volumes is a scientific and ethnographic study of southern India just after the death of Tipu Sultan. It was published in 1807.

⁴¹ V.H. Dhirar, 'Malabarile Uthalakal', in N.M. Namboothiri and P.K. Sivadas (eds.), *Kerala Charithrathinte Nattuvazhikal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011, p. 499.

⁴² V.H. Dhirar, 'Nattariv Malabarile Uthalakal', in K.T. Ram Mohan (ed.), *Kerala Patanagal*, Chithira Publishers, Kochi, 1994, p. 55: Field visits by present researcher.

⁴³ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Karuvarakund Panjayath, p. 16; Field visits by present researcher.

⁴⁴ V. Simi, 'Aalayum Paniyayudhangalum', in K.P. Dileep Kumar (ed.), *Nattarivukal Nadodikaivela*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 31.

⁴⁵ Settlement Register of Eranad *Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut.

mentioned that while granting some rights and privileges to the leader of the *Manigrama* guild, the *Ainkammalas* were also transferred along with the land. These land grants indicate that when making a new settlement, the basic occupational groups are also transferred.⁴⁶

The presence of Iron ore deposits is the main reason behind the formation and explosion of *Perumkollas* in Eranad. The initial settlements of the *Perumkollas* were primarily located in the resource-rich regions. The availability of Iron ore deposits in this area is considered to be the main motive for the migration and concentration of *Perumkollas* to Malabar. Alinkur, Chankara, Oruvloor, Mangeri and Trikkalangode were the Iron smelting sites of *Perumkollas* in Eranad. The land names like *Perumkollan Kudiyirikunna Parambu*, *Perumkollan Thodikaparambu*, *Perumkollankudyparambu* and *Perumkollanparambu* etc. indicates the presence of *Perumkollas*.⁴⁷

Iron furnaces were commonly known as *Uthalas*.⁴⁸ *Uthalas* existed in various parts of Eranad. Francis Buchanan furnished a description of the Iron-making places in Malabar.⁴⁹ He explains the existence of *Uthalas* in Valacheri and Karuvarakkundu in Eranad. *Ayirumadas* or Iron mining sites existed in different parts of Eranad.

Table 7
List of Iron Ores in Eranad

| Places | Iron Ores |
|-------------|---------------------|
| Akkaparamab | Haematite in quarts |
| Melattur | Mines abandoned |
| Nemmini | Magnate |
| Pandikkad | Magnate |
| Porur | Magnate |

⁴⁶ Puthussery Ramachandran, *Kerala Charithrathile Adisthana Rekhakal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011, p. 12.

⁴⁷ Field visits by present researcher.

⁴⁸ V.H. Dhirar, *Uthala*, Samskrithi Publications, Kozhikode, 2011.

⁴⁹ Francis Buchanan, *Op. cit.*

| Places | Iron Ores |
|---------------|----------------------|
| Thachanparamb | Magnate and Hematite |
| Velathur | Mines abandoned |
| Korattimala | Magnate |
| Punnappala | Minerals |
| Elankur | Minerals |
| Wandur | Minerals |
| Ayinikkode | Minerals |
| Kodasseri | Minerals |
| Vettikkattiri | Magnetite quartzite |
| Nallur | Minerals |
| Manakkad | Minerals |
| Vilayil | Minerals |

Sources: C.K. Kareem (ed.), *Kerala District Gazetteer Malappuram*, Sate Editor, Kerala Gazetteer, Government of Kerala Trivandrum, 1986; Ajesh A. M, *Artisan Communities in Modern Malabar A Case of Perumkollas*, Un Published Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Sree Sankaracharya University of Sanskrit, 2016, pp. 129-30, 131; Lahiri Tapes Chaudra, *A Note on the Preliminary Examination of Iron Ore Rocks in Korattimala and Adjoining Areas*, Malappuram District, Kerala, 1972, pp. 2-3; *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha; Settlement Register of Eranad Taluk*, Regional Archives, Calicut: Field Visits by Present Researcher.

The *Chaliyas (Chaliyanmar)* were another important group existed in Eranad as a part of migration. Their traditional livelihood was weaving. It is stated that they were come from the Coromandel. The areas where they inhabited were known as *Chaliyateruvu* or street of *Chaliyas*. The term *Chaliyar* was derived from the term '*chela neyyunnavar*'. They belonged to the lower caste *Nair* community and *Ganapati* was their tutelary God. Today *Chaliyas* belong to the backward class and have many names like *Chaliyathu Nair*, *Kaikkolan*, *Patyaran* and *Theruvan* etc. The place name *Chaliyam* shows the presence of the *Chaliya* community in Eranad.⁵⁰

The *Kumbaranmar* or *Kusavas* were also another occupational community in Eranad. They were potters. There were four classes among them; called as *naalu illakkar* such as *Patta*, *Shailavan*, *Savidri* and *Pulinthalam*. *Mariyamma* was their

⁵⁰ Muhammed Saddham, *Chaliyathinte Charitra Chalanagal*, Published by Author, Chemmad, 2013, p. 14.

tutelary God. It is stated that they migrated from the Andra. Their settling areas were called as Koshorangadi and *Kumbara* colony.⁵¹ The place names in Eranad bear resemblance to their area of settlement. For instance, the Koshorangadi at Chirakkam Kunnu near Ramanttukara and the *Kumbara* colony at Areakode in Eranad was the finest example for it.

Proverbs functioned as a medium to transmit life experiences; many of them make references to farming and agriculture. The occupational and craft groups like *Ashari, Musari, Thattan, Kollan, Chaliyan, Kshurakan, Veluthedan, Vannan, Velan* and *Panan* etc. and their labour is also depicted in proverbs. For example, '*ariyum thinn asarichiyeyum kadich pinnem naya munnett*'. This proverb provides indication of the existence of a caste called *asari* (carpenter). Similarly other examples are: *asarikk adyavum odukkavum kayyil kuthal thane, valavillatha kasavilla, njelivillatha asariyilla, alakkozhinjitt kasikk pokan kazhiyilla, onamadutha chaliyane pole, adikollan chenda, panam vangan marar* and *nangyarude thaklakottu pole* etc.⁵²

Agricultural Production Groups

The culture of the actual tillers of the land was entirely different from other sections of society. The male and females of the *Adiyala* communities such as *Pulayar* and *Parayar* were involved in the production process.⁵³ The *Kanakkar* and *Cheruman*⁵⁴ were also included in this category. They constituted the downtrodden classes in the society, primarily engaged in the production process. M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri presents the word '*pulam*' as an agricultural field and '*pulayar*' as those

⁵¹ Dr. Gopi Puthkkode (ed.), *Ramanattukara Charitram Varthamanavum*, Kerala Book Stall, Kozhikode, 2019, pp. 160-61.

⁵² M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Ammavazhikeralam*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2006, pp. 23-24.

⁵³ K.K. Koch, *Kerala Charitram Samuha Rupeekaranavum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012, p. 299.

⁵⁴ V.R.R. Dikshitar, 'Some Hill Tribes of Malabar', in P. K. Narayanan Pillai (ed.), *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Department of History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1955, pp. 129-132.

who owned this *pulam* in ancient times.⁵⁵ The settlement units of the *Pulayas* were known as *kuti* and their dwellings as *chala*. The tillers, commonly called *adima*, were active workers of the land and were usually transferred along with the cultivable land. The productive lands were transferred along with the production forces. The *sudramaryadai* that appeared in *Keralolpathi granthavari* mentioned about the right and control over the production group by the Brahmins and ruling class. Thus, their culture was closely linked with the production process.

Kanakkan and *Cheruman* communities existed throughout Kerala with regional variations of titles and culture. They were divided into many clans and marriage relations within the clan were restricted.⁵⁶ They had a *kuladaiva* (deity) and it may be *Muthappan* and *Bhagirathi*. They also made offerings of toddy and meat to their deity. This ritual is called *kuliyam kodukkal* or *koduthi*.⁵⁷ Their cultural legacy, rituals and traditions were similar to the other backward castes of Kerala. The cultural tradition of this community was quite different from mainstream Hindu culture.⁵⁸

The most important cultural contribution of the *Kanakkan* community in Eranad is their tradition of funeral songs. It is called as *Pampadipattu*. It reflects the entire social condition from a *Dalit* perspective. It is passed orally from one generation to another. It includes hundreds of songs with stories and sub-stories.⁵⁹ The main theme of these songs is the salvation of the soul. Most of the stories in the songs reflect the subordination and the pitiable condition of the caste system. Some songs narrate that they were the owners of the land, but the lord (*tamburan*) or *jenmi* cheated them out of their inheritance. Historically these songs are very important. It is a lengthy

⁵⁵ M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri, *Folklore Nikandu*, Kerala Bhasa Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010, p. 98.

⁵⁶ Edgar Thurston, Vol. 111, *Op. cit.*, pp. 150.

⁵⁷ Interview with Narayani and Cheriyan, belonged to *Kanakkan* community, natives in Kizhisseri,

⁵⁸ K.S. Singh, *The Scheduled Castes*, Vol. 11, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995, p. 670.

⁵⁹ Balasubrahmanian Uruniyankuth, 'Pampadipattu- A Study of Funeral Songs of *Kanakkan* Community of Malappuram District', in N. Gopakumaran Nair (ed.), *Re-Imagining Histories: Selected Papers From Kerala History Congress*, Current Books, Trissur, 2019, p. 392.

ritual widespread in the *Dalit* community of Kerala, and it still continues in rural areas. It deeply reflects the cultural and historical condition of that community since time immemorial.⁶⁰

The funerary ceremony starts after the burial of the dead body. *Pampadipattu* is a three-day ceremony that starts from the fourteenth day of death of a person. *Pampadi* is a separate section within the community. *Pamapadipattu* is a prayer before God for the salvation of the soul. The performance of it is aimed to lift the soul to his *kuladaiva* and ancestors, who have already passed on. Every song begins with the name of God as *udayone thamburane*. It is performed within a room and the head singer is supported by a group of people which includes the relatives of the dead. The main singer who performs the *Pamabadipattu* is called *pambadi* and his assistant is known as *karamma*.⁶¹ The actual tillers like *Cherumakkal* and others were known by the surname of such *Namboothiri* and *Nair janmi* families in Eranad. For example, *Kozhisseri Cherumakkal* and *Paruthani Cherumakkal*.⁶²

The interdependence and interconnections among the various communities are the main features of the cultural system of Kerala. Different castes lived together in society. However, Eranad was not an exceptional case to the concept of pollution that separates caste. Thus, the beliefs of untouchability, unapproachability and un-

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 393.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 394-96.

See example,

“udayone thamburane
Thattu muttu muttunnude
Poyamgane chennutha
Nilakondu nilkunnatha
Chirikonu pengammare

Nigala kettolundu
Pathinenchu vechu koduthittu
Angane kananullu
Ketti ketti ponunnatha
.....
.....”

⁶² D. Parameswaran Nambuthiri, *Op. cit.*, p. 131.

seeability prohibited free mingling and made barriers between the castes.⁶³ It is noted that the position of all people belonging to a caste is not the same, as privileged groups exist within all castes. Despite this, each caste is dependent on the other for survival. Therefore, these castes co-existed in the medieval period with many rules and regulations that formed the part of public sphere.

The *Namboothiris* made *sambandham* relation with *Nairs*, which enriched the position of *Nairs* in society. They functioned as the owners of large tracts of land and became *Karalar*.⁶⁴ *Nairs* assumed the status of the *Sudras* in the text of *Keralolpathi*. But it was this group that achieved the status of the *Kshatriyas* in medieval Kerala. There is a clear indication of improvement of their social status as a result of the association and coalition with the chiefs, who controlled political power. When compare to Walluvanad, the settlements of Brahmin *gramas* were less in Eranad. Yet Eranad was not free from the influence of the Brahmin culture.

Hence, we can say that concepts like pure, impure, untouchability and unapproachability help us to recognize the position of various castes. There are different kinds of pollution in the caste system. Pollution by touch (untouchability), pollution by approach (unapproachability) and ceremonial pollution etc. Every caste considers the touch of the lower caste to be impure, one which pollutes them. A *Namboothiri* is polluted by the touch of anyone below him on the social scale.⁶⁵ Brahmins thus exercised distance between them and different castes for approachability, usually measured in feet. For example, *Kammalas*, *Ezhavas* and *Panas* 24 feet, *Valans* and *Arayans* 32 feet, *Kanakkans* and *Kutans* 48 feet, *Cherumans* 64 feet, *Parayans*, *Nayadis* and the hill tribes 72 feet. *Nair* was not allowed to approach nearer than six paces to a *Namboothiri*, and a man from barber caste not

⁶³ P. Baskaranunni, *Pathonbatham Nuttandile Keralam*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2012 (1988), p. 28.

⁶⁴ Personal Interview with Krishnan *Nair* native in Pulpatta.

⁶⁵ Personal Interview with Vasudevan *Nambudiri*, native in Karikkad and a member of *Vilakkatt illom*.

nearer than 12 paces, a goldsmith or a blacksmith 24, a *Tiyya* 36 feet, a *Malaya* 64 and a *Pulaya* 96 paces.⁶⁶

Other Communities

The Muslims of this area generally believe that their religion came to Kerala in a period as early as that of Prophet Muhammad, i.e. 7th century AD.⁶⁷ There is historical evidence to mark the presence of the Muslim community in Kerala from the 9th century onwards. There is a reference to Muslims in the *Tarissappalli* copper plate (A D 849).⁶⁸ Islam reached Kerala through missionaries and traders by sea route and not through invaders.⁶⁹ The Arabs married native women and their progeny's generations along with religious converts- mainly from lower caste agricultural labourers- formed the Muslim community in Kerala. The main motive behind the conversion to Islam was to resist the caste discrimination that existed in the region.⁷⁰

Rolland E. Miller pointed out that the religious identity of *Mappilas* followed a peculiar mix of the indigenous and pan-Islamic. Their faith remains strictly within the frame work of Islam: although they inherit two different traditions; an Islamic and

⁶⁶ Fred Fawcett, *Namboothiris*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001, p. 96.

⁶⁷ M.C. Abdul Nasar, 'Kondotiyude Natu Charitram', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 121.

⁶⁸ M.R. Raghava Varrier and Kesavan Veluthat, *Tharissappalli Pattayam*, Sahitya Pravarthaka Co- Operative Society, Kozhikode, 2015.

⁶⁹ Dr. K.A. Jaleel, 'Islam in Kerala', in Dr. E.P. Antony and Prof. P.A. Ibrahim Kutty (eds.), *Kerala History Association- Diamond Jubilee Souvenir*, Ernakulum, 2017, p. 30; P.K. Muhammed Kunji, *Mappilamarum Keralavum*, Institute of Mappila Studies, Trissur, 1954, pp. 56-63; A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, 'Genesis and Spread of Islam', in *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. 111, September to December, Parts 111 & 1V, Department of History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1976, pp. 479-89; A.P. Ibrahim Kunju, 'Origin and Spread of Islam in Kerala', in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*, Ajanta Publishers, New Delhi, 1955, p. 17; Prof. Koduvalli Abdul Qadar, *Kerala Muslimkalude Ulpathi*, Sunni Publication Centre, Thirurangadi, 1987; S.M. Muhammed Koya, *Mappilas of Malabar*, Sandhya Publications, Calicut University, 1983.

⁷⁰ Dr. M.N. Karasseri, 'Mappilappattu', in *Indian History Congress 67th Session Souvenir*, 2007 March 10-12, Farook College, Calicut, 2011. p. 38.

a local one.⁷¹ Kerala Muslims have a written dialect called Arabic-Malayalam⁷² (it is a form of writing Malayalam in modified Arabic script to suit the Malayalam alphabet). It was through their literary works, i.e. *Mappila* literature that the Muslims began to inscribe their identity in Kerala history. The *Mappila* community of Kerala represents cultural hybridity, blending regional and Arab influences. While their religion is predominantly Islamic, *Mappila* Muslims inherit and embody two main traditions; Islam and cultural heritage of Kerala.⁷³

Mappilapattus (*Mappila* songs) is a term to denote the literacy song tradition of Kerala Muslims or the poetic composition of Arabic-Malayalam literature. Along with written tradition it has a parallel vocal tradition too.⁷⁴ Generally these songs include the hymns enclose the holy figures, martial songs, moral lessons, songs of praise to God, historical documents of holy events, epistolary verses, love lyrics and wedding songs.⁷⁵ It also consists of hymns of the Prophet Muhammed or life of any Sufi saint.⁷⁶ *Malappattus* is a distinctive form of religious folk art that is prevalent among the Muslims of Malabar.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷² M.N. Karasseri, 'Arabic-Malayalam', in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*, Ajanta Publishers, New Delhi, 1955, p. 168.

⁷³ M.H. Illias and Shamsad Hussain, *Arabi –Malayalam: Linguistic Traditions of Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 2017, p. 8.

⁷⁴ Dr. M. N. Karasseri, *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ Dr. M.N. Karasseri, 'Mappilappatt', in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997, p. 46.

Many art forms⁷⁷ such as *Vattapatt*, *Duffmutt*,⁷⁸ *Kolkkali*,⁷⁹ *Arabanamutt*⁸⁰ *Kaimuttikali*, *Parijamuttikali*, *Oppana*⁸¹ and *Nercca*⁸² exist, which are performed during the wedding occasions among Muslims of Malabar. A number of women's *Oppana* groups were also present in Eranad.⁸³ It shows that a cultural environment is embedded here that had a different approach to arts and artists. *Kuthuratheeb* is a ceremonial art among Muslims of Malabar. It also existed in Eranad.⁸⁴ The Arabic word '*ratheeb*' means 'to do regularly'. It consists the praises to Allah and verses to the pious soul. As part of the ritual, believers pierce the body with a weapon; so, it is also called *vettum kuthum ratheeb*. This is a vow (*nercha*) made in houses.⁸⁵

They used a language popularly called as *Eranadan Mappila* language (*bhasa*). *Mappila* idioms are widely found in the language used by the *Harijans* (lower caste people). For example, customary idioms like *poongol*, *padikkal* and *kudinjil* etc. were popular among the *Harijan* community in Eranad. The Persian words like *kubbah*, *nagama* and *cheerani* are unique to them and also noteworthy. The word '*sheerani*' indicates the bakery sweets and this word is still used by the old people of Eranad.⁸⁶ Many mosques and Muslim cultural centres exist in Eranad. The mosque at

⁷⁷ Jobi Joy Kuryan and Sheeja Arun (eds.), *Keralathile Kalakal*, Evergreen Books, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-03.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-94; Dr. K. M. Bharathan, *Nattusamskrithiyude Nadavazhikal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015, pp. 114-128.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-07.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 95-99; N. Kathirikkoya, 'Oppana', in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997, pp. 175-83; P.K. Muhammed Kunji, *Muslimeengalum Kerala Samkaravum*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2008, p. 240.

⁸² Stephan F. Dale and M. Gangadhara Menon, 'Nercca: Saint-Martyr Worship among the Muslims of Kerala', in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*, Ajanta Publishers, New Delhi, 1955, p. 174; Prof. B. Muhammed Ahammed, *Mappila Folklore*, Samayam Publications, Kannur, 2009, pp. 145-155.

⁸³ Personal Interview with Ayisha Kutty, Native in Kondoty.

⁸⁴ Interview with Muhammed Master, Native in Pookottur.

⁸⁵ Dr. Sasidharan Clari, *Op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

⁸⁶ Interview with Pokker Haji, Native of Kondotty; N.K.E. Latheef, *Mappila Shaili*, Vachanam Books, Kozhikode, 2010; Dr. M.N. Karassei, 'Mappila Chollukal', in E.C.

Melakkam was one among them. In the later period, Kondotty, Trippanachi and Mamburam became the Muslim pilgrim centres of Eranad.

With the arrival of Europeans, the *Mappilas*, who had been partners in Arab trade, came to be viewed as adversaries. As a result, many *Mappilas* who were already involved in port activities may have been compelled to move inland in search of other means of livelihood. What is important in this context is the fact that by about the 20th century, the *Mappila* community had largely shifted to rural population. In contrast to the coastal *Mappilas*, who involved in trade, the *Mappilas* living in interior regions were mainly tenant cultivators, landless labourers and small-scale traders.

The field observation across various parts of the Eranad exposed the presence of vast megalithic monuments of different types. It provided significant insight in to the **early inhabitants** and their settlements. Megalithic remains are significant relics that provide valuable insight in to the early human settlements of the area. The discovery of Iron implements and farming tools at these sites indicates their link to Iron-using communities and the spread of agriculture. The agricultural growth led to the rise of numerous settlements.

The archaeological remains help to trace out the ethno-history of the early inhabitants of the area.⁸⁷ An ethno-history is an interdisciplinary method that combines the theories and techniques of history and anthropology to explore the past and present of a community, particularly those without a written tradition.⁸⁸ The tribes in Eranad are mainly found in Nilambur valley. The major tribes in the region are *Cholanaicken*, *Aranadan*, *Malamuthan*, *Kattunayakan*, *Kuruman* and *Malapanickan* etc. It is found that all the tribes in the region observed to share a certain level of

Haskkarali (ed.), *Mappila Vasantham: Charitram Varthamanavam*, Sullamussalam Science College, Areakode, 2012, pp. 26-36.

⁸⁷ Manoj Mathirappalli, *Keralathile Aadivasikal Kalayum Samskaravum*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2013.

⁸⁸ Fukker Ali C.A, 'Ethno-Historic Implications of the Archeological Remains in Eranad', in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman (ed.), *Journal of South Indian History*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, Vol. 5, Issue 2, May 2019, p. 107.

similarity.⁸⁹ They lack a uniform cultural pattern in every aspects of their lives. The essential factor that defines the cultural uniqueness of each tribe in the region is the area of habitation. In the Nilambur area, a collection of Palaeolithic tools made in water-worn quartz pebbles was found. These include, chopping tools, choppers, points, awls, scrapers, stone strikers, flakes and cores. The artefacts of Mesolithic were also found from these sites. The early tribes who utilized these stone tools were nomadic food gatherers, constantly moving in search of sustenance.

Archaeological remains of the Palaeolithic period and the megalithic age from various parts of Eranad shows the habitation of the early people in the area from the pre-historic period itself and we can say that the tribes of here today are the progenies of early populations of the land, who were excommunicated in some historical element. Once they were the owners of the land. Later they were incarcerated and some of them flee into the depth of the forests. Those who sought refuge in remote regions continued to preserve certain aspects of their traditions over the ages. The descendants of these group live in the hills and forests and they are known as *adivasi* (a term derived from *adi* means early and *vasi* means inhabitants).⁹⁰ The cultural practices and life style of certain tribal communities in Eranad are resemble those of early humans in the primitive stages of history.⁹¹

So, we can say that the megalithic monuments excavated from various parts of the Eranad are mostly in plains rather than hilly tract and that also support their habitation in the plains. This is the natural phenomena that when the new comers dominated and established their power over the plains, the original inhabitants were either displaced or enslaved and eventually compelled to submit to the authority of the dominant groups. Later the process of economic marginalization and cultural isolation began.

⁸⁹ Dr. Seeliya Thomas P, *Keralathile Adivasi Kalaparambaryam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011; Field visits by present researcher.

⁹⁰ Dr. Seeliya Thomas Perumbanani, *Keralathile Adivasikalude Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2005.

⁹¹ Fukker Ali C.A, *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

The *Cholanaickens* is most definitively primitive tribal community in Kerala.⁹² They are known as ‘cave men of Kerala’. The *Cholanaickens* inhabited in the evergreen recess of the forest of the Ghat section of the Nilambur valley, Eranad. They are also found in the Karulayi and Chungathara ranges.⁹³ They lead a nomadic life in the forests. They subsist on food gathering, hunting and collection of minor forest produces. They lived in rock shelters or caves (*alai* or *kallu alai*) or in open camps where they built temporary leaf shelters (*mana*).⁹⁴ Their *alais* are dispersed in accessible thick forest on the shores of rivers or streams. They have deep attachment with their respective territories. *Makkibar aala, cherala, marala, poochala, poochila, manjala* and *ayyanala* etc. are the important *alas* of them.⁹⁵

The *Cholanaickens* worshipped number of Gods and Goddesses. Among them important one was *maladaivam*, who is believed to be omnipresent and omnipotent. They were the followers of endogamy.⁹⁶ Polygyny and polyandry are prohibited for them. They believed in the life after death and buried their dead body in the *alai*. They have permanent funeral grounds. The personal belongings such as digging stick, knife, cooking vessel, pots, axes and rings.⁹⁷ They have no cordial or regular relationship with outside people. Mostly they tried to keep a distance.

Art is a very important aspect in tribal societies. It may be generally understood that the artistic expression of tribal groups is based on their way of life

⁹² T. Madhava Menon (ed.), *A Hand Book of Kerala*, International School of Dravidian Linguistic, Thiruvananthapuram, 2000, p. 682.

⁹³ C.A. Fukkar Ali, *Ethno History of Tribes in Malappuram District*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2009, pp. 71-72.

⁹⁴ *Action Plan for Cholanaicken Development IX Plan*, Kerala Institute for Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Tribes (KIRTADS), Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 1998, p. 1.

⁹⁵ Sathesh Chalippadam, ‘Ala- Cholanaikar/ Muthanmar’, in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keraleeyathayude Nattariv –5 Nattarivile Penn*, May – July 1997, Kanimangalam, Trissur, May – July 1997, p. 212.

⁹⁶ P.R.G. Mathur, *Tribal Situation in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁷ Ajith Kumar, ‘An Ethno- Archaeological Appraisal of Cholanaickens at Nilambur’, in M.R. Manmathan (ed.), *Archaeology in Kerala Past and Present*, Publication division, Farook College, Calicut, 2007, p. 84.

and their inter-connectedness with nature. Tribal communities generally give more importance to songs.⁹⁸ They had various songs such as divine songs, context songs and funny songs etc. They did not give much preference to dance.⁹⁹ Songs are sung among them to bring rain and control the rain.¹⁰⁰ The example of their song as follows:-

*“Ebarishal rongi rong
Thodnna kata mudikka gama
Barishal rongi rongi
Kodammakath mudikkagama*

*Kaluppath kaluppath kolidiya
Thakatha chemmeen thalamuriya
Thakatha thalappath kolidiya
Muttem kudubarathath barathath “¹⁰¹*

They play musical instruments called *kumme* to please their *maladaivam*.¹⁰² Among the *Cholanaickens*, children are introduced to nature and their culture can understand through the songs of elders sung during the child’s formative years. Their art and culture, which includes nature are the contributions of past generation.¹⁰³

The **Aranadan** is the smallest tribal community in Eranad. They are locally identified as *Eranadan*.¹⁰⁴ They are mainly located in the Kalikavu, Karulai, Chokkad

⁹⁸ Interview with Neelakandan and Kumari, Member of Cholar Colony in Nilambur.

⁹⁹ K.S. Kumar Pradeep (ed.), *Keralathile Gotra Kalakal* (Mal.), KIRTADS, Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 2020, p. 65.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁰¹ Shreenarayanan Mavur, *Cholanaikkarum Kakkapukkalum*, Current Books, Kottayam, 1992, p. 39.

¹⁰² Sathesh Chalippadam, ‘Cholanaikkante Kaivelakal’, in K.P. Dileep Kumar (ed.), *Nattarivukal Nadodikkaivela* (Mal.), D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 30.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁰⁴ J.V. Vilanilam, Antony Palackal and Sunny Luke (eds.), *Introduction to Kerala Studies*, Vol. 1, International Institute for Scientific and Academic Collaboration, USA, 2012, P. 283.

and Amarambalam *Panchayth* of Nilambur *taluk*.¹⁰⁵ *Aranadans* reside in isolated areas. According to A. A. D. Luiz *Aranadans* are highly primitive and exhibit several fascinating characteristics typical of early aboriginal groups. Men and women are of varying height and are seen in scanty and dirty cloths.¹⁰⁶ They were the victims of severe caste oppression.

It is stated that the name *Aranadan* is thought to have originated from their life pattern of spending part of their time in jungle. Very little is known about their origin. S. S. Sastri opined the possibility is that they are an early uncivilized Dravidian group with Negrito traits, who came to Kerala several centuries ago from the northern states.¹⁰⁷ Luiz identifies a place called Aranadakulam as their ancestral homeland.¹⁰⁸ But nobody knows where Aranadakulam is located. The term 'Aranadapadam' indicates 'field of Aranadan' (*padam* translating as 'field'). In the 1901 census, the *Aranadans* were classified as a 'hill tribes of Malabar.'¹⁰⁹ Thurston described them as 'a small jungle tribe found exclusively in Malabar.'¹¹⁰

They are primitive hunters and food gatherers. Natural resources serve as their primary source of livelihood. Most are involved in bamboo cutting and gathering forest products, while few engaged in agriculture and cattle rearing. They are also hunters used bows and arrows.¹¹¹ They have different life cycle ceremonies related to the times of pregnancy, delivery, naming, adolescence, wedding and death. These ceremonies are socially recognized and accepted.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ P.K. Sukumaran Nair (ed.), *Scheduled Tribes of Kerala at Glance*, KIRTADS, Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 2003, p. 11.

¹⁰⁶ A. A. D. Luiz, *Tribes of Kerala*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 39.

¹⁰⁷ S.S. Shastri, *Tribes of Kerala*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1995, p. 154.

¹⁰⁸ A. A. D. Luiz, *Op. cit.*, p. 39.

¹⁰⁹ *Census of India 1901*, Vol. XXVI, Part-1, Report, Travancore, 1903, p. 33.

¹¹⁰ Edgar Thurston, *Op. cit.*, p. 217.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

¹¹² K.S. Kumar Pradeep (ed.), *Keralathile Pattika Varga Janathayude Savisheshathakal Jeevitha Chuttupadukal* (Mal.), KIRTADS, Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 2020, p. 18.

Their important ritual art form is *Nalivekkal* and *Kaliyattam*. It is conducted to earn the favour of God. It is believed that it served the purpose of calling back the souls of the dead.¹¹³ This is also related to both marriage and death functions in their *ooru* (their residential area).¹¹⁴ Though they were hunters and food gathers, few engaged in agricultural activities. Being landless, they were primarily worked as agricultural or unskilled labourers for the local land owners.¹¹⁵

The *Malamuthans* are a socially backward tribal community in Eranad. They are settled in Odayikkal, Vennekkode near Akampadom, Veetikunnu near Mampad, Karuchal and Thannikkuzhi regions. Their habitual areas are mainly in the forested hills of the region. The term *Malamuthans* means ‘elders of the hills’ (*mala* means hills and *muthans* means elderly or aged). They are known by different names such as *Malakkaran* means ‘inhabitants of hills’ and *Kunnathu Kudikkar* which means ‘inhabitants of hills’ (*kunnu* means hills and *Kudikkar* means inhabitants) and *Muthuvan*. They treated the other scheduled castes like *Kanakkan*, *Cherumar*, *Mannans* and *Kalladis* etc. as untouchables.¹¹⁶

Nothing is definite regarding their origin, however they believe themselves to be the leaders of the hills. A common belief regarding their name *Malamuthans* is derived from them because they settled in hills or *mala*. According to Edgar Thurston “the name *Muthan* is properly a title, meaning elder, confined on their headman by their *janmis* (landlords).”¹¹⁷ A.A.D. Luiz (used *Malakkaran* and *Mala Panickan* as

¹¹³ Interview with Kunjikannan and Kaali, Members of *Aranadan* Community in Nilambur.

¹¹⁴ V. Ravi Kumar Kaani, *Gotra Thaalam*, Aice Publication, Nedumangad, 2014, p. 15.

¹¹⁵ P. Damodaran Nettoor, *Adhivasikalude Keralam*, Anmol Publications, Kottayam, 1984, p. 116.

¹¹⁶ Dr. Sivadasan T.P, ‘Local History of Leaders of Hills (*Mala-Muthans*) in Eranad Taluk in Pre-Independence Period’, in N. Gopakumaran Nair (ed.), *Re-Imagining Histories: Selected Papers From Kerala History Congress*, Current Books, Trissur, 2019, pp. 515-16.

¹¹⁷ Edgar Thurston, *Op. cit.*, p. 393.

synonymous to *Malamuthan*.¹¹⁸ Thurston¹¹⁹ and Nettur P. Damodaran¹²⁰ have identified this community as *Malakkar*. A widely-held belief among the members of this community is that they were Brahmins, and thus were kept aloof from the rest of the society; they were excommunicated in the remote past. It is indicated in the Gazetteer of Malabar that the “*Malakkar* also called *Malapanikkar* and *Malamuthans* are a comparatively superior tribe of jungle cultivators and hunters found in the Calicut and Eranad hills.”¹²¹

The *Malamuthan*'s habitat are the forested hillocks. They were hunter-gatherers in the past and later changed to shifting cultivation. Their house is called ‘*illom*’.¹²² They believe in various Gods like *Bhatrakali*, along with animals, ancestors, trees and other elements of nature. Their main deities are *Mala Daivam*, *Pottanthiruvadi* and *Pullali*. *Vettakkorumakan* has been worshipped as the personification of spirits.¹²³ They have different life cycle ceremonies related to the times of pregnancy, delivery, naming, adolescence, wedding and death. These ceremonies are accepted by society.¹²⁴ The dead are buried and the graveyard is situated far away from the living areas. Caste rules are observed and the news of death is formally communicated to their relatives.¹²⁵

*Kattunaickens*¹²⁶ are another tribal people in Eranad. They mainly concentrated in Vazhikadav, Amarambalam, Pothukall, Chaliyar, Chungathara, Muthedam, Kalikavu, Karuvarakundu and Karulayi region. They lived in harmony

¹¹⁸ A.A.D. Luiz, *Op. cit.*, p. 162.

¹¹⁹ Edgar Thurston, *Op. cit.*, p. 393.

¹²⁰ P. Damodaran Nettoor, *Op. cit.*, p. 113.

¹²¹ C.A. Innes, *Malabar Gazetteer*, Kerala Gazetteers Department, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, p. 136.

¹²² C.A. Fukkar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹²³ K.S. Kumar Pradeep (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

¹²⁴ C.A. Fukkar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

¹²⁵ Interview with Chathan, Member of Cholar Colony and belonged to *Malamuthan* community.

¹²⁶ V.H. Dhirar, ‘Kattunaikkaram Kattarivukalum’, in E. Unnikrishnan (ed.), *Nattarivukal Kattarivukal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, pp. 82-86.

with nature. They are the guardians of the forest, protecting the forest and forest resources, as they serve as their primary source of livelihood. In the early days, they survived by collecting honey, wild yams and other forest resources and herding and also involved in hunting.¹²⁷ They possess early cultural traits, maintain unique traditions, avoid close interaction with other local communities and remain economically disadvantaged. They are called by the local people as *Nayikkar*. They were also considered as the descendants of *Negrito* race. They believe in supernatural powers, with animism forming the core of their religion.¹²⁸

The term *Kattunaicken* is comes from *kadu* (forest) and *naicken* (king or leader). They believed that they were the chief community of the forest.¹²⁹ They call their habitats as *keri*. Their house is called *mana*. Traditionally they were hunters and food gatherers. They survived on collected food like roots, wild tubers, seeds, leaves and fruits.¹³⁰

Some other tribal groups like *Paniyar* and *Alar* in the Adyanpara area near Nilambur in Eranad had the festival like *daivathin kodukkal*. It is the celebration of art forms like songs and *udakk kottal* (a type of instrument to using for making sound). The celebrations are presided over by their *muppan* (head). Their *muppan* is also known as *odukkan*. Toddy is an indispensable part of their celebrations. They earn their livelihood by gathering forest resources. *Paniyarukali* was an annual festival held especially by *Paniyar* tribes in Peruvambadam tribal area. They play a major role in *daiva puja* (ritual for God) in connection with Konamunda *Durga Bagavati* temple. This *puja* was celebrated with great pomp.¹³¹

¹²⁷ K.S. Kumar Pradeep (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 76.

¹²⁸ T.P. Sivadasan, 'Understanding the Funeral Custom- A Study on Tribe in Nilambur Area', in Dr. S. Ganeshram (ed.), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Session of South Indian History Congress*, Department of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 2019, p. 781.

¹²⁹ C.A. Fukkar Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

¹³¹ *Grama Panchayat Vikasana Rekha, Chaliyar Panjayath*, p. 6.

Besides the above- mentioned early inhabitants, some other groups also lived in Eranad. For example, the known history of Kondoty in Eranad and its neighbouring area begins with the traces of an ancient tribal culture.¹³² The remains of rock-cut open houses in the hilly areas of Kondoty testify to this. These ancient people are called as ‘*kolukal*’ by their ancestors. They were a Dravidian tribe. Their areas were known as Kolathur. Until recently the Kondoty was recorded as Kulathur *desam* or Kondoty *amsom* in the revenue registration records. Naikottukavu near Kolathur bears the remnants of the tribal culture even today.¹³³ Some tribal families (Chembilikal, Amranmar) claim great antiquity and still have lineage in the vicinity of Kondoty.¹³⁴ The place names in this area like Amaran Mukk, Cheppilikunnu, Kannankottapara, Kummini Paramb, Kummini Para, Ashari Kunnu, Thachath Paramb and Ethan Para showed the presence of early inhabitants.¹³⁵ We can also have the evidence of early inhabitants like *Peelikannan* from Kunduthode, *Parangodan* and *Konga* tribe from Edavanna etc. in Eranad. Besides the *Muthuvans*, *Cholanaickens*, *Kattunaikkar* and *Paniyar* tribes, many non-mainstream sects like *Alanmar*, *Nayadikal*, *Kurumar*, *Kalladikal* and *Chettikal* etc. were existed in Eranad areas.¹³⁶ The place name Nayadipara shows the existence of early inhabitants called *Nayadikal* in Edayur area.¹³⁷

Among the backward communities of Eranad, rituals related to puberty are dominant. A girl’s first menstruation is celebrated by the whole community with songs and dances. Villagers and relatives participated in it. In early period, most of them

¹³² Dr. K.K. Muhammed Abdul Sathar, *Kondoty Charitram Samskaram*, Vachanam Books, Kondoty, 2021, p. 22.

¹³³ M.C. Abdul Nasar, ‘Kondotiyude Natu Charitram’, in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, pp. 120-21.

¹³⁴ Umar Maduvayi, *Kondoty Thangal*, Kondoty Khubba Thakkiya Charitable Trust, Kondoty, 2018, p. 1.

¹³⁵ Umar Maduvayi, *Kondotiyude Verukal*, Kondoty Centre, Kondoty, 2011, p. 15.

¹³⁶ Dr. A. Nujum (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 171.

¹³⁷ *Grama Panjayat Vikasana Rekha*, Edayur Panjayath, p. 15.

become adult after marriage.¹³⁸ The songs existed among the lower caste people of Eranad are explained about the girls first puberty¹³⁹

*“Onnppam kekkante nerode muthamone
Lanyan ketta piniyalalle vazhithirinjkande
Vattaparambilon kannuttano poye
Vattaparambon parakketholich ponne”*

When a girl is menstruating, she was made to sit isolated, so no one could see her. As part of the rituals, seven people go to thresh paddy and prepare rice and other seven go to inform their friends. So, these seven individuals should be fed on the same day. They also sing song during this occasion. The song is as follows:-

*“lappo paranjene neramuthamone
Njinde vendathente nerodanjathane
Anyangettu piniyalale vayithirinjirunne
Kathilikkoru kundalam paniyanovane
Thekku thekku koyikotte ponnundattarengal
Lithile varinte ponnumthattangale”*

This song shows what kind of jewellery or other things need for a girl, who is having her first menstruation. The singer also appeals to the goldsmith to make necessary ornaments for girls. But unfortunately, these lines are only their desires that they satisfy through song.¹⁴⁰ The main festival day arrives on the seventh day. The girl's ritual bath should ideally be in a pond or a river. It is customary that after the bath the girl should view the coconut tree. In some places it is customary to touch

¹³⁸ Personal Interview with Kummini (75), belonged to backward community at Mundakkal in Eranad.

¹³⁹ Shamsad, 'Eranadan Thirandu Kalyanam', in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keralaeeyathayude Nattariv – 5 Nattarivile Penn*, May – July 1997, Kanimangalam, Trissur, May – July 1997, p. 9.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10

seven trees like curry leaves and chillies. After that, dishes are prepared for the guest. In Eranad songs and dance are important in this ceremony.¹⁴¹

*“Vann kali kanni vann kalikanni erangott kanni porantayye
Kaal koyanjittum kajj koyannjittum padan bayyenikkadan bajja
Lathiloruvam paranj tharam kanni erangod kanni porantayye
Lammath kummath kummathinteralott langanoru vellam kachikka
Neram velukkumbo vellatti varumbo thech kulichala ponnayya”*

This kind of song is called ‘*kothipatt*’. These songs bear striking resemblance to the style of performance of northern ballads. Such rituals are the most useful tools for understanding the cultural identity and social outlook of a community.¹⁴²

Relation between Nilambur *Kovilakam* and Tribes

Some stories and legends are present related to the origin of Nilambur *Kovilakam*. It is stated that *kovilakam* was formed during the 11th century A D.¹⁴³ Historians have differences in opinion regarding the origin of this *kovilakam*. After the rule of Zamorin, *kovilakam* started to flourish. The black soil, forest and presence of water sources helped the raja to become a sovereign authority in the Nilambur region. The word ‘Nilimbapuram’ due to the presence of gold ores on the shores of Chaliyar, led to the naming of this area as Nilamponnur and later shortened as Nilambur. The ruler of *kovilakam* was called as *thamban* or *thirumulppad*. The growth of *kovilakam* was unforgettable and many favourable factors have come together and used effectively. The development of agriculture and the collection and exchange of forest produce helped them to flourish. The main benefit was there was no significant opposition or interference from any side for occupying and handling of land in the

¹⁴¹ Personal Interview with Chakki (73) belonged to backward community at Chekode in Eranad.

¹⁴² Shamsad, *Op. cit.*

¹⁴³ Nilambur K.R.C, *Nilimbapurathinte Naalvazhikal Nilambur Charitram*, Nilambur Paristhithi Samrakshana Samiti, Nilambur, 2016, p. 13.

early period.¹⁴⁴ The relationship of the tribals, who were the original inhabitants of the land- with *Zamothiri kovilakam* was also a favourable thing.

Nilambur *kovilakam* had an unbreakable connection with the tribals of that area. It shows the cultural unity that existed during that period. This relation was represented through the festival called as Nilambur *pattu*. It was held at the *Vettakkorumakan* temple at Nilambur by the royal family. It was celebrated on the Malayalam month of *Dhanu* and also called *Vettakkaran pattu* or *Vettakkorumakan pattu*. This festival is also known for its *kalamezhuthu pattu* or ritual powder drawing image of the Lord on the floor. This festival was significant in the socio- economic history of Nilambur as well as *kovilakam*. The distinctive feature of it is the active participation of tribal people, who reside in and around the Nilambur forest. They are warmly received by the royal family. This tribals, the royal people of *kovilakam* and other communities irrespective of their caste, creed, community and religion join together and celebrated Nilambur *pattu* festival and it becomes the festival of the whole land.¹⁴⁵ All the tribals come to the Nilambur temple during the occasion of *pattulsavam*. It commences with *kodiyettam* (the hoisting of the auspicious festival flag). Bamboo are carried to hoist the flag. It was the custom that the tribals had to make offerings (*nivedyam*) for the temple festivals and clean the utensils themselves.¹⁴⁶ In the festival like other communities, the tribals play a significant role and enjoy special privileges from the beginning to the end, which cannot be seen in any other temple or festival in Eranad.¹⁴⁷

Sacred Spaces- Brahmin and Non-Brahmin

The Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic sacred spaces were an integral part of the society. The Brahmanical and other ritual functionarie's sacred spaces are chiefly

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ C.A. Fukker Ali, 'Festival as a Source for Reconstructing Tribal Ethnography: The Nilambur *Pattu*' in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 72, Part. 11, 2011, pp. 1377-78.

¹⁴⁶ Dr. N. Nujum, *Op. cit.*, p. 119.

¹⁴⁷ C. A. Fukker Ali, *Op. cit.*, p. 137.

concentrated in temples, which functioned as socio-economic and political centers in Kerala. Temples that developed during the medieval period can be classified into two types: royal temples and temples developed as a part of the agrarian corporation and Brahmin settlement.¹⁴⁸ According to M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, “the temple acted as an agency in expanding agriculture to the tribal areas; in effectively extracting surplus from the peasants; and in bringing about landlord domination. This process led to the disintegration of tribal societies and their eventual transformation to caste societies.”¹⁴⁹ Agrarian land constitutes the economic base of the medieval temple.¹⁵⁰

The migration and settlements of Brahmins, along with corresponding changes in the patterns of worship and the expansion of agriculture are some of the noteworthy features of this period. Almost all the structural temples, both Saivite and Vaishnavite were developed during this period. Structural temples represent the institutional centres of worship, which developed in the agrarian villages of Kerala. This period observed the expansion of agrarian settlement in the fertile agrarian zones of the catchment areas of the river valleys, which resulted in the proliferation of Brahmin settlement and the formation of Brahmanical social order in society. The early medieval temples of Eranad thus developed in association with Brahmin settlements, and were located in the prosperous agrarian tracts. The architectural splendours of temples are distinguished by their economic and political backing. The temples received land grants and enjoyed the over-lordship of the rulers of Eranad. Therefore, the temples of Eranad became the vital center of political and economic functions of the *nadu*.

¹⁴⁸ Kesavan Veluthat, ‘Temple and the State: Religion and Politics in Medieval South India’, in Champaka Lakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T.R. Venugopalan (eds.), *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2002, p. 97.

¹⁴⁹ M.G.S. Narayanan and Kesavan Veluthat, ‘The Bhakti Movement in South India’, in S.C. Malik (ed.), *Indian Movement: Some Aspects of Dissent and Protest*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1978, p. 33.

¹⁵⁰ T.R. Venugopalan, *Process and Structure: A History of Medieval Kerala*, Current Books, Kozhikode, 2022, p. 156.

Among the medieval temples of Eranad, Karikat Subramanyaswamy temple is the most famous. There are three important shrines in this temple complex. The two shrines of Lord Subramanya with the shrines of *Ganapati*, *Dakshinamoorthi* and goddesses *Bagavati* are in separate complexes with structures and entrances. Over time, the temple became a *grama-kshetra*. The temple was managed by 27 *uraler* families. Among them the prominent ones are Kidangazhi, Vellikatt Patteri, Mangattusseri, Naduvath, Maratt, Aripriath, Uppilatt, Chernatt, Thennatt, Pulikathoti, Atikaletath, Karumarapatta, Naduviil Mannazhi, Munnatt and Moothedath etc.¹⁵¹ The main feature of this temple is the inscriptions on the octagonal *kumuda* of the northern shrine.¹⁵² The 11th century inscriptions along with medieval temple records indicate that this temple was once highly prosperous and possessed extensive properties.¹⁵³

Siva temple at Pulpatta is another Brahmanic temple in Eranad. It is also a historically important structural temple of Kerala. It is one of the few temples in Kerala that has a large *nandi* shrine. There are certain myths and stories related to the origin of this temple. Many of the natives of Pulpatta believe that the deity of this temple emerged as *swayambhoo* (self-emergence).¹⁵⁴ The temple is a massive circular edifice dedicated to Siva built on laterite blocks and a granite basement with *dwitala vimana*. The main deity resides in a large round two-stored sanctum sanctorum. *Ganapati*, *Vettakkorumakan*, *Dakshinamurti*, *Mullaththarakkal Bagavati*, *Thekkan Thevar* and *Salagramam* etc. are the sub-deity exist in the temple. The structures in the temple complex include *sreekkovil*, *namaskara mandapam*, sub-shrines, *valiyabalikkal*, *deepasthambham*, well and tank etc.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵¹ S. Jayashanker, *Temples of Malappuram District*, Directorate of Census Operations, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, pp. 124-126.

¹⁵² H. Sarkar, *Architectural Survey of the Temple of Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 1978, p. 201.

¹⁵³ Kesavan Veluthat, *Brahmin Settlements in Kerala Historical Studies*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013 (1978), p. 47; Dr. V. Rajeev, *Aryadhinivesavum Nambudiri Samskaravum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2015, p. 62.

¹⁵⁴ Personal Interview with Prasad (aged 45), Native of Pulpatta.

¹⁵⁵ Personal Interview with Damodaran Nambudirippad (aged 58), Present priest of the Siva temple at Pulpatta and also a native of Pulpatta.

Another prominent temple with Brahminic character is the Sankaranarayan temple at Trikkalayur.¹⁵⁶ The temple is associated with the legend of the holy bull (*kaala*), from this the place came to be known as Thrikkalayur. The temple structure includes *sreeekovil*, *namaskara mandapam*, *chuttambalam* and *valiya balikkall* etc. The administration of the temple was in the hands of *pantrandu illakkar* (twelve *moosad illoms*). Later this temple was under the control of the six families as per *granthavari* (palm leaf record) of *kakkuzhi illom*.¹⁵⁷ These are Gosalakkal, Kannoar, Veppilangal, Valakott, Vayinthala and Puthiyedath. In course of time all these *illoms* become extinct except *Kakkuzhi illom*.¹⁵⁸ Subsequently this *illom* was disintegrated and the temple was entrusted to *Vatakkiniyedath Keerangatt mana* for proper administration.¹⁵⁹

Another prominent temple is the Kurumathur Vishnu temple near Areakode. It was unearthed during the renovation of Kurumathur temple. There is a Sanskrit inscription in Pallava *grantha* script is carved on a stone slab from Vishnu temple. It is dated on 871 CE. The inscription was deciphered by M.R. Raghava Varrier. It refers to the Chera king Rama Rajasekhara (9th century AD). It is the only record giving an exact date for the first Chera king.¹⁶⁰ It is in the form of an eulogy or *prasasthi* praising and legitimising the ruler. It records that under his reign, twelve Brahmanas built a tank and consecrated an idol of Lord Vishnu within the temple.¹⁶¹ The festivals and rituals were conducted with *Kathakali* and *Kuthu* held on special days.

Poyili Karinkaali temple at Nediyruppu is another prominent temple in this area. Nediyruppu is a hilly terrain with valleys and paddy fields. Goddess *Karinkali Bagavati*, who is believed to have emerged from the *jata* (matted hair) of the lord

¹⁵⁶ Field visits on 2/05/2022.

¹⁵⁷ Personal Interview with Sivaprasad (56), Member of *Kakkuzhi illom* at Trikkalayur.

¹⁵⁸ S. Jayashanker, *Op. cit.*, p. 117.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁰ S. Aneesh, 'Problem in Fixing the Regnal Years of the Rulers of Mahodayapuram From Ninth Century AD to Tenth Century AD – A Historical Reappraisal', in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 6, 2018, pp. 1058-66.

¹⁶¹ Kesavan Veluthat, 'History and Historiography in Constituting a Region: The Case of Kerala' in *Studies in People's History*, 1 June 2018, pp. 13-14.

Shiva, is the main deity of this temple. The history of it associated with the history of Mundakkal kavu. The temple structures included *sreekovil*, *valiyambalam* and enclosures on other sides, *thirappalli*, well, *deepa sthambam*, sub-shrines, *gopuram*, *mullathara* and a tank etc.¹⁶² The administration was vested in the two *uraler* families like Putrakkatt and Viruthiyil *Panikkars*. A fixed amount was given by the Nediyruppu *kovilakam* for the administration of this temple.¹⁶³

Perumthrikkovil Siva temple is one of the structural temples of Trippanachi¹⁶⁴ and also the village temple of the seventy-three *illoms* exists here. This temple also developed in connection with the Brahmin settlement of Trippanachi. The total property of these *illoms* is concentrated on it. *Perum* means ‘big’ and *thrikkovil* means ‘great’. It is one of fourteen such great Siva temples in Kerala. There is no inscriptional or epigraphical evidence from this temple. It is also called *narangali* Siva temple. Because the area around the temple is called as *narangali*.¹⁶⁵ The architectural style of the temple pushes it back to the early medieval period. One of the noteworthy features of this temple is its architectural peculiarities. The unusual engineering excellence of the old period can be seen from the surrounding wall of the temple. The surrounding walls were made with thousands of red stones and put in the same pattern. It is one of the peculiarities of the temple. Its main temple and gates are ample examples of beautiful architecture.¹⁶⁶ It shows that the temple received land grants and political backing from the land-owning communities of Eranad.

From the above- mentioned prominent temples in Eranad, we can safely say that the temples controlled the economic matters of the locality in which they existed, and became the socio- cultural centres of medieval Kerala.

¹⁶² Field visit on 27/06/2022.

¹⁶³ S. Jayashanker, *Op. cit.*, p. 159.

¹⁶⁴ Trippanachi is one of the villages in Eranad. It was historically a sub village of Karikkad (Karikkad is one among the thirty-two Brahmin settlements).

¹⁶⁵ Personal interview with Vasudevan *Nambudiri*, A member of Vilakatt *illom* of Trippanachi.

¹⁶⁶ O. Abdul Ali, *Nammude Swantham Trippanachi*, Published by Author, Trippanachi, 2018, p. 11.

Non-Brahmin Sacred Spaces

Sacred Groves as Part of the Social and Cultural System

The relationship between primitive men and nature is embodied through the sacred groves, which is complete with plants and trees. Sacred groves or *kavu* became the sacred places of village communities, agricultural production group and occupational groups. It is the dwellings of the Goddess bound by immense trees, shrubs and foliage.¹⁶⁷ *Kavu* is a Dravidian word, no doubt which probably emerged from '*kaval*', which means the protection or security. Protection and security along with prosperity are associated with the concept of God.¹⁶⁸ It is the part of social and cultural system in Eranad and found inside the heavy outgrowth of ancient trees like *Aal* (*Ficus Indica*), *Paala* (*Alstonia Scholaris*) or *kanjiraam* (*Nux Vomica* or *Stryehnos*), preserved to maintain the sacred character of the place.¹⁶⁹

Vettekkorumakan, *Bhadrakaali*, *Kaali*, *kuttichathan*, *Anthimahakaalan*, *Karimkaali*, *Bagavathi* and *Ayyappan* and serpent Gods are the main deities of *kavus* in Eranad.¹⁷⁰ The worship of the mother Goddess is indicates the creativity, birth and fertility. From the concept of being the protector of Eranad, the presence of the God called *Eranattukalan* also existed. It is the mountain God and also considered that this God will protects everyone including birds and animals.¹⁷¹ *Kavu* is not only a refuge for variety of species but also a shelter from the rain. So, the ancient people say the

¹⁶⁷ V.V.K. Valath, 'Kaavukalum Sthalacharitravum (Trissur Jilla)', in Dr. N.M. Namboothiri and P.K. Sivadas (eds.), *Kerala Charitrathinte Naattuvazhikal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2009, p. 469.

¹⁶⁸ Muhammed Maheen A, 'Exploring *Kavu*: A Space for Indigenous Culture and Ecological Wisdom', in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman (ed.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, SPCS, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014, p. 274.

¹⁶⁹ V.T. Padmaja, 'Exploring *Kavu* : The Primitive Mother Goddess Worshipping Centers of Kerala', in M.R. Manmathan (ed.), *Archaeology in Kerala Past and Present*, Publication division, Farook College, Calicut, 2007, p. 163.

¹⁷⁰ Chelanatt Achuthamenon, *Keralathile Kaaliseva*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2015, p. 18.

¹⁷¹ K. Ramachandran, *Mannanjeriyude Innalagal*, Speed Prints, Areakode, 2020, p. 63.

proverbs like ‘*kaavu theendiyal kulam vattum*’ (if the *kavu* is destroyed, the pond will dry up).¹⁷²

Every caste and community in Eranad had maintained sacred groves dedicated to their idols. Some families had individually maintained *kavus* in the surroundings of their homes. Some of them conducted animal sacrifices (*kuruthi*) in rare cases.¹⁷³ Various village communities in Eranad held distinct rights and privileges regarding the rituals performed in their sacred groves. The *Vannan* caste provided the washed clothes for rituals, *Vaniyan* supplied oil, *Kollan* (blacksmith) handled tools and weapons after sharpening, *Asari* (carpenter) repaired the *mandapam* or the ceremonial hall and the *Tiyya* (who had the right to offer toddy) carried the inverted pots and the *Pulayan* gave rice spike. Because of this factor, the groves are the gathering places of different communities.¹⁷⁴ Occupational groups like *Thiyyan*, *Mannan* and *Panan* had some practices in *kavus*. The most important practiser among them was *Mannan*. They deserve importance in many ways in the Kerala community. They serve the Goddesses called *Karinkali*. Although the names like *Karinkali*, *Kodumkali* and *Kandemkali* are used as synonyms for Goddesses *Kali* or *Bhadrakali*.¹⁷⁵

Different types of *kavus* can be seen in the area under study, like *Surpa kavu*, *Karingali kavu*, *Mundiyan kavu*, *Chathan kavu* and *Neelikavu* etc. There are many groves on the banks of the Chaliyar River. It is the habitat of a variety of flora and fauna. Govindapuram *kavu* was the ancient *kavu* that existed on the banks of Chaliyar. There is a deity of a serpent image carved out of a single stone. This *kavu* performed serpent worship by invoking *Naga* Gods. The main ceremony in this *kavu* was

¹⁷² Dr. K. Vidyasagar, *Nammude Nattarivukalum Pazhanjollukalum Kadangathakalum: Nammude Samuham*, Vol. 11, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011, pp. 28-29.

¹⁷³ Interview with Kuttikrishnan Nair.

¹⁷⁴ Interview with Choolan, Farmer.

¹⁷⁵ Chelanatt Achuthamenon, *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

pushparchana (flower delivery) using flowers like *Tulasi*, *Chembarathi* (Hibiscus) and *Pala* etc. Offerings like Banana, *Avil* and *Malar* were provided to the deity.¹⁷⁶

At Nilakadavu near Parakkad on the banks of Chaliyar, there are four *kavus*: one *Karinkalikavu*, one *Visnu kavu* and two *Sarpakavu*. The *Badrakali*, who is a ferocious idol is the deity of *Karinkalikavu*. At *Kalikavu* the main idol is *Bhagavati*. The *Ganapati* and *Ayyappan* are also the deities in this *kavu*. This is a temple where the *kalampatt* offering is done throughout the year. The festival is conducted in the month of *Makaram* and *thalapoli* was performed in the month of *Idavam*. *Kallattu Kuruppans* was traditionally in charge of this.¹⁷⁷

The *Subramanyaswami* temple at A R Nagar was owned by Kandengalath Pushpakath *Nambeshanmar*. This temple situated within the grove, is dedicated to *Subramanyan*. This temple believed to have been consecrated by Lord Parasurama. The temple was under the auspice of *Nechchikkattil illom* and *Karisseri illom*. The *kalasam* (a small mud pot containing water for bathing the deity, which is decorated on top by coconut palm leaves) is taken from this temple to other family temples in this area. *Kalasams* are performed as part of the ritual worship during certain festivals in Eranad. *Pradishtadinam* and *Vettakkorumakan Patt* are celebrated here as part of the temple festival.

Kavu at *Narasimhamurti* temple in Ugrapuram near Areakode is a noteworthy one. Where the major deity is *Narasimhamurti*. The temple associates claim the area got its name 'Ugrapuram' because it was the seat of a fierce deity (*ugra pratapi*). The *Nambudiris* and *Nair* community lived around the temple. This temple, which was economically flourishing and had immense wealth was managed by six Brahmin *illoms*- they were the temple *uralers* like *Valiya Chembazhi*, *Arinjiri*, *Perinjiri*, *Azhinjillath*, *Pullurmanna* and *Naduvathedath illoms*.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Dr. N. Aujum, *Chaliyar Rekhakal*, M E S College, Areakode, 2004, p. 41.

¹⁷⁷ Dr. K. Vidyasagar, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

¹⁷⁸ V. Abdulla Kutty, *Areakodinte Kissa*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, 2012, p. 125.

The famous Vanadurga temple is located in a place called Chandanakavu in Athavanad. It existed as a cultural hub of this region. This place is the birth place of renowned Sanskrit poet, scholar and grammarian Melpathur Narayana *Battathiri*. The forest of ecological beauty is preserved near this temple even today.¹⁷⁹ There is a temple and *kavu* exclusively for the *Harijan* community (lower caste people) at Irimbiliyam. It is called as Kanakkar *kavu*. The rituals in this *kavu* are performed by *Harijan* people.

The sacred grove and its surroundings are regarded as communal space for the people of Eranad and it is actively preserved and protected by the different communities. Serpent worship is common in many of the *kavus* and the *sarpabali* ritual is performed to appease snakes, where rice flakes and bananas are presented to the snake God. Snakes are also regarded as guardians of the earth. So special offerings were provided to the serpents. It is conducted for the sake of prosperity of agriculture and cattle wealth by ancient people.¹⁸⁰

There existed a community named *Panan* and it became a practice of that community to visit the houses and sing the song about the heroic deeds of the society.¹⁸¹ The term *Panan* means ‘*padunnavan*’ and their women folk known as *padini* (*paatti*). The *choll* (proverb) ‘*panante navil saraswathi*’ shows their prominence in society. They visited the houses of *janmis* and landlords and sing the songs and buy gifts from there.¹⁸² According to Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, ‘the *Panars* amazed the Brahmins with their intellectual and cultural achievements.’¹⁸³ They also had some rights in *kavus* for participating the rituals. They conducted *surpam thullal* to seek prosperity and protection. The contents of the songs of *Panas* in Eranad show

¹⁷⁹ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha, Athavanad Panjayath, p. 2.*

¹⁸⁰ Sumesh Mannarashala, *Sarpparadhanayum Prakrthi Samrakshanavum*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2000, p. 122.

¹⁸¹ Dr. R. Gopinadhan, *Keralaththanima*, Heritage Studies, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010, p. 317.

¹⁸² E.P. Baskaraguptan, *Desayanam*, Samabavini Books, Kadambazhippuram, 2013 (2004), pp. 7-8.

¹⁸³ Elamkulam Kunjan Pillai, *Keralam Anjum Arum Nootandukalil*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1961. p. 204.

the social and cultural systems.¹⁸⁴ They also make *nagakalam* to avoid snake attacks and prosperity of the family. It is known in various forms and different names like *naga yakshikalam* and *naga bhuthakalam*. The *nagakalamezhuth* (writing) is the family occupation of the *Pulluva* community. They started to prepare the *nagakalm* after some *pujas* (prayer) and fasting.¹⁸⁵

The impact of wholesale transformation on the physical environment led to the changing of groves in Kerala. So, there is a need to re-examine the intricate issue of the groves themselves during this change. Many of *kavus* in Eranad were sold to other communities such as Muslims and Christians, incorporated into the land they brought, and were subsequently cleared or destroyed to make way for plantation crops.¹⁸⁶

Temple Festivals and Rituals Related to Agriculture

The institutional base of the temples works as the starting point of the social development in Kerala. Royal grants and temple inscriptions mention the several periodical festivals celebrated in the temple and properties granted to meet the

¹⁸⁴ G. Bargavan Pilla, *Keralathile Pananmar Pattukal*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2001, pp. 111-115.

*"Ezh gramathil pichayeettu paithal
Irunavuriyari kaiyil konde
Uriyarivekuvan samayamillennikk
Theethedipovanoru vedumilla
Vennakond munnaduppum pootti paithal
Vedandam kondallo theeyerichu*

*Chappashamatha verakanachu
Ariyum kazuki aduppathittu unni
Bojanam vendu malarunneram
Kaikkellakkelathedippoyoru nerath
Ezhasurathinmelirunnu karkkam
Vachoru bojanam theendiyallo*

.....
.....
.....”

¹⁸⁵ K. Janardhan, ‘Bhadrakalikalam’, in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997, p. 227.

¹⁸⁶ James Freeman, ‘Gods, Groves and the Culture of Nature in Kerala’, in *Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press, U K, 1999, p. 291.

expenses of festivals. The social significance of these festivals lies in the fact that it gave opportunities to different sections of society to gather in the temple and participate in the temple activities. The temple festivals in Eranad like any other regions of Kerala includes: -

- 1) Festivals which are common to all temples and are celebrated on a large scale.
- 2) Festivals of particular temples held on particular occasions like the annual day of installation of the deity.
- 3) It differs from temple to temple and festival to festival.
- 4) Festivals are constituted by kings or chieftains on particular occasions like their birthdays.¹⁸⁷

Like any other region in Kerala, agriculture was the base of the society of Eranad. Many customs and rituals existed related to agriculture. Some festivals are conducted at *kavus* in Eranad in relation with paddy cultivation and harvest. The *arratt ulsavam* (festival) at *kuttichathan kavu* located in Modavanna area near Nilambur was one of the finest examples for festivals conducted in *kavus* of Eranad.¹⁸⁸ *Pooram* is an annual festival celebrated in temples after the summer harvest or it happens when the harvest is at its zenith. It is mainly celebrated in the Malayalam months of *Kumbam* and *Meenam*.¹⁸⁹ It is the reflection of influence of fertility cult. The seven days *pooram* at Kunnathambalam in Manjeri and *irupathonnaratt* was famous in Eranad.¹⁹⁰ In Morayur area several *poorams* like *Ozhukur ther pooram*, *Valanjeri Chelikkodan pooram*, *Arimbra Mandavathingal pooram*, *Kalathin Padikkal pooram*, *Palyarakkal pooram*, *Mongam Orappundippara pooram*, *Pulikkottu pooram* and also *Bharani Kunn Harijan colony pooram* (held once in five years) etc. were existed.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷ M.R. Raghava Varrier, 'Temple Festivals in Medieval Kerala' in K.K. Kusuman (ed.), *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Department of History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, Vol. X V, December 1988, pp. 55-56.

¹⁸⁸ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Chaliyar Panjayath, p. 8.

¹⁸⁹ Personal Interview with Narayani.

¹⁹⁰ *Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekha*, Manjeri Nagarasabha, p. 122.

¹⁹¹ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Morayur Panjayath, p. 71.

Folk songs like *Njattu Pattu* (related to planting the seed) and *thottam pattu* existed. *Thottam pattu* represents either the divine manifestation of the God or the devotee's act of giving themselves to the God.¹⁹² The *Nattipatt (nattin patt)* is a variety of music that existed among the farmers of Eranad. One person starts to sing and the others join in during the planting of crops. The lyrics of the songs describe the glories of local and tribal life. In some cases, the *Nattippattus* formed as impromptu poetry (*nimisha kavyam*).¹⁹³

The Kunnath temple at Manjeri is situated on a hillock. An annual temple festival called Manjeri *pooram* is celebrated. Goddess *Durga* is the temple deity. The festival starts with *kodiyetam* (ceremonial flag hoisting) and ends with *arattu* (holy bath). The major highlight is the *pakal pooram*, which observed on the eighth day. Devotees carry a procession of various folk-art forms including, *kaala*, *pootham*, *chaliyam kuthira (vethalam)* and *nayadi pootham* to the festival ground.¹⁹⁴ *Mandalagosham* also one among the festival celebrated in temples. The celebration of *mandalagosham* in Perumannasseri Subramanya temple at Idimuzhikkal is the one of the finest examples. *Kalampattu* is also performed in temples with regional variation. The *Kalampattu ulsavam* at Kalikavu temple is also famous.¹⁹⁵ Many religious festivals are celebrated locally. For example, a very notable social festival was *Meen nayatt* existed at Velimukk in Munniyur.¹⁹⁶ The *Kalangari ulsavam* was conducted at Velliyamburam, Nannabra, Kundur and Kodinji etc.¹⁹⁷ The other important *ulsavams* (festival) were *Kuttankovil ulsavam* at Kuruniya Paramb, *Kalangari ulsavam* at Puthur Pallikkal, *Kunnathu vela* among *Kanakkan* community, *Vela of Parayas* at Aricholi, *Mariyamman kovil ulsvam* of *Kumbaran* community, *Sivaratri* festival of Cherukunn temple, *Kangari ulsavam* of Aattiri and *Ther puja*

¹⁹² M.V. Vishnu Namboothiri, *Thottam Pattukal*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2016.

¹⁹³ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Kizhuparamb Panjayath, p. 70.

¹⁹⁴ K. Ramachandran, *Mannanjeriyude Innalakal*, Speed Prints, Areakode, 2020, pp. 63-64.

¹⁹⁵ *Samagra Vikasana Rekha*, Manjeri Nagarasabha, p. 122.

¹⁹⁶ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Munniyur Panjayath, p. 5.

¹⁹⁷ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Nannabra Panjayath, p. 5.

among *Perum Kollas* of Mattathur etc.¹⁹⁸The *Koyith patt* existed among the farmers of Eranad.

Kalapoott malsaram (bull fight) was celebrated in the paddy fields of Eranad after the harvesting. It was done with the great participation of the people in that area. The field that exists for this festival is called *kalapoott kandam*. The *kalapoot* at Muthuvallur near Kondotty was famous.¹⁹⁹ It was also conducted in A R Nagar, Chekkode, Kuzhimanna, Idimuzhikkal, Melakkam, Vengara and Payyanad etc. In Kalikavu village the *kalapoott malsaram* was conducted in the areas of Koorad, Poochapoyil, Povunthara and Ambaladakavu etc.²⁰⁰ In the Othukkungal village, the *kalapoot urcha malsaram* was conducted at Mattathur Thekkummuri, Puthur Padam, Mattathur Chalipadam, Athikode and Puthur.²⁰¹In Urakam village the Kottumala *kalapoot* was famous.²⁰²Thus, we can say that *kalappott* competition was a popular festival after the harvest. As a part of it, songs existed:

“*Kalapootinte athishayam*
Palarum paranje poothi
Kalilalkkundoru dinam
Njan ananje chethi”²⁰³

Kaliyattom is a folk festival held annually at a *kavu* in Kaliyattamukku near Munniyur, a village in the western part of the Eranad. Interestingly the *kavu* is named after the annual festival ‘*kaliyattom*’. The *Kaliyattakavilamma* is the main deity inside the *kavu*. Legends exist about this festival. It began on first Monday of the Malayalam month *Idavam* (starting function is called *kappoli*) and existed for twelfth days. The twelfth day celebration is called *Kozhikaliyattom* (*pakal kaliyattom*). The devotees offer their cock (male hen) to the deity. They start with horse dance (*kuthirakali*). It

¹⁹⁸ *Gramam Panjayath Vikasana Rekha, Othukkungal Panjayath*, p. 4.

¹⁹⁹ Interview with Kammukutty Haji (78).

²⁰⁰ *Gramam Panjayath Vikasana Rekha, Kalikav Panjayath*, p. 12.

²⁰¹ *Gramam Panjayath Vikasana Rekha, Othukkungal Panjayath*, p. 8.

²⁰² *Gramam Panjayath Vikasana Rekha, Urakam Panjayath*, p. 74.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*

has both ritualistic and informal participation of all sects of the population of the region. It is one of the best examples of cultural symbiosis and gives importance to religious harmony in Munniyur village in Eranad.²⁰⁴

Many families had the right to perform *kaliyattom* in *kaliyattakavu* festival like Kaatiyar, Chiramangalam *mana*, Pozhankadavath *Nair* and Punnasseri *Nair* etc. Chiramangalam *Mana* was the traditional tantric family of this *kavu*.²⁰⁵ Like higher caste Hindus, some lower caste people had ritualistic rights and duties in the *kaliyattom* festival. For example, *Asari* (carpenter) makes crafts in tender woods, *Thattan* (goldsmith) prepares ornaments for the idol of the deity, *Moosari* (brass maker) molds *nilavilakku* (brass lamp), *Kollan* (black smith) brings Iron lamps to stamp before the deity, *Panan* (bards) brings his *thirumulkazhcha* (offerings) for deity, *Parayan* (drum man) brings bamboo basket and Palmira umbrella to *kavu* etc.²⁰⁶ It is also stated that the *Mappila* had representation in the ceremonial gambling (*Pakitakali*) as a part of the festival. This was conducted by *karanavar* (head) of the *Mappila* land lord family.²⁰⁷ As a part of the festival, they play the dance with song called *Kuthirapurappatt*. For example:²⁰⁸

“*Iyyallapoliyalla poliyalla poliya...*

Iyyallapoliyalla poliyalla poliya...

Ammanjeri nallamma kalpicha kalpana

Ammanjeri nallammante neryacha vazhipad

Njangalum padiyirangatte muthammarangale

Arivillatha makkalan muthammarangale

Kottilum pattilum pizhakkaruthe muthammarangale

Pandathe pazhamualane innolam nadakkan

²⁰⁴ Balan Pootheri, *Kaliyattakav*, Pootheri Books, Kondoty, 2006.

²⁰⁵ M.S. Chandra, *Kaliyattom: Patanavum Pattukalum*, N B S, Kottayam, 1977 (1968).

²⁰⁶ Personal Interview with Kalyani, aged 67 at Kaliyattamukku.

²⁰⁷ Personal Interview with Koya, aged 73 at Kaliyattamukku.

²⁰⁸ Balan Pootheri, *Munniyur Kaliyattam*, Pootheri Books, Kondoty, 2009, p. 11.

.....
.....”

The ancestors of Eranad also believed in life after death. It was evident from megalithic burial places that comprise grains and other things of dead persons.²⁰⁹ This practise is continued by the individuals of Eranad. The rituals related to ancestors had regional variation and different from caste to caste. In the Malayalam month of *Karkitakam* or July, the dead ancestors are remembered and *bali* is conducted by their family members. *Bali* is a ritual to please the dead ancestors. The conducting of *bali* is called *bali tharppanam*. The essence of *bali* is to give energy to the journey of life by remembering the ancestors. The day selected for it is the new moon called *Karkitaka Vavu*. They offer tender coconut, rice flakes and fried rice during this ritual.²¹⁰

Temple Arts and Folk Culture

The temples functioned as a hub of cultural life during the medieval period. In addition to exercising socio-economic and religious influence over society, they also served as venues for the flourishing artistic traditions such as music, dance and drama. Several temples had distinct *kuthambalam* or theatres for the presentation of plays. *Kuthu* and *Kudiyattam* were the two principal art forms performed in temples. Thrikkalayur temple and Siva temple at Pulpatta in Eranad had become the center of art form like *Kuth*.²¹¹ This art form is combines the elements of both dance and music in its performance. The performances were staged within the temple premises and it led to the larger gathering of people into the temples. The classical arts such as *Kuthu*, *Kudiyattam* and *Kathakali* etc. were much popular. However, these classical arts were appreciated mainly by the upper classes. This is did not become a popular art, as the involvement of the wider community in such festivals was limited.

²⁰⁹ V.P. Devadas, *Archaeology of Eranad*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1993.

²¹⁰ Personal Interview with Matha (68).

²¹¹ Personal Interview with Damodaran *Nambudiri* (67).

The people conducted festivals in *kavus* and temples; as a part of the rituals, they perform different folk and temple art forms. Popular art forms like *Tira*, *Pootham*, *Thalappoli*, *Ayyayppan Patt* and *Ayyappan Vilakku* etc. existed in different temples of Eranad. However, we can distinguish regional variations in the form and method of conducting it. The notion of Brahmanical superiority in society hold no relevance in the art form of *Tira*. Because it is executed by lower caste peoples like *Vannan* or *Mannan*, *Malayan*, *Velan (tulu velan)* *Panan*, *Anjuttaan*, *Chingathan* and *Mavilan* etc.²¹² *Tira* is a ritual dance performed in *kavu* and temples during the annual temple festival. The clan deity such as *Bagavati* was worshipped in these forms. *Kuttichathan* and *Kshetrapalakan tira* are also found in some places.²¹³ It is also considered to ensure richness in agriculture and safeguard the cattle. *Tira* is not merely a traditional art form, but also the reflection of social and political structure of a specific region.

Ayyappan Vilakku and *Ayyayppan Patt* were performed as part of worshiping the God called *Ayyappan*. For *Ayyappan Vilakku*, rituals like *Palakkombezhunnalikkal*, *Udukku Kottipadal*, *Kanalattam*, *Vettum Thadavum* etc. are also performed. Rituals like *Kaalakali* (bull play) were important for the *Vela* festival in *Bagavati kavus*.²¹⁴ There are two types of bulls used in playing *Kaalakali* (bull play). One was the big bull, which is made of large poles and is played by several people together and the other one was the small bull, which can be played by one person by the head.²¹⁵ Other important ritual arts were *Kumbattam* and *Puthakali*.²¹⁶ It is conducted to please the deities, especially Goddesses like *Bagavati*. *Vellattu* was also conducted in *kavus* and temples of Eranad. *Pediyatt Bagavati kavu* in Kadalundi is the finest example of it.

²¹² Dr. M.V. Vishnu Nambudiri, 'Theyyattathil Nizalikkunna Natu Charitram', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 38.

²¹³ C. Gopalan Nayar, *Malabarile Tirayattangl*, D C Books, Kozhikode, 2010, p. 16.

²¹⁴ Dr. Sasidharan Clari, 'Samsarika Perumayude Triprangode' in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 97.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Grama Panchayath Vikasana Rekha, Amarambalam Panjayath*, p. 10.

The *Chathan kali* is a ritual dance. It existed in the Thavanur, Pollakkara and Vattamkulam areas of Eranad. It was performed to please the idol called *Chathan*. This dance was conducted after taking the form of *Chathan (chathan rupam)*. It was also called *Mukkerum Chathankali*. The *Paraya* community participated in this ritual. In a performing group of four, one person assumes the role of *Chathan* while the others serve as musicians. The performance is held during the day time in various houses, without the need for a special arena. A lamp is lit in the courtyard of the house, which serves as the designated space for presenting the dance. Drum is the main instrument during the performance.²¹⁷ Beside these, the *Aripparapatt* in *Pulluvan* community and *Kalakkali* among *Harijan* community also existed.²¹⁸ The *Vayalpattus*²¹⁹ and *Krishipattukal*²²⁰ also existed among the farming community of Eranad.

Chozhikkali, another entertainment dance also existed in Eranad. It had two types: *Kudachozhi* and *Thiruvathirachozhi*. Among these *Kudachozhi* is very popular. It was mainly performed among lower caste people. The word ‘*chozhi*’ means ‘one who travels from one land to another.’ The boys performed as *chozhi*. The communities like *Cherumakkal (Kanakkar and Pulayar)* and *Kumbaras* (pottery makers) are the performers of *Chozhikkali*. It was conducted during the Malayalam month of *Makaram* after harvesting. It was performed during both day and night times.²²¹

Nerchakottukali is a ritual art that has agricultural significance. The *Pulaya* community practiced this. During this ritual, they take vows and offer prayers to the mother Goddess for the protection of soil, crops and agriculture. Vows and offers are

²¹⁷ Dr. Sasidaran Clari, *Keralathile Nadan Kalakal*, Chinth Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012, pp. 72-73.

²¹⁸ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha, Vazhayur Panjayath*, p. 73.

²¹⁹ Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, ‘Vayalpattukalum Kalakalum’, in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Nattarivu Pattukal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2008, pp. 76-87; Meppale, ‘Vayalpatt’ in *Prabhatham*, Newspaper of Kerala Congress Socialist Party, December 9, 1938, p. 13.

²²⁰ Dr. K.P. Dileep Kumar, ‘Krishipattukal’, in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Nattarivu Pattukal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2008, pp. 25-37.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 100-01.

given after harvest as well. They played dance and use instruments as a part of their vow. In the early days, this ritual was performed only in *kavus* and *tharavadus*.²²² Besides these, the arts like *Nayadikali*, *Kari neeliyattom* and *Pambu thullal* etc. were performed by the people of Edappal in Eranad.²²³ The performance of *Nayadikali*, *Pootham kali* and *Cherumakali* existed in the Elamkulam area.²²⁴ The traditional arts forms such as *Udukku kottal*, *Thudi kottal* and *Chenda kottal* existed among the *Harijan* communities around the Trikkalayur temple at Kizhuparamba.²²⁵ In Manjeri areas we can also see that art forms like *Kalakali*, *Chaliyan kuthira*, *Nayadi putham*, *Mannan putham* and *Thalappoli ulsavam* etc. are existed.²²⁶ *Thalappoli ulsavam* was also conducted at Cholakkalath in Melattur village and was famous in Eranad.²²⁷ *Kavadiyattam* was performed as a part of the temple festival at Mangattiri *Bagavati* temple in Thalakkad.

In some areas, we can identify the *Vellari Natakam*. It is a musical play performed in the field, where cucumber is cultivated. It was mainly conducted during the Malayalam months of *Dhanu*, *Makaram*, *Kumbham* and *Meenam*. (It is called as *Vellari Natakam* because it was played in the cucumber fields) It gave prominence to equality of status and against untouchability in society. There are references existed about the *Vellari Natakam* in the Trikkalangode²²⁸ and Karulayi²²⁹ areas.

Martial Art

Martial arts like *Kalaripayattu* are considered to be one of the oldest fighting systems that exist in Kerala.²³⁰ *Kalari* is a training space associated with

²²² P.R. Ramesh (ed.), *Nattarivukal Nattusangeetham*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 46.

²²³ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Edappal *Panjayath*, p. 37.

²²⁴ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Elamkulam *Panjayath*, p. 32.

²²⁵ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Kizhuparamab *Panjayath*, p. 70.

²²⁶ *Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekha*, Manjeri *Nagarasabha*, p. 122.

²²⁷ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Melattur *Panjayath*, p. 11.

²²⁸ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Trikkalangode *Panjayath*, p. 99.

²²⁹ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Karulayi *Panjayath*, p. 13.

²³⁰ P. Balakrishnan, *Kalaripayattu: Keralattile Prachina Ayodhanamura*, S N Press, Kozhikode, 1994, p. 2.

Kalaripayattu. It is believed that *Parasurama* taught martial arts to the Brahmins for the salvation of the land of Kerala, which he donated to the Brahmins.²³¹ It is a structured military and health training method according to the topography, climate and social conditions of Kerala.²³² The early Tamil literature had contains references to heroes, who engaged in battles and defeated their enemies. The indication of the importance of battles in society is also seen in this literature.²³³ *Kalaripayattu* is a secret technique that consist of certain practices such as “knock and touch” (*thatti veezhthuka* and *thottunarthuka*). *Kalari* requires love for *guru* (teacher) and *guru*’s pleasure.²³⁴

In the medieval Kerala, much prominence was given to *Kalari* and it became the primary military training centre. Families with the title of *Panikkar* and *Kurupp* had a *kalari asan* (teacher) in every *nadus*. For example, Changamballi *Gurukkanmar* and Karingamanna *Kuruppanmar* at Naduvattam were prominent *kalari asans* of Eranad.²³⁵ The martial arts were mainly practised by *Nairs* and *Tiyyas* or *Ezhavas*, but we can also see the presence of *Arayar*, Muslims and Christians communities in the military services.²³⁶ *Kalari* imparted training in both literacy and martial arts. K.K.N. Kurupp and M.R. Raghava Varrier described the different types of *kalari* that existed in Kerala.²³⁷

According to Mukundan Kurupp, *Nair* youth were forced by the local rulers to practice martial arts for rulers and royal soldiers.²³⁸ After the fall of the Cera Empire,

²³¹ K.U. Haridas, ‘Kalari Marma Chikilsa’, in K.M. Anil (ed.), *Nattariv*, Vol. 1, Chintha Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 2009, pp.108-09.

²³² C. Gangadaran, ‘Kalaripayatt’, in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997, p. 381.

²³³ K.K. Pillai, *Historical Heritage of the Tamils*, M J Publishers, Chennai, 1979, p. 115.

²³⁴ K.U. Haridas, *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

²³⁵ *Grama Panjayat Vikasana Rekha*, Kuttippuram Panjayath, p. 12.

²³⁶ Velayudhan Panikkasseri, *Charitrathinte Prabhatha Kiranangal*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2011, p. 67.

²³⁷ K.K.N. Kurupp and M.R. Raghava Varrier, *Kalarippayattu: The Traditional Martial Arts of Kerala*, Cultural Publication Division, Trivandrum, 1997, p. 47.

²³⁸ Mukundan Kurupp, *Kerala Charitram Kalarium Kalarupangalum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2019 (2013), p. 5.

Kerala lacked a strong centralized rule. The emergence of decentralization of power by local rulers and *Naduvazhis* also caused disputes and it was settled through combats. This custom of resolving disputes through combat led to the development of *ankam*. The fellows of the royal family set up *kalaris* close to *Nair taravads*.²³⁹ Thus *Nair* warriors were entrusted with the duty of managing the martial arts, which was the basis of the state's existence.²⁴⁰

The ancestors of the Eranad region were strong in health and highly skilled in martial arts. We have the indication of the practice of martial art in the form of *kalari* is visible in Eranad. Some of the place names in Eranad shows the existence of *kalari* in the region. The remains of *kalari* can be seen in different parts of the area. Manglarikunnu (makan+kalari+kunn), Kalari Paramb, Kalarikkandi and Clari etc. are the place names indicative to the existence of *kalari*. A *kalari* and a temple attached to it is still existing at Vennayur in Cherukavu.²⁴¹ At Karakunnu, we can see the remains of *kalari* and *kovilakam* marked the rich centre of power. The indication of the existence of *desavazhi* position in the form of *kalari*, *kacheri* and *kovilakam* can be seen in Elangur area.²⁴² The place 'Clari' in Edarikkode indicates the existence of *kalaris* under local chiefs.²⁴³

Indigenous Medical Practices in Eranad

The existence of a great tradition of indigenous medical practices in various parts of Eranad can be seen. Some of the groups like *Velanmar*, *Mannans* and *Thiyyas* had expertise in medicine. They preserved the traditional form of medicine, which even contained spells for mental tranquillity. There was a great tradition of medical practitioners in the field of eye care existed in Pullanjeri, near Kizhisseri area. Poyilkkav *tarawad* was famous in eye care. There is a story still told by the old locals

²³⁹ George Vallat, *Discovery of Kerala*, S B Press and Book Depot, Trivandrum, 1977, p. 47.

²⁴⁰ Mukundan Kurupp, *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

²⁴¹ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Cherukavu *Panjayath*, p. 15.

²⁴² *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Trikkalangode *Panjayath*, p. 19.

²⁴³ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Edarikkode *Panjayath*, p. 10.

in this area about an eminent eye practitioner in this *tarawad*, who won a prize from the *Maharaja* of Travancore. The story speaks about the eye disease of the queen being completely cured due to his treatment. Vilakkinikkatt was another famous family in the field of medicine. *Ayurvedic* practitioners and elephant medicinal practitioners existed in this family. A primitive form of acupuncture called *Kombu Vaidyam* was also practiced there. This was the method of making a small cut on the diseased parts of the body and drawing impure blood through bull's horn to cure the disease. Kuttikkattil Mamusahib was famous for this type of practices.²⁴⁴

Vallanjira *Vaidyars* (traditional doctors) in Manjeri area was also famous for traditional treatment. Kunjan *Vaidyar* and Kondan *Vaidyar* were renowned medical practitioners of Manjeri. Thazathethil Koru *Vaidyar* and Raman *Vaidyar* was also prominent in this area. Bappu *Vaidyar* of Manjeri also famous for *Ayurvedic* medical treatment, and he also gave treatment to poor people without fee. *Velans* and *Ossanmar* was indispensable in traditional medical practices. Women belonging to *Vannan* caste commonly served as midwives.²⁴⁵

Narayanath Mangalath *mana* near Pungalapadi, Manjeri was a *Nambudiri* family famous for its traditional psychiatric center. Their medical practice was hereditary, with their *guru* being their ancestors. The knowledge imparted orally by their ancestors, was studied and carried forward by the succeeding generations. Treatments included penance and fast. They gave treatment without discrimination based on caste, religion, sex and class. Their care also encompassed the love, protection, engagement and overall concern for the well-being of patients. People with mental difficulties came and stayed there and returned after cure.²⁴⁶ Parangodan *Vaidyar* and his children at Malappuram and Chekku *Vaidyar* and his children in Irumbuzhi areas were also other prominent medical practitioners in Eranad.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ *Grama Panchayath Vikasana Rekha*, Kuzhimanna *Panjayath*, pp. 10-11.

²⁴⁵ K. Ramachandran, *Op. cit.*, pp. 95-96.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 76-77.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

Among the *Mappilas* of Eranad medical treatment was largely based on prayer. The religious leaders and *Khaziz* were the main practitioners of medicine in this area. They give the *ezhuth* (writing) of the Holy *Quran* verses and it was written on plate or paper filled with water to patients.²⁴⁸ People wrote *Quran* verses in coconut and eggs and kept it in the pits inside the house and considered that it will give protection from evil eyes and other disturbances.²⁴⁹ Chalattil Kalladithodi, Naripparakath, Thorappa and Mangarathodika etc. were the prominent families of the traditional medical practices among *Mappilas* in Eranad.²⁵⁰

Food

Food consumption is an inevitable activity for all human beings and animals. Food and eating are formed and reformed by culture on the one hand, and individual likes and dislikes on the other. According to Lucretius²⁵¹ “we are what we won’t eat; food identifies who we are, where we came from, what we want to be.”²⁵² As per Marjorie Devault “What we eat, where get it, how it is prepared, when we eat, and with whom, what it is mean to us- all these depend upon social and cultural arrangements.”²⁵³ Jean Anthelme Brillant-Savarin²⁵⁴ opined that “tell me what you eat and I will tell you who you are.”²⁵⁵ The questions like what to eat?, how to eat?, how to cook and how to serve?- all these are related to one’s cultural heritage.

²⁴⁸ E.M. Ashraf, ‘Eranadan Kunnukalil Snehathinte Thelineerumayi’ in M.S. Mani (ed.), *Kalakoumudhi*, Kalakoumudhi Publications, Trivandrum, November 30, 1986, p. 14; P.S. Thekkumbagam, *Eranadinte Ithihasam*, Mass Publications, Kollam, 1986.

²⁴⁹ Personal Interview with Manu *Thangal*, Native of Vellur, (*Tangal* is considered as the descendants of Prophet Muhammad and so they got prominent position among the Muslim society).

²⁵⁰ M.A. Rahiman, ‘Eranadan Swapnangal’ in M.S. Mani (ed.), *Kalakoumudhi*, Kalakoumudhi Publications, Trivandrum, October 16, Issue 112, 1977, p. 47.

²⁵¹ He was a Latin poet and was exponent of Epicurean philosophy.

²⁵² Warren Balasco, *Food: The Key Concepts*, OUP, New York, 2008, p. 10.

²⁵³ Lorna Piatti Farnell, *Food and Culture in Contemporary American Fictions*, Routledge, New York, 2011, p. 2.

²⁵⁴ He was a French lawyer and politician and gained fame as an epicure and gastronome.

²⁵⁵ Warren Balasco, *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

The Sangam works give us some valuable pieces of information on culinary practices of the contemporary society. The description on food and drink are mostly found in *puram* poems. People lived in five different landscapes (*tinai*) and their food habits were very much influenced by their environment.²⁵⁶The *Puranannuru* poems reveal that nearly everyone consumed meat and the idea of vegetarianism appears to have been virtually non-existent. Surprisingly, there have been many references that revealed about mixing of both vegetarian and non-vegetarian food together and taken by the ancient people of Kerala. Many words have been used in the literature to denote the meat of different varieties. For example *un* (meat), *thu*, *thasai* (flesh), *thadi*, *ninam* (fact) and *pulai* (dried meat with smell or dried salt fish).²⁵⁷ Along with non-vegetarian diet, the consumption of liquor was widespread. Both men and women are believed to have drunk toddy, a locally brewed liquor known as *muneer*, it was mixing of juices of sugarcane, palm and tender coconut.²⁵⁸ There are a number of references to the drinking of toddy in *Puranannuru*.²⁵⁹

The economy of the early period was primarily based on agriculture. When reviewing agricultural cultivation, the first and foremost crop is paddy since rice was the staple food of the period. The society was divided into a number of heterogeneous castes from the highest to lowest. As much as the food items, styles of eating, preparing, cooking and serving are also quite distinctive between different communities and caste groups.

Differences in the kind of food are also seen among castes. Each caste and religion have its own special desserts and food. Although each is shaped by their culinary process, the same food was known by different names among different castes. For example, the food *puttu* is called by Brahmins as *kandappam* or *kumbamthuri*. The *kozhukatta* sweets was known as *madambi palaharam*, shows its relation with

²⁵⁶ V.R. Parameshwaran Pillai (ed.), *Puranannuru*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 1997, p. XV111.

²⁵⁷ Nenmara P. Vishwanathan Nair (ed.), *Akanannuru*, Vol. 11, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 1984, p. 52.

²⁵⁸ K.N. Ganesh, *Op. cit.*, p. 14.

²⁵⁹ V.R. Parameshwaran Pillai (ed.), *Op. cit.*, p. 174.

madambi castes. In *Nambuthiri illoms*, the *sadya* known as *vattelasadya*. Both *Nairs* and *Ezhavas* used *neyyappam* during *therandykalyanam* or puberty ceremony and other functions. Toddy was an indispensable part of the life of lower caste people. They made and used various types of alcohol. *Nengall*, *Karimbinkall*, *Madurakall*, *Pirambarandakall*, *Eela*, *Porikkall* and *Akkanikkall* etc. are the important alcohol used by the *Avarnar* (lower caste people). Among the *Tiyyas* of Eranad, a ritual called *kannukku kodukkuka* existed after the death of family members. Members brought food items like jackfruit, coconut and banana for this ritual. After the burial, they gave the food items to relatives and other people who gathered there.

The Brahmins enjoyed the highest position in the food hierarchy since they were located top of the purity ladder. They follow strong vegetarianism, based on avoiding foods considered as 'hot' or '*rajasik*'. In *illoms*, the preparation of delicious and rich food items daily can be seen.²⁶⁰ *Nivedyam* was treated as a significant part of the food habit of *Nambudiris*. Liquor and flesh were strictly forbidden to them. They eat food cooked by *Pattar* or *Embranthiri*. Brahmins must take a bath and pray to the deity before taking any meal.

Eating food also requires certain etiquette and purity. *Nambuthiri* and *Nairs* avoided onion, but the rule is that *kadali* banana can only be eaten by *Nambuthiri*. Husband and wife were not allowed to eat together. After bathing, Brahmins ate food before touching their wives and children. If he touches his wife before eating the food, he must retake a bath. The wife eats the rest of her husband's food; it was considered sacred for the wife. The conditions within the kitchen also varied according to the status and prestige of the family. For example, the meals of the nobles and rajas had at least fifteen dishes. It was a time when the influence of religion was sufficient in terms of luck and bad luck. It was widely believed that the rich were blessed by God and the poor were punished. Everyone both rich and poor offered prayers and offerings for blessing of God. No one dared to quarrel with the God. While the rich man believed that he had reached this prosperity in this life due to the virtues of his

²⁶⁰ K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *A History of Kerala*, Asian Education Services, New Delhi, 1984, p. 54.

previous birth and God's grace, at the same time the poor man believed that he had reached his present poverty due to his previous life's sin and God's anger.²⁶¹

Rules and regulations existed among them related to food culture. The *Sangarasmrithi* put forward some regulations in food consumption to *Nambudiris* as a part of the *shudhi* concept to distinguish purified people from polluted. For example, food should not be eaten if it is impure even slightly, and after the eclipse is over, he should take a bath and eat food.²⁶² The *Nairs* were not strict vegetarians and rice was their staple food; it is taken at least twice a day. The rice was served on a plantain leaf or on a metal plate. Paddy was not a staple food for lower caste people. They completely dedicated their energy and life for the production of food for higher castes. *Tiyyas* had their dishes like *undha* and *palala* etc. Lower castes were prohibited from serving *pappadam*, *payasam* and sugar on wedding occasions. Toddy was their favourite drink freely used by both men and women among lower castes.²⁶³ It is interesting to quote an oral song on food items of lower caste. That is given below:-

“.....*Thalum thakarem mummasam*
Chakkem mangem mummasam
Chenem koorkem mummasam
Anagne inagne mummasam....”²⁶⁴

It shows that how the lower people push their life with scarcity of food.

Social Order

At the bottom of the social hierarchy was the depressed class. They formed a sizeable section of the total population and were untouchable and unapproachable. A code of conduct related to occupation and caste was strictly followed in keeping away

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁶² N.M. Unni, *Sankarasmriti: Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Appendices*, Torino, 2003, p. 295.

²⁶³ Nirmala K.K, 'Nattubakshanathil Agolavalkaranathinte Swatheenam', in Leena M.A. (ed.), *Nattubakshanam*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 101.

²⁶⁴ C.R. Rajagopalan, 'Nattarivukal', in Leena M.A. (ed.), *Nattubakshanam*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004, p. 1.

from upper caste by untouchable communities in the socio-cultural space. The concept of pollution by touch or approach was the chief source of almost all disability in these communities. The Brahmin had to keep 32 feet away from the *Ezhavas*, 64 feet from *Pulaya* and 72 from *Nayadi*.²⁶⁵

The land of hierarchy paved the way for the hierarchy of society, economy and culture. Along with these, occupational hierarchy also developed. Livelihood of every person was defined and determined by *jativazhakam* or caste norms. As a part of it, the concept of purity and pollution was raised. The society conceived statuses of people according to the notions of purity and impurity, a concept deeply embedded in the caste system. The lowest castes were regarded as the most impure and it was through their menial services that the higher castes maintained freedom from bodily impurities.²⁶⁶ This was created to maintain the domination of Brahmins over lower castes in socio-economic and cultural fields. The proverb like '*onam vannalum unni pirannalum koran kanji kumbilil thanne*' shows existing social order in food culture that had existed in Kerala. The variation in the name of purity and impurity was continued not only in dishes, but also in means and ways of eating, preparation, serving and the kind of materials to serve. To preserve their purity, high-caste individuals could accept food or drink only from those of equal rank. Any food prepared or touched by someone from a lower caste was considered impure and therefore rejected. On one occasion Manu says that: -

“No counsel must be given to the *Sudras*,
Nor the left-over food either; no dharma
Must be preached to him nor must he be
Initiated into linguistic observances”²⁶⁷

²⁶⁵ Edgard Thurston, Vol. 1, *Op. cit.*, p. 148.

²⁶⁶ Marry Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, Vol. 11, Routledge, London, 1966, p. 152.

²⁶⁷ Chitra Tiwari, *Sudras in Manu*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1963, p. 43.

Through this we can understand that Manusmriti correctly stated about caste norms and regulation.

Dress

The dress pattern of people depends on the caste to which they belong. There are strict rules regarding the dress of people and from their dress pattern one can understand the person belong to which caste is. According to caste and status there was a specially defined manners about wearing dress. The dress of a *Namboothiri* man is a *languti* worn between the back and the front, around the waist and reaching a little below the knee. The second cloth in length is placed over the shoulders and tied. *Namboothiri* women are commonly known as *Antharjanam*, whose dress is a white cotton cloth usually with a gold border is attached around the rumps.

Nayar caste did not have the right to wear the dress below the knee. They wear a *dhoti* and it had length till the knee. The *Ezhavas* had the right to wear a *dhoti* just above the knee. When *Nambuthiris* were in *illoms*, they only used *thorthumundu* in normal days. The upper caste used *randam mundu* (a cloth). All the upper castes were used *valiyamund* (a long cloth) around them when they were traveling.

Nambuthiri women's (*Antharjanam*) dress pattern was different from that of another upper-caste women like *Nairs*. *Nambuthiri* women's style of dress is known as *kolathuvechudukkuka* and others are called as *okkuvechudukkuka* or *njerinjudukkuka*. This requires a piece of cloth with two and a half cubits wide and eight and a half cubits long. There was a change in their dress style when they travelled. *Nambuthiri* women cannot travel without taking blankets (*puthapp*) and umbrellas (*marakkuda*). It is called *chelapputhapp*, made of a special type of cloth (*mundu*) that is smooth and free of ridges. The *Antharjanam* travel by covering their faces with an umbrella covered from the neck to the feet.

The *Pulaya* and *Paraya* castes had no dresses, they only covered their private parts. Their women had no right to wear upper clothes and cover their breasts in front of high-caste people. They did not think the upper body was meant to be covered and were not in the habit of hiding it. The community considered it was a lack of respect,

a violation of customs and insolence if it was hidden. Poor people used stone necklaces (*kallumala*) around their necks. Both male and female ears were pieced. Women wore earrings with large holes in their ears.

Interconnection with different castes also visible in the case of *mattu*. *Mattu* (cloth washed by the washer man community) was a concept that occurred in medieval Kerala. It was closely associated to ceremonial pollution. Each caste had its own washer man. *Mannans* existed as washer man community in Eranad; seemingly identical with north Malabar *Vannans*. Their services are crucial for purification ceremonies. The *Mannan* caste gives *mattu* to the *Nair* women in Eranad. *Mattu* is used for final purification in life cycles like birth, death and menstrual pollution of women. Without this *mattu* their purification from pollution will not be completed. The period of pollution days is different among castes. For example, Among the *Kshatriyas* and *Ampalavasis*, the period is 11 or 12 days. Among the lower classes like *Cherumans*, it is considered to be pollution for 28 days. The *Veluthedan* is considered as the washer men of high caste. They were regulated to enter Brahmanical temples, but the *thiruvada* (cloth for deity) washed by polluted *Veluthedans* was put on the idol, which is considered sacred.²⁶⁸

Games and Amusements

The people of Eranad engaged in different kinds of entertainment. *Nayatt* and *kalapoot malsaram* was the local amusements. It was also associated with fertility cult. People from different parts of the area come in to the early allotted field (*kalapooth kandam*) with their bull and participate in the competition. Whose bull runs fastest, is the winner. Some games are also conducted as a part of temple festivities. Besides these *Pakidakali*, *Padakali*, *Karakali* and *Kabadi* existed as entertainment.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁸ N. Ajith Kumar, *Kerala Samskaram*, Department of Cultural Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 2004, p. 105.

²⁶⁹ *Grama Panjayath Vikasana Rekha*, Vengara Panjayath, p. 93.

Conclusion

The geographical characteristic of a region greatly influenced the growth of its distinctive culture, leading to many shared features within it. Factors such as topography, environment and climate played a key role in shaping the cultural practices. A region's culture encompasses the collective rites and rituals, festivals, belief system, art forms and daily life of people. While common elements are often present, each region also develops its own unique traits.

In the early period, people believed in trees, animals and supernatural forces. So, groves established as a site for ancestral worship. Several groves or *kavus* are found in Eranad. Snakes are also venerated and various festivals are celebrated in these *kavus*. These festivals and fairs helped the people of various castes to intermingle with each other. The cultural geography of an area is intensely dependent upon belief systems, festivals, rituals and ceremonies that exist in the region. By analysing these elements in Eranad, we gain insight into the region's cultural practices and the way they influenced its history and culture.

Temples of Eranad performed together as a center of economic and cultural institution. Many temples are found in Eranad. Many festivals and celebrations are conducted in these temples. It was based on the fertility cult. We can also see the regional variation in the celebration of festivals. The festivals and fairs held in temples established them as centres of cultural life.

In short, the discussions above mentioned enable us to know the different layers of culture that prevailed across various parts of Eranad. It provides insight into the emergence of the local belief system in relation to their customs, traditions, livelihood and their different activities. Brahmin domination in the society brought far-reaching impact and influence in this area. All these factors together lead us to conclude that the region has been active since the early period. It shows the historical continuity of the region.

Conclusion

The nature of ecology, shaped by geographical peculiarities, played a crucial role in determining the pattern of settlement in agrarian villages of Kerala. Factors such as terrain, geographical features, availability of water, and climatic conditions contributed to the emergence of dispersed settlements. Among these, the availability of water was particularly significant in encouraging the spread and sustainability of such settlement patterns.

The studies done in the previous chapters revealed the complexities involved in the formation of the Eranad region, which is part of the present Malappuram district of Kerala. The *nadu* formation in Kerala was a process more complicated than in many other parts of south India. Eranad has a long tradition and its formation can be traced back to the early historic period. In colonial India, it was a part of the then Malabar district under the Madras presidency. Before that, Eranad was a political unit under the Zamorins of Calicut. In the early medieval times, it was one of the fourteen provincial sub-divisions called *nadus* of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram. An analysis of the evidence makes it clear that Eranad emerged as an agrarian unit and gradually evolved into a *nadu* through a long historical course. This evolution can be understood by the examining several aspects of Eranad such as its geographical profile, agrarian formation, political development, and socio-cultural geography. This study has been conducted primarily through field observations and interviews. These observations are further corroborated by available evidence from inscriptions and literary sources. Disciplines such as archaeology, anthropology, onomastic, geology and geography also helped to understand various evolutionary stages of the *nadu* under study. Evidence in the form of customs, traditions, oral sources, interviews, and fieldwork has also contributed to the present study.

During the early historical period, Kerala was a part of *Tamizhakam*, which was divided into five *Tinai*s or geographical units. During this period, the agricultural practice and occupation of people were dependent on these geographical divisions.

According to Tamil *Sangam* poems, Eranad belonged to the *Mullai* tract or forest areas. The people who inhabited the *Mullai* tract were known as the *Ayar* or *Idayavar* or pastoralists. Many place names in Eranad have shown the continuation of the *Tinai* system. *Kavus* or sacred groves were seen to have existed mostly in agricultural tracts. Hence, the *kavus* found in the Eranad region suggest the existence of an agrarian society in the early historical period.

Geomorphologically, the region of Eranad is a land mostly made up of hilly areas. Based on physiographic divergence, the region can be divided into three distinct zones: high, mid, and low lands. The major rivers of the region are the Chaliyar and Kadalundi, with the area primarily situated on either side of the Chaliyar River. The core area of the *nadu* developed around the resource-rich and fertile zones in the belt of the Chaliyar and Kadalundi rivers and their tributaries. The Nilambur Valley, a significant part of Eranad, is home to various tribal communities. Tribes like *Cholanaickans*, *Aranadan*, *Kattunayakan*, *Kuruman*, *Malamuthan* and *Malapanikkan* are found residing in and around the Nilambur valley, which is part of the Western Ghats. Historically, they lived in relative isolation, with the region's physical geography exerting a significant influence on their life patterns and settlement. While geographical boundaries of a region tend to be relatively stable, its political boundaries are subject to frequent changes due to multiple factors like war, invasion, matrimonial alliances between royal families etc. This is also evident in the case of Eranad. The political boundaries of Eranad during the Chera period, when it existed as a *nadu*, was notably different from those of the early medieval, medieval and colonial periods. The region underwent multiple territorial modifications, including annexations, exclusions and incorporations during these times.

In its historical formation, Eranad underwent several distinct socio-economic and political phases- beginning with the early historic Iron Age and the megalithic period, followed by its emergence as a *nadu* under the reign of the Cheras of Mahodayapuram, its transformation into the medieval *naduvazhi swarupam* known as *Nediyiruppu swarupam* under the Zamorins, and its later incorporation as a *taluk* under the British administration. Each of these political entities evolved in response to and were shaped by the geographical units of the region.

Evidence of human settlement in the Eranad region can be traced back to the Stone Age, Evidence of pre-historical culture was found in this region. In the earliest phase, the distribution of megaliths can be seen, indicating human presence in diverse landscapes including highlands, slopes, midland areas and coastal zones. The discovery of Iron implements further suggests that there was a gradual shift from a predominantly pastoral economy to settled agricultural communities. The widespread presence of megaliths in Eranad underscores the existence of early settlements in the region. Historically, this region has witnessed continuous occupation from the early Iron Age to the modern period.

It is argued that the megalithic communities comprised of both settled agrarian communities and nomadic pastoral societies. Hence, this period is an important milestone in the evolution of agricultural practices and technological development. Many villages in the Eranad region contain different varieties of megalithic burial monuments, including urn burials, umbrella stones, capstones, cists and rock-cut chambers. These burials are predominantly located in the midland laterite zones, with some of them extending into the highland areas. Their presence in coastal areas is almost absent. An analysis of megalithic distribution of Eranad reveals that the geographical divisions of each region affect the typology of the burial monuments. This suggests that the nature of these burial monuments varied in coastal, middle and high ranges, reflecting the differentiated human involvement in each of these areas. These burial monuments thus serve as tangible indicators of sustained human occupation and cultural expression in the region. In later periods, there was seen a significant shift from the agro-pastoral to a settled agrarian economy. This agricultural production units thus expanded into the wet fertile tracts and elevated garden plots indicating the increased use of land.

The available evidence indicates that the region of Eranad developed as a cluster of agrarian settlements and the extension of this *nadu* existed with the expansion of agrarian settlements. A large area of land, which remained uncultivated during the early period, began to be extensively cultivated in subsequent periods like the early medieval and medieval periods. The emergence of non-cultivating classes such as Brahmins, ruling households, and intermediaries, who owned rights over large

areas of productive and resourceful lands, also enabled the proliferation of agrarian settlements.

A wide variety of crops were cultivated in Eranad. Among these, paddy was considered the most important. Laterite soil was mainly existed in the midland region of Eranad, where mixed crop farming was practiced. Compound sites usually appeared in these areas. Agricultural settlement units in Eranad were mainly based on the prevalence of different geographical factors like soil types, water bodies and seasons, etc. Most places in Eranad belonged to the midland region. It is bounded on the western side by the Arabian Sea, towards the east is the Nilagiri hills. Rivers, streams and ponds and also local water sources (*chena*, *thode* and *chira*) are the main water bodies of the region. Paddy was mainly cultivated in the midland area. Paddy fields were known as *vayal* or *padam*. Apart from paddy, large extents of garden crops like pepper, areca nut and cardamom were also cultivated. Numerous rituals, fairs and festivals associated with agriculture were celebrated. These had regional influences, largely based on factors such as geography and climatic conditions like rainfall, wind patterns and lunar

The emergence of *kutis*, which were occupant people was the result of this expansion of agriculture. The *kutis* later became hereditary. Many house names, plot names and place names in Eranad suggest the existence of production units. They played an important role in the social and economic life of early medieval Kerala. Place names starting or ending with *ur*, *ceri* and *kuti* represent production units in the Eranad region. These units later developed into caste and sub-caste divisions.

It can also be said that the formation of Eranad was not exclusively dependent on the cultivation of wetland paddy in the midland laterite zones. It was also dependent on the cultivation, distribution and trade of the garden crop cultivation. This suggested that the formation of *nadus* in north Kerala was closely linked to the expansion of mixed crop cultivation and the development of trade networks associated with it. However, in south Kerala, it was based on the expansion of paddy cultivation in the river areas. The early medieval temple emerged as a major landholding institution in Eranad. Pulpatta, Karikkad and Trippanachi temple inscriptions in

Eranad give information about their economic and political backing. . These temples received land grants and enjoyed the over lordship of the rulers of Eranad. Many fields in the region were transformed into gardens as a result of the expansion of garden crop cultivation. The cultivation of crops like pepper, coconut and areca nut led to the emergence of a cash crop economy in Eranad in the later periods.

The caste system played a crucial role in the land relations of the region. Agricultural labourers like *Pulayas* and *Parayas* were considered to be of the lowest position. Brahmins and *Nairs* were said to be the major castes in the region. Brahmin *illoms* and *Nair tharavadus* were established as big landlords of the region. Temples also became the centres of wealth during this period. Inscriptions like the Pulpatta Siva temple inscription gives information on the *uttu* (feast) provided by the temple.

The formation of settlements depended on various factors like the availability of water sources and other essential means for daily subsistence. The nature of these settlements were designed by the means of its subsistence. Different phases can be seen in the process of the formation of settlements in the region according to the progress in the means of subsistence of the people. During the Iron Age megalithic period, the evidence of the possible formation of various occupational groups and their settlements, which included the cattle rears, slash and burn cultivators, hunters and food gathers and also various skilled occupational groups. Thus the early settlements of the region under study have developed in the milieu of the agro-pastoral system. With the expansion of wetland agriculture production and the multi-crop garden cultivation in the elevated spaces caused for the emergence of two kinds of occupational groups and their settlements were developed within the *nadu*, like artisanal groups, craft groups and other skilled labour i.e. settlement of the labourers involved exclusively in the production process and next is the labour groups, who were not directly involved in the production process, but developed as part of the agrarian society, such as the Brahmins, temple servants, unskilled labour groups, the intermediaries such as ruling classes and their service groups etc.

The Brahmin migration to Kerala began in the sixth and eighth centuries. This resulted in the expansion of agriculture and the emergence of agricultural units called

nadus. The formation of Brahmin settlements in the Chaliyar river basin was an important feature of the early medieval period in Eranad. The distribution of sacred spaces, including temples in different settlement areas suggest the possible expansion of agrarian settlements in the *nadu*. The transaction value of land was determined by the nature of production and the number of production forces, including skilled and non-skilled labourers. The labourers were considered fixed assets, and were transferable along with the land. The study of the circulation of temples in the region reveal that they were mostly located in the multi-crop agrarian tracts that consisted of wetlands, gardens and even in the catchment zones of the rivers, rivulets or other water sources in the midland. However, it is not suggested that they were completely absent in the hilly and coastal area. Major distribution of settlements in Eranad were known to be in the catchment areas of rivers like Chaliyar and Kadalundi. The words *parambu*, *illam*, *mana*, *mana parambu*, *cennamangalam* and *mangalam* etc. signify the existence of Brahmin settlements in these areas.

Karikkatu (mentioned in *Keralolpathi*), Pullanur, Pulpatta, Trippanachi, Kunnath, Trikkalayur, Natakkavungal, Ponmala, Karakkunnu, Triprangotu, Indyanur, Kurumattur and Eravimangalam, were some of the prominent Brahmin settlements in Eranad. Some temples like the Pulpatta, Pukkottur, Triprangotu, Eravimangalam, Trikkalayur, Kurumattur, Ponmala, and Indyanur have inscriptions and others like Pullanur, Trippanachi, Karakkunnu and Natakkavungal exhibit architectural features from the early medieval period.

The inscriptions that existed in Eranad made references to the existing agricultural conditions of the area. This clearly indicates the predominance of Brahmin settlements in the region. A wide distribution of temples attached to Brahman settlements can be observed throughout Eranad. The early medieval temples of the area emerged in close association with these settlements and were strategically located in fertile and prosperous agrarian tracts. The Karikkat, Pulpatta, Pukkottur, Triprangotu, Eravimangalam, Trikkalayur, Kurumattur, Ponmala, and Indyanur inscriptions attest to the existence of prosperous Brahmin settlements and architectural splendour reflecting their substantial economic and political patronage. These records also reveal that the temples received extensive land grants and enjoyed

the over lordship of the rulers of Eranad. Furthermore, these inscriptions substantiate the evolution of *nadu* as a cluster of flourishing agrarian settlements situated along the Chaliyar and Kadalundi river belts.

Non-Brahmin settlement units also played an important role in the region's production process. The usage of terms such as *purayidams*, *teru* and *cheris* represent the development of settlements containing non-Brahmin occupational groups and craft groups. Place names such as *Kollamkandiparambu*, *Perumkollan Thodikaparambu*, *Parayarakandi*, *Aasharikandi Parambu*, *Kaliya Parambu*, *Asari Thodika Paramb*, *Chala Kandi Paramb*, *Chakkala Kandi* and *Thattalakandi* show the existence of these occupational groups. They provided services to the Brahmins in the settled area. However, compared to the neighbouring region of Walluvanad, the Brahmin settlement was very limited in Eranad.

Medieval records highlighted the proliferation of multi-crop agrarian units alongside the emergence of *swarupam* and influential households comprising various titleholders and newly-formed intermediaries. A key development during this period was the formation of intermediary classes aligned with the Nediyruppu *swarupam*, marking a significant shift in the socio-political structure of the region. The *nadu* during this phase evolved into a complex socio-economic unit consisting diverse settlements- including those of production forces, skilled and unskilled labourers, Brahmins, temple-related service groups and the matrilineal households. The matrilineal households comprised of the minor chieftains from various *kovilakams*, *swarupam* title holders and household servants etc. While they were not directly engaged in cultivation, they played a crucial role in integrating the production process and maintaining control over both the production forces and the means of production.

During the early medieval period, a barter system functioned as the primary medium of exchange in the region. However, in later periods, the development of coins emerged as a medium of exchange in the region. The expansion of agriculture paved the way for the growth of trade and exchange. *Cantas*, *Angatis* and ferries became the central points for trade and commerce in Eranad. The Chaliyar and Kadalundi rivers significantly contributed to the development of trade in the area.

These rivers along with their offshoots, served as vital inland waterways to enable the easy movement of commodities within the region. This served as a medium to enhance connectivity and economic activity. Notably, the hilly terrain of Eranad became a well-known hub for spice cultivation.

The concept of land rights in early Eranad is not explicitly articulated in the available historical evidence. However, it can be assumed that three types of land ownership rights - *brahmaswam*, *devaswam* and *cherikkal*- prevailed during the early medieval Eranad. The extensive distribution of *cherikkal* lands, referred to in the *granthavari* records, indicates that these were lands directly held by the Nediyruppu *swarupam* during the medieval and late medieval periods. Along with these three types, the *janmam* and *kanam* forms of land ownership existed during the medieval period. The *janmam* was the hereditary nominal rights over the production units, the processes of production and distribution. The surpluses from the production units and the exchange spaces and proliferation of complex forms of settlements have corresponded to the formation of a political system that controlled the process of the surplus accumulation and its re-distribution.

By the 11th century, the *Utayavar* of Eranad came to be known as the Nediyruppu *swarupam*. The Zamorins established their kingdom and became independent rulers after the disintegration of the Ceras of Mahodayapuram. They were originally the *samantas* of Perumals, hence they came to be known as *samanta Kshatriyas*, marking their elevation from local chieftains to monarchs. The emergence of Zamorins as independent rulers from the position of *Eranattutayavar* reflects a deliberate pursuit of political legitimisation through the adoption of grand titles and royal authority. To consolidate power, the Nediyruppu *swarupam* implemented various strategies, including interference in the succession practices of traditional institutions and the assertion of control over hereditary rights. The political structure under the Zamorins was multifaceted. Power was dispersed among royal officials, local chiefs, royal kinsmen and local magnates wielded significant influence within their respective domains. Kingship followed a matrilineal system of succession. The Zamorins strengthened their kingdom by territorial expansion through strategic annexations. The *Kozhikkodan granthavari* serves as the main historical source to

provide insight into the political, social, economic and cultural conditions of their reign. The administration of the Zamorin relied heavily on a cadre of high-ranking functionaries who held *cherikkal* lands granted by the rulers. They acted as intermediaries, by coordinating and supervising the princely states under the Zamorins.

Most travelogues from the 12th to the 16th century A D refers to the flourishing trade at Calicut under the Zamorins. The emergence of Calicut as a prominent centre of foreign trade occurred following the relocation of the capital of the *swarupam* from Nedyiruppu to Calicut. These travelogues consistently identify Calicut as the principal commercial hub of the *nadu*, where a wide array of spices were extensively traded with the Western and West Asian region. These spices include pepper, ginger and cardamom.

An analysis of foreign travellers' accounts on Calicut reveals that many of them vividly described the size, structure and aesthetic appeal of Calicut city. These accounts also mention the prominence of its port, the character of its people and the richness of their culture. Several accounts express admiration for the safety afforded to the foreign merchants, the prevailing peace and order, the authority of the Zamorins, and the efficient administration of justice under their rule. There is a consensus among these travellers that the Calicut port was among the finest ports in the world, frequently engaging in trade with various foreign communities. These accounts also highlight the remarkable religious harmony that existed in the region and the hospitality that the natives extended to the foreigners, including the safeguarding of their goods in the market place. Travel accounts have noted the widespread pepper cultivation in the countryside and forested areas. Pepper was identified as the main attraction and most profitable export commodity. They also observed the strong presence of Arab merchants and a thriving Muslim community within the city. In short, the major share of revenue of the Calicut kingdom was from trade in pepper with the western powers. The gardening and trade in cash crops led to the emergence of new landholders like the *Mappilas*, who later became influential participants in the economic life of this region.

The Mysorean invasion brought considerable political instability into the region. Mysorean rulers started a different revenue system. Following the agreement of Sreerangapatanam, Tipu Sultan ceded his places in Malabar to the British. By 1800, the Malabar region came under the direct control of East India Company administration. For administrative convenience, the British implemented a new revenue system in Malabar. They also divided Malabar into different *taluks*. As a part of this reorganisation, Eranad was designated as a *taluk* under the British administration.

To summarise, the generation of surpluses from production zones and exchange networks, along with the emergence of complex settlement patterns, contributed to the development of political systems that controlled the process of the surplus accumulation and its redistribution. Across different historical phases, distinct socio-political systems evolved and assumed control over the *nadu*. The geographical distinctiveness along with the co-existence of diverse social groups gave rise to a unique culture milieu in this region. Thus, we can say that the historical geography of Eranad reflects the historical continuity of the region from early period to modern times.

Recommendations

The present study 'Historical Geography of Eranad' is an attempt to study the process of the evolution of the region of Eranad from the Iron Age historic period to medieval period. The development of region is based upon cultural and geographical forms. It explored how a region is historically constituted in its interface with geography of that particular region. It also provided a significant contribution to the historiography of ancient and medieval in Kerala in general and the historical geography of a *nadu* in particular. Most of these earlier studies try to understand the political history of the region and keep a distance from the process of social formation. The regional formation in Kerala has been connected with the formation of *nadus*. So, the present work tries to understand the process of the formation of Eranad. However there is a scope for further studies within a wider frame work. The intention of this chapter is to propose recommendations for future research. Possible avenues for further research are listed below.

There is a scope for further research to understand the micro-analysis of the specific region that helps us to examine the general pattern of social and political developments in Kerala. It executed a vast time and little space. It can be more concentrate the relationship between landscape and ecosystem of that particular region. The further researchers can avoid the conventional political and social history and analyze the undefined role of geographic formations including geology and climate in reconfiguring a region, human habitations and the multiple historical process involved in it. The further researchers can also examine how a geographical region is constituted with the human interventions and how the everyday life and the history of the region is designed by geography they live in by analysing reciprocal relations.

There is a scope for to study the other *nadus* in pre-modern Kerala. They can also more examine the transformation of a region from agrarian unit in to *nadu* form.

The concept of linking history with spatial understanding is common in disciplines like geography, anthropology, history and sociology. So the further researchers can utilize the scope and methodology of spatial history, mainly refers to the study of historical events, places and processes through the lens of geography and space. It also focused on how space- whether physical, social and cultural shapes the historical narratives and how historical events are connected to the geographical context. This approach can reveal how human activities have transformed landscapes over time and how geography influence societal developments. They can also address on how physical environment, historical process and social contexts intersect to shape the lived experiences of individuals and communities and how space and place are not just physical or geographical constructs, but also deeply tied to identity, power relations and cultural narratives.

Further researchers can also utilize the methodology of human geography to study a specific region or *nadu*. The field of human geography covers the study of how people interact with the environment, the distribution of populations and the cultural, economic and social processes that shape human societies. It examines the relationship between humans and the spaces they inhabit, including topics like migration, urbanization, language and the impacts of human activity on the environment. So coming researchers can also brought vast canvas of human geography like population, population distribution, division of mankind, ethnic groups, political groups, cultural differences, settlements, resources, minerals and manufacturing, transport, towns and cities etc in to their study.

There is also scope for coming researchers to bring depth studies into the field of historical geographies. Several historical geographers mentions geographical patterns through time consisting of how people have related with their environment and formed the cultural landscape. Such a field of 'cultural landscape' is not done as part of the present study. It can also be studied in future. The following parts also need more attention to coming researchers, who concentrate in the field of historical geography:-

1. The process of the geographical factor in history
2. Cultural landscape development
3. Past geographies restoration
4. The learning of geographical change through time
5. Human and environment adjustment
6. Economic, social and cultural relations of different regions
7. Study of the era of development by time.

Further researchers can also give more attention to Annals historical methodology. It is a departure from political history to economic and social history. Its another aim was an interdisciplinary approach and it emphasized critical, comprehensive and total analysis of empirical data to uncover the deep structure of human action and its effect on the physical environment. They can also look the fields such as climate, population, farming, trade, technology, transport, communication, social structure and mentalities as a part of micro-level studies. The goal of this was to create a comprehensive history that made extensive use of quantities of data and produced detailed micro-level studies of villages and regions.

The educational institutes and researchers have the opportunities to document the historical development of their local areas. So it helps the development of micro-level or local histories in the academic and non-academic sectors of Kerala. Such studies have been attempted to understand the importance of historical and human geographical perspectives for micro-regional studies. It will covers natural and environmental, political, social, anthropological, cultural and economic geography of the region.

In the case of Kerala, it is difficult to clearly differentiate the cultural layers between the Iron Age and the early historic period. The major archaeological remains from this phase are burial monuments referred to as 'megaliths'. The widespread presence of megaliths in Kerala shows the existence of early settlements in the region.

Historically, this region has witnessed continuous occupation from the early Iron Age to the modern period. There is a need for to enquire the typology of the burial monuments. This shows that the nature of these burial monuments varied in coastal, middle and high ranges and it will helped to understand the differentiated human involvement in each of these areas.

There is a need for more attention to coming researchers to enquire complex relationship between agrarian expansion and formations of *nadus* in Kerala in the medieval period. They should also try to know more details about how the expansion of agriculture resulted to 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. Trade and networks and region's trans-oceanic connection in the larger trade networks also be studied in future.

The field of 'social and cultural landscape' are needed more attention from future studies. Along with traditional sources, they can also use ethnography to gather the data especially folklore traditions and songs prevalent in the area. Social landscapes can be studied through examining the everyday life of the people or different communities. Social and cultural landscapes are configured by geography, environment and climate.

GLOSSARY

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Acharam</i> | : | Customary practices |
| <i>Adhikari</i> | : | Revenue functionary under Zamorin / village officers |
| <i>Adima</i> | : | Slave |
| <i>Akapoduval</i> | : | Officer in charge of the internal administration of the temple |
| <i>All Aladiyar/ Adiyalar</i> | : | Agricultural labourer |
| <i>Ambalavasi</i> | : | Castes of temple servants |
| <i>Amsam</i> | : | Lowest administrative unit |
| <i>Angadi</i> | : | Local market |
| <i>Anticanta</i> | : | Evening market |
| <i>Ariyittu Vazhcha</i> | : | Coronation ceremony |
| <i>Arunnuttuvar</i> | : | Hundred organization during Perumal period |
| <i>Asari</i> | : | Carpenter |
| <i>Attipper or Nir Attipper</i> | : | Lease with full rights over land and people |
| <i>Bali</i> | : | Ritual sacrifice |
| <i>Bhagavathi</i> | : | Mother Goddess |
| <i>Brahmaswam</i> | : | Land ownership right of Brahmins |
| <i>Ceri</i> | : | Settlement of occupational groups. |
| <i>Chaliya</i> | : | Weaver, weaver caste |
| <i>Chanta</i> | : | Temporary market |
| <i>Chelavyum Chirikayum</i> | : | Accession ceremony of <i>naduvazhis</i> |
| <i>Cherikkal</i> | : | Crown land |
| <i>Cherumar/ Pulayar/ Panar</i> | : | Primary Producing classes. |
| <i>Chola</i> | : | Stream from forests. |

| | | |
|------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Danam</i> | : | Gift, donation |
| <i>Desam</i> | : | Administrative unit |
| <i>Desavazhi</i> | : | Headman of the <i>desam</i> |
| <i>Devaswam</i> | : | Temple property |
| <i>Elayaa Tampuran</i> | : | Junior Prince |
| <i>Embran</i> | : | Priest |
| <i>Ezhunnallath</i> | : | Ceremonial journey of king, procession |
| <i>Granthavari</i> | : | Palm leaf record |
| <i>Ilamkuru</i> | : | Junior lineage |
| <i>Janma Maryada</i> | : | The traditional code of conduct related to the <i>janmam</i> land |
| <i>Janmam</i> | : | Birth right |
| <i>Janmi</i> | : | Landlord |
| <i>Jati</i> | : | Caste |
| <i>Kaccam</i> | : | A term appears mainly in the inscriptions to denote traditional code of conduct. |
| <i>Kacheri</i> | : | Judicial court |
| <i>Kadavu</i> | : | Ferry |
| <i>Kalampatt</i> | : | It is a traditional performing art in Kerala |
| <i>Kalari</i> | : | Martial art of Kerala |
| <i>Kalaripayatt</i> | : | An exercise of martial arts |
| <i>Kalagam</i> | : | A mud pot that contains toddy |
| <i>Kammalar</i> | : | A group of crafts men consisted of <i>Asari</i> , <i>Musari</i> , <i>Tattan</i> and <i>Kollan</i> |
| <i>Kammattam</i> | : | Mint |
| <i>Kandam</i> | : | Wet land, especially paddy cultivation field |
| <i>Karalar</i> | : | Tenants |
| <i>Karanavar</i> | : | Head of a <i>Nair tharavad</i> |
| <i>Karanmai</i> | : | Tenancy right |

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Karazhma</i> | : | Right over land |
| <i>Karuvan / Kollan</i> | : | Blacksmith |
| <i>Karyakkar</i> | : | Officials during Zamorins |
| <i>Kash</i> | : | A coin |
| <i>Katu</i> | : | Forest |
| <i>Kaval</i> | : | Money paid for the guard of soldiers |
| <i>Kavu</i> | : | Scared grove |
| <i>Keralolpathi</i> | : | Chronicle relating to the origin of the land and people of Kerala |
| <i>Khazi</i> | : | Muslims religious leader |
| <i>Kolkali</i> | : | <i>Mappila</i> art form |
| <i>Kovil</i> | : | A title used by kings and mistress |
| <i>Kovilakam</i> | : | House of king, <i>naduvazhi</i> or lords |
| <i>Koyiladhikari</i> | : | The representative of the <i>naduvazhi</i> |
| <i>Kshatriya</i> | : | The ruling lineage |
| <i>Kudiyirippu</i> | : | Right over a piece of land for dwelling and to construct a hut |
| <i>Kulam</i> | : | Pond |
| <i>Kunnalakkon</i> | : | Title of Zamorin |
| <i>Kunnu</i> | : | Hill |
| <i>Kuru Malsaram</i> | : | Conflict between Brahmin sects during medieval Kerala |
| <i>Kuruti</i> | : | Animal sacrifice |
| <i>Kuruvahcha</i> | : | Hierarchy of authority |
| <i>Kuti</i> | : | Settlement unit of agricultural labourer |
| <i>Kutimakkal</i> | : | Agricultural Labourers settled in <i>kuti</i> |
| <i>Illam/ Mana</i> | : | Brahmin house |
| <i>Lokar</i> | : | Soldiers |
| <i>Makkattayam</i> | : | Patriliney |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Mangalam</i> | : | Brahmin settlement |
| <i>Manipravalam</i> | : | The literature of medieval Kerala composed in hybrid language of Sanskrit and Malayalam |
| <i>Manithara/ Nilapad Thara</i> | : | The platform where the Zamorin stood in <i>Mamangam</i> |
| <i>Mannathi</i> | : | Washer women |
| <i>Marumakkattayam</i> | : | Matriliny |
| <i>Marutham</i> | : | The geo-eco zones representing the wet fields in the <i>Sangam</i> literature |
| <i>Melcharth</i> | : | A promissory deed to a tenant by <i>Jenmi</i> |
| <i>Melkoyma</i> | : | Overlord-ship |
| <i>Melsanthi</i> | : | Senior priest of the temple |
| <i>Menoki</i> | : | Overseer, Administrator |
| <i>Methanmar</i> | : | Muslims |
| <i>Mullai</i> | : | The geo-eco zones representing the bushy hillock slopes in the <i>Sangam</i> literature |
| <i>Muppu</i> | : | Seniority |
| <i>Musari</i> | : | Brass workers |
| <i>Mutha Tampuran</i> | : | Senior prince |
| <i>Naduvazhi</i> | : | Ruler of the <i>nadu</i> |
| <i>Nagas</i> | : | Serpents |
| <i>Nair</i> | : | A caste in Kerala society |
| <i>Nambutiris</i> | : | The Malabar Brahmins |
| <i>Nadu</i> | : | Administrative division / cultivated land |
| <i>Nilam</i> | : | Muddy wetland |
| <i>Nilavilakku</i> | : | Oil lamp |
| <i>Nira Puttari</i> | : | Agrarian festival in Malabar |
| <i>Oothala</i> | : | Iron smelting furnace |
| <i>Oottu</i> | : | Feast |

| | | |
|---------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Palai</i> | : | The geographical eco-zones representing the parched area |
| <i>Palliyara</i> | : | Bedroom of king |
| <i>Panam</i> | : | A golden coin |
| <i>Paniyan</i> | : | A tribal group. |
| <i>Para</i> | : | A quantity, measuring vessel |
| <i>Paradevatha</i> | : | Family goddess |
| <i>Parambu</i> | : | Garden land |
| <i>Patam</i> | : | Wetland |
| <i>Pattam</i> | : | Land tax, rent |
| <i>Perumal</i> | : | The ruling chief of the second Chera kingdom |
| <i>Perumkollan</i> | : | A sub-division of blacksmith |
| <i>Pooja</i> | : | Ritual offering to Hindu god |
| <i>Poojari</i> | : | Priest |
| <i>Poythi</i> | : | Functionary of Zamorin |
| <i>Pula</i> | : | Pollution |
| <i>Pulakuli</i> | : | Death pollution |
| <i>Pulam</i> | : | Cultivated land |
| <i>Punam</i> | : | Slash and burn cultivation |
| <i>Punthurakon</i> | : | A title of Zamorin |
| <i>Punthurakon Theett</i> | : | Order of Zamorin, writing |
| <i>Punyaham</i> | : | purifying ceremony in a temple |
| <i>Puram</i> | : | Festival |
| <i>Purayitam</i> | : | Settlement unit |
| <i>Purushantharam</i> | : | Inheritance tax |
| <i>Sabha</i> | : | Organization of Brahmins |
| <i>Sala</i> | : | Educational institution of medieval Kerala |
| <i>Samanta</i> | : | <i>kshatriyas</i> without Vedic rituals |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|---|--|
| <i>Sanketham</i> | : | Protected area of a temple |
| <i>Shailabdheeswaran</i> | : | Title of Zamorin |
| <i>Swarupam</i> | : | Royal house |
| <i>Tachan</i> | : | Carpenter |
| <i>Tara</i> | : | Smallest administrative unit in a <i>natu</i> |
| <i>Tarakuttam</i> | : | Organization of <i>tara</i> |
| <i>Tattan</i> | : | Gold smith |
| <i>Tavazhikal</i> | : | Matrilineal lineage fractions of the <i>Swarupam</i> |
| <i>Thali</i> | : | marriage badge tied on the neck of the bride by the bridegroom |
| <i>Thaliyathiri</i> | : | Administrator of temple affairs during Chera period |
| <i>Thangal</i> | : | Descendants of Prophet Muhammed |
| <i>Tharavad</i> | : | A joint family unit of <i>Nairs</i> |
| <i>Thavazhi</i> | : | A Branch of the family according to the system of matriliney |
| <i>Theeyum Thiriyum</i> | : | A lighted oil lamp |
| <i>Theru</i> | : | Street |
| <i>Thirumudippazhivaricharth</i> | : | Accession ceremony |
| <i>Thirumulkazhcha</i> | : | Gift |
| <i>Tira</i> | : | A ritual art in Malabar |
| <i>Totu</i> | : | Water channel |
| <i>Udaval</i> | : | Sword of king |
| <i>Udavalanakkal</i> | : | accession ceremony of <i>naduvazhis</i> |
| <i>Ur</i> | : | Agrarian settlement unit |
| <i>Urachch</i> | : | Local currency |
| <i>Uraler</i> | : | Temple official |
| <i>Uruppika</i> | : | A coin |

| | | |
|-------------------------------|---|---|
| <i>Uthala</i> | : | The techniques like furnace were used here, for the production of Iron implements |
| <i>Vaaram</i> | : | Land tax |
| <i>Valum Pudavayum Nalkal</i> | : | Accession ceremony of <i>deshavazhis</i> |
| <i>Vaniyas</i> | : | The oil mongers |
| <i>Vannan</i> | : | Washer men |
| <i>Vannathi Mattu</i> | : | Cloth washed by the washerwoman |
| <i>Vanpulam</i> | : | Mixed crop cultivation area |
| <i>Varier</i> | : | Temple servant |
| <i>Vayal</i> | : | Wet field |
| <i>Vazhi</i> | : | Custom duty |
| <i>Vazhunnavar</i> | : | Ruler of the land. |
| <i>Vellalar</i> | : | Agrarian community |
| <i>Verumpattam</i> | : | Simple lease |
| <i>Vilakku</i> | : | Oil lamp |
| <i>Viruthi</i> | : | Free hold land / survive tenure |
| <i>Yogam</i> | : | Temple body |

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Inscriptions

Rao Gopinath, T.A., *Travancore Archaeological Series*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1920.

Sewell, Robert, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. 1, Indological Book House, New Delhi, 1979.

The Anandapuram Temple Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 41.

The Jewish Copper Plate Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 11.

The Karikatu Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 7.

The Kollam Ramesvara Temple Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 14.

The Kurumathur Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 8.

The Pukkottur Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 23.

The Pulpatta Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 12.

The Syrian Copper Plate Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 20.

The Tharissappalli Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. C. 12.

The Triccambaram Temple Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. 96.

The Tripparangotu Inscription cited in Narayanan, M.G.S., *Index to Cera Inscriptions*, Index No. A. 13.

Tamil Classical Literature

Nenmara, P. Viswanathan Nair (ed.), *Akananuru*, Vol. II, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1987.

Parameswaran Pillai, V.R., *Purananuru*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 1969.

Manipravalam Literature

Achuthanunni, Chathanath and M.R. Raghava Varrier (eds.), *Unnichirutevi Caritam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2017.

Danuvachapuram, Sundaran (ed.), *Unniyaticaritam*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 2000.

Gopinathan Nair, N. (ed.), *Unniyacci Caritam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016.

Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam, P.N. (ed.), *Unnineelisandesam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2016.

Kunjikuttan Tampuran, Kodungallur, *Rantu Sandesangal: Sukasandesavum Kokasandesavum*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.

Unni, N.P. (ed.), *Kokilasandes of Uddandda*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 1972.

Travel Accounts

Badger George, Percy (ed.), *The Travels of Ludovico Di Varthema*, Deep Publication, London, 1863.

Barbosa, Duarte, *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar*, Cambridge University Press, London, 1866.

Buchanan, Francis, *A Journey From Madras Through the Countries for Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988.

Dames Longworth, Mansel (ed.), *The Book of Duarte Barbosa*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989 (1812).

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, Oriental Publications, New Delhi, 1971.

Husain, Mahdi (ed.), *Rehla of Ibn Batuta*, University of Baroda, Baroda, 1953.

Schoff, H. Wilfred, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Munshi Ram Manoharlal, New Delhi, 1974.

Granthavaris

Gundert, Herman, *Keralapazhama, Keralolpathi, Ayirathinuru Pazhanjol*, Sahithya Pravarthaka Co-operative Society Ltd, Kottayam, 2014 (1868).

Gundert, Herman, *Keralolpathi*, Stolz & Ruther, Basel Mission Press, Mangalore, 1868.

Kozhikodan Granthavari, Unpublished Palm leaf Manuscripts, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram.

Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Keralolpathi*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2008.

Raghava Varier, M.R., *Keralolpathi Granthavari*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2016 (2013).

Zacharia, Scaria (ed.), *Herman Gundert: Keralolpathiyum Mattum*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1992.

Archival Records

Kerala State Development Records, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1991.

Kozhikode District Development Records, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1991.

Malappuram District Development Records, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1991.

Paymash Accounts of Eranad Taluk, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

Re- Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode, 1935.

Rejikumar J. (ed.), *Graeme's Report of the Revenue Administration on Malabar*, Kerala State Archives Department, Government of Kerala, Kochi, 2010.

Rejikumar J. (ed.), *The Joint Commissioner's Report on Malabar 1792-1793*, Kerala State Archives Department, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 2010.

Settlement Records of Eranad Taluk, Preserved at Regional Archives, Kozhikode, 1905.

Census Reports

Census of India 1891- General Reports, Government Gazette Press, Madras, 1893.

Census of India 1911, Vol. XII, Madras, Part I, Report, Government Press, Madras, 1912.

Census of India 1961, Kerala, Vol. VII, Part VI-A, Village Survey Monograph: Malappuram Kozhikkode and Kannanore.

Census of India 1971, Kerala, Series IX, Part V-B (1), Ethnographic Notes on Scheduled Tribes, New Delhi.

Census Statement of Population of 1871, Government Gazette Press, Madras, 1874.

District Census Handbook, Part X-A, Town Village Dictionary, Part X-B, Primary Census Abstract, Palakkad, Malappuram Kozhikkode and Kannanore, Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

Kerala District Census Handbook, Palakkad, Malappuram, Wayanad, Kozhikkode, Kannur and Kasargod, Regional Archives, Kozhikode.

Report of the Commission for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, Regional Archives, Kozhikode, 1969-70.

Manuals and Gazetteer

Innes, C.A., *Malabar District Gazetteers*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1977.

Logan, William, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to the British Affairs in Madras*, Asian Educational Services, Madras, 1984.

Logan, William, *Malabar Manual*, Vol. II, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2010 (1887).

Ramachandran Nair, Adoor K.K., *Kerala District Gazetteer Malappuram*, State Editor, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1986.

Ramachandran Nair, Adoor K.K., *Kerala State Gazetteer*, Vol. 11, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1986.

Shreedhara Menon, A., *Kerala District Gazetteer Kozhikkode*, State Editor, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1986.

Shreedhara Menon, A., *Kerala District Gazetteers*, Government of Kerala, Kozhikkode, 1962.

Ward and Conner, *A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar*, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1995.

Souvenirs and Other Records

Anakkayam Merchant Association Golden Jubilee Souvenir, Manjery, 2007.

Grama Panjayat Vikasana Rekha, Malappuram District, Kerala, 1996.

Karikkad Temple Souvenir, Karikkad, 2010.

Manjery Merchant Association Golden Jubilee Souvenir, Manjery, 2009.

Muthedath Paliseri Mana Sudarmasi Kudumbam Souvenir, Karikkad, 2000.

Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekha, Malappuram Nagarasabha, Kerala, 1996.

Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekha, Manjeri Nagarasabha, Kerala, 1996.

Nagarasabha Vikasana Rekha, Thirur Nagarasabha, Kerala, 1996.

Perumtrikkovil Temple Souvenir, Trippanachi, 2009.

Pulpatta Siva Temple Souvenir, Pulpatta, 2008.

Vaniyam Kulam Panjayath Vinjaaneeyam, Vaniyamkulam Panjayath, Ottappalam Taluk, Palakkad District, Kerala Council for Historical Research, Thiruvananthapuram, 2001.

Fieldworks

Field visit at Karikkad on 30/3/2022.

Field visit at Karuvarakund areas on 2/05/2022.

Field visit at Nilambur on 27/06/2022, 28/6/2022 & 29/6/2022.

Field visit at Perumtrikkovil Siva temple at Trippanachi on 2/2/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Abdurahman Nagar on 10/2/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Areakode on 15/1/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Faroke on 5/2/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Iruvetty on 5/3/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Kudakall on 10/2/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Manjeri on 25/1/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Pulpatta Patterkulam on 28/1/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Trippanachi on 2/2/2022.

Field visit conducted at Archaeological sites at Valluvambram on 3/2/2022.

Field visit conducted at Iruvetty Karinkali *Kavu* at Kavanur on 12/ 10/ 21.

Field visit conducted at Kavanur or Pariyarakkal *Kavu* at Kavanur on 13/11/2021.

Field visit conducted at Melmuri *Kavu* at Malappuram on 16/11/2021.

Field visit conducted at Mundakkal Karinkali *Kavu* at Kuzhimanna village on 6/11/2021.

Field visit conducted at Palakkad Karinkali *Kavu* at Pulppatta village on 8/11/21.

Field visit conducted at Parappur Karinkali *Kavu* at Vilayil Parappur on 15/11/2021.

Field visit conducted at Pazham Parambu Karinkali *Kavu* at Kizhuparamb on 5/10/21.

Field visit conducted at Pazhassi Raja Archaeological Museum at Kozhikode on 4/5/2022.

Field visit conducted at Poyilikavu at Nediyrrippu on 11/ 11/ 2021.

Field visit conducted at Tiruvali Karinkali *Kavu* at Tiruvali on 9/11/2021.

Interviews

Interview with Abdul Majeed (65), Retired staff at Regional Archives Calicut on 27/9/2022.

Interview with Ayisha Kutty (76), House wife and native in Kondoty on 27/06/2022.

Interview with Chathan (84), Member of Cholar colony on 18/9/2022.

Interview with Cheriyan (69), Farmer on 12/03/2022.

Interview with Choolan (85), Farmer on 7/ 8/ 2022.

Interview with Chozhi (72), Climber and a *Tiyya* caste man and native in Mundakkal on 30/01/2023.

Interview with Damodaran *Nambudiri* (67), Temple servant and native in Karikkad on 25/8/2022.

Interview with Damodaran *Nambudirippad* (58), Priest of the Siva temple at Pulpatta and also a native of Pulpatta, on 28/10/2022.

Interview with Gopalan (67), Farmer on 28/2/2022.

Interview with Gopalan Master (78), on 27/07/2023.

Interview with Gopalan *Nair* (85), Former *Janmi* at Chekkode village on 23/06/2022.

Interview with K. Krishnaraj (65), Chief Archaeologist, Pazhassi Raja Archaeological Museum, Kozhikode on 17/6/2022.

Interview with K.P. Rajesh (45), Assistant Professor, NSS College Manjery on 21/05/2023 & 18/10/2024.

Interview with Kalyani (79), House worker at Kaliyattamukku on 16/06/2022.

Interview with Kalyanikutty Amma (67), Retired teacher in Kizhisseri on 28/2/2022.

Interview with Kammukutty Haji (80), Farmer in Kuzhimanna on 20/04/2022.

Interview with Koya (83), Farmer and native in Kaliyattamukku on 16/06/2022.

Interview with Kutty Krishnan *Nair* (77), Former *Janmi* and native in Pulpatta on 15/09/2022.

Interview with Manu *Thangal* (60), Native of Vellur, on 2/1/2023.

Interview with Matha (68), House worker and a *Tiyya* caste women and native in Mundakkal on 24/07/2023.

Interview with Midhusha (55), Native in Parappur on 28/2/2022.

Interview with Moosa Haji (75), Native in Manjery and worked as trader in Manjeri *chanda* on 17/4/2023.

Interview with Muhammed Haji (82), 9/4/2023.

Interview with Muhammed Master (59), Teacher and native in Pookottur on 27/06/2022.

Interview with Narayani (55) and Cheriyan (60), belonged to *Kanakkan* community in Cheekkode *Panjayath* on 15/06/2022.

Interview with Narayani (58) House Worker on 14/04/2022.

Interview with on Santa (78), Sweeper on 8/7/2022.

Interview with Pokker Haji (76), Trader and business man on 24/08/2022.

Interview with Prasad (65), Labourer and native of Kuzhimanna, on 25/10/2022.

Interview with Radha *Varasyar* (69), Native in Pulpatta on 18/7/2022.

Interview with Ramadas Sir (72), Retired Professor on 27/9/2021.

Interview with Ramakrishnan Master (59), on 13/07/2022.

Interview with Suresh (70), Merchant in Pazhayangadi and native in Malappuram on 25/4/2023.

Interview with Suresh (87), Farmer on 25/03/2022.

Interview with Unni *Nambudiri* (75), A member of *Vilakatt illom* of Trippanachi on 15/3/2022.

Interview with Unnikrishnan *Nambishan* (72), Temple Servant in Trippanachi on 15/06/2022

Interview with Vargees (72), Retired staff at Regional Archives Calicut on 28/9/2022.

Interview with Vasudevan *Nambudiri* (79), Native in Karikkad and a member of *Vilakkatt illom* on 12/08/2022.

E-Sources

Anitha A.B, Shahul Hameed A. and Narasimha Prasad N.B., *Integrated River Basin Master Plan for Chaliyar*, Centre for Water Resources Development and Management, Kozhikode, Kerala, 2000.

Directorate of Soil Survey and Soil Conservation, Department of Agriculture, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram.

District Survey Reports of Minor Minerals Malappuram District, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum (www.dmg.kerala.gov.in).

District Urbanisation Report Malappuram, Department of Town and Country Planning, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum (www.dur.kerala.gov.in).

Forest and Tree Resources in State and Union Territories: Kerala, Indian State of Forest Report, Land Use Statistics, Ministry of Agriculture, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum.

Geological Map of the Malappuram District, Geological Survey of India, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram.

Vinod K, Asokan P.K. and Joshi K.K., '*Glimpses of Biodiversity in the Kadalundi-Vallikunnu Community Reserve*', ICAR- Central Marine Fisheries Research Institute, Calicut.

Websites

<http://kerala.me/lakes-and-rivers>.

<http://www.keralaagriculture.gov.in/html/soils/fssoil.html>

<http://www.prd.kerala.gov.in/keralam.htm>

<http://www.prokerala.gov.in/com/kerala/districts>

<http://www.prokerala.com/kerala/history>

<http://www.keralaculture.org>

<http://www.keralatravels.com>

Secondary Sources

English Books

Abdul Kareem, C. K., *Kerala Under Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan*, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh, 1968.

Adiga, Malini, *The Making of Southern Karnataka Society, Polity, and Culture in the Early Medieval Period AD 400-1030*, Orient Longman, Chennai, 2006 (2005).

Alen, R.H., Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2003.

Balasco, Warren, *Food: The Key Concepts*, Oxford University Press, New York, 2008.

Bhattacharya, Amitabha, *Historical Geography of Ancient and Early Medieval Bengal*, Sanskrit Pustak Bhandar, New Delhi, 1977.

Braudel, Fernand, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, Harper Row, New York, 1972.

Chakrabarti, Dileep K. (ed.), *Archaeological Geography of the Ganga Plain – the Lower and Middle Ganga*, Permanent Black, New Delhi, 2001.

Champakalakshmi, R., *Trade Ideology and Urbanization in South India 300 BC to 300 AD*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996.

Cheliah, V., *Pathupattu: Ten Tamil Idylls*, The South Indian Siva Sidhanta Works, Thirunelveli, 1962.

Childe, Gorden, *Man Makes Himself*, Aakar Books, New Delhi, 2017.

- Christopher, G. Boone and Ali, Modarres, *City and Environment*, Pearson, New Delhi, 2007.
- Cunningham, Alexander, *Geography of Ancient India*, Trubner and Co, London, 1871.
- Darby, H.C. (ed.), *A New Historical Geography of England Before 1600*, Cambridge University Press, U K, 2010.
- Darby, H.C., *The Theory and Practice of Geography*, University Press of Liverpool, U K, 2010.
- Dikshit, K.N. and Ajith Kumar (ed.), *The Megalithic Culture of South India*, Indian Archaeological Society, New Delhi, 2014.
- Dikshit, R.D., *Geographical Thought A Contextual History of Ideas*, PHI Learning Pvt. Ltd, New Delhi, 2018.
- Domeshe, Mona, Michael Heffernan and Charles, W.J. Withers (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Historical Geography*, Vol. 1, Sage Publishers, New Delhi, 2020.
- Douglas, Marry, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concept of Pollution and Taboo*, Vol. 11, Routledge, London, 1966.
- Gilbert, E.W., *What is Historical Geography*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1999. Fawcett, F., *Nayars of Malabar*, Vol. 111, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1985 (1915).
- Fawcett, Fred, *Namboothiris*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 2001.
- Ganesh, K.N., *Locality and Culture in Kerala History: The Case of Tirurangadi*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2010.
- Ganesh, K.N., *Reflections on Pre Modern Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2016.
- Ganesh, K.N., *State Formation in Kerala: A Critical Overview*, ICHR, Bangalore, 2010.

- Gangouly, Dilip Kumar, *Historical Geography and Dynastic History of Orissa*, Punthi Pustak, New Delhi, 1975.
- Gondon East, W., *An Historical Geography of Europe*, Palala Press, New Delhi, 2015.
- Gurukkal, Rajan and Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Cultural History of Kerala*, Department of Cultural Publications, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1999.
- Gurukkal, Rajan and Raghava Varrier, M.R., *History of Kerala From Prehistoric to Present*, Orient Blackswan, Telegana, 2020 (2018).
- Gurukkal, Rajan, *Social Formation in Early South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2010.
- Gurukkal, Rajan, *The Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian System*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1992.
- Haridas, V.V., *Zamorins and Political Culture of Medieval Kerala*, Orient Blackswan, New Delhi, 2016.
- Hoskins, W.H.G., *The Making of the English Landscapes*, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1955.
- Hussain, Majid, *Evolution of Geographical Thought*, Rawat Publishers, New Delhi, 2001.
- Illias, M.H. and Shamsad, Hussain, *Arabi –Malayalam: Linguistic Traditions of Mappila Muslims of Kerala*, Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts, New Delhi, 2017.
- Jayashanker, S., *Temples of Malappuram District*, Directorate of Census Operations, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997.
- Johnston R.J.D. Gregory, P. Haggett, D.M. Smith and D.R Stoddart (eds.), *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1965.
- Kailasapathi, K., *Tamil Heroic Poetry*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1968.

- Kodungallur, Kunjikuttan Tampuran, *Rantu Sandesangal: Sukasandesavum Kokasandesavum*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Kosambi, D.D., *An Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, Popular Prakashan, New Delhi, 1996.
- Krishna Ayyar, K.V., *Zamorins of Calicut*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 1999 (1938).
- Krishna Ayyer, K.V., *A History of Kerala*, Achagam Publishers, Kozhikode, 1968.
- Krishna Swami Ayyengar, S., *South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1921.
- Krishnaswami, A., *The Tamil Country Under Vijayanagar*, Annamalai University, Tamil Nadu, 1964.
- Kumar, Ajit, *Archaeology in Kerala: Emerging Trends*, Department of Archaeology, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011.
- Kumar Bhattacharya, Pranab, *Historical Geography of Madhya Pradesh from Early Records*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 2010.
- Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam, P.N., *Studies in Kerala History*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1970.
- Kurupp K.K.N. and Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Kalaripayattu: The Traditional Martial Arts of Kerala*, Cultural Publication Division, Trivandrum, 1997.
- Law, B.C., *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, Gyan Publishing House, India, 1954.
- Leshnik, L.S., *South Indian Megalithic Burials: The Pandukal Complex*, Franze Steiner Verlag Gmbh, Wiesbaden, 1974.
- Luiz, A.A.D., *Tribes of Kerala*, Bharatiya Adimjati Sevak Sangh, New Delhi, 1962.

- Madhava Menon, T. (ed.), *A Hand Book of Kerala*, International School of Dravidian Linguistic, Thiruvananthapuram, 2000.
- Mangalam, S.J., *Historical Geography and Topography of Andhra Pradesh*, Sundeep Prakashan, New Delhi, 1986.
- Mathur, P.R.G., *Tribal Situation in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997.
- Minakshi, C., *Administration and Social Life Under the Pallavas of Kanchi*, University of Madras, Madras, 1938.
- Mitchel, J.B., *Historical Geography*, Hodder Arnold H & S, London, 1954.
- Mitchell, Don, *Cultural Geography a Critical Introduction*, Wiley Blackwell Publishers, U S, 2000.
- Muhammed Koya, S.M., *Mappilas of Malabar*, Sandhya Publications, Calicut University, 1983.
- Nagam Ayya, V., *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. 11, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1989.
- Nainar, M.H., *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of Southern India*, University of Madras, Madras, 2011 (1942).
- Namboothiri, Govindan, *Srauta Sacrifices in Kerala*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, 2002.
- Nanditha, Krishna and Amirthalingam M., *Sacred Plants of India*, Penguin Random House India, Haryana, 2014.
- Narayanan, M.G.S. (ed.), *Vanjeri Granthavari*, Calicut University, Department of History, 1987.
- Narayanan, M.G.S., *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Kerala Historical Society, Trivandrum, 1972.

- Narayanan, M.G.S., *Perumaḷs of Kerala Brahmin Oligarchy and Ritual Monarchy Political and Social Conditions of Kerala Under the Chera Perumals of Makotai (C AD 800 – AD 1124)*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2013 (1996).
- Neelakanta Sastri, K.A., *A History of South India*, Oxford University Press, Madras, 1966 (1955).
- Nilakanta Sastri, K.A., *Pandyan Kingdom*, Oxford University Press, London, 1929.
- Padmanabha Menon, K.P., *A History of Kerala*, Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1984.
- Pandey, M. S., *Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*, Motilal Banarsidass Publishers, New Delhi, 1963.
- Panikkar, K.M., *Geographical Factors in Indian History*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1955.
- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan (ed.), *Ibn Battutta Kanta Keralam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Marco Polo Indiyil*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2002.
- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Sancharikal Kanda Keralam*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2012.
- Piatti Farnell, Lorna, *Food and Culture in Contemporary American Fictions*, Routledge, New York, 2011.
- Pillai, K.K., *Historical Heritage of the Tamils*, M J Publishers, Chennai, 1979.
- Pounds, N.J.G., *A Historical Geography of Europe 450 BC-1330*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2009.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Village Communities in Pre-Modern Kerala*, Place Name Society of Kerala, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1994.

- Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Village Community in Pre-Colonial Kerala*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1994.
- Rajendran, P., *Unravelling the Past: Archaeology of Keralam and Adjacent Region in South India*, Heritage Publishers, New Delhi, 2018.
- Rao, Gururaja, *Megalithic Culture in South India*, University of Mysore, Prasaranga, 1972.
- Sachu, C., *Al-Beruni's India*, Rupa Publications, New Delhi, 2002.
- Saran Das, Guru, *Handbook of Geography*, Book Enclave, Jaipur, 2015.
- Sarkar, H., *Architectural Survey of the Temples of Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 1978.
- Sastri Nilakanta, A., *Foreign Notices of South India*, University of Madras, Madras, 1935.
- Sewell, Robert, *Lists the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. 1, Indological Book House, New Delhi, 1882.
- Shangoony Menon, P., *History of Travancore*, The State Institute of Languages, Kerala, 1878.
- Sharma, R.S., *India's Ancient Past*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2006.
- Shastri, S.S., *Tribes of Kerala*, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 1995.
- Shelar, S.K., *An Introduction to Geography*, Gaurav Books, Kanpur, 2016.
- Sherring, M.A., *The Tribes and Castes of the Madras Presidency*, Cosmo Publications, Delhi, 1975.
- Singh, K.S., *The Scheduled Castes*, Vol. 11, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1995.
- Sreedhara Menon, A., *A Survey of Kerala History*, S Viswanathana Pvt. Ltd, Chennai, 2003 (1967).

- Sreenivasa Ayyangar, M., *Tamil Studies: Essays on the History of People, Language, Religion and Literature*, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1982 (1914).
- Stein, Burton, *Peasant State and Society in Medieval South India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1980.
- Subbarayalu, Y., *Political Geography of the Chola Country*, State Department of Archaeology, Tamilnadu, 1973.
- Subrahmanian, N., *Pre-Pallavan Tamil Index*, University of Madras, Madras, 1966.
- Subramanyan, Sanjay, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650*, Cambridge University Press, New Delhi, 2004.
- Sukumaran Nair, P.K. (ed.), *Scheduled Tribes of Kerala at Glance*, KIRTADS, Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 2003.
- Thurston, Edgar, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Cosmo Publications, New Delhi, 1975.
- Tiwari, Chitra, *Sudras in Manu*, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1963.
- Udaya Ravi, S. Moorti, *Megalithic Culture of South India*, Ganga Kaveri Publishing House, Varanasi, 1994.
- Unni, N.M., *Sankarasmriti: Introduction, Critical Edition, Translation and Appendices*, Italy, 2003.
- Vallat, George, *Discovery of Kerala*, S B Press and Book Depot, Trivandrum, 1977.
- Veluthat, Kesavan, *Brahman Settlements in Kerala Historical Studies*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2013 (1978).
- Veluthat, Kesavan, *The Political Structure of Early Medieval South India*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1993.
- Venugopalan, T.R., *Process and Structure: A History of Medieval Kerala*, Current Books, Kozhikode, 2022.

Vilanilam, J.V. Antony Palackal and Sunny Luke (eds.), *Introduction to Kerala Studies*, Vol. 1, International Institute for Scientific and Academic Collaboration, U S A, 2012.

Malayalam Books

Abdul Ali, O., *Nammude Swantham Trippanachi*, Published by the Author, Trippanachi, 2018.

Abdul Qadar, Koduvalli, *Kerala Muslimkalude Ulpathi*, Sunni Publication Centre, Thirurangadi, 1987.

Abdulla Kutty, V., *Arekodinte Kissa*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, 2012.

Achuthamenon, Chelanatt, *Keralathile Kaaliseva*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2015.

Ajith Kumar, N., *Kerala Samskaram*, Department of Cultural Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 2004.

Aujum, N., *Chaliyar Rekhakal*, M E S College, Areakode, 2004.

Balakrishnan, P.K., *Jathi Vyavasthithiyum Kerala Charithravum*, Current Books, Trissur, 1983.

Balakrishnan, P., *Kalarippayattu: Keralathile Prachina Ayodhanamura*, S N Press, Kozhikode, 1994.

Bargavan Pilla, G., *Keralathile Pananmar Pattukal*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2001.

Baskaraguptan, E.P., *Desayanam*, Samabavini Books, Kadambazhippuram, 2013 (2004).

Baskaranunni, P., *Pathonbatham Nuttandile Keralam*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2012 (1988).

Bharathan, K.M., *Nattusamskrithiyude Nadavazhikal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2015.

- Chandera, M.S., *Kaliyattom: Patanavum Pattukalum*, N B S, Kottayam, 1977 (1968).
- Clari, Sasidaran, *Keralathile Nadan Kalakal*, Chintha Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012.
- Clari, Sasidharan, *Vettathunattile Thottam Pattukal*, Olive Publication, Kozhikode, 2012.
- Damodaran Nettoor, P., *Adhivasikalude Keralam*, Anmol Publications, Kottayam, 1984.
- Dhirar, V.H., *Uthala*, Samskrithi Publications, Kozhikode, 2011.
- Ganesh, K.N., *Keralathinte Innalekal*, Department of Cultural Publication, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997 (1990).
- Gangadharan, C.P., *Krishigeetha Chollum Vayanayum*, Nattarivu Padana Kentram, Trissur, 2012.
- Gopalakrishnan, K., *Keralathinte Samskarika Charitram*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 1994.
- Gopalan Nayar, C., *Malabarile Tirayattangl*, D C Books, Kozhikode, 2010.
- Gundert, Herman, *Malayalam-English Dictionary*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2013 (1872).
- Gurukkal, Rajan and Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Kerala Charitram*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, Edappal, 2011 (1991).
- Hamsa, T.K., *Mappilappattinte Maduryam*, Oliv Publications, Kozhikode, 2009.
- Haridas, V.V., *Samoodiriperuma Madyakala Keralathile Rashtreeya- Samskarika Charitram*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 2012.
- Haridas, V.V., *Samutiri Kalathe Kozhikode: Kathayum Charitravum*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2012.

- John Ebrahim, Mangat, *Madhya Kerala Charithra Veekshanam*, Jonathan Road, Cochin, 2013.
- Joy Kuryan, Jobi and Sheeja, Arun (eds.), *Keralathile Kalakal*, Evergreen Books, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012.
- Koch, K.K., *Kerala Charitram Samuha Rupeekaranavum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2012.
- Krishnan, N.R., *Ezhavar Annum Innum*, Seena Publishing, Engandiyur, 1967.
- Kumar Pradeep, K.S. (ed.), *Keralathile Gotra Kalakal* (Mal.), KIRTADS, Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 2020.
- Kumar Pradeep, K.S. (ed.), *Keralathile Pattika Varga Janathayude Savisheshathakal Jeevitha Chuttupadukal*, KIRTADS, Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 2020.
- Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam, P.N., *Janmi Sambradayam Keralathil*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 1959.
- Kunjan Pillai, Elamkulam, P.N., *Keralam Ancum Arum Nuttantukalil*, D C Books, Kottayam, 1961.
- Kunjikuttan Thampuran, Kodangallur, *Kokasandesam*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Kurupp, Mukundan, *Kerala Charitram Kalariyum Kalarupangalum*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2019 (2013).
- Kutty, V.M., *Ishal Nilav*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, 2006.
- Kutty, V.M., *Mappilappattinte Charitra Sanjarangal*, Lipi Publications, Kozhikode, 2008.
- Latheef, N.K.E., *Mappila Shaili*, Vachanam Books, Kozhikode, 2010.
- Maduvayi, Umar, *Kondotiyude Verukal*, Kondoty Centre, Kondoty, 2011.

- Maduvayi, Umar, *Kondoty Thangal*, Kondoty Khubba Thakkiya Charitable Trust, Kondoty, 2018.
- Manavikrama Raja, K.C. (ed.), *Keralolpathi Kilippattu*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2016.
- Mannarashala, Sumesh, *Sarpparadhanayum Prakrthi Samrakshanavum*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2000.
- Mathirappalli, Manoj, *Keralathile Aadivasikal Kalayum Samskaravum*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2013.
- Mavur, Shreenarayanan, *Cholanaikkarum Kakkapukkalum*, Current Books, Kottayam, 1992.
- Muhammed Abdul Sathar, K. K., *Kondoty Charitram Samskaram*, Vachanam Books, Kondoty, 2021.
- Muhammed Ahammed, B., *Mappila Folklore*, Samayam Publications, Kannur, 2009.
- Muhammed Kunji, P.K., *Mappilamarum Keralavum*, Institute of Mappila Studies, Trissur, 1954.
- Muhammed Kunji, P.K., *Muslimengalum Kerala Samkaravum*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2008.
- Muraleedharan, Nellikkal, *Kerala Jathi Vivaranam*, Rainbow Publishers, Chengannur, 2008.
- Namboothiri, C.K., *C K Namboothiriyude Lekhanangal*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2012.
- Namboothiri, N.M., *Kerala Samskaram Akavum Puravum*, Calicut University Central Co-operative Stores, Calicut, 2004.
- Nambuthiri, N.M., *Malabar Patanangal Samuthirinad*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram 2013 (2008).

- Nambuthiri, N.M., *Samuthiri Charitrathile Kanapurangal*, Vallathol Vidyapeetham, Sukapuram, 1987.
- Nilambur, K.R.C., *Nilimbapurathinte Naalvazhikal Nilambur Charitram*, Nilmbur Paristhithi Samrakshana Samiti, Nilambur, 2016.
- Pachumuthath, *Tiruvitamkur Charithram*, Prathiba Publishers, Kochi, 1867.
- Padmanabha Menon, K.P., *Kochi Rajya Charitram*, Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 2021.
- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Charitrathinte Prabhatha Kiranangal*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2011.
- Panikkasseri, Velayudhan, *Keralathile Rajavamsangal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2012.
- Pankajakshan, M.R., *Kerala Bhashaganangal*, Vol. 3, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2005 (1989).
- Parameswaran Nambuthiri, D., *Charitrathinte Desavazhi Melattur*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2012.
- Payyanad, Raghavan, *Vadakkanpattu Padanangal*, Center for Folklore Studies, University of Calicut, 2000.
- Pootheri, Balan, *Kaliyattakav*, Pootheri Books, Kondoty, 2006.
- Pootheri, Balan, *Munniyur Kaliyattam*, Pootheri Books, Kondoty, 2009.
- Pulluveli, Jose, *Natu Pacha Nattormakalude Samaharam*, Insight Publication, Kozhikode, 2014.
- Puthkkode, Gopi (ed.), *Ramanattukara Charitravum Varthamanavum*, Kerala Book Stall, Kozhikode, 2019.
- Puthusseri, Ramachandran, *Kerala Charitrattinte Atisthana Rekhakal*, Kerala Basha Institute, Trivandrum, 2007.

- Raghava Varrier, M.R. and Kesavan Veluthat, *Tarissappalli Pattayam*, SPCS, Kozhikode, 2015.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Ammavazhikeralam*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2006.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Keraliyatha Charithramanagal*, Vallathol Vidyapeedom, Sukapuram, 2009.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., *Madhyakaala Keralam Sambath Samooham Samskaram*, Chinda Publications, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997.
- Rajeev, V., *Aryadhinivesavum Nambudiri Samskaravum*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2015.
- Rajesh, K.P., *Vatakkal Malabar: Samuhavum Charitram*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2011.
- Ramachandran, K., *Mannanjeriyude Innalakkal*, Speed Prints, Areakode, 2020.
- Ramachandran, Puthusseri, *Kerala Charithrathinte Atisthana Rekhakal*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2007.
- Ramesh, P.R. (ed.), *Nattarivukal Nattusangeetham*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.
- Ravi Kumar Kaani, V., *Gotra Thaalam*, Aice Publication, Nedumangad, 2014.
- Saddham, Muhammed, *Chaliyathinte Charitra Chalanagal*, Published by Author, Chemmad, 2013.
- Sankaran Nambudiripad, Kanippayyur, *Aryanmarude Kudiyettam Keralathil*, Panchangam Pusthakasala, Kunnankulam, 2014 (1966).
- Sasibhusan, M.G., *Desacharithram Keraleeyakshetrangalilude*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2009.
- Seeliya Thomas, P., *Keralathile Adivasi Kalaparambaryam*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011.
- Seeliya Thomas, Perumbanani, *Keralathile Adivasikalude Jeevithavum Samskaravum*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2005.

Shreedhara Menon, A., *Kerala Charitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2007 (1967).

Sivasankaran Nair, K., *Keralam Oru Lantakarante Drishtiyil*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2005.

Somasekharan, *Keralappazhama: Oru Charitra Sanjaram*, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trissur, 2010.

Tazhakkara, Muraleedhar, *Krisiyile Nattarivu*, Kerala Bhasha Institute, Trivandrum, 2013.

Thanur, Parameswaran, *Vettam*, Thanur Sanjara Grandhalayam, Thanur, 2011.

Articles and Journals

Abdul Nasar, M.C., 'Kondotiyude Natu Charitram', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.

Action Plan for Cholanaicken Development IX Plan, Kerala Institute for Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Tribes (KIRTADS), Government of Kerala, Kozhikode, 1998.

Aiyappan, A., 'Rock-cut Cave-Tombs of Feroke, South Malabar', in *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXII, reproduced in M.R. Manmathan (ed.), *Archaeology in Kerala Past and Present*, Farook College, Calicut, 2007.

Aneesh, S., 'Problem in Fixing the Regnal Years of the Rulers of Mahodayapuram From Ninth Century AD to Tenth Century AD – A Historical Reappraisal', in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 6, October 2018.

Arya Nair, V.S., 'The Early Medieval Temple of Eranad: A Study of Karikkad, Pulpatta and Trippanachi', in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology* 5, 13 November 2017.

- Ashraf, E.M., 'Eranadan Kunnukalil Snehathinte Thelineerumayi' in M.S. Mani (ed.), *Kalakoumudhi*, Kalakoumudhi Publications, Trivandrum, November 30, 1986.
- Babington, J., 'Description of the Pandoo Coolies in Malabar', in *Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay*, 1823.
- Balakrishna Kuruppu, K., 'Polanatum Porlatiriyum' in N.M. Namboothiri and P.K. Sivadas (eds.), *Kerala Charitrathinte Nattuvazhikal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2015.
- Chalippadam, Satheesh, 'Ala- Cholanaikar/ Muthanmar', in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keralaeeyathayude Nattariv -5 Nattarivile Penn*, May - July 1997, Kanimangalam, Trissur, May - July 1997.
- Chalippadam, Satheesh, 'Cholanaikkante Kaivelakal', in K.P. Dileep Kumar (ed.), *Nattarivukal Nadodikkaivela*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.
- Clari, Sasidharan, 'Samsarika Perumayud Triprangode' in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.
- Dale, F. Stephan and M. Gangadhara Menon, 'Nercca: Saint-Martyr Worship Among the Muslims of Kerala', in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*, Ajanta Publishers, New Delhi, 1955.
- Dhirar, V.H., 'Kattunaikkarum Kattarivukalum', in E. Unnikrishnan (ed.), *Nattarivukal Kattarivukal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.
- Dhirar, V.H., 'Malabarile Uthalakal', in N.M. Namboothiri and P.K. Sivadas, (eds.), *Kerala Charithrathinte Nattuvazhikal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2011.
- Dhirar, V.H., 'Nattariv Malabarile Uthalakal', in K.T. Ram Mohan (ed.), *Kerala Patanagal*, Chithira Publishers, Kochi, 1994.
- Dikshitar R.R., 'Some Hill Tribes of Malabar', in P.K. Narayanan Pillai (ed.), *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Department of History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1955.

- Dileep Kumar, K.P., 'Krishipattukal', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Nattarivu Pattukal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2008.
- Dinesh, Thirur, 'Thunjethezhuthachan', in *Vettam Kalasamkarika Vedi Smaranika*, Thirur, 2012.
- Freeman, James, 'Gods, Groves and the Culture of Nature in Kerala', in *Modern Asian Studies*, Cambridge University Press, U K, 1999.
- Fukker Ali, C.A., ' Festival As A Power Legitimising Tool: A Study of Nilambur Pattu', in K. Rajan (ed.), *Perspectives- A Journal of the Department of Post Graduate Studies in History and Centre for Advanced Studies in Local Knowledge*, Vol. V, No. 5, Government Victoria College, Palakkad, 2013.
- Fukker Ali, C.A., 'Ethno-Historic Implications of the Archeological Remains in Eranad', in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman (ed.), *Journal of South Indian History*, Publication Division, University of Calicut, Vol. 5, Issue 2, May 2019.
- Fukker Ali, C.A., 'Festival as a Source for Reconstructing Tribal Ethnography: The Nilambur Pattu' in *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, Vol. 72, Part. 11, 2011.
- Ganesh, K.N., 'Agrarian Society in Kerala (1500-1800)' in P.J. Cheriyan, (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Kerala Gazetteer, Vol. II, Trivandrum, 1999.
- Ganesh, K.N., 'Lived Spaces in History: A Study in Human Geography in the Context of Sangam Texts', in *Studies in History*, 25, 2009.
- Ganesh, K.N., 'Ownership and Control of Land in Medieval Kerala: *Janmam Kanam* Relations During the 16th -18th Centuries', in *Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 28, 1991.
- Ganesh, K.N., 'Transitions of Historical Consciousness', in M.P. Mujeebu Rehiman and K.S. Madhavan, (eds.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2011.

- Gangadaran, C., 'Kalaripayatt', in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997.
- Gangadharan, M., 'Krishigeethakkoru Amugham', in K.T. Ramohan (ed.), *Kerala Padanangal* 1, April- June 1993, Chithira Publishers, Ernakulum 1993.
- Gurukkal, Rajan, 'A New Epigraph Referring to Eranadu', in *Proceedings of the Thirty Seventh Session, Indian History Congress*, Calicut, 1976.
- Gurukkal, Rajan, 'The Socio-Economic Millie of the Kerala Temple: A Functional Analysis CE 800- 1200 AD', in *Studies in History*, Vol. 11, Sage Publication, India, 1980.
- Haridas, K.U., 'Kalari Marma Chikilsa', in K.M. Anil (ed.), *Nattariv*, Vol. 1, Chintha Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 2009.
- Haridas, V.V., 'Madyakala Kozhikodan Samuham', in Arshad Batheri (ed.), *Samskarika Paithrikam*, Book 2, Issue 4, March 2009.
- Haridas, V.V., 'Kozhikodinte Kadha', in Arshad Batheri (ed.), *Samskarika Paithrikam*, Book 3, Issue 8, July 2009.
- Haridas, V.V., 'The Forms and Functioning of a Medieval State in Kerala: The Zamorins of Kozhikode', in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman and K.S. Madhavan (eds.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, SPCS, Kozhikode, 2014.
- Haridas, V.V., 'Tradition of Suicide Squads,' in V.V. Haridas and Haskerali (eds.), *Multi-Cultures of South India*, Karnataka State Open University, Mysore, 2015.
- Ibrahim Kunju, A.P., 'Genesis and Spread of Islam', in *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Vol. 111, September to December, Parts 111 & 1V, Department of History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1976.
- Ibrahim Kunju, A.P., 'Origin and Spread of Islam in Kerala', in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*, Ajanta Publishers, New Delhi, 1955.

- Jaleel, K.A., 'Islam in Kerala', in Dr. E.P. Antony and Prof P.A. Ibrahim Kutty (eds.), *Kerala History Association- Diamond Jubilee Souvenir*, Ernakulum, 2017.
- Janardhan, K., 'Bhadrakalikalam', in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997.
- Karassei M. N., 'Mappila Chollukal', in E.C. Haskkarali (ed.), *Mappila Vasantham: Charitram Varthamanavum*, Sullamussalam Science College, Areakode, 2012.
- Karasseri, M.N., 'Arabic-Malayalam', in Asghar Ali Engineer (ed.), *Kerala Muslims: A Historical Perspective*, Ajanta Publishers, New Delhi, 1955.
- Karasseri, M.N., 'Mappilappatt', in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997.
- Karasseri, M.N., 'Mappilappattu', in *Indian History Congress 67th Session Souvenir*, 2007 March 10-12, Farook College, Calicut, 2011.
- Kathirikkoya, N., 'Oppana', in Raghavan Payyanad (ed.), *Kerala Folklore*, Folklore Fellows of Malabar (Trust), Payyannur, 1997.
- Kumar, Ajith, 'An Ethno- Archaeological Appraisal of Cholanaickens at Nilambur', in M.R. Manmathan (ed.), *Archaeology in Kerala Past and Present*, Publication Division, Farook College, Calicut, 2007.
- Logan, William, 'Finds of Ancient Pottery in Malabar', in Jass Burgess (ed.), *The Indian Antiquary A Journal of Oriental Research*, Vol. VIII-1879, Swasthi Publication, Delhi, 1984 (1879).
- Madhavan, K.S., 'Kutis and Agrarian Production in Early Medieval Kerala', in *Journal of South Indian History*, Vol. 5, Issue 2, University of Calicut, May 2019.
- Major, R.H., 'Journey of Abdur Razzak', in R.H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Deep Publication, London, 1974.

- Major, R.H., 'Travels of Nicolo Conti', in R.H. Major (ed.), *India in the Fifteenth Century*, Deep Publication, London, 1974.
- Maloney, Clarence, 'Archaeology in South India: Accomplishments and Prospects', in Burton Stein (ed.), *Essays on South India*, University Press of Hawaii, USA, 1975.
- Menon, Vijayakumar, 'Puzha- Samsarika Charitra Bimbam', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.
- Meppale, 'Vayalpatt' in *Prabhatham*, Newspaper of Kerala Congress Socialist Party, December 9, 1938.
- Muhammed Kunji, P.K., 'Mappila Pattukal', in *Samskara Keralam*, July, Issue. 7, Samskarika Prasadheekarana Vakupp, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984.
- Muhammed Maheen, A., 'Exploring *Kavu*: A Space for Indigenous Culture and Ecological Wisdom', in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman and K.S. Madhavan (eds.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, SPCS, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Namboothirippad, E.M.S., 'Kerala Charitram Jati Vyavasthiyum', in *Samskara Keralam*, April- June, Book 9, Issue. 2, Samskarika Prasadheekarana Vakupp, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995.
- Narayanan, M.G.S. and Kesavan Veluthat, 'The Bhakti Movement in South India', in S.C. Malik (ed.), *Indian Movement: Some Aspects of Dissent and Protest*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Shimla, 1978.
- Nirmala, K.K., 'Nattubakshanathil Agolavalkaranathinte Swatheenam', in Leena M.A. (ed.), *Nattubakshanam*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.
- Notermans, Catriona, Albertina Nugteren and Suma Sunny, 'The Changing Landscape of Sacred Groves in Kerala (India): A Critical View on the Religion in Nature Conservation', in *Religions*, 9 April 2016.

- Padmaja, V.T., 'Exploring Kavu: The Primitive Mother Goddess Worshipping Centers of Kerala', in M.R. Manmathan (ed.), *Archaeology in Kerala Past and Present*, Publication Division, Farook College, Calicut, 2007.
- Pauldurai, G., 'Cultural Geography of Milalaikkurram', in Dr. S. Aruldoss (ed.), *Indian Historical Studies*, P G and Research Department of History, St. Joseph's College (Autonomous), Vol. XI11 (No. 2) & XIV (No. 1), April & October 2017.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., 'Calicut in History: Rise and Growth of the Royal Seat of the Nedyiruppu *Swarupam*', in M.P. Mujeeb Rehiman and K.S. Madhavan (eds.), *Explorations in South Indian History*, National Book Stall, Kottayam, 2014.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., 'Keralathile Karshika Vyapanam (1200-1500 AD)' in Kunjiraman (ed.), *Samskara Keralam*, April- June 1995.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., 'Naduvazhi Swarupangalude Valarcha', in V.J. Vargees, Dr. N. Vijayamohanan Pilla and Dr. Scaria Zacaria (eds.), *Anjooru Varshathe Keralam Chila Arivadayalangal*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2001 (1999).
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., 'State as *Svarupam*: An Introductory Essay', in R. Champakalakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat, T.R. Venugopalan and C. Achutha Menon (eds.), *State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2002.
- Raghava Varrier, M.R., 'Temple Festivals in Medieval Kerala' in K.K. Kusuman (ed.), *Journal of Kerala Studies*, Department of History, University of Kerala, Trivandrum, Vol. X V, December 1988.
- Rahiman, M.A., 'Eranadan Swapnangal' in M.S. Mani (ed.), *Kalakoumudhi*, Kalakoumudhi Publications, Trivandrum, October 16, Issue 112, 1977.
- Rajagopalan, C.R., 'Nattarivukal', in Leena M.A. (ed.), *Nattubakshanam*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.

- Rajagopalan, C. R., 'Vayalpattukalum Kalakalum', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Nattarivu Pattukal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2008.
- Rajagopalan, E.P., 'Kaavum Kulavum', in Prof. Pathmana Ramachandran Nair (ed.), *Kerala Samskara Padanagal*, Current Books, Kottayam, 2013 (2011).
- Rajesh, K.P., 'Megaliths of North Kerala: Formation of Technologically Advanced Agro-Pastoral Iron Age and Early Historic Society,' in *Heritage: Journal of Multidisciplinary Studies in Archaeology*, 5 (2017), Department of Archaeology, Thiruvananthapuram, 2017.
- Rajesh, K.P., *Archaeology of Iron Age Burials of North Malabar, Kerala, India: A Cognitive Analysis- UGC Minor Research Project Report*, Department of History, NSS College, Manjeri, 2016.
- Saxena, H.M., 'Trade Centres and Trade Routes in Medieval Rajasthan', in Irfan Habib and V.K. Thakur (eds.), *A People's History of India- The Vedic Age*, Thulika Books, New Delhi, 2003.
- Shamsad, 'Eranadan Thirandu Kalyanam', in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keraleeyathayude Nattariv-5 Nattarivile Penn*, May – July 1997, Kanimangalam, Trissur, May – July 1997.
- Simi, V., 'Aalayum Paniyayudhangalum', in K.P. Dileep Kumar (ed.), *Nattarivukal Nadodikaivela*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.
- Sivadasan, T.P., 'Local History of Leaders of Hills (*Mala-Muthans*) in Eranad Taluk in Pre-Independence Period', in N. Gopakumaran Nair (ed.), *Re-Imagining Histories: Selected Papers From Kerala History Congress*, Current Books, Trissur, 2019.
- Sivadasan, T.P., 'Understanding the Funeral Custom- A Study on Tribe in Nilambur Area', in Dr. S. Ganeshram (ed.), *Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Session of South Indian History Congress*, Department of History, Osmania University, Hyderabad, 2019.

- Sreekumar, T.T., 'Sasya Vaividya Krishigeethayil', in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keraleeyathayude Nattariv-3 Vithth*, July-August 1995, Kanimangalam, Trissur, 1995.
- Srinivasan, K.R., 'The Megalithic Burials and Urn-Fields of South Indian in the Light of Tamil Literature and Tradition', in *Ancient India*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi, 1952.
- Thapar, Romila, 'Regional History: The Punjab', in Romila Thaper (ed.), *Cultural Pasts: Essays in Early Medieval Indian History*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2015 (2000).
- Uruniankuth, Balasubrahmanian, 'Pampadipattu- A Study of Funeral Songs of Kanakkan Community of Malappuram District', in N. Gopakumaran Nair (ed.), *Re-Imagining Histories: Selected Papers From Kerala History Congress*, Current Books, Trissur, 2019.
- Valath, V.V.K., 'Kaavukalum Sthalacharitravum (Trissur Jilla)', in Dr. N.M. Namboothiri and P.K. Sivadas (eds.), *Kerala Charitrathinte Naattuvazhikal*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2009.
- Vasist, M.C., 'Kerala Through the Ages Pre-History to 1498', in J.V. Vilanilam, Antony Palackal and Sunny Luke (eds.), *Introduction to Kerala Studies*, International Institute for Science and Academic Collaboration, USA, 2012.
- Veluthat, Kesavan, 'History and Historiography in Constituting a Region: The Case of Kerala' in *Studies in People's History*, 1 June 2018.
- Veluthat, Kesavan, 'History as Performance: A Note on *Keralolpathi*', in Paper Presented in the *Seminar in Honour of Romila Thapar*, India International Centre, New Delhi, March 15-18, 2018.
- Veluthat, Kesavan, 'Logan's Malabar: Text and Context', in Kesavan Veluthat and P.P. Sudhakaran (ed.), *Advances in History*, M.P. Sridharan Memorial Trust, Calicut, 2003.

Veluthat, Kesavan, 'Political Forms', in P.J. Cheriyan, (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History*, Vol. 11, Kerala Gazetteer, Government of Kerala, Trivandrum, 1999.

Veluthat, Kesavan, 'Temple and the State: Religion and Politics in Medieval South India', in Champaka Lakshmi, Kesavan Veluthat and T.R. Venugopalan (eds.), *State and Society in Pre-Modern South India*, Cosmo Books, Trissur, 2002.

Vijayalakshmi, M., 'Calicut in the International Trade of Medieval World', in *Indian History Congress, 67th Session Souvenir*, Farook College, Calicut, March 10 - 12, 2007.

Vishnu Nambuthiri, M.V., 'Theyyattathil Nizalikkunna Natu Charitram', in Dr. C.R. Rajagopalan, (ed.), *Nattucharitram*, D C Books, Kottayam, 2004.

Vishnunamboodiri, M.V., 'Utharakeralathile Viththuppattukal', in C.R. Rajagopalan (ed.), *Keraleeyathayude Nattariv-3 Vithth*, July-August 1995, Kanimangalam, Trissur, 1995.

Ph.D Thesis and M.Phil Dissertations

Ammukkutty, K.P., *The Military System of Kerala (C 1000 A D to C 1600 AD)*, Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1990.

Anjana, V.K., *Geo-political Formation of Nadus in North Kerala: A Study of Kadathanadu*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2020.

Arya Nair, V.S., *Temples of Early Medieval Kerala: A Study Based on Archaeological and Literary Evidences*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2020.

Devadas, V.P., *Archaeology of Eranad*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1993.

Fukkar Ali, C.A., *Ethno History of Tribes in Malappuram District*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2009.

- Ganesh, K.N., *Agrarian Relations and Political Authority in Medieval Travancore (A.D.1300-1750)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1987.
- Greeshmalatha, A., *Historical Geography of Valluvanad*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2008.
- Gurukkal, Rajan, *Agrarian System and Socio-Political Organization: The Early Pandyas*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1984.
- Lalu, Keezhapatt, *Vettathunadinte Samskarika Patanam- Oru Patanam*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of Malayalam, University of Calicut, 2013.
- Madhavan, K.S., *Primary Producing Groups in Early and Early Medieval Kerala: Production Process and Historical Roots of Transition to Castes (300-1300 CE)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2012.
- Muhammed Anwar, K.A., *Naduvazhis and Sanketam in Medieval Kerala*, M.Phil. Dissertation, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1988.
- Rajesh, K.P., *Historical Geography of Kolathunadu: A Study of the Regional Formation in Medieval North Kerala*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2011.
- Rekha, E., *Nadus in the Age of Perumals (AD 800- AD 1200)*, Unpublished M. Phil Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2001.
- Sonima, R., *Domination and Degradation: A Study of Social Stratification and Caste Hierarchy in Medieval Kerala (C. 1200-1750 AD)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2021.

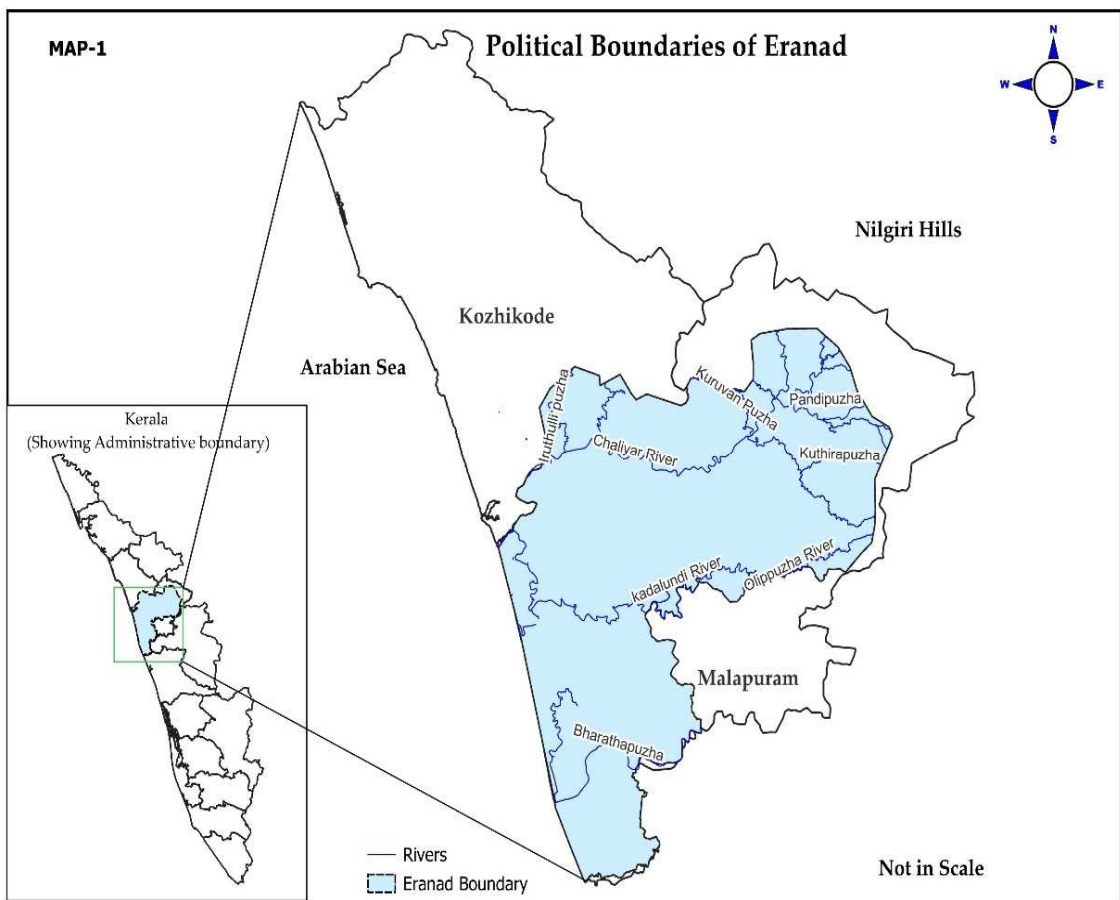
- Sujatha, K.S., *Formation of Material Culture in the Bharatapuzha Basin During the Pre-Historic and Early Historic Period- A Study of Megalithic Burials*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 2019.
- Vijayalakshmi, M., *Trade and Trading Centers in Kerala (A.D 800-1500)*, Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Department of History, University of Calicut, 1997.

Appendix I

Maps

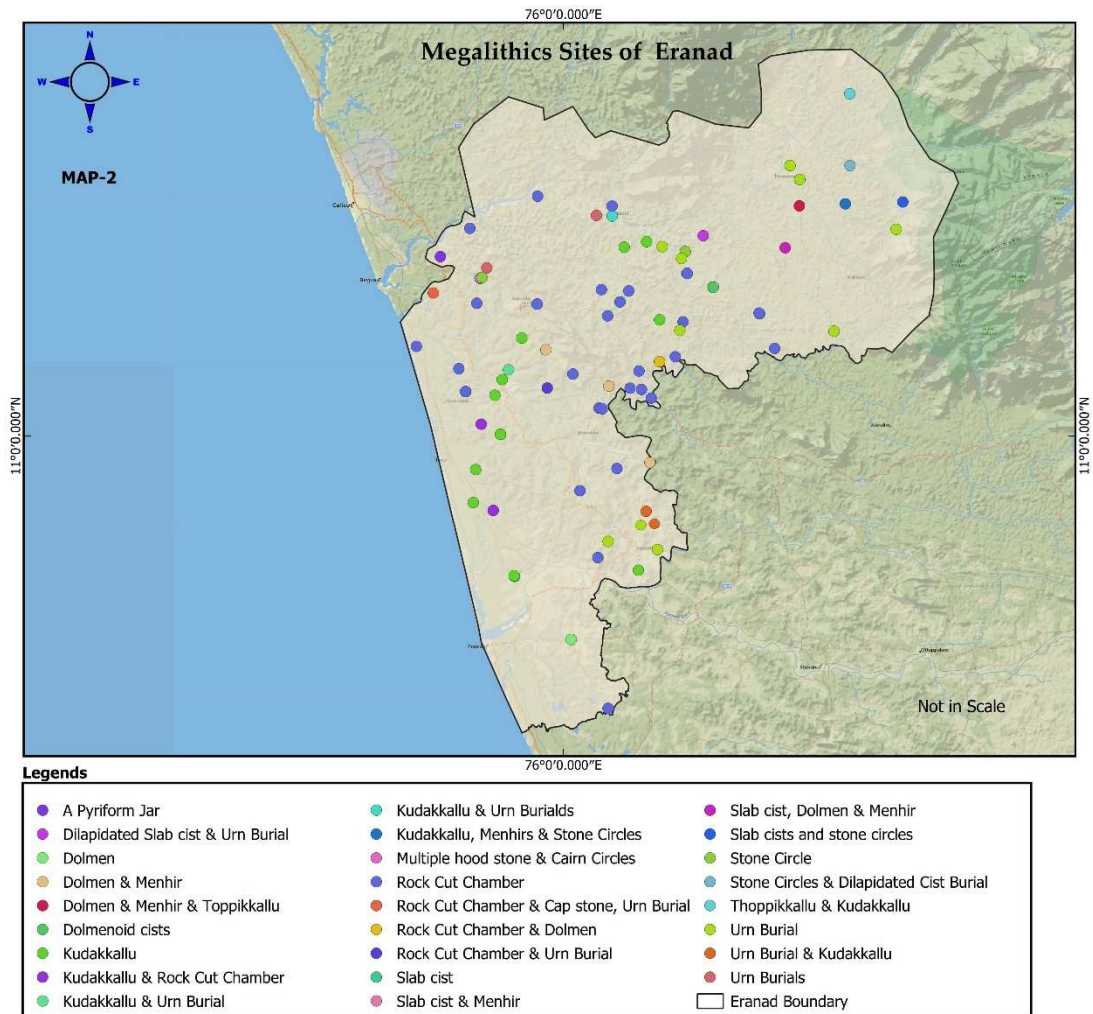
Map-1

Political Boundaries of Eranad



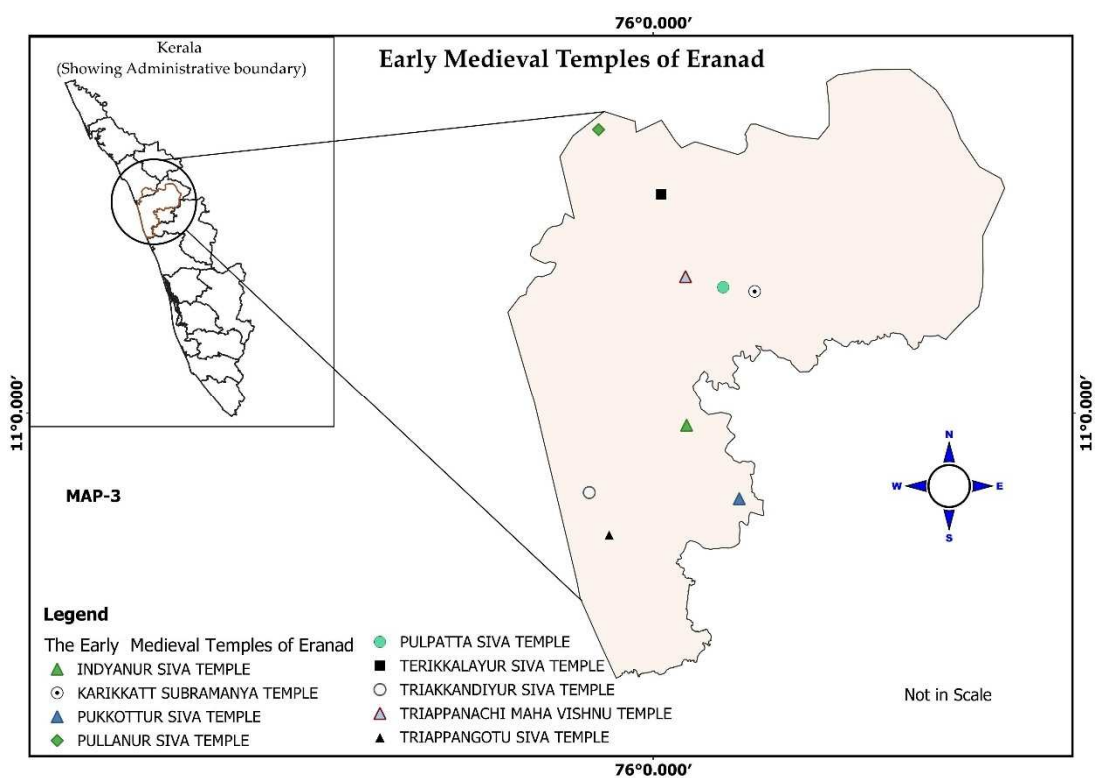
Map-2

Megalithic Sites of Eranad



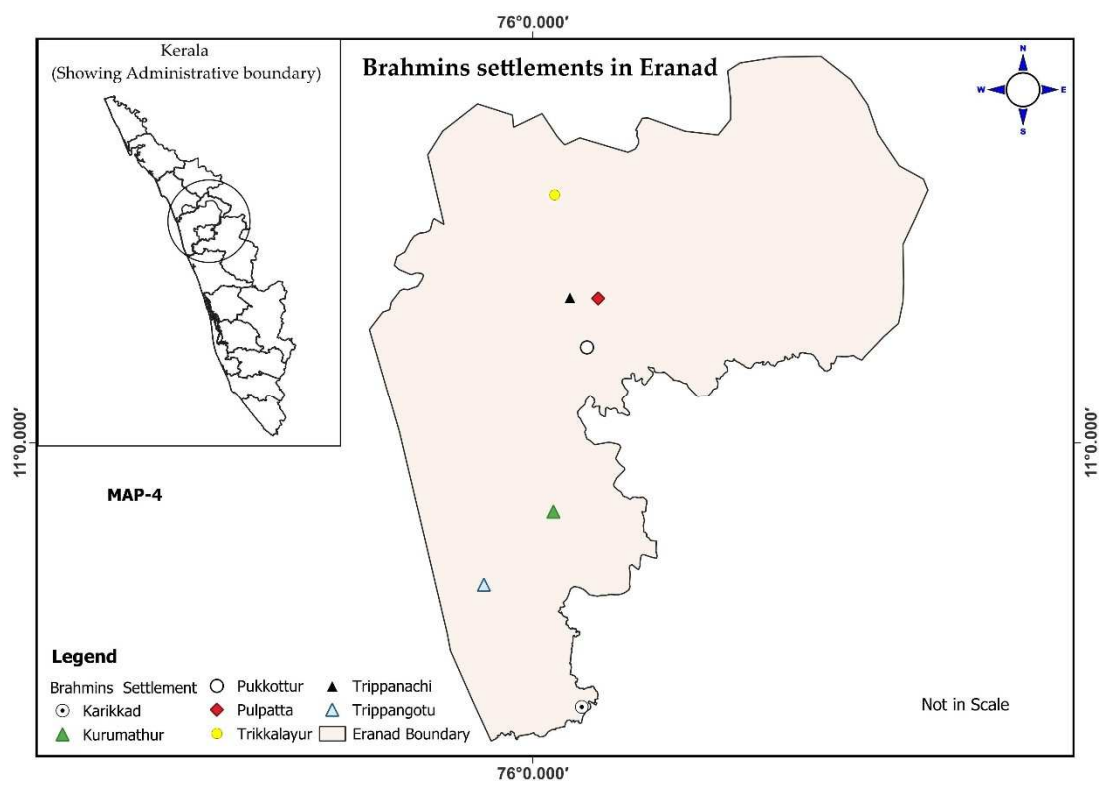
Map-3

Early Medieval Temples of Eranad



Map-4

Brahmin Settlements in Eranad



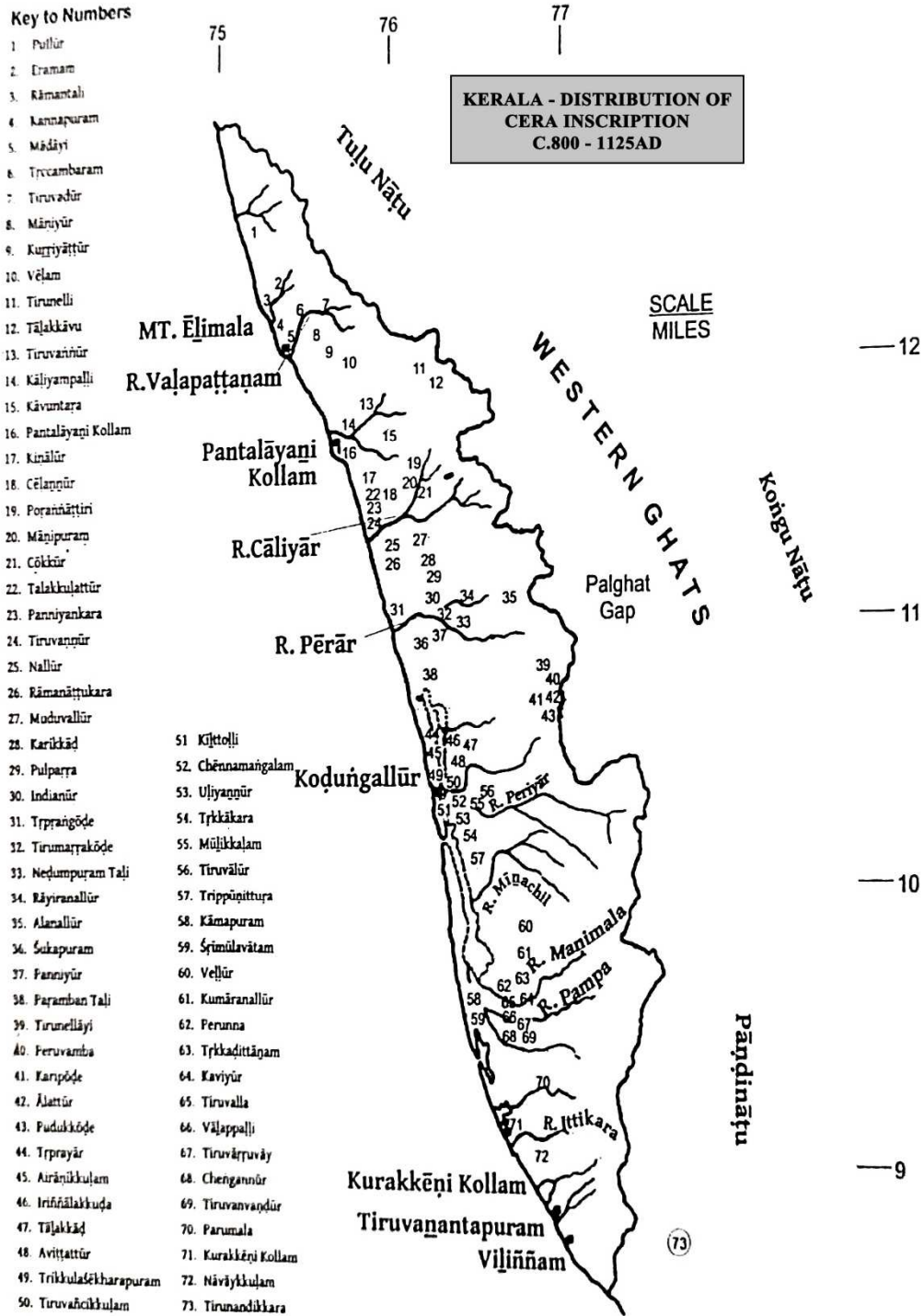
Map-5

Divisions of Chera Kingdom and Early Aryan Settlements (C.800-1125AD)



Map-6

Distribution of Cera Inscription (C.800-1125AD)



Appendix II

Table-1

The cultivated paddy fields in different areas of Eranad were actually under the control of Zamorins in the medieval period. But some locality chiefs and magnates in the form of families, *kovilakams*, *manas*, *illoms*, *taravadus* and *devaswam* etc. are also existed as land owners in their areas under the suzerainty of Zamorins. It is given in the table below:-

| The Region | Land Owners or Paddy Field Owners |
|--|---|
| Nediyiruppu & Musliyarangadi | Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Vallikkatt <i>Kudumbam</i> , Puthiya <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kizhakke <i>Kovilakam</i> , Koyappathodi & Kondotty <i>Thakkiyakkal</i> |
| A R Nagar, Mamburam, Koduvayur & Pukayur | Kottakkal <i>Kovilakam</i> , Nechikkatt <i>Illom</i> & Karisseri <i>Illom</i> |
| Amarambalam | Amarambalam <i>Kovilakam</i> , Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Samudiri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Chembaditta <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Areakode & Ugrapuram | Valiya Chembazhi, Pullur <i>Mana</i> , Kandakkar & Aattupuram |
| Chaliyar | Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Mangada <i>Kovilakam</i> & Trikkalayur <i>Devaswam</i> |
| Cheekode, Muthuvallur, Omanur, Vilayil, Palakkal, & Kizhisseri | Cheekkakkode <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kottekkad <i>Illom</i> , Pookode <i>Illom</i> , Panatt <i>Illom</i> Chembazhi <i>Illom</i> Manad <i>Illom</i> & Thalayur <i>Illom</i> |
| Chelembra | <i>Padinjare Kovilakam</i> , Idathil Ayyayiram Prabhu Karthav, Manazhi <i>Mussad</i> & Edakkad <i>Nambudiri</i> |
| Cherukavu, Peringavu & Puthukkode | Thinayanjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Chungathara | Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Edakkara | Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Edappal | Kudallur <i>Mana</i> , Puzhamburath <i>Mana</i> , Karuvattumana, Pakaravur <i>Mana</i> , Narayanamangalath <i>Mana</i> & Cherumukk <i>Mana</i> |

| The Region | Land Owners or Paddy Field Owners |
|---|---|
| Edarikkode, Thennala, Clari, Valakkulam & Cherushola | Kottakkal <i>Kizakke Kovilakam</i> , Cherushola <i>Mussad</i> , Theyinjeri <i>Mussaad</i> , Chengalam and Mullasserri <i>Tarawads</i> & Ivandrankavu <i>Devaswam</i> |
| Edavanna, Othayi, Kunnumpuram | Amarambalam <i>Kovilakam</i> , Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> , <i>Samudiri Kovilakam</i> , Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kottakkal <i>Kizakke Kovilakam</i> & Trikkalayur <i>Devaswam</i> |
| Kalikavu, Pullangode, Ambalakunnu & Thuvvur Adakkakundu | Padinjare <i>Kovilakam</i> , Ayiram Nazhika <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kukkil <i>Tarawad</i> |
| Karulayi | Amarambalam <i>Kovilakam</i> , Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Chembaditta <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Karuvarakundu, Kalkundu, Iringattiri, Puthanazhi | Samudiri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Elamkulam <i>Mana</i> , Thrikkaderi <i>Mana</i> , Cherukara <i>Taravattu Mana</i> |
| Kavanur, Elayur Irivetti, Chengara | Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Kizhuparamb, Trikkalayur, Urgattiri | Kakkuzhi <i>Illom</i> , Naduvathedath <i>Illom</i> (Kizhakkumpatt), Trikkalayur <i>Devaswam</i> & Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Kondotty, Kolani, Kottukara, Neetanimmal, Muthuvallur | Samudiri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Muthuvallur Thalayur <i>Mussad</i> , Vazhakkad Koyappathodi, Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kondotty <i>Thakkiyakkal</i> & Melangadi Thayyil <i>Kudumbam</i> |
| Kottakkal, Changuveeti, Iyyakkad | Kottakkal <i>Kizakke Kovilakam</i> , Karuvayur <i>Mussad</i> |
| Kuttippuram | Thalakkatupadi <i>Illom</i> , Chenganayil <i>Illom</i> & Kuttippuram <i>Panikkar</i> |
| Kuzhimanna & Puliyakkode | Kuzhimana <i>Illom</i> , Thalayur <i>Mussad</i> , <i>Samudiri Kovilakam</i> & Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Malappuram | Paranambi, Meembatt <i>Kudumbam</i> , Thamarasseri <i>Illom</i> , Punnakkatt <i>Madam</i> |
| Mambad | Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Trikkalayur <i>Devaswam</i> & Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Manjeri | Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Karikkattu <i>Mana</i> , Kakkuzhi <i>Tarawad</i> , Keezhvetil Karuthedathkar, Payyanad <i>Nair Veetukar</i> & Thottiyilkar |

| The Region | Land Owners or Paddy Field Owners |
|---|---|
| Morayur, Valanjeri | Thinayanjeri Ilayath, Mongandambulath <i>Mussad</i> & Kodiththodika Family |
| Munniyur, Velimukk | Parappanad, Pappanur and Cheramangalam <i>Kovilakam</i> & Naha Family |
| Muthedam, Puthuvayi & Thalipadam | Chemmanditta <i>Devaswam</i> , Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kalluvetti <i>Kudumbam</i> , Valiyapedikakkal <i>Kudumbam</i> , Puthiyara <i>Kudumbam</i> , Puthiyara <i>Kudumbam</i> & Thandupara <i>Kudumbam</i> |
| Nilambur | Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Othukkungal, Ponmala, Mattathur Desam & Puthur Desam | Channazhi <i>Illom</i> , Karippott <i>Mana</i> , Kottakkal <i>Kovilakam</i> , Samudiri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kuttippuram <i>Panikkar</i> , Cherukunnu <i>Devaswam</i> & Pullanikkatt <i>Mana</i> |
| Pallikkal, Karippur Desam, Puthur Desam & Muzhangallur Desam | Valuputhu <i>Kovilakam</i> , Karippa <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kizhakke <i>Kovilakam</i> , Parappanad <i>Valiya Kovilakam</i> Guruvayur <i>Devaswam</i> , Vellimuttath <i>Mussad</i> , Kalppakasseri Muppil <i>Nair</i> , Mangalasseri <i>Nambudiri</i> , Parappurath <i>Nambudiri</i> & Konduvetti <i>Thangal</i> |
| Pookottur, Aravangara, Velluvambram, Pullanur & Vellur Muthiriparamb | Pookottur <i>Kovilakam</i> |
| Pulpatta | Koraliyad <i>Illom</i> , Palisseri and Pattilasseri <i>Illoms</i> |
| Thenjippalam | Parappanad <i>Valiya Kovilakam</i> |
| Thiruvalli | Naduvath <i>Mana</i> |
| Trikkalangode | Karikkad <i>Devaswam</i> & Meledath <i>Devaswam</i> |
| Urgattiri, Puvathikkal, Muirkkanad, Maitra, Therattammal & Vadakkummuri | Vannila Parambath <i>Illom</i> , Koyappathodi & Kalluvetti <i>Kudumbam</i> , Thacharakkl <i>Thirumulppad</i> , Trikkalayur, Attumpuram, Naduvathedam, Kizhakkumpadam, Chambazhi & Unnimura <i>Devaswam</i> |
| Valanjeri | Nellakkott, Kunjanikkatt & Irarapadinjarethil <i>Kudumbam</i> |
| Vallikunnu | Parappanad <i>Valiya Kovilakam</i> |
| Vandoor | Manjeri <i>Kovilakam</i> , Amarambalam <i>Kovilakam</i> , Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kidangazhi <i>Mana</i> , Karikkad <i>Devaswam</i> , Naduvath <i>Mana</i> |

| The Region | Land Owners or Paddy Field Owners |
|---|---|
| Vazhakkad, Cheruvayur, Mapram Chaliyapram, Karumarakkad & Anadayur Desams | Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kizakke <i>Kovilakam</i> , Padinjare <i>Kovilakam</i> , Kizukkambatt <i>Nambudirippad</i> , Kakkuzhi <i>Illath Mussad</i> , Cheruvakkatt <i>Illom</i> , Trikkalayur, Anadyur & Srivalayanad <i>Devaswams</i> , Kondotty <i>Tangal</i> & Koyappathodi Family |
| Vazhayur | <i>Samuthiri Kovilakam</i> |
| Vazhikkadavu | Nilambur <i>Kovilakam</i> |

Table-2

At present many water bodies are transformed into house site. The important water bodies of Eranad and their present status is given in the table below:-

Water Sources in Eranad

| Place Name | Name of the Water Sources | Type of Water Sources | Nature of Change |
|---------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Thenjipalam | Mathapuzha | River | Filled up |
| | Kolathode | Stream | Partly Dried up |
| | Puthur <i>Thode</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| | Cheruthode | Stream | Dried up |
| Karulayi | Karimpuzha | River | Filled up |
| | Cherangothode | Stream | Filled up |
| | Maruthangadthode | Stream | Dried up |
| | Arakkampoyilthode | Stream | Dried up |
| Trikkalangode | Poyilullikulam | Pond | Filled up |
| | Cherayippad <i>Kulam</i> | Pond | Dried up |
| | Thaikkund <i>Kulam</i> | Pond | Dried up |
| Amarambalam | Kottappuzha | River | Filled up |
| Areakode | Kadungallur <i>Thode</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| Cheekode | Chundath <i>Chola</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| | Malammal <i>Chola</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| Cherukavu | Parappthode | Stream | Partly Dried up |
| | Karinayi <i>Chola</i> | Stream | Filled up |
| | Chembra <i>Chola</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| Edavanna | Perumkulam | Pond | Dried up |
| Kaalikavu | Kottapuzha | River | Filled up |
| | Chokkadpuzha | River | Filled up |
| | Kalikaav <i>Puzha</i> | River | Filled up |
| | Cheru <i>Puzha</i> | River | Filled up |
| | Puttamanna <i>Thode</i> | Stream | Filled up |
| Irimbilyam | Thuthapuzha | River | Filled up |

| Place Name | Name of the Water Sources | Type of Water Sources | Nature of Change |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------------------|---|
| Karuvarakkund | Olipuzha Kallampuzha | River River | Filled up Filled up |
| Kizhuparamb | Valiyathode Muthode Parakkad <i>Thode</i> Valillapuzha | Stream Stream Stream River | Dried up Dried up Dried up Filled up |
| Kuzhimanna | Chengineeri <i>Thode</i> Aruvapatta <i>Thode</i> Idipadikkal <i>Thode</i> Kadungallur <i>Thode</i> | Stream Stream Stream Stream | Dried up Dried up Dried up Dried up |
| Munniyur | Kizhakkan <i>Thode</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| Nediyirupp | Valiya <i>Thode</i> Cherala <i>Thode</i> | Stream Stream | Dried up Dried up |
| Nilambur | Kuthira <i>Puzha</i> Karimpuzha Punna <i>Puzha</i> | River River River | Filled up Filled up Filled up |
| Pandikkad | Olipuzha Valliyar <i>Puzha</i> Kakkathode | River River Stream | Filled up Filled up Filled up |
| Pulikkal | Kalarandi <i>Thode</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| Pulpatta | Kadungallur <i>Thode</i> | Stream | Filled up |
| Thuvvur | Olupuzha Kalikav <i>Puzha</i> Kundan <i>Thode</i> Edodithode | River River Stream Stream | Filled up Dried up Dried up Dried up |
| Vazhikkadavu | Punnapuzha Karakkodan <i>Puzha</i> Marutha <i>Puzha</i> | River River River | Filled up Filled up Filled up |
| Urgattiri | Cherupuzha Manjeri <i>Kulam</i> | River pond | Filled up Dried up |

| Place Name | Name of the Water Sources | Type of Water Sources | Nature of Change |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Chaliyar | Vadakkeperumunda <i>Kulam</i> | Pond | Dried up |
| | Edivanna <i>Kulam</i> | Pond | Filled up |
| | Palakkaya <i>Kulam</i> | Pond | Filled up |
| | Mailadi <i>Kulam</i> | pond | Filled up |
| Malappuram | Pottichola | Stream | Dried up |
| | Kodakunnu <i>Chola</i> | Stream | Dried up |
| | Chavittikulam | Pond | Dried up |
| | Chathankulam | Pond | Dried up |
| | Parappur <i>Kulam</i> | Pond | Dried up |

Appendix III

Desams in Eranad (221)

| | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-----|---------------|
| 1. | Azhinjilam | 30. | Cherumukk |
| 2. | Amarambalam | 31. | Cherur |
| 3. | Amayur | 32. | Cherusola |
| 4. | Anakkayam | 33. | Cheruvathur |
| 5. | Anantayur | 34. | Cheruvayur |
| 6. | Antiyurkunnu | 35. | Chevayur |
| 7. | Apala | 36. | Chirayil |
| 8. | Aravangara | 37. | Chirayil |
| 9. | Areekode | 38. | Chunur |
| 10. | Arikode | 39. | Edamanna |
| 11. | Arimbra | 40. | Edapulam |
| 12. | Ariyallur | 41. | Elamkur |
| 13. | Arukizhaya | 42. | Elayur |
| 14. | Arur | 43. | Enavoor |
| 15. | Ayanikkode | 44. | Eramangalam |
| 16. | Chaliyapram | 45. | Eranchikode |
| 17. | Chappanagadi | 46. | Indiannur |
| 18. | Chathamkulam | 47. | Iringallur |
| 19. | Chathallur | 48. | Iringallur |
| 20. | Chathangottupuram | 49. | Irivetti |
| 21. | Chekkode | 50. | Irumbuzhi |
| 22. | Chelemra | 51. | Kaipatta |
| 23. | Chembramkattur | 52. | Kakkad |
| 24. | Chemrasseri | 53. | Kakkov |
| 25. | Chengara | 54. | Kannamangalam |
| 26. | Chengottur | 55. | Kappil |
| 27. | Cherembra | 56. | Karad |
| 28. | Cherukavu | 57. | Karayi |
| 29. | Cherukunn | 58. | Karikkad |

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------|------|-----------------|
| 59. | Karingallayi | 92. | Kuzhimanna |
| 60. | Karippur | 93. | Mambad |
| 61. | Karuka | 94. | Mampuram |
| 62. | Karumarakkad | 95. | Manjeri |
| 63. | Karumbarm | 96. | Mannazhi |
| 64. | Kattangallur | 97. | Mannur |
| 65. | Kavanur | 98. | Mapram |
| 66. | Kelamkurissi | 99. | Mattathur |
| 67. | Kelannur | 100. | Melakkam |
| 68. | Kilinakkode | 101. | Melmuri |
| 69. | Kizhmuri | 102. | Melmuri |
| 70. | Kizhmuri | 103. | Mongam |
| 71. | Kizhuparamb | 104. | Morayur |
| 72. | Klari | 105. | Mottappilachery |
| 73. | Kodakkad | 106. | Mozhangallur |
| 74. | Kodinji | 107. | Mundakkal |
| 75. | Koduvayur | 108. | Mundakkulam |
| 76. | Kolathur | 109. | Mundambra |
| 77. | Kolkkalam | 110. | Munniyur |
| 78. | Kottakkal | 111. | Muthannur |
| 79. | Kottasseri | 112. | Muthiyeriparamb |
| 80. | Kottupatta | 113. | Muthuvallur |
| 81. | Kottur | 114. | Muttayur |
| 82. | Koduvayur | 115. | Nallur |
| 83. | Koyakottur | 116. | Nangallur |
| 84. | Koyappa | 117. | Nannabra |
| 85. | Kumanna | 118. | Narukara |
| 86. | Kumanna | 119. | Nediyiripp |
| 87. | Kundur | 120. | Neduva |
| 88. | Kuniyil | 121. | Neerad |
| 89. | Kuriyad | 122. | Nellikuth |
| 90. | Kuttippuram | 123. | Nilambur |
| 91. | Kuttur | 124. | Olakara |

- | | | | |
|------|--------------|------|-----------------|
| 125. | Olamathil | 158. | Pullannur |
| 126. | Olavattur | 159. | Pulpatta |
| 127. | Omanur | 160. | Pungod |
| 128. | Ozhukur | 161. | Punnappala |
| 129. | Palakkad | 162. | Puthalam |
| 130. | Palakkod | 163. | Puthukkode |
| 131. | Palanchannur | 164. | Puthupalam |
| 132. | Pallikkal | 165. | Puthur |
| 133. | Pandallur | 166. | Puthur |
| 134. | Pandikkad | 167. | Puthur |
| 135. | Pappinipra | 168. | Putrakovil |
| 136. | Parakamanna | 169. | Puzhatam |
| 137. | Parappangadi | 170. | Thenjipalam |
| 138. | Parappur | 171. | Thalapp |
| 139. | Parappur | 172. | Thavanur |
| 140. | Parathakkad | 173. | Thennala |
| 141. | Paravur | 174. | Theyyambadikuth |
| 142. | Pathanapuram | 175. | Thottেকkad |
| 143. | Pathapiriyam | 176. | Trikkalayur |
| 144. | Payyanad | 177. | Tirurangadi |
| 145. | Perimbalam | 178. | Tiruti |
| 146. | Peringav | 179. | Tiruvali |
| 147. | Periyangat | 180. | Trikkalnagode |
| 148. | Perukkod | 181. | Trikkolam |
| 149. | Peruvallur | 182. | Trikkunnasseri |
| 150. | Ponmala | 183. | Tripapnachi |
| 151. | Porur | 184. | Tuvvur |
| 152. | Pukkadathur | 185. | Ugrapuram |
| 153. | Pukkayur | 186. | Ullamnam |
| 154. | Pokkottur | 187. | Urgattiri |
| 155. | Pukkuth | 188. | Vakkalaur |
| 156. | Pulamanna | 189. | Vakkathodi |
| 157. | Puliyakkode | 190. | Valamangalm |

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|------|---------------|
| 191. | Valarad | 207. | Velleri |
| 192. | Valiyara | 208. | Vellayur |
| 193. | Vallikkunnu | 209. | Vellur |
| 194. | Valluvambram | 210. | Vengad |
| 195. | Valluvangad | 211. | Vengallur |
| 196. | Vaniyambalam | 212. | Vengara |
| 197. | Vattasseri | 213. | Venniyur |
| 198. | Vavur | 214. | Vennur |
| 199. | Vazhakkad | 215. | Vettikkattiri |
| 200. | Vazhakkulam | 216. | Vilayil |
| 201. | Vazhayur | 217. | Villur |
| 202. | Veembur | 218. | Vezhikkadav |
| 203. | Velimukk | 219. | Wandur |
| 204. | Velipram | 220. | Walamkulam |
| 205. | Veliyaparamba | 221. | Wembayur |
| 206. | Vellara | | |

Appendix 1V
Amsams in Eranad (94)

| | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-----|----------------|
| 1. | Amarambalam | 31. | Kodinji |
| 2. | Anakkayam | 32. | Koduvayur |
| 3. | Andiyurkunn | 33. | Kondotty |
| 4. | Arikkode | 34. | Kottakkal |
| 5. | Arimbra | 35. | Kuzhimanna |
| 6. | Chathangottupuram | 36. | Malappuram |
| 7. | Chekkode | 37. | Mambad |
| 8. | Chelembra | 38. | Manjeri |
| 9. | Chemrasseri | 39. | Mannur |
| 10. | Cherukav | 40. | Mattathur |
| 11. | Cherur | 41. | Melmuri |
| 12. | Cheruvayur | 42. | Melmuri |
| 13. | Edavanna | 43. | Munniyur |
| 14. | Elamkur | 44. | Muthuvallur |
| 15. | Faroke | 45. | Nannabra |
| 16. | Indainnur | 46. | Narukara |
| 17. | Iringallur | 47. | Nediyiripp |
| 18. | Irivetti | 48. | Neduva |
| 19. | Irimbuli | 49. | Nilambur |
| 20. | Kadalundi | 50. | Olakara |
| 21. | Kalikavu | 51. | Olavattur |
| 22. | Kannamngalam | 52. | Pallikkal |
| 23. | Karakunnu | 53. | Pandallur |
| 24. | Karippur | 54. | Pandikkad |
| 25. | Karumarak | 55. | Parappanangadi |
| 26. | Karumarakkad | 56. | Parappur |
| 27. | Karuvambram | 57. | Payyanad |
| 28. | Karuvarakund | 58. | Perakamanna |
| 29. | Kavanur | 59. | Peruvallur |
| 30. | Kizhuparamb | 60. | Ponmala |

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----|---------------|
| 61. | Porur | 78. | Vazhayur |
| 62. | Pokkottur | 79. | Valakkulam |
| 63. | Puliyakkode | 80. | Valiyora |
| 64. | Pulpatta | 81. | Vallikkunnu |
| 65. | Punnappala | 82. | Valluvambram |
| 66. | Puthur | 83. | Vaniyambalam |
| 67. | Thennala | 84. | Velimmukk |
| 68. | Thenjipalam | 85. | Velipram |
| 69. | Tirurangadi | 86. | Vellara |
| 70. | Thiruvai | 87. | Velleri |
| 71. | Trikkalangode | 88. | Vellayur |
| 72. | Trikkulam | 89. | Vellur |
| 73. | Trippanachi | 90. | Vengara |
| 74. | Tuvvur | 91. | Vettikkattiri |
| 75. | Ullanam | 92. | Vilayil |
| 76. | Urakam | 93. | Villur |
| 77. | Urgattiri | 94. | Wandur |

Appendix V

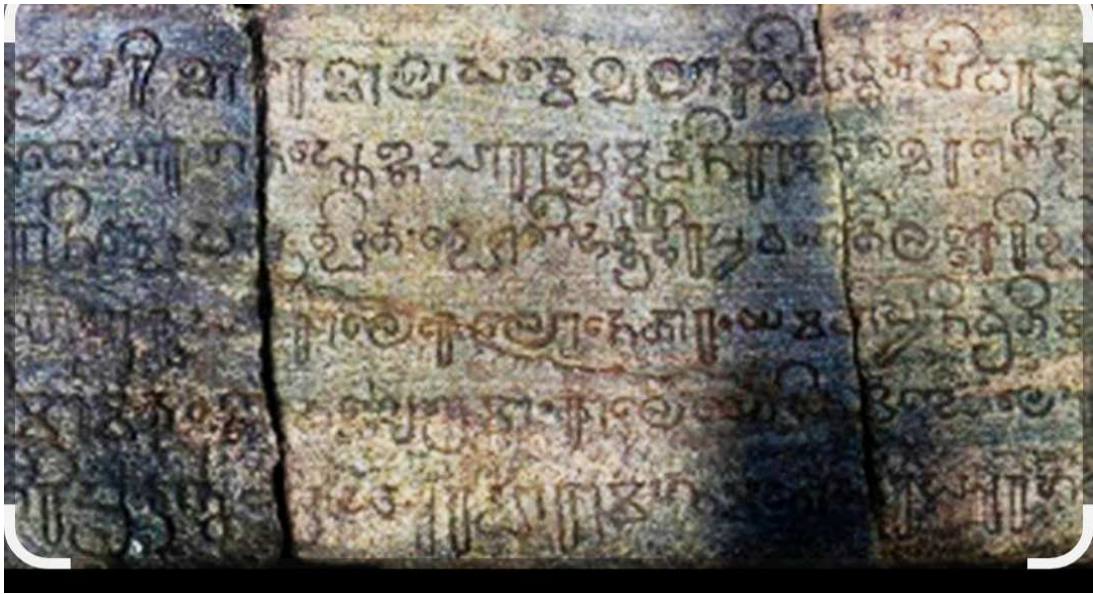
Figures



Pulpatta Temple Inscription



Tarissappalli Inscription



Kurumathur Temple Inscription



Trikkalur Temple Stone Inscription



Pulpatta Temple



Karikkad Subramanian Temple



Perumtrikkovil Temple at Trippanachi



Trippanachi Mahavishnu Temple



Kudakkallu at Manjery



Kudakkallu at Abdurahman Nagar



Urn Burial discovered from Ugrapuram near Areakode



The remains of megalithic culture from Perumbaramb at Uragpuram, Eranad



Rock Cut Chamber discovered from Vengara



Rock Cut Chamber discovered from Trippanachi



Evidences of Megalithic Culture- Posthole (*kalthula*) at Valiyakunn near Randathani, Eranad



Posthole at Thenjippalam, Eranad

Appendix V1

List of Articles and Papers

Published

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'The Early Medieval Temple of Eranad: A Study of Perumtrikkovil Siva Temple at Trippanachi', in T. Muhammedali (ed.), *Proceedings of Kerala History Congress, Sixth Annual Session*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2022.

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'The Aranadans (Eranadans) of Malappuram District, Kerala: An Ethno- Archaeological Study' in *Proceedings of South Indian History Congress, Forty One Annual Session*, Department of History, GTN Arts College (Autonomous), Dindigul, 2022.

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'The Early Medieval Temple of Eranad: A Study of Narasimhamurthi Temple at Trippanachi', in *Proceedings of South Indian History Congress, Forty Two Annual Session*, Department of History, University College, Thiruvananthapuram, 2023.

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'Trippanachiyenna Brahmana Gramam', in Dr. P. Pavitran (ed.), *Malappuram Mithyayum Yadhathyavum*, Deshabhimani Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 2022.

Paper Presentations

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'The Early Medieval Temple of Eranad: A Study of Siva Temple at Pulpatta', in *Kerala History Congress, Seventh Annual International Session*, Department of History, Government Brennen College, Thalasseri, 2023.

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'Exploring Kavus in Eranad: Spaces as a Part of Social and Cultural System', in *South Indian History Congress, Forty Two Annual Session*, Department of History, Malabar Christian College, Kozhikode, 2024.

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'Exploring Calicut in History: A Journey through Foreign Travel Accounts', in *Indian History Congress*, Twenty Second Annual Session, Department of History, University of Kakatiya, Warangal, 2023.

Shana Parveen, P.T., 'Brahmin Settlement in Eranad: A Case Study of Trippanachi Village' in *Two Day National Seminar on New Dimensions in the History of Malabar*, in Honour of T. Muhammedali, P G and Research Department of History, Farook College (Autonomous), Kozhikode, 19 & 20 October 2022.