

**A THEME AND ITS DIVERSIFIED  
MANIFESTATIONS -  
A STUDY BASED ON KALI CONCEPT AND  
PERFORMANCES IN KERALA**

**Thesis submitted to the University of Calicut  
for the Degree of**

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**SEPTEMBER 2010**

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**CERTIFICATE**

This is to certify that the thesis "**A THEME AND ITS DIVERSIFIED MANIFESTATIONS – A STUDY BASED ON KALI CONCEPT AND PERFORMANCES IN KERALA**", is a bonafide record of genuine research done by **Mrs. JISHA C.K.**, under my guidance for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy and that it has not been submitted before for the award of any degree, diploma or any other title or fellowship.

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## **DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that the thesis "**A THEME AND ITS DIVERSIFIED MANIFESTATIONS – A STUDY BASED ON KALI CONCEPT AND PERFORMANCES IN KERALA**", is a bonafide record of genuine research done by me under the guidance of Dr. Raghavan Payyanad, Professor of Folklore (Retd.), School of Folklore Studies, University of Calicut, and that it has not been submitted before for the award of any degree, diploma or any other title or fellowship.

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## **Acknowledgement**

*This thesis has submitted by sincere co-operation, help and encouragement of many people. First of all I would like to express my deep gratitude to Dr. Raghavan Payyanad, Professor of Folklore (Retd.), School of Folklore Studies, University of Calicut, under whose able guidance, it was possible to me to write the thesis.*

*I also express my gratitude to Dr. E.K. Govindavarma Raja, Head of the Department, School of Folklore Studies, University of Calicut, for his help and timely advice.*

*I also express my gratitude to Dr. P. Doctor Nazeemdheen, Visiting Professor, School of Folklore Studies, University of Calicut, he has been a source of inspiration to me for my work. I place on record my deep felt gratitude to my colleagues and friends in the department for their co-operation and help.*

*As far as folklore is concerned without full support from active bearers of tradition, it is not possible to complete my academic work. I am to express my heartfelt gratitude to all of my informants from different parts of Kerala, for their kind co-operation in my work. I owe special thanks to Mr. Afif, Lecturer, M.G. College, Mahe, Dr. K.M. Bharathan, Lecturer, M.G. College, Mahe, for their help, encouragement and timely guidance. I thank Librarian in our department, CHMK Library, for their help. I owe my special thanks to members of M/s Bina Photostat, Chenakkal, for their co-operation and help.*

*Jisha C.K.*

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# LINGUISTIC NOTATIONS

Long Vowel	-
Diphthong	∩
Aspirated Sounds	eg: K <sup>h</sup>

## Vowel

A	ɒ	ɑ	sɜ	ɒ	æ
C	ɒ	i	H	ɒ	o
D	ɒ	u	Hu	ɒ	æ
F	ɒ	e	v	ɒ	ə

## Consonant

I	ɒ	k	l	ɒ	p
K	ɒ	g	-	ɒ	b
M	ɒ	ŋ	a	ɒ	m
N	ɒ	c	b	ɒ	y
P	ɒ	j	c	ɒ	ɹ
R	ɒ	μ	d	ɒ	r
S	ɒ	¶	e	ɒ	l
U	ɒ	·	f	ɒ	½
W	ɒ	˘	g	ɒ	«
X	ɒ	È	h	ɒ	v
Z	ɒ	È	i	ɒ	š
\	ɒ	°	j	ɒ	À
ä	ɒ	t	k	ɒ	s
W	ɒ	,	l	ɒ	h

## **INTRODUCTION**

First experience of any is through mother. The earliest memory of any person is that of clinging to the mother's breast and looking into her love filled eyes. The comfort and security, which the infant gains from this relationship, lasts with him all his life. The concept of mother in a cosmic level is common in all ancient cultures. It is as old as the origin of humanity. *Ēvī* is the divine mother, the eternal womb of all creatures human, sub human and animal. She cradles her children in her loving arms, suckles them and nurtures them with her infinite love. Where ever you see maternal love, in a bird or an animal or a human being, know that to be the love of the *Ēvī* for her children, for she is the universal mother.

The worship of mother goddess is time immemorial. The people used to consider the earth too as the mother. The worship of the mother goddess is prominent in Hindu culture. History says that the worship

of mother goddess existed in Mesopottemia, Paschimesia and Egypt, from early times (Vishnu Namboodiri: 2004:5). Nine crores of names are prevailed for mother goddess, in India. The excurvations prove that the mother goddess worship was there even during the stone age. The ancient legend of *Ēēvi*, the great mother goddess has been handed down by generations of Hindus and systems from a sacred book that explains *śakĒa ĒanĒrās* (Elizabeth. U. Harding: 1998: XXIII). Although it is understood that the bewildering gore and sentimentality of the mythology of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* are allegorical, one still wonders what it means to Hindu society, today. From a religious as well as a social stand point this myth refirms the protective power of the archetypal mother who is an integral part of Hindu households. In the west, the women in the family is mostly seen in her role as the wife, where as in India, the women of the house is always the “mother”. Even an unmarried woman with out children is often addressed as “mother”. It is a gesture of

respect, because Hindus consider the position of mother as supreme.

The tradition of Indian religion is that it perceives nature as mother; even rivers. The temples are known as the centers of aryanization and as a result non Aryan worships are moved outside the temple. *Kālī* has been worshipped in *Kāvus*, *ÉekkaÉus*, *Muṇṇippurās*, *Elenkās* etc. But all these centers of worships are transformed as temples and worshipping system also has been changed accordingly, at certain extend.

In the case of *Kālī* the etimological ambiquity of the name is highly symbolical. Start with the Dravidian root *kāl* (black), *Kālī* becomes the black goddess, the horrible destroyer who wrecks terror, and *kāla*, the black god, some times is identified with *śiva*. The Aryans borrowed the roots *kāl*, *kāl*, *khāl* from Dravidian languages, and then they equated black with distruction, turning the lot in to time, *kāla*, and the great destroyer (male). However,

neither, he nor *Kāṭṭi* – the black one- has a Vedic origin; No references are there in *Rigvēda*.

The goddess *Kāṭṭi* is almost always described as having a terrible frightening appearance. She is always black or dark is usually naked and has long disheveled hair. She is adorned with several arms as a girdle, freshly cut heads as a necklace, children's corpses as earrings, and serpents as bracelets. She has sharp, long fangs, is often depicted as having claw like hands with long nails and is often said to have blood smeared on her lips. Her favorite haunts heighten her fearsome nature. She is usually shown on the battle field, where she is a furious combatant who gets drunk on the hot blood of her victims, or in a cremation ground, where she sits on a corpse surrounded by jackals and goblins. Many texts and contexts treat *Kāṭṭi* as an independent deity, unassociated with any male deity. When she is associated with a god, however, it is almost always *śiva*. As his consort, wife, or associate, *Kāṭṭi* often plays the role of inciting him to wild behaviour. *Kāṭṭi*'s association

with *śiva*, unlike *Pārvathi*'s seems aimed at exciting him to take part in dangerous, destructive behaviour that threatens the stability of the cosmos. *Kālī* is particularly popular in Bengal and Kerala, although she is known and worshipped throughout India. In Bengal she is worshipped on the eve of *Dīpāvali*. In this festival and throughout the year at many of her permanent temples, she receives blood offerings. She is also the recipient of ardent devotion from countless devotees, who approach her as their mother.

The Hindus in Bengal worship the great mother with ceremonies of great splendor. Once a year during an autumn festival called *Ēurga pūja* too, they re enact the story of the fierce protectress and, side by side intellectuals and illiterates worship the mother in temples, homes and in make shift pandals in the street. In return for their efforts, the great mother reassures them every year that the good will always overpower the bad eventually. The Bangali people believe in a myth of its own. That is as follows: when the gods lay

exhausted after warring with the demons, the evil natured demon king *MahiĀsura* took the opportunity to assemble an army and declare himself lord of heaven, ruler of the Universe. This blasphemy reached *ViĀnu*'s ears and, in anger, he shot forth a terrible light from his forehead. *śiva*, too was angry. He descended from his lofty state of meditation and beamed a sharp ray of blinding light in the same direction as *ViĀnu*, *Brahma*, *InĒra*, and the other mighty gods did likewise, each issuing forth piercing rays of light. All the God's rays joined at one point and slowly, the blazing concentration of light took shape in the form of a woman.

The light of *śiva* formed her face, *Yama* gave her hair and *ViĀnu* her arms. From the light *CanĒra*, the moon God, her two breasts were formed. *InĒra* modeled her waist and *Vaṅu, a* her thighs. Earth gave her lips and *Brahma* feet. The light from forehead, *Agni* fashioned her three eyes. Thus all gods contributed their power to manifest the auspicious *Ēēvi*, the great mother goddess. As soon as the *Ēēvi* was fully formed the immortals

prayed to her and worshipped her with praise, ornaments and weapons. *śiva* gave her a trident drawn forth from his own, *ViṂḁu* a powerful discus and *InĒra*, the king of the gods, gave her a thunderbolt identical to his own. *Sūḁya*, the Sun god, bestowed his rays on all the pores of her skin, and *Vaḁu, a*, god of the ocean, gave her a divine crest jewel earrings, bracelets and garland of unfading lotus.

“Victory to the mother” shouted the gods as they watched the demon battalions approached with the beating of drums, battle cries and the blowing of conches. Since the *Ēēvi* was of enormous size and highly visible, the demons marched straight towards her, attacking from all sides with arrows, clubs, swords and spears. Unperturbed, the *Ēēvi* roared loudly and laughed in a frightening, defiant manner again and again. And then her ten arms rotated, alternately smashing weapons of the demons and hurting them back at her attackers. With great ease, she picked up dozens of demons at once, killing them with her sword. Some

demons she didn't even bother to pickup. She stupefied them with the tremendous noise of her bell and then crushed them with her mace.

The demon *ṛakÉabīja* gave the fierce mother goddess a fair amount of troubles. He possessed a special magical power which allowed him to create new demons from his own blood. Whenever the goddess wounded him, each drop of blood that spilled to the ground sprouted another demon full of strength and brutality. But in the end the mother outwitted him. She picked up *ṛakÉabīja* and lifted him high in to the air to avoid spilling his blood on the ground, and then gnashing him between her teeth, she drank his blood and swallowed him whole. Other demons too tried to confuse the goddess with their magical powers. Whenever they were threatened by the *Ēēvi*, they changed their form and colour. But no one can escape from the great mother. Bound by her noose and spilling blood, those demons were soon caught by *Ēēvi* and like a child pulling a toy train; she dragged him over the battle field where crores

of demons already lay split in to two by the sharp slashes of her sword. Snatching some elephant with one hand, the *Ēvi* flung them in to her mouth and together with the demon drives; she furiously ground them up with her teeth. She seized one demon by the hair and another by the neck. One she was crushed by the weight of her foot and another with her body.

The mother's terrible presence filled even the sky. Black clouds gathered and terrifying lightning lit up the ghastly shapes on the ground. There were demons with out arms, without legs, demons torn as under in the middle of their trunks.

When *MahiĀisuxā*, the king of the demons, saw his army devastated by the blows of the terrible mother goddess, his fury knew no bounds. He expanded his body to take on the fierce shape of a giant buffalo. Intoxicated with his own strength and valor, he roared and charged toward the *Ēvi*. The earth began to trumble under the stamping feet of the goddess. Mahishāsuxā fought with

all his might but could not conquer the *Ēēvi*. So he appealed to her sense of justice, complaining that she fought in an unfair way. The *Ēēvi*, he claimed, received help from so many fierce goddess- *Ēurga*, *Cāmun·a*, *Ambika* and others- and he, *MahiÀisuṣa*, had to fight all by himself.

The savage fight continued, and the great demon attacked the mother goddess with showers of arrows. He hurled discuses, swung his clubs and mace to no avail. The *Ēēvi* killed him with her spear, releasing the soul from its evil natured body and mind. Dust clouds carried the stench of signed skin and rotting flesh to the blood red horizon. The demons had been killed, and their blood flowed, accumulating here and there in small pools around carcasses of elephants and horses. Only some headless, torsos of demons who refused to give up life still fought the *Ēēvi*. The battle shrieks had died and the only cries now were those of jackals and hynas. There was nothing left to kill, but the blood intoxicated mother

in the form of *Kālī* continued the carnage- smashing and slashing the dead demons all over again.

The Gods, who had begun to celebrate victory, was filled with fear. The gods think who can stop her. There was only one who could, *śiva*, the great god. Besmeared with ashes the third God of the Hindu trinity, went to the battle field and lay down motionless among the corpses while the rest of the gods watched from a safe distance. The intoxicated *Ēvi* staggered across the corpses until, suddenly, she found herself standing on top of a beautiful male body nude and besmeared with white ashes. Awed, she stood still for a moment, looked down at him, and saw straight in to the eyes of her husband *śiva*. When she realize that she was touching her devine husband with her feet- an unthinkable disrespectful act for a Hindu wife – *Kālī* stretched out her tongue in shame and the destruction came to an end.

Among mother goddess of Kerala *Kālī* is supreme and she is believed as the goddess of peace and disaster at the same time. The text, both ritual and myth varied

from place to place. The worship of *Ki½i* is based on so many myths. But the *Ki½i Ēāᵁuka* myth is so popular and accordingly so many manifestations are there as performances, all over Kerala. It is believed that *šiva* gave birth to *Ki½i* from his third eye to kill arrogant *Ēāᵁuka*. It is interesting to note that *Ki½i Ēāᵁuka* myth also is having many versions.

Many ritualistic performances are there that elaborately enacting the story of *Kā½i* and *Ēāᵁuka*. *Kā½iyūᵁᵁu*, *Kōlamveᵁᵁu*, *Mudiyēttu*, *Kāᵁiyārka½i*, *Niᵁabhali*, *Padayaᵁi*, *PūĒanum Ēirayum*, *Ēᵁyyāᵁᵁu*, *Ēeyyam*, *Ēōttampāᵁᵁu*, *Ēūkkam* etc. are some of them. The myth behind all of these performances are most the same where as performing texts are different. Why it is so? It is a serious matter to enquire.

## **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

This study “A theme and its diversified manifestations- A study based on *Kā½i* concept and performances in Kerala” aims to understand the differed

manifestations of the myth related to *Kāḷī* and *Ēāṣuka* through some performances. Though manifestations through performances are different, the theme behind all these performance in *Kāli* shrines are the same, the *Kāḷī - Ēāṣuka* fight.

This study aims to understand the reasons, geographical, social and cultural that the one and the same theme gets different manifestations through ritual performances. *Mudiyēttu* enacts the fight between *Kāḷī* and and coming to a close with the slaughter of *Ēāṣuka*. Where as *Padaya, i* is the enactment of the Post war events

## **PREVIOUS STUDIES**

Many books and articles are published in English as well as Malayalam on *Kāḷī* concept and most of them are either narration of *Kāḷī - Ēāṣuka* fight or the description of the ritualistic performance.

*KereḷaĒĒile KālīsṠva* (mal) has written by Chelanattu Achutha Menon (1959) gives an account of *Kāḷi* worship in Kerala.

*Kālīsangalpam KēraḷaparaḡisaxaĒĒil* (mal) edited by Suresh Eleyavoor (2004) consists of twenty four articles written by different authors on *Kāḷi* concept and related performances.

M.P.Pillai Kainakari (2002), in his book titled *BḡaĒrakāḷi cariĒam* (mal), having nine chapters narrates in detail the story of *BḡaĒrakāḷi*.

*BḡaĒrakāḷi Mahatmyam Adava Ēāḡuka VaĒḡam* (mal) written by Swami Mridananda (1979) describes the entire story of *Kāḷi* related to *Ēāḡuka*.

*Kāḷi -pūja* (eng) written by Swami Sathyananda Saraswathi (1997) gives details about *Kāḷi pūja*, *Kāḷi sangalpa*, *Kāḷi dhyānam*, *sĒoĒram* etc.

*Kāḷi* the black goddess of *DakĀinēswar* (eng) is the book about *Kāḷi* concept in *DakĀinēswar*, by Elizebeth. U.

Harding. The forms of *Kālī* worship in that temple, about the history of temple and the rituals related to that temple are narrated in this book.

The content of ‘Songs of *Kālī*, A cycle of images and songs (eng) written by Ramproshad, translated by Gayathri Chakravathi Spivak (2000) is some Bengali songs about *Kālī* and Her tremendous victory.

*Ēvi* goddesses of India (eng) edited by Johns Straton Hawley and Donna Marie wulff (1998) includes details of different goddesses in India. The article written by David .R. Kinsley entitled *Kālī* in this book deals with the story and worship systems of *Kālī* in North India especially Bengal.

Hindu goddesses, Vision of the devine feminine in the Hindu religious tradition (eng) written by David Kinsley (1987) is a book about different goddesses in India. In this, the author describes about the early history of *Kālī* and its significance.

Tantric Visions of the Devine Feminine (eng) written by David Kinsley (1998) is about different goddesses in India, including *Kālī*.

*Srī Ēēvi Līla*, the play of the Devine mother (eng) written by Vanamali (2006) is also narrating the story of different goddesses in India. This book takes an ancient quest to unravel the mystery of devine mother in all her manifold aspects. *Kālī* is narrated with almost all details in this.

Eventhough many books are there about *Kālī* and related performance, none of them go in to the deep to understand the fact why the same myth got varied performances.

## **RELEVANCE OF THE STUDY**

None of the earlier studies made any serious attempt to cover the area to fulfil the aims and objectives of the present study, which is co relating the performance with the myth. Since the publication ‘*Kāḷīśēva Kālīsēva*’ so many attempt have been

made to describe or interpret *Kāṅṅi*. All studies usually generalize the facts through deductive method where as this is an attempt to enquire into the the reasons why cultural and geographical specific are in prevalence in the case of manifestation of the theme, *Kāṅṅi - Ēāṅṅuka* fight.

## **AREA OF THE STUDY**

Kerala is very rich with ritual and non ritual performances. The *Kāṅṅi - Ēāṅṅuka* myth prevalent all over Kerala and the performances related to it are found in all parts of Kerala. So the geographical area of this study extends all over Kerala. But the special mentions have been given to the districts which have the specific performances which are related to *Kāṅṅi - Ēāṅṅuka* myth. So field work is necessary for each and every manifestation in *kāvus*, where these performances exist.

## **CHAPTERS**

Apart from introduction and conclusion the thesis has got four main chapters. Appendix, bibliography, informant list and glossary are also attached with it.

This thesis divided in to four chapters (1) *Kāḷi* in Kerala- an introduction (2) Manifestations of *Kāḷi* theme (3) The concept of *Kāḷi* in beliefs Rituals and customs (4) Interpretations.

The first chapter ‘*Kāḷi* in Kerala- an introduction’ gives a description of the concept of *Kāḷi* in Kerala and various genres related to the concept of *Kāḷi*. Apart from this it also explains the myth related to the origin of *Kāḷi* and its versions that prevailed in Kerala.

The second chapter, ‘Manifestations of *Kāḷi* theme’ illustrates different manifestations of the theme through performances. This chapter pays attention to explore how *Kāḷi* concept is vivid in various ritual performances such as *Kāḷiyūḷu*, *Kaḷyārkaḷi*, *Kōlamveḷu*, *Mudiyēttu*, *Niḷabali*, *Padayaḷi*, *Paranēttu*, *PūĒanum Ēirayum*, *Ēeyyam*, *Ēiyyaḷu*, *Ēḷkkam*, *Ē°ttampiḷu*, and so on.

The third chapter ‘The *Kāṅṅi* concept in beliefs and customs’ describes people’s belief in *Kāṅṅi* concept and customs related to *Kāṅṅi*. Almost all customs and rituals that are prevailed all over Kerala have been included in this chapter.

‘Interpretation’ of the available data is the content of forth chapter. In the light of the intrinsic and extrinsic evidences and with the help of various theories and concepts interpretations are made to prove the hypothesis that vivid manifestations are existing for *Kāṅṅi* - *Ēaṅka* in because of the cultural and geographical impact.

The conclusion presents the findings of the study as well as the summary of entire work. It will also give the implications and suggestions for the further research in this area. Appendixes, bibliography informant list and glossary are also given in the end.

# CHAPTER 1

## KĒṢI IN KERALA - AN

### INTRODUCTION

The people of Kerala worshipping mother goddess in different names such as - *Ēevi*, *Kāvilamma*, *B<sup>h</sup>adrakā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and so on. Many dynasties in Kerala worship mother goddesses as their main deity. For example Cirakkal dynasty worshipped Goddess of Mādāyi as their Goddess, king of Kottayam - *Srīpōrkkalīswaxi*, *KadaĒĒanādu* dynasty-*Lōkanarkkāvilamma*, *Va<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>uvanā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>u* kings – *Ēirumāndāmku<sup>o</sup>ilamma*, Kochi kings - *Pa«ayannur B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* and *ĒiṅuviĒām<sup>o</sup>kūr* kings *ātti<sup>o</sup>gal B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi*. According to Chelanattu Achutha Menon ‘in Kerala we cannot find any tiyya family without worshipping Srīkurumba and any Malaya family without worshipping Nīli, the goddess of hills. (1943:1)

Among all other worship mother goddess has crucial importance and *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is considered as the goddess of

power. *SaxaswaÉi*, *Éurga*, *Lakshmi*, and *Kā½zi* are goddesses of power in their respective fields. Good and cruel, sacret and profane and all other value systems in general up on the belief system of *Kā½zi*, which was emerged from the life of the people. We can find *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* temples are many from Kanyakumari to Mookambika. K. P. Narayana Pisharadi suggested that ‘main and the first place of *Kā½zi* is *Mādāyikkāvu* near *E½imalai* in North Kerala and *Èāxuka* is a Keralite’. In *B<sup>h</sup>adrakā½zi māhāÉmyam Èāxuka* is described as a *pāta½avāsi* (Mridananda Saraswathi, 1998: XII).

Apart from *Kā½zi*, people worshipped *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi*, *Cāmundi*, *īswaxi*, *Èēvi*, *Acci*, *Éurga* etc. Among these the goddess *Kā½zi* represents both protection and destruction at the same time. In some places of Kerala *Ka½aki* is worshipped as *Kā½zi*. It is believed that *Ka½aki* in *CilappaÉikāxam* is *Kā½zi* itself. In Kodungalloor, one of the famous *Kā½zi* temples in Kerala, *Ka½aki* is worshipped as *Kā½zi*. Some of the references point *Ka½aki* as Kurumba, *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* and also as *Kā½zi*.

*Ēēvi* and *B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* are general term to denote *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. Differences between *Kāli*, Lakshmi and *SaxaswaĒi* are very clear that Lakshmi and *SaxaswaĒi* are related to *ViĀ<sub>u</sub>* where as the origin *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* was from *śiva*. Another important fact to be noticed is that Lakshmi and *SaxaswaĒi* are part of pan- Indian mythology. But the myth of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is part of folk mythology that does not have any reference in any part of the *Puṣā<sub>as</sub>* or Epics and all rituals associated to *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* were performed in local shrines known as *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ikāvu*. Now as part of aryanaisation all *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ikāvs* were transformed in to temple and very name of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ikāvu* is followed by *kĀēĒram*. For eg: the name of ‘*Va<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ayanādu Kāvu* is written as ‘*Va<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ayanādu KĀētram*’.

The myth of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* exists in Kerala with so many texts:

One of the myths of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* describes *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* as the rebirth of *SatiĒēvi* who renounced her body in the pit made for *yāga*. The myth is as follows: when the Lord *Paṣamaśiva* heard the news that *SatiĒēvi*, his wife

renounced her body in to fire pit for *yāga*, he became angry and plucked his ausparagus (matted hair) and threw it away in desperation. Then *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* was born from his ausparagus. Another myth says that *Kāli* is rebirth of *Māya*, the daughter of *Yas<sup>o</sup>da*.

There are many more texts related to *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. But the popular one that deals with the story of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* - *Ēāṣuka* fight.

In primeval times it is believed that in a war between *Ēvās* and *Asurās*, the later were defeated. Most of the *Asuṣās* were killed; rests of them were isolated from the land of *Asuṣa* and there for their women sought shelter in other lands. Two of these women, *ĒānavaĒi* and *ĒāṣumaĒi*, want to their race to be sustained and to take revenge on *Ē<sup>o</sup>vās*. So they did penance and Lord Brahma blessed them with sons to fulfil their aims. *ĒānavaĒi* gave birth to a son named *Ēānavan* and *ĒāṣumaĒi* to *Ēāṣuka*.when they grew up *ĒāṣumaĒi* told the tragic story and asked them to avenge for it. *ĒāṣumaĒi* advised

him to worship Lord Brahma for that. So *Ēāṣuka* started deep penance to appease Brahma. But Brahma refused to appear before him. So he continued his penance and at last he decided to offer blood by cutting his own neck and put his sword on neck. On seeing this Brahma was appeased and appeared before him and gave him a boon that men or *ĒṠvās*, iron or weapons cannot kill him in the night or day and from every drop of blood spilled from his body on earth, a thousand mighty *Ēāṣukās* would arise. Lord Brahma also gave his *BṣahmaĒa, du* and also some secret *manĒrās*.

Armed with these boons and assisted by *Ēānava*, *Ēāṣuka* began to overpower the gods and ruled the whole Universe. He built a beautiful palace at the bank of *PaścimāmbōĒi* river. He brought the *Ēēva* architect Maya to build that palace. At that time absconding *Asuṣās* came back to that kingdom. After that *Ēāṣuka* formed a powerful force of *Asuṣās* to attack *Ēēvās* and made a dreadful fight against *ĒēvēnĒṣa*. *Ēāṣuka* used *BṣahmaĒa, du* in this battle. So *Ēēvās* couldn't protect

themselves and they ran helter skelter in panic. Then *Ēāṣuka* married the daughter of *InĒra* and robbed all of his wealth. He went on attacking the *Ēvās*. *Ēvās* approached Brahma, but he was helpless. Brahma asked them to inform this to Lord *ViĀ,u*. But *ViĀ,u* was also helpless. Atlast the desperate gods sought the help of Lord *śiva*. From *śiva* they realized the fact that only a woman could kill *Ēāṣuka*. So each god created different mother goddesses with their magical power. Brahma gave birth to *Brahmi*, *śiva* to *Mahēswaṣi*, *ViĀ,u* to *VaiĀ,avi*, *InĒṣa* to *InĒṣā,i*, *Subrahma,ya* to *Kumāṣi* and *Yama* to *Vaṣāhi*. They gave weapons and send them to *Ēāṣuka* kingdom. They attacked *Ēāṣuka* individually and collectively. But they couldn't defeat him and had to recede to *Ēevalōka* in shame. *Ēāṣuka* continued his misbehaviour and perpetuated troubles to *Ēvās*.

After a long time *NāṣāĒa* the celestial messenger travelled through *Ēāṣuka*, s kingdom. *Ēāṣuka* scolded, abused and frightened him. So *NāṣāĒa* lodged a complaint to *śiva*. On hearing this too *śiva* became

furious and his eyes started emitting fire in rage. He created *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* from his third eye. Up on her creation *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* set out with a mighty roar to destroy *Ēāṣuka* and his assistant *Ēānava*. In her task *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a*, an attendant, joined her with an insatiable thirst for blood. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* aided by *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a* and another attendend name *kū<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* challenged *Ēāṣuka*. Six *dēvaĒās* born from the strength of various gods also joined them. At first she killed the whole force of *Ēāṣuka*. Knowing this news *Ēāṣuka* became furious and he gave all secret *manĒrās*, that he got from Brahma, to his wife and adviced her not to transfer it to anybody. Then he attacked *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and a terrible war ensued which shook all the three worlds. But *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* was forced to stop attack when *Ēāṣuka* used *BrahmaĒa, u* and she could realize the fact that it is difficult to kill *Ēāṣuka* without earning the *manĒrās* which he already gave to his wife. So the goddess *KārĒyāyani* disguised as poor Brahmin maiden and earned the *manĒrās* from *ManōĒāṣi*, *Ēāṣuka*'s wife. *KārĒyāyani* gave the *manĒrās* to *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. After gaining the mantrās *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* attacked *Ēāṣuka* again

and it lasted for twenty eight days. In the 28<sup>th</sup> day *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* captured the *Brahma·a,·u* from *Ēāṣuka* and beated him by using it. Then he became frightened, ran away and hid in a cave. At that time *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* covered the sun with hair and there was darkness everywhere. She sat near the cave stretching out her tongue in to it. *Ēāṣuka* misunderstood it as night and came out of the cave. Suddenly *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* picked *Ēāṣuka* with her tongue, threw him above and killed him using *Ērisūla*. Not a drop of blood fell to the ground as the thirsty *Vētā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a* drank every drop as it spurted out. Thus the world was again made safe.

*ManōĒaṣi* the wife of *Ēāṣuka*, who realized the fact that *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* would kill *Ēāṣuka*, went to see Lord *śiva* to seek help. But *śiva* was sleeping at that time. So *PārvaĒi* asked why she had come. She told *PārvaĒi* her mission. *PārvaĒi* felt sorry. Without realizing the consequences *PārvaĒi* offered *śiva*'s sweat to *ManōĒaṣi*. *ManōĒaṣi* returned with this. But *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* already killed *Ēāṣuka* before her arrival. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* along with *Kū<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a* was coming back to *Kailāsa* with full rage. So *ManōĒaṣi* became furious,

cursed *Kāṭṭi* and sprinkled the sweat of *śiva* on *Kāṭṭi*'s body. On account of that *Kāṭṭi*'s body got infected with smallpox and thus *Kāṭṭi* fell ill. Knowing this *śiva* gave birth to *K<sup>h</sup>an·ākar<sub>ḥ</sub>a* to help *Kāṭṭi*. By licking *K<sup>h</sup>an·ākar<sub>ḥ</sub>a* could give relief to *Kāṭṭi* from smallpox. But *śiva* didn't allow him to lick the face of *Kāṭṭi*, as he happens to be her brother. So *Kāṭṭi* was cured from smallpox leaving scars on her face.

When she came back to *Kailāsa*, even the goddess was frightened by seeing the figure of *Kāṭṭi*. So they ran to *Kailāsa* and informed to *śiva* about *Kāṭṭi*'s arrival. *śiva* and other gods tried to find an idea. Different versions of stories are there about the appeasement of *Kāṭṭi*. One is *śiva* lying down on earth fully naked on her way. On seeing this she laughed and thereby became calm and quiet. Another is that seeing the *B<sup>h</sup>ūÉaga<sub>ḥ</sub>ās* of *śiva* drawing her picture on the floor she was pacified. Another issue was related to Lord *Vignēśwara*. Lord *Vignēśwara* disguised as a child lay on *Kāṭṭi*'s way. On seeing a child on the way her motherly affection came

out she was soothed. Another is related to *Subrahmaṇya* the brother of Lord *Vignēśwara*. That is, he disguised as a ganaka and drew her picture. On seeing this she was appeased.

Chelanattu Achutha Menon gives another different explanation (1943:1). After the battle between *Ēvās* and *Asurās*, there remained four women in *Asurakula*. They were *ĒnapaĒi*, *ĒānapaĒi*, *Banaka* and *MahiĀaka*. Among these *ĒnapaĒi* and *ĒnapaĒi* worshipped Lord Brahma for son and Brahma appeared before them and gave boon. They accepted *MaṇikabaĒa* and *Ēāṅuka* as their husbands. In the course of time they gave birth to two sons named *Kāṅuka* and *Ēāṅuka*. *Kāṅuka* was killed when he tried to obtain the Sun. Then *Ēāṅuka* started to worship Brahma to become immortal. So Brahma blessed him that men, stone and iron cannot kill him. On his way back the goddess *KārĒyāyāni* gave blessing to him. But he was too proud to accept it, because of the blessing that he got from Brahma. So *KārĒyāyāni* became furious and cursed him that she would kill him within few days. So

*KārĒyāyani*, another incarnation of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* killed *Ēāṅuka*. Eventhough she killed *Ēāṅuka* she couldn't control her anger. So *Ēēvās* tried to appease *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* by so many means.

In Kerala, the devoties perform the story of *ĒēvaĒās* to appease them. They perform such ritual performances in relation with worship of *kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* too in the form of ritual dances, ritual songs, ritual dramas and ritual plays. The following performances are related with *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and almost all are performing in *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i kāvus* in related with the annual festival of that *kāvū* or temple.

*Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ame«uĒĒu* is very important in relation to the rituals of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. Devōties perform *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ame«uĒĒum pāṅṅum* connected with *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ame«uĒĒu*. In this they draw the picture of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* with four hands, eight hands, sixteen hands or thirty two hands. *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ame«uĒĒum pāṅṅum* is performed after drawing the *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*. They use five colours to draw the pictures that are black, white, yellow, red and green. In this, they sing the story of the origin of

*Kāḷi*, *Ērga*, the killing of *Ēāṅka* and some praises to *Kāḷi*. If Kuruppu community draws the *Kaḷam*, Brahmini ammas sings the song. Besides this, in south Kerala the *Maḷān* community and the *Pulayās* perform this.

*KuĒĒiyōḷḷam*, in south Kerala, is another performance related to the concept of *Kāḷi* performed by Ezhava community. This is mainly performed by children to ward off diseases and for the well being of children. A cane or sharp metal piece is pierced in some part of their body that decorated with some makeup. After it people will move in to the temple in a procession and circambulate the temple once. Then take off the pierced one from their body and submits it to *Ēēvi*. Throughout the procession they sing in praise of *Kāḷi* along with other songs. Chettikulangara, Mankombu, Chirayinkeezhu, Kayamkulam, Mavelikkara etc. are the places popular for this performance.

*Ēūkkam* is performed in South Kerala as an offering to *Kāḷi* during the Malayalam month of *Ēḥanu*, *Makāṅam*

and *Kumb<sup>h</sup>am*. In this the performer climbs on the *cādu* that prepared for *Éūkkam* and circambulated the temple and submits a drop of blood to *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* as a sign. Arjuna *nxiÉÉam* is another performance that has resemblance with the *Éūkkam*. This is also known as *Éūkkam Payattu* and *MayilppīliÉūkkam*. The myth behind this as follows: KunÉi the mother of Panja Pa<sub>3</sub>·avis offered that they will give human sacrifice to *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*, if their problems solved. After solving their problems they want to fulfill *KunÉi*'s offering. So Arjuna, the one among Panja *Pā<sub>3</sub>·avās* who was beautifully dressed came forward and he went near to *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* took him with her evil teeth and put back him suddenly. At this time Arjuna danced before *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* to please her. This dance is known as Arjuna *nxiÉÉam*. The performer ties the feather of peacock on his waist as skirt. So it is called as *MayilppīliÉūkkam*. Ezhavas and Pinkurupus usually perform this. The participants could be at any age ranging from sixteen to sixty.

*E«uvattamka<sup>1/2</sup>i* is also performed to propitiate *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*. It is performed at several centres in Chittoor taluk and

Thathamangalam in palaghat district. The artists of this ritualistic performance belong to *Pā,a* community. A group of seven to ten participants belong to the age group eighteen to sixty performs this. There would be a mandap decorated with tender coconut leaves. The deity will be placed there. A big *nilavi½akku* is lighted before the performance. Standing in a circle, they sing the praises of *B<sup>h</sup>aĒṛakā½i* and dance to the rythem provided by the background music. The performance has seven segments, hence the name *E«uvaṇṇamka½i* (e«u means seven). After taking bath they smear sacred marks with sandal paste on their forehead and with a towel rounded their waist begins the dance. While performance, the women folk gives ‘kuṛava’. Sometimes this dance assumes frenzied forms. *Ce,a* and cymbals are used as background instruments. This is performed at night between 7 pm and 10 pm. No special costumes are required and they don’t even wear the shirt.

*Aivarka½i* is a ritualistic dance performed in *Ēēvi* temples of central Kerala along with temple festivals.

Hearing that *Kar,an*, her devotee had been killed by the *Pā,·avās*, the furious *B<sup>h</sup>adrakā<sup>1/2</sup>i* decides to annihilate the *Pā,·avās*. Lord Krishna hears the news. Summoning the *Pā,·avās*, he directs them to sing praises of *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* and to propitiate her. Standing in the centre, in the shape of a lamp, Lord Krishna himself sang the songs and led the *Pā,·avās* to sing and dance in praise of *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*. The goddess was pleased and blessed the *Pā,·avās*. This is the myth behind this performance. Since the theme deals with the story of *Pā,·avās*, this performance is also known, in some places as *Pā,·avārka<sup>1/2</sup>i*. In early times only those who belonged to Ezhava community used to perform this. Now other backward communities also stage this. The age group of participants range from twelve to fifty. Performers numbering five and above, present this under a decorated panĒal and around a lighted *nilavi<sup>1/2</sup>akku*, placed under it in the centre, the performers stand in a circle. First they respectfully bow to the lamp. Then they bow down to the *ka<sup>1/2</sup>iyaccan* (guru) and after obtaining his blessing they begin to dance in particular kind of

steps, as the *ka<sup>1/2</sup>iyaccan* sings. The performers repeat the song. The dancers carry an instrument named *ponÉi* (A short stick at the end of which there would be bangles fixed loose, so that these gingle) and dance to the rythem of *elaÉÉi<sup>1/2</sup>am*. The performance beginning around 9 pm goes on till 4 am. The *panÉal* made for this is put up on with bamboo stemp and is decorated with tender coconut leaves. The performers having their bath and smearing sandal paste on forehead and with clean dothies round the waist and with a small towel round the head gets ready, carrying the *ponÉi* in their hands. Apart from the praises of *B<sup>h</sup>aÉàakā<sup>1/2</sup>i*, the stories of Lord Krishna and that of Ramayana are also sung.

*Ka<sub>,</sub>yārka<sup>1/2</sup>i* is performed by Nair community. It is performed in palaghat district and contiguous areas. No age limit is there for the participants. This is an admixture of ritual and entertainment. *Va<sup>1/2</sup>akka<sup>1/2</sup>i*, the ritualistic performance is followed by *porā<sup>1/2</sup>uka<sup>1/2</sup>i* which is an entertainment. The stage is prepared under the *panÉal*, built according to traditional specifications, in the

temple courtyard and is decorated with tender coconut leaves. Performance takes place around a lighted *nilavi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akku*. Nowadays, other lighting effects are also used. The actors come to the arena without any particular costume and sing in praise of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. To the rhythm of songs and drums, the participants take stylized steps. The actors carry sticks on which there would be bells. After ritualistic dance they switch on to the *pori<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>uka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* for entertainment. Different types of *pori<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>us* are presented, to represent the lower classes like *Cerumās*, *Malayās*, *Cak<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iyās*, and *Pandā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ams* all in different styles. In this *Pori<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>u* there would be a comic character who renders factitious narrative. After one or two performances, there is a ritual known as *pūvā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>al*. This marks the end of the performance. *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>yārka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is performed over a period of four days at a stretch. On the first day comes *Iravakka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, on the second day *āndikū<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ÉÉu*, on the third day *Va<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ōn*, on the fourth day *Malamakkā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* (Malayankā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i). *Malamakkā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is presented by the hill tribes. In this women also participate along with men.

*Ceḷa, maḷaḷam, edakka, udukku, cymbals, kurumkuḷal* are the instruments. Beginning from 9 pm, the performance continues through out night. The main characters in *Kaḷyārkaḷi* are *Pūsāḷi, Kuravan, Cakkiliyan,* and *Parayan*.

*Kummāḷḷi* is a ritual to propitiate *Kāḷi*, the goddess. In Thrissur district, during Onam, this is presented as a community entertainment. Eight or ten participate in *Kummāḷḷi*. The leader and director of the group is known as *Taḷḷakummāḷḷi*. *Kummāḷḷi* performers dance in tune with drum beat and songs. The characters wear the masks of gods, goddesses, *Ēḷukan* and *Kāḷḷan* etc. A mask of toothless old women and hair dresses like an old lady is the costume of *Taḷḷakummāḷḷi*. *Kummāḷḷi* performers adorn their body with grass, dried plantain leaves or paper or some smear charcoal on their body.

*Gaḷan Ēḷkam* is performed in relation with *Bḷāḷakāḷi* during the Malayalam month *Mīnam* (March, April) on *Aswaḷi* and *Bḷāḷi* days, according to the Malayalam calander this is performed. Two or three in the

garb of *Gaxu·a*, dance to the rythem of instruments. The dancer is known as *Éūkkakkāṣan*. In imitation of *Gaxu·a* the dancers preen the feathers with their beeks, carry snakes in the beek. Dance with wings is spread in circles. At the end the *Éūkkakkāṣan* climbs on the *cāṣṣu*, circambulates the temple and donates blood as a votive offering to *Kā½i*.

*Kā½iÉīyāṣṣu* is performed in the Amman temples of Kerala. Only one character is needed for this. Those who play the instruments could be three or four. Preliminary rituals include the following: *Vignēṣwaxa pūja*, conception of amma, *uccappāṣṣu*, drawing of the *Kā½am*, *SanÉyakkoṣṣu*, and *eÉirēlppu*. After the preliminaries are over the leading *pūjāṣi* impersonates *kā½i*. The performance continues from noon to night. After dance the *Éīyāṣṣu*, *i*, the dancer again comes in the role of *pūjāṣi*. This performance concludes with *Éīṣiyu«iccil*.

Mudiyēttu is performed in the *B<sup>h</sup>aÉṣakā½i* temples in Travancore and Cochin region. Kurupu and Māṣar communities are entitled to perform this highly ritualistic

art. The theme of this performance is the fight between *Kāḷi* and *Ēāṣuka* and the victory of *Kāḷi*. The preliminaries consist of delineation of *kaḷam*, *pūja* for the specially installed diety (*praĒiĀtāpūja*), *Ēiṣiyu*«*iccil*, *Ēālappoli*, *kaḷam māikkal*. *Kēḷi* is performed at the place of performance first, and then a ritual is known as *aranguva*«*ĒĒal*. The characters are śiva and Nāṣada. Then *Ēāṣuka* enters, *Kāḷi* enters next to it. Next *Kōyimbadanāyar* will come and then *kūḷiyāḷḷam*, the fight between *Kāḷi* and *Ēāṣuka* and finally the drumming known as *kalaṣam*. This is the end of the performance.

*Pūrakkaḷi* is performed as a ritual to *Ēēvi*. This is popular in Kannur district, North Kerala and it is mainly performed by Tiyya community. *Cāliya*, *Maḷiyāḷies*, *Kammi*«*is*, *Mukkuva* also present this. This is also performed as an entertainment. Around twenty to thirty persons will be there in a troupe. The group leader, guru known as ‘*Paḷikkar*’ leads the performance. Musical instruments are not used for this performance. All the performers wear red silk around their waist and take one

of this between their legs to tuck it behind at the waist. *Kacca* is worn over this. The Paḷikker wears a customary bangle.

*BḥaĒṣakā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iĒu<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>al* is an art form prevalent in Pandalam, Kodungalloor, Edappal and Kayamkulam regins. Pulayās perform this. Four instrument players and two dancers are needed for it. They use rice powder and turmeric powder for facial makeup. *KuṣuĒĒ<sup>o</sup>la* is worn on the waist. Red silk is tied on the head. White cloth is tide behind the *kuṣuĒĒ<sup>o</sup>la*. *Ce,<sup>o</sup>a*, *maĒĒa<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*, *vīkkuce,<sup>o</sup>a* and cymbals are used for this. Generally it is performed in temples. This is also performed to cure smallpox in houses.

*PūĒānum Ēiṣayum* is performed as a ritual related to the temple festival. A few days prear to the festival, the *Pūtan* visits the surrounding houses in the village. *Ēhira* is presented only at the time of festival. This is performed to commemorate the BḥūĒas who accompany *BḥaĒṣakā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* when she attacked *Ēāṣuka*.

Pāna is performed in Central Kerala to appease *Kā½i*. It is performed as an offering to *Kā½i*. *AÀtakōn ka½am* is drawn and the performance is done around these *ka½am*. *Ka½am* drawn with five colours. The ritual *Èikpūja* (worshipping of 8 different directions). *Éiᵗiyu«icci* is important among these. The songs used for this are in praise of *B<sup>h</sup>aÈᵗakā½i*. The oracle jumps around the *Ka½am* at the end of the performance. Para is used as instrument. This is performed during night time and it takes two three hours.

*Padaya<sub>i</sub>* is a ritualistic experience that seen in Kollam, Alappuzha and Pathanamthitta districts. The performers used decorated masks and head gears made out of aracanut fronds painted with indegenious colours. *B<sup>h</sup>aÈᵗakā½i*, *B<sup>h</sup>aiᵗavan*, *Kālan* are all represented by actors wearing approximately painted head gears. Each character is called as *kōlam*. The *kōlam* dances and in between the dances there occurs, dialogues and short scene also. *Cūᵗᵗu* is used for light. *Éappu*, indegenious musical instrument is used for the accompaniment of the

song and dance. This is believed as the victory celebration of *Kāṣṭhi* after killing the demon *Ēṣuka*.

*ĒṣikavaĒam* is performed in middle Kerala. This dance is performed by members of Paraya community. Fourteen persons are required for it. The dance of *Kāṣṭhi* and *Ēṣuka* and their fight are performed as a part of this. In between this *śiva* appears to help *Ēṣuka*. But he fails. *Ēappu*, *cenda*, cymbals are used as instruments. It performs in the compound of temple. The costume of *BḥaĒṣakāṣṭhi* has a terrifying effect. *Ēṣuka* has a pleated cloth at the waist and carries a mace in hand. *śiva*'s dressing is like that described in *Puṣā, a*. *BḥaĒṣakāṣṭhi* wears a golden crown and so many jewels. Breast is moulded out of bronze.

## CHAPTR II

# MANIFESTATIONS OF KĒLI THEME

The ritual performances related to *Kāḷi* are performed all over the *Kāḷi kāvus* and rarely in some houses. Behind all these there are some myths related to *Kāli*. Among these the performances related to the myth of *Kāli* and her fight with *Ēāṣuka* is most prominent. It is interesting to note that all these performances are manifestations of the same myth or different texts of the myth. The performances taken in this chapter are *Kāḷiyūḷḷu*, *Kaḷyārkaḷi*, *Mudiyēttu*, *Niḷabali*, *Padayaḷi*, *Pāna*, *Paraḷēttu*, *PūĒanum Ēirayum*, *Rudḷḷakkōlam*, *Ēḷyāḷḷu ĒiyipaḷadḷvaĒa* and *ḷḷukkam* which are widely distributed from north to south of Kerala.

This chapter deals with the description of the above mentioned each item separately and describes the text of myth behind each performance. So without any special mention one can feel how much difference is there in

each text of myth and how its manifestation differs from other manifestations.

## 1. KĀLIYŪŪŪ

*KāḷiyūŪŪ* is a ritual performance of South Kerala related to the concept of *Kaḷi* especially in Thiruvananthapuram district. The occurrence of this performance is varied temple to temples. For example it will be performed once in a year in *šarkkaḥa Èēvi* temple Cirayinkī«u and *Kaḷakampaḷḷi ·ēvi* temple irālamūd. But in *Veḷḷaya, i*, *KāḷiyūŪŪ* is performed once in three years, in *Kaḥinkuḷam* once in four years, in *Puḷiyinkī«u Èēvi* temple Irumbel once in five or six years and *Kollamkōdu Èēvi* Temple once in seven or twelve years. The ritual performance of *KāḷiyūŪŪ* known as martial performance of South Kerala long for nine to eleven days. It is described as the *Kāḷi*'s play (celebration) in the *Èāḥuka*'s blood after killing him.

The performances of *KiḷiyūŪŪ*, officiated by Nair community, and performers belong to Kollan, Paravan,

Ezhava and thandan community and they are known as *ViÉÉi. KuÉÉiy°ttam, tilappoli* and pongila are other important rituals during this performance. The performance is on the vocation of *parayeduppu*.

## **Myth**

People lodge complaints to *śiva* against the mischievous rule of the Demon *Èāᵛuka*, through *NāᵛaÈa* the celestial messenger. On hearing this *śiva* was furious and *Kā½i* was born from his third eye. The black and vigerous *Kā½i* jumped out of his eyes. *Kā½i* starts to fight with *Èāᵛuka*. For this time *Èāᵛuka* fills the battle field with *RakÉabijāsuᵛās*. Because of the forantal attack of *Èāᵛuka* and *ᵛakÉabijāsuᵛās* *Kā½i* fell unconscious. Goddess *UmāÈēvi* helped *Kā½i* by providing her with the *Èāᵛuka*'s power source. Eventhough *Kā½i* used the magical powers, *Èāᵛuka* could prevent all of it on account of his power. Having known the secret of his power *Kā½i* attacked *Èāᵛuka*. So he could not escape from her and he hid himself in *PāÈā½a*. *Kā½i* searched for him for a long

time. At last she hid the sun with her hair to find *Ēāṣuka* as she knew the fact that *Ēāṣuka* had a magical capacity to fight in darkness. At this time *Ēāṣuka* came out of the hiding place and *Kāḷzi* killed him. This is the gist of the myth narrated in the *Ē°ttam* of *Kāḷziyūṅṅu*.

*Kāḷziyūṅṅu* starts from the day of Kurikurikkal (fixing the date). The main parts of *Kāḷziyūṅṅu* are *Veḷzāttam Kaḷzi*, *KuṣuĒĒōlayāṅṅam*, *NāṣaĒan purappādu*, *Nair purappāṅṅu Aiyiṣā,i purappāṅṅu*, *Ka,iyār purappāṅṅu*, *Pulayar purappāṅṅu*, *Muṅṅiyu«iccil* and *NilaĒĒilpōṣu*.

Ponnara family of Travancore has the right of *Kāḷziyūṅṅu*. On the first day they invoke *Kāḷzi* into the *Kāvalmadappuṣa* from the temple. This day is known as *Kurikurikkal*. The members of ponnara family collect the epistle from the main priest of the temple. Along with this, rituals of *Kāḷziyūṅṅu* get started. After *šiv®li* they invoke the vigour of *Kā«i* into the *KuĒĒuviḷakku* (a kind of lamp used in the temple) from the *šrikōvil*. Then light the *cūṅṅu* that they made earlier. The entire performance

occurs illumined with *cūttu*, *KuÉÉuvi½akku*, and *nilavi½akku*. After this *šakÉi pūja* and *Tiṁiyu«iccil* will be presented to protect the performers from ponnara family from the attack of the evil spirits. Besides this it is also meant to transfer the vigour of *Kā½i* into the performer. Then *Ve½½āṁṁamka½i* is performed. It is believed that *Ve½½āttam Ka½i* was enacted by the pulaya community when *Ēēvi* visited them disguised as a Pulaya girl. When she felt tired they fanned her with *ÉōrÉÉu*. Later this was observed as *ve½½āṁṁamka½i*. This is performed by eight members of ponnara family. The performers wear white dhoti and ties white *ÉōrÉÉu* on head. *Kaṁa·iga* (A kind of drum) and *cēngila* is the instrument used for this. *ve½½āṁṁamka½i* is followed by *KuṁuÉÉōla Éu½½al*. *Kā½i* takes rest during the course of *ve½½āṁṁamka½i*. *KuṁuÉÉōla Éu½½al* is performed to entertain *Kā½i* after her rest. Both these performances will be repeated in the following days too.

*KuṁuÉÉōlayāṁṁam* is performed on the second day of *Kā½iyūṁṁu*. It has no fixed steps. The performers takes

steps according to their own whims and fancies. During the course of this performance others narrate the stories of *Kāli* through songs.

With *Nāṅāya*, a *manĒrās* on lips and *vī*, a in his hand, *Nāṅada* enters on the third day of performance. This performance is known as *NiṅāĒa purappāṅu*. *NiṅāĒa* appears as an observer and at the same time as an adviser of *Kāṅiyūṅu*. The story of *Ēvāsūṅa* war and the life and decline of *Ēṅuka* is narrated along with this performance. A questioner who involves a satiric portrayal and criticism of the entire society also appears along with *NiṅāĒa*. The questioner wears a dhoti ties a cloth on head and holds a stick in hand. *NiṅāĒa* wears a pointed cap on head, wears a dhoti like the characters in *KaĒakaṅi*. Through their conversation the characters ridicule the *ĒvaĒāsīes* and the *NambūĒirīs* who have relation with *ĒvaĒāsīes*. Besides this they tell obscene stories too. It is believed that the obscene stories are narrated to protect the agriculture and to protect the land from disasters.

Nair *purappādu* is performed on the fourth day. Nair appears as a protector of *Kāḷiyūḷu*. It is also known as *Kāviluḷaya Nāir purappāḷu*. Different castes are criticized and ridiculed here also. At first they ridicule the Nair community itself. It is said that in earlier times through this performance the meaning and relevance of the word Nair is indicated and their relation with the Nambūtiri community.

*Kāviluḷayōn* is the name of the post security guard of the *Kāḷi's maḷappuḷa*. A Nair, who is the *Kāviluḷayōn*, is the character in *nair purappāḷu*. This *Kāviluḷayōn* is said to have been rich and he lived in the north part of Kerala in a well off position. But gradually he lost his wealth due to his luxurious way of life. So he ran away from his place and reached Travancore from there and thus he became the security guard of *Maḷappuḷa*. So he starts his earlier life again. This story is told in this performance. A questioner is also there with this *Kāviluḷayōn*. The questioner wears the same dress in each performance and the Nair wears a pointed cap and

dhothi and sports black beard. The story is unfurled through their questions and answers.

The *Ayixi,ippa᳚a purappi᳚u* is there on the fifth day. Dated customs of the Brahmins lavish and also promiscuous life are ridiculed through this.

*Ka,iyixu purappā᳚u* is enacted in the sixth day. *Nānayār ka,iyār* and *kānÉan ka,iyār* are the characters. On completion of the overall preparations of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iyū᳚᳚u* two astrologers called *Ka,iyār* reach there. They are *Nānayār Ka,iyār* and *KānÉan Ka,iyār*. From there they make an astrological calculation to know the importance of the place of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iyū᳚᳚u* and they find some problems and bad signs related to that place. For this they propose some remedies. But it is very expensive. This is the content of *Ka,iyār purappi᳚u*. In this the really greedy who try to mint money by this using the beliefs and devotion are attacked and ridiculed. The temple committee and their agents, who rob the temples wealth, are also made fun of in this.

The seventh day's performance is Pulayar *purappāṅṅu*. The Pulaya community performs in this day. It is said that *Kāḷḷi* used to come to see their performance disguised as a Pulaya girl. But the Pulaya couldn't realize *Kāḷḷi* and they entertain her with their numbers. But when Willwamangalam reached there *Kāḷḷi* disappeared immediately. Pulaya couldn't tolerate this. They scolded and abused *Kāḷḷi*. This is the content of this performance. Along with this *Kaḷḷiḷḷuṅṅiyan Purappāṅṅu* (arrival of drunkard)- describes the defects of drinking. Pāṇḍi Brāhmin *purappādu*- ridicules the Brāhmins, *Subrahmaḷya vaḷḷiḷḷi paḷḷi, ayam kaḷḷa* – the story of the marriage of *Subrahmaḷya* and *Vaḷḷiḷḷi*- are added as sub stories.

*Muṅṅiyuḷḷicil* is staged on the eighth day. The seven days of performances are made in *Éuḷḷiḷḷalpuḷḷa*. But the *Muṅṅiyuḷḷicil* on 8<sup>th</sup> day is enacted from the nearest ground. Even though the seven day's of performances began during the night, the 8<sup>th</sup> day's performance starts in the evening itself. On the look out for *Èāḷḷuka*, Goddesses *Èurga* and *Kāḷḷi* move Northwards and

Southwards at the same time. The goddesses wear crown by encarving *Nāgakkeṅṅu* (snakes) and ornaments. The devotees are inspiringly offer heartiest welcome to both these goddesses. The farmers offer their first harvested crops to *Ēēvi* at this time. *Ēēvi* gives blessings to them for prosperity and wealth. It is believed that in primeval days this visit is meant for the downtrodden who are prohibited from entering into the temple.

The two goddesses move to each and every corner of the village but they can't find *Ēāṁuka*. So *Uccabali* is performed in the temple for the disappointed goddesses. During this time *Ēāṁuka* vennippara sounds and *Śiva* hears it at first. So *śiva* sends *Nāṁada* to find out its cause. When *Nāṁada* reached there *Ēāṁuka* had defeated the six *ĒēvaĒās* named *Brahmā, i*, *Mahēśwāṁi*, *VaiĀ, avi*, *vāṁāhi*, *InĒrā, i* and *Kaumāṁi* one by one. *Nāṁada* informs this to *śiva*. On hearing this *śiva* became furious and *Kāṁzi* is born from the fire emitted from his third eye. *Muṅṅiyu«iccil* ends when *Kāṁzi* acquires the strength to kill *Ēāṁuka*.

The content of 9<sup>th</sup> day's performance is the killing of *Ēāṁuka* and *NilaĒĒil Pōṁu*. The performer of *Kā½i* starts his make up around 5 o'clock evening. After the completion of make up and wearing the ornaments *Kā½i* moves to the Southern part of the temple through the eastern part. The main priest fixes the crown on *Kā½i*'s head looking eastward. The performance starts when the priest put garland on the crown and spills sacred water on it. For the performance they make *para,u* near the temple. For *Kā½i* they make *para,u* with 42 feet (a kind of measuring unit) high by using coconut tree on the northward and in Southward another *para,u* with 27 feet length for *Ēāṁuka*. After moving around the battle field three times *Kā½i* climbs on the *para,u* and challenges *Ēāṁuka* who climbs on his *para,u* earlier, for fight. During this time the devotees adore *Kā½i* at the bottom of *para,u*. They also sing *tōttam* related in it.

The fight starts after it. In the midst of it, *Kā½i* faints on account of *Ēāṁuka*'s arrow. To recover from this *Kā½i* Climbs again on the *para,u* and seeks blessing of *śiva*

after it. Then starts to fight and *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* takes the crown of *Ēāṣuka* at the end. The symbolic representation of *Ēāṣuka*'s killing is manifested by cutting a bunch of plantains. Then *MuṣiĒĒālamīṣal* is presented. It is the joyous dance of *B<sup>h</sup>adhraKā<sup>1/2</sup>i* as a sign saving the place from *Ēāṣuka*. At that time the temple is imagined as *Kailāsa*. Then *Ēāṣuka*'s crown is twirled around *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*'s crown. This is known as *Muṣiyu«icci*. After this *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*'s crown will be put down by scattering the seeds on collected at the time of *Muṣiyu«icci*, on the 8<sup>th</sup> day in the presence of chief priest and the title holder. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>iyūṣṣu* ends with it.

## 2. KAŪYĀRKĀṢI

*Ka<sub>ṣ</sub>yārka<sup>1/2</sup>i* is ritualistic dance performed in the *B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* temples of Palaghat district, during the month of *Kumb<sup>h</sup>am*, *Mīnam* and *Mēdam* to appease *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*. It is actually *Ka<sub>ṣ</sub>akiyārka<sup>1/2</sup>i* (play of *Ka<sub>ṣ</sub>akiyār*) which later became *Ka<sub>ṣ</sub>akiyārka<sup>1/2</sup>i*. It is believed that the agricultural festivals begin with *Ka<sub>ṣ</sub>akiyārka<sup>1/2</sup>i*

*ÈēšaÉÉuka½i*, *Ponnānakka½i* etc. which takes place in the month of *Kumb<sup>h</sup>am*, *Mīnam* and *Mēdam*. It is performed to appease *Kā½i*.

*Ka,yirka½i* is mainly performed by Nair community and rarely by others forward communities. A person called *Ka½iyišan* lead *Ka,yirka½i*. The village community who seeks their livelihoods from agriculture and cattle farming officiates the ritual. *Ka,yirka½i* exists in between the places belong to *Venganidu* dynasty and *Kixur* Nambidi's dynasty.

## **Myth**

*Kā½i*, who sprang from the third eye of Lord *šiva*, killed *Èāṁuka*, who brought troubles and miseries to all. After killing *Èāṁuka*, *Kā½i* came back to *Kailāsa* with full rage. *šiva* with his *B<sup>h</sup>Éaga, is* and *Èēvās* tried to placate *Kā½i*. According to the belief of the people *Ka,yārka½i* is the performance did by people to appease *Kā½i*.

Another myth is related to *Ka,aki*, who is the character in the famous story of *CilappaÉikāṁam*. *Ka,aki*

fired the *Pā,·ya* country to take revenge to *Pā,·ya* King because *Pā,·ya* king killed *Kōvilan* by inducing stolen case on him. *Ka,,aki* can't control her rage after it. She moved to Kerala through Palaghat. So the people in the Palaghat try to appease *Ka,,aki* through the performance. So the play for *Ka,,aki* is known as *Ka,,akiyārka½i*. Later it is abbreviated as *Ka,yārka½i*.

*Ka,yārka½i* is performed in a decorated pandal erected in front of temple. Around evening the performers start taking steps around a lighted lamp with awe and respect. It is called as *Kā½ikumbiÉal*. They prey for the blessing of God. They erect pandal with nine pillars. One in the centre and other around it in 8 sides. The pandal is with forty five *kōl* circumferences. The main priest fixes the first pillar. The pandal is decorated with red flowers, tender coconut leaves and hangs lamps around it. A *Niavi½akku* and *pītam* are kept near the central pillar. *Kōmāᵛam* of the deity place a sword on the *pītam* by which the deity's presence is obvious. Then only the performance commences.

*Ka,yārka½i* is mainly performed by Nair community and rarely by other forward communities. *Ka,yārka½i* has two parts. *Vaṅṅakka½i* and *Porāṅṅu*. The performers of *Vaṅṅakka½i* have simple make up. The actors come to arena without any particular costume and sing in praise of god. Then begins the performance. In tune with the rhythm of songs and drums, the participants takes stylized steps, bow down and leap up as they go through it. The actors carry sticks on which there would be bells. It is wholly a ritualistic performance. After this ritualistic dance they switch on to the *Porāṅṅuka½i* for entertainment. Different types of *Porāṅṅu* are presented, to represent the lower castes like Cherumas, Malayas, Chakkilliyars, and Pandarams; all in different styles. In this *Porāṅṅu* there would be a comic character who renders satiric narrative.

For *Vaṅṅakka½i* the performers after their bath, smear sandalwood paste on their bodies, wears dhoti and turbans made of cloth. The costume of the *Porāṅṅu* depends upon those of the community represented.

*Ka,yārka½i* is performed over a period of four days at a stretch. *i,·ikūÉÉu* is staged on the first day. Lord *šiva* is called as *ā,·i*. On that day they perform this singing the songs praising Lord *šiva*. *Iravakka½i* is also acted on the first day. The second day is known as *ve½½ōnkūÉÉu*. In this they perform *Éōttam* of *Éiᵂuva½½uvar* and *Avvayār* who were worshipped by Tamilians, instead of Saraswati *Èēvi*. *Ce,ᵂa* and cymbals are used for rytham. *MalamakkūÉÉu* perform in the third day. The word malama means increase. In this hill tribe performance .Women also participate along with men. *PaÉicollal* is a part of the performance in which *āšin* asks some question to the other participants. It is followed by *Éōttam* songs.

The third day of the performance starts at 9 pm and performance continues through out night. But the fourth day's performance starts in the morning itself and it lasts till noon. *Ka,yārka½i* coming to close with a special ritual known as *pūviᵂal*.

### **3. MUDIYĒTTU**

Mudiyēttu is performed in the *Ēēvi* temples in Travancore and middle Kerala, especially in Trissur and Ernakulam Districts to appease *Kā½i* to take protection from *Vasūxi*. It is also known as *Mudiyeduppu*. Because in *mudiyēttu muṇṇi* (Crown) has a crucial role. Kurupu community used to performing it. Marar community also performs this in rare case. Marars are generally known as drum beaters (*ce,ṇṇa*). *Mudiyēttu* is considered as a ritual drama. The theme of this performance is a duel between *Kā½i* and *Ēāxuka*. The ritual aspects of this performance starts with the drawing the *ka½am* of *Kā½i* and ends with *Ēšamudiyēttu*. It is performed once in a year as an offering.

Kuruppu and Urali are the community engage in the performance of *Mudiyēttu*. The communities traditionally engaged in the performances of *Mudiyēttu* are Kuruppu and Urali belong to Cochi and Travancore are respectively. This *B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* temple performances are officiated by Nair community. As it is part of the annual

festival of temple people of the surrounding villages participate in the performance.

## **Myth**

Once *Ēvis* overpowered *Asuṁās* and they destroyed the *Asuṁa* land. Most of the *Asuṁās* were killed and some of them ran away from there. Their ladies were isolated and left without any issues. Two among them called *ĒṁumaĒi* and *ĒinavaĒi* worshipped Lord Brahma to survive their race. They did deep penance Brahma blessed them with two sons. *ĒanavaĒi* gave birth to *ĒanavēnĒra* and *ĒṁumaĒi* to *Ēṁuka*. As they were grown up they came to know all the stories of their past and *Ēṁuka* worshipped Lord Brahma to acquire some boons. But Brahma did not appear before him. So *Ēṁuka* tried to cut his neck. At this time Brahma was compelled to appear before him. So he appeared and blessed him with some boons and some secret manĒras.

Because of these boons *Ēṁuka* overpowered all the universe. He attacked and disturbed *Ēvas* and others.

So they complained to *śiva* with the help of *NāraĒa*. Knowing the fact that only a lady could kill *Ēāṣuka śiva* gave birth to *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* from his third eye. The world traveller *Kō«imba᳚a Nair* and *Kū<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, two among the *b<sup>h</sup>ūĒaga, ās* who assisted *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* fought with *Ēāṣuka* and his brother *ĒānavēnĒṣa*, *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* became furious and vigorous. *Kō«imba᳚a Nair* seized her and pressed down the arm that she used. *Ēāṣuka* and *ĒānavēnĒṣa* hid in a cave this time. As *Ēāṣuka* has a magical power to fight during the night they waited for till the night fall. Realizing this *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* hid the sun by using her hair and darkness spread all over. Seeing this *Ēāṣuka* and *ĒānavēnĒṣa* came out of the cave. On this occasion *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* killed them and took their head to *Kailāsa*. *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a* the attender and vehicle of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* drunk every drop of blood spilled from *Ēāṣuka*'s body to avoid the birth of thousand mighty *Ēāṣuka*'s on account of the boon. The content of this myth is presented through *mudiyēttu*.

The rituals of *mu·iyēttu* start in the evening with. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ame<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>u᳚u* starts in the evening. They draw the

*ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* of *B<sup>h</sup>aĒrakā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* using five colours. For this they use rice powder for white colour, turmeric powder for yellow, charcoal powder for black, *Ne<sup>o</sup>mēni vāka* tree's leaves powder for green and a mixture of turmeric and lime for red. *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* will be drawn in a decorated *panĒal*. Tender coconut leaves are used to decorate this *panĒal*. *Ka«ame«uĒĒu* will start after lighting a *Nilavi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akku*. Rice and paddy will be used for breast, nose and eyes etc. to get a three dimension look. They draw *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*'s form with four hands, eight hands and sixteen hands. It depends up on the authorities .It is believed that the *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is drawn to appease her fury after killing *Ēāṅuka*.

Once *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* is drawn, it will be under taken by the authorities from the performer. From that time onwards the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* will come under his control. *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am pūja* (adoring of the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*) will be done after it by a priest. Then *Ēiṅiyu«iccil* will be performed. For this they arrange rice and paddy in an edge of a plantain leaf put in a brass vessel. Some wicks of lamp soaked in oil will also be

collected in it. The performer lights the wicks and rounds the devotees with this vessel. This is called as *Éixiyu«iccil*. Folk believe that their al miseries could be moved through *Éixiyu«iccil*. *Ka½ampā¶¶u* (A kind of song) starts after it. *Ka½ampā¶¶u* or *Ka½ame«uÉÉupā¶¶u* is one of the important rituals related to *mudiyēttu*. In this they worship lord *Vignēšwaxa* at first. Then describe the procedure of the *panÉal* making. Then they narrate *Kā½zi* from head to toe and viceversa. *Ce,·a* and cymbals are used as accompaniments. *Kā½zi*'s figure is wiped out except the facial part, after *ka½ampā¶¶u*, using tender coconut leaves which was used to decorate the *panÉal*. The powder used for the facial make-up will be given as *PrasāÉam* to the devotees.

*Mudiyēttu* performance starts with *aᵂangukē½zi*. The authority of this performance lights the *Ka½ivi½akku* by seeking the permission of *išan*. *Arangukē½zi* performs after it. *Uᵂu¶¶uce,·a*, *Vīkkuce,·a* and cymbal are used for rhythm. It is followed by *aranguva«¶¶al*. For this two

performers hold curtain behind *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ivi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akku*; one will sing behind it and rhythm is given by others. The first part of *mudiyēttu* scene after it. It is called as ‘*śiva-NāṅgaĒa samvāĒam*’.

It is the conversation between *śiva* and *NāṅgaĒa*. *śiva* appears behind the curtain with his ox. Only the head of the ox is seen outside. *śiva* has no extra make-up. He only applies collyrium to eyes, put a *gōpikkuri* on forehead and wears a crown same to that used in *KaĒaka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. *NāṅgaĒa* enters wearing a dhoti, crown and taking a palm leaf book on hand. *śiva* and *NāṅgaĒa* take steps behind the curtain in accordance with the rhythm. *śiva* appears on the top of the curtain holding the face of ox. *NāṅgaĒa* will stand before it. The rhythm makers sing as *śiva* ordering to *NāṅgaĒa* to enquire about the activities of *Ēāṅka*. For this *NāṅgaĒa* answers by looking in to the palm leaf in his hand. *NāṅgaĒa* asks *śiva* to protect the world from *Ēāṅka* because seven deities sent by *Ēēvas* were defeated. *śiva* offers help to him and gave birth to

*Kā½i*. This continues up to one hour. *Vīkkuce, ·a*, *Uᵂuᵂᵂuce, ·a*, and cymbal are used as instruments.

*Èāᵂuka* appears then and it is called as *Èāᵂukan PurappāÉu*. The costumes of *Èāᵂuka* are similar to that of the ‘*kaÉÉi*’ character in *KaÉaka½i*. Cloths are like the *cikyār* in *cakyār kūÉÉu*. His crown is made by jack tree wood and it covers with glittering metal and decorates with the feather of peacock. Its sides are covered with red cloth. After entering to the stage *Èāᵂuka* makes a war din by standing on a *pītam* (Stool). This points that *Èāᵂuka* is compelling the whole world for fight.

*Kā½i* put her crown on head only before the *Srīkōvil*. The half moon shaped three feet width crown is decorated with *Éecci* flower, tender coconut leaves and glittering metals. The crown of *Kā½i* is also made with jacktree wood. *Kā½i*’s face is blackened with charcoal and put dots on it using paste of rice it is known as *cuᵂᵂi*. *Cuᵂᵂi* is fixed in different lines by considering the shape of performer’s face. Red colour uses on the top part.

Lime and turmeric mixes to make red colour. A big 'Éōda' is used as earrings. False teeth are fixed with tender coconut leaves. *Māttu* is used for clothing. Breasts fix and wear a garland on it. Besides this, *Kā½i* wear ornaments like waist belt, bangles etc. The face of *Kā½i* is engraved on it and tender coconut leaves are used instead of hair.

*Ko«imba¶a* Nair appears along with *Kā½i*. It is believed that *Na°Éikēša*, the assistant of *šiva* disguised as *Ko«imba¶a* Nair. His costumes and makeups are simple. He wears a white dhoti, ties a cloth on head as matted hair, draw a devotional mark on forehead and take a round shield in right hand and tender coconut leaves in left hand. He makes humorous conversation with *Kā½i*. *ÈānavēnÈra* the brother of *Èāruka* appears in the similar dress of *Èāruka*. *Kū½i* enters next and it is known as *Kū½ipuxappā¶u*. *Kū½i* is a moking character in *mudiyēttu*. Its face is blackend and ties a cloth on head as matted hair and fix breast with coconut shells or cloths.

The frightened fight between *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* on one side and *Ēāṣuka* and *ĒānavēnĒra* on the other is known as *Kūtiyāṅṅam*. The interference of *kū<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and the comic acts arouse laughter among audience. When the fight reaches at its peak as mentioned in the myth *Ko«imbada* Nair seizes the crown of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* from her and pressed down her arm. After this there is a short interval. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* fixes back the crown on head and starts to fight with *Ēāṣuka* and *ĒānavēnĒṣa*. It is believed that in the break time *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is seeking *Ēāṣuka* and *ĒānavēnĒṣa* who hide in the cave by waiting for darkness. At the time of fight *Ēāṣuka*, *ĒānavēnĒṣa*, *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and *Ko«imbata* Nair rounds the *Nilavi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akku* or *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ivi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akku* by challenging and fighting each other. This is known as ‘Pēšal’. After the ‘Pēšal’ *Ēāṣuka* starts to regret and *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* defeats them and take off their crown to symbolize the killing. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* rounds the *Nilavi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akku* with crowns by symbolizing it as *šiva* and the surrounding place as *Kailāsa*. Then *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* gives blessing to all. The devotees will give their kids in to the hands of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* as devotion to avoid their fear and

protect them from all evils. Then *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* rounds and rounds devotees with its crown and give the *Éecci* flowers from crown as *PrasāĒam*.

*GuxuĀi* by *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* that take place in the north side of *kāvu* is the last performance *mudiyēttu* ritual. It will perform in the north part of *Kāvu*. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* will perform *Guxusi*. Then *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* moves around the village and visit houses and throws *Ée<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* powder to avoid the disturbances and to protect the village from harmful diseases. This is known as *Ēšamudiyēttu*. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* returns to temple after *Ēšamudiyēttu*. The entire rituals last along with the return of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* in to temple.

#### **4. NIŪABALI**

*Ni,abali* is practiced by the *pāna* and Malaya community in Kozhikode and Kannur districts. It is performed in order to escape from diseases and for the fulfillment of wishes. It is performed in *Ēaravādus* to escape from the fear of unnatural deaths and disease. The astrologer orders to practice *ni,abali* according to the

astrological calculations. The myth of this ritual is also related to *kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* concept.

*Ni, abali* is the ritual drama, one among the balies as *šaxak£dabali, Ku«ibali, Uccabali, Madabali, riva, abali, Kukkuŋabali, Ku«ubali, £njabali*. Once popular among the people of some parts of Tellicheri taluk of Kannur District. Performers are belong to Malaya community. This ritual is practiced for the well being of a family or individual and at the same it has an exorcistic exargetic function also.

## **Myth**

After killing *Èāxuka*, *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*'s rage soared high. Each folk made different activities which they could. In order to calm her rage they made *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* Step on *šiva*'s chest, who was laying on the way to *Kailāsa*, made her embrace with the children, drew her picture on fronds and as *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*, and made *šiva* dance in full naked form. But these couldn't brought about they change. At last *šiva* asked to her, to cut her own wrist and to spurt blood. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* was quietened after this.

For the ritual, the members of the house arrange their courtyard by smearing cow dung and make a pandal decorated with tender coconut leaves, flowers, areca nut, betal leaf, fruits etc. The branches of *Kāμjiᵛa* tree, *Pāla* tree and plantain bunch etc are placed on the pillars. Plantain bunches are fixed on the pillars in the eastern side. The branches of trees are fixed around the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*. The materials for *pūja* are arranged in the northern part of the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*. They collect these things on three plantain leaves, fixed on the sheaths of plantain. lamp, flowers, agarbathi etc are collected on the first leaf, beaten rice, fried paddy (malar), molasses, tender coconut, honey etc. on the second one and boiled pea (aᵛingādin payar), coconut, liquour, malar powder (*Éaᵛippa, am*) on the last one. The *pi, iyāl* will be seated on the pandal facing eastward by pasting basmam all over the body. A member in *ve<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>uÉēdan* community rounds and rounds the *pi, iyāl* with the skin of *elaμji* tree. The songs start at this time accompanied with the instruments like *ce, ·a*, *Vīkkuce, ·a* (*Aᵛippara*), Cymbal,

Cīniku«al etc. A person belongs to Malaya community leads the song and their ladies repeats it. The ritual lasts till evening. They rounds and rounds the *pi, iyāl* with grains and put all these in to the altar. Then they arrange a shell removed coconut and fix green plantain fruit and pieces of pepper plants on it. Then cuts the coconut along with it. Then bathes the *pi, iyāl*. Around dusk *kōlams* of *vālukuvīccāÉÉan* and *Gu½ikan* appear in the *ka½am* and rounds the piniyal with grains and smears it with Kuri. *Ni, abali* is staged in the midnight.

The first stage rituals of *ni, abali* Starts with *Kovīyariyikkal*. Two *ce, as*, one *Vīkkuce, a* and cymbal etc. instruments are used for this. *Éāxuka* starts to fix popcorn on the *ni, am* that is pastes on his body. *Ni, am* is made with rice powder, turmeric powder and lime. Rice powder and turmeric are taken in a ratio of 10:1 and is mixed with water. This mixture is boiled till it becomes paste. Once it is cooled, adds lime with it and paste it through out the body including head. *Éāxuka*'s head and ears are covered with three meter long cloth and it is

wrapped round the top of the head as ‘*Ko<sup>o</sup>Éa*’ *Ni<sub>am</sub>* pastes in it also. The mixture of charcoal and water is pasted on the face, *cu<sup>u</sup>u<sup>i</sup>* is fixed on the nose and forehead and false teeth is fixed in the mouth. Five tender coconut leaves are used as its skirt. These leaves arranged for it by removing the mid rib of the blade.

The loud noise of *Éā<sup>u</sup>ka*’s hawling is heard after the completion of *Ko<sup>u</sup>u<sup>i</sup>yar<sup>i</sup>kkal*. Then the instruments are played and towards the end of it lighted *panÉam* is placed on the *pīdam* and the eight corners are adored and then *Éā<sup>u</sup>ka* moves in to the house. Beating of drum starts again. At that time *Éā<sup>u</sup>ka* comes out of the house in a frenzied mood and takes some *muÉrās* to exhibit his strength. Then he starts to adore from the place that is arrange for him as *brahmasÉānam* with sheaths of plantain. It lasts till fifteen minutes. *Éā<sup>u</sup>ka* offers flowers, throws grain and sounds the bell at the time of worship (*pūja*). *Éā<sup>u</sup>ka* take steps from the *ka<sup>1/2</sup>am* and which are similar to that of *ka<sup>1/2</sup>a<sup>xi</sup>* steps. He challenges *kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*, looking towards the sky. The duration of the first

part of this performance is for one hour and it ends with this challenge.

*Kā½i* enters on the *ka½am* by removing the curtain, when all music stops except *vīkkuce, .a*. The second part of this ritual starts with this. *Kā½i* resembles the female character in *KaÉaka½i*. It wears a red silk on the konda that is fixed on the head. The face is decorated with collyrium in eyes and eyebrow. It wears a red shirt with necklace of golden colour and earrings etc. and fixes breasts, wears garland, redsilk on waist and makes decorations with tongals and chains. *Mu<sup>oo</sup>ākk* will be placed on waist and *ka,ikkāyal* on feet's and *Éōlva½a* etc. *Kā½i* comes out of the house after *pūja* and moves to each corner of the *ka½am* seeking *Èāᵛuka* and perform some *muÉrās* from there. This time cenda and cymbal sound loudly these instruments make the scene appear terrific. *Kā½i* is very furious and she can't find *Èāᵛuka* at this time. This scene ends with this and it lasts for forty five minutes. When *Kā½i* leaves the *ka½am* *Èāᵛuka* enters in to it howling and with fast steps.

Hearing this howl *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* enters from among the audience by holding a sword in hand. Instrumental music reaches at its peak at this time. They take violent steps when both of them see each other. They round the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* looking face to face and challenge for duel through *muras*. Pi<sub>1</sub>iyāl who is seated in the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* is frightened on seeing this *Ēāṣuka* disappears at this time. He hides among the branches of the tree which are fixed earlier in the arena. He reenters to the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* after a short while and runs out from the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* immediately. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* follows him abruptly and this is called *pānjupiduĒĒam*. *Ēāṣuka* run to the audience and then to *kuṣuĒĒōlakkeṇṇu* that is collected in the *brahmasĒānam*. While *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* catches him from the *kuṣuĒĒōlakkeṇṇu* and brings him to *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*. The drum beatings is at its high peak. On this occasion the attitude of *Ēāṣuka* changes completely and he prays *kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* with folded hands not to kill him. But *kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* rejects it and kills him without mercy. When *Ēāṣuka* falls down, the helpers of *kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* enter in to the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* and fix the Bali on *Ēāṣuka*'s heart. Bali is made with tender coconut

leaves and fills it with ribbons that wet with *ni,am*. *Kāli* sits on *Ēāṣuka*'s body and pierces *Ēāṣuka*'s stomach with its nails, takes the entrails out and hangs it on neck as garland. After this *kā½i* moves back to *a,iyara*. Then 'SÉuÉi' to *Kā½i* is presented.

After *sÉuÉi*, the helpers come out with a white cloth and covers *Ēāṣuka*'s body with it, takes him in to the dig that they made, fills the dig with planks of mango tree. *Ka½am* is drawn on it with black powder and rice powder. Then Éa°Éric adoration is presenting. The planks will be removed after this and rhythm starts. *Ēāṣuka*'s body starts to shiver along with this. Shiver that starts from thumb and spreads all over the body. At this time rhythm reaches its peak. The rhythm stops at once and *Ēāṣuka*'s shivering also stops with it. The *manÉravāÈi* ties the thumbs of his foot and the *ni,abali* ends with the killing and pulling the entrails out.

## **5. PADAYAÛI**

*Padaya<sub>i</sub>* is companium of many performances. There was a time it was performed for twenty eight days. But now it has been reduced to ten, three, or even one day in most of the *Kāvus*. The theme of *Padaya<sub>i</sub>* is quite different from other performances related to *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* that it is enactment of the return journey of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* from battle field after the glorious victory over *Ēāṣuka*. It is believed that there are sixty four arts in an array in *padaya<sub>i</sub>* such as fine arts, dance, music, gestures, instrumental music etc. The villagers have the awareness and candor to confess and beg for help of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* through *padaya<sub>i</sub>*. It is a common feeling that their life will be made safe and secure by appeacing *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* through *padaya<sub>i</sub>*.

The folk invoke the goddess to come out of the temple by playing *paccaĒappu* and perform divine dance that is known as *kōlamtu<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>al* before *kāvu*. The chief of the village is the man who leads all the performances. The folk believes that it gives the message of virtue over the vice (*Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* defeats *Ēāṣuka*). Although it is performed

to appease *Kāḷi* ultimately it is performed for the well being and goodness of society.

Even now *padaya* is performed in many *kāḷikāvus* in Pathanamthitta and Alappuzha districts. Eventhough *padayani* is performed in a fixed day or the day decided by the committee it is related to *bḥaḡa* *nāl*. Besides *bḥaḡa* *nāl* such as *KārĒĒika*, *aśwaĒi*, *ḡēvaĒi*, *ĒiḡuvāĒiḡa* are also considered for the enclosure of the festival.

*Padaya* is the annual ritualistic performance of the *BḥagavaĒi* temples. The preperation for the festival begins months earlier and almost all village people to different castes have their own duties and rights in this ritual. *Padaya* is popular in both banks of Periyar.

## **Myth**

*Ēvās* defeated the *asuḡās* in *Ēvāsusḡa* war. Only very few ladies remained alive in *asuḡa* land. Two among them worshipped lord Brahma to survive their race. Lord Brahma blessed them with two sons: *Ēḡuka* and *ĒānavēĒra*. As they grew up they came to know

about their race. So they decided to take revenge for it and they wanted strength and *Ēāṣuka* worshipped Lord Brahma for it. Brahma didn't appear before him. So *Ēāṣuka* tried to his own neck. Brahma was forced to appear before him as he tried to cut. So, he appeared and blessed him with boons and some secret *manÉrās* armed with these boons *Ēāṣuka* started to attack and disturbs *Ēēvās* and others. So *Ēēvās* complained to *śiva*. On hearing this *śiva* got angry and *Kā½i* sprang from his third eye. *Kā½i* fought with *Ēāṣuka* and with his crew with the assistance of *VēĒāla*. At first she killed al force of *Ēāṣuka*. Knowing this *Ēāṣuka* give his secret *manÉrās* to his wife *ManōĒari*. But goddess *KārÉyāyani* disguised as a poor Brahmin girl and earned the *manÉrās* from *ManōĒaxi* for *Kā½i*. After gaining the *manÉrās* *Kā½i* attacked *Ēāṣuka* again and it lasted for twenty-eight days. In the twenty eighth day *Kā½i* killed *Ēāṣuka* with her trident. Not a drop of blood fell to the ground as thirsty *VēĒāla* drank every drop as it spurted out.

*Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* with *kū<sup>1/2</sup>i* and *VēÉāla* came back to *Kailāsa* with full rage. All other goddess were frightened by seeing the figure of *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* so they ran to *Kailāsa* and informed *śiva* about *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*'s arrival. *śiva* and other gods tried to find out trick to appease *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*. They arranged dance forms, humorous sounds laughable things and parodies. The *B<sup>h</sup>ūÉaga<sub>ā</sub>s* disguised themselves as bird, *mā·an* and *maruÉa*. In spite of all these *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* was not appeased. At last *śiva* asked his son Subrahmanya to find out a way to please her. Therefore Subrahmanya, disguised as *Ga<sub>ā</sub>ka* decided to draw the outraged *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*'s figure on her way. That is known as *kōlam*, by using five colors and he also danced using these *kōlams*. By seeing this dance and *Kōlams* *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* was quietened. *Padaya<sub>i</sub>* is the repetition of the same dance by people. Different versions of this myth are also available.

Usually *padaya<sub>i</sub>* starts with the ritual *Cū¶¶uveppu*. In some places a ceremony named *Kamukupi«iyal* is also performed on the same day. It is performed just after the *Cū¶¶uveppu*. *PaccaÉappu* is beaten for rhythm, only on

that particular day. On the same day there is a ritual in all *Kāvus* called *Vetta pōla Pāḱku vekkal*, which is now practiced only in Othara. This will be repeated on all days of *padaya<sub>,i</sub>*. *Paḱjak<sup>o</sup>lam* is the first *k<sup>o</sup>lam* to perform on the first day and it gets performance every day.

Heated *Éappu* is played on all days, beginning with the first day. Then starts ‘*Éankaxa swikaxa<sub>,am</sub>*’ by using the *Cūḱḱu*, drums, *muÉÉukkuda* and so on. This is the procession to welcome the whole village to the *padaya<sub>,i</sub>*. *Éappumē<sup>1/2</sup>am* starts just after the *Éankaxa*.

Once the rhythm of *Éappu* reaches at its peak *kāppoli* starts as a sign of beginning of *padaya<sub>,i</sub>*. The accompaniment of rhythm of *Éappu* will be there during this ritual. This is known as *mē<sup>1/2</sup>appaÉam*. Then the villagers start *Kāppoli* by making musical sounds with their mouth. In olden days all men who gathered to see *padaya<sub>,i</sub>* participate in *Kāppoli*. They take the *tōrÉÉu* that they were on their shoulder and shakes by raising it and they also make sounds “hūyyo..... hūyyo.....” But

now they keep uniformity in dress – a white dothi to wear and a *ÉōrÉÉu* on their shoulder.

*Éāvadi* is performed after *Kāppoli*. *Éāvadi* is the special dance which performers move their limbs and hands in tune with the rhythm of *Éappu mē<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*. The movement of hands has no special meaning in *Éāvadi*. Performers are many and the whole dance movement is regulated by a leader with the hand bell. There are two types of *Éāvadi*, one is *NērÉāvadi* and the other one is *PannaÉāvadi*.

In *NērÉāvadi* only one *Éappu* and a hand bell is used as accompaniment and rarely *maÈÈalam* is also. The performers wear handkerchief on a white dothi and a *ÉōrÉÉu* on the head. The performers stand in front of the temple in a line or several lines in accordance with the number of performers.

In *pannaÉāvadi* performers are divided in to two groups and they stand either sides of the *srikōvil* in lines or in triangular shape. The group stand in the right hand

side of the temple is known as *poikkāṣa* and the left hand side is known as *nērkāṣa*. *Nērkāṣa* dresses just like *nērĒāvadi* where as the dressing of the *poikkāṣa* is akin to the dress of the people who lived in the primitive age. The *poikkāṣa* humorously imitate the *nērkāṣa* and act just opposite to the *nērkāṣa*.

Performance of *pulavriĒĒam* falls in between *Ēāvadi* and *kōlamĒu<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>al*. It is differently pronounced in different areas such as *pulavriĒĒam*, *polanriĒĒam* and *puṣavriĒĒam*. It is suggested that the *PulavriĒĒam* is associated with Pulaya community as well as the dance of the field because the Malayalam word *Pula* denotes both Pulaya and field. The performers wear dothi and *ĒōrĒĒu* on their head and rarely hold silk handkerchief in their hands.

Performances begin with *Paṃjakōlams* on the first day and the number of *Kōlams* increases day by day. *PakĀi*, *Mādan*, *YakĀi*, *MaruĒa*, *B<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi* are the *Paṃjakōlams*. There are many *kōlams* in *Padaya<sub>i</sub>*.

*Ga,apaÉikkōlam* or *Pišacu kōlam* is the introductory *kōlam*. The myth behind the *kōlam* is as follows: *PārvaÉi*, wife of *šiva*, frightened on seeing *pišacu* and this *kōlam* performs to avoid the fear of *PārvaÉi*. The song of *pišacu kōlam* is a prayer to drive away evil spirits from village. It has mask with *ekirum pallum*; wear *Neṃjumāla* made by fronds; a single dothi and a red silk on it. *KuruÉÉōla* worn like a skirt and burning *cūttu* in both hands, the performer appears before the audience.

*MaruÉa kōlam* is one of the mother goddess of the village. It is believed that *maruÉa* is the goddess of *vasūxi*, who sworn the seeds of *vasūxi* and spreads it. *KaximaruÉa*, *KālakēšimaruÉa*, *īšanmaruÉa*, *PandāramaruÉa* and *paccamaruÉa* are the different kinds of *maruÉa* appear in *padaya,i*. It is believed that by performing *maruÉa kōlam* all the villagers are liberated from the miseries of *Vasūxi*. Certain references are there in myths that indicate *maruÉa* as the wife of *Èāxuka*, who was killed by *Kā1/2i*. Other beliefs regarding *maruÉa*, is as follows: (1) tribal goddess immigrated to the hills (2)

*prēÉa* of the person who died of *Vasūxi* (3) the lady who cheated *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>zi* cleverly while she was returning to *kailāsa* after killing *Éāxuka*. This performance is the embodiment of motherliness, humour and obscene. The group consists of *Éa<sup>1/2</sup>amaruÉa* and a number of *pi<sup>1/2</sup>amaruÉas* dance in a group. Its mask made up of one frond and its face part is removed and face is blackened. The top of mask is adorned with thorn like ribbons. *Ka<sub>u</sub>um Kuriyum, ekirum pallum* are also fixed on face. Totally three fronds are used for the entire *kōlam* but four fronds are used for *KaximaruÉa*. It wears tender coconut leaves as hair and *elaμji* leaves as skirt and *neμjumāla*.

*Kālan kōlam* dances for a long time when compared to other *kōlams*. The appearance of the *kālan* is as follows: *Neμjumāla* on the chest, *aμamāla* on waist, *cilambu* in ankles, crown on head, skirt made out of *kuxuÉÉōla* and *pa<sup>o</sup>Éam*, and a rope in its left hand. Folk believe that it is performed to release oneself from the fear of unnatural death. The content of the song sung for

the dance is the story of ‘*mārkandēya*’. Besides this *ajami½amōkÀa*, *šiva Mahā¶mya* is taken as the theme in some places. *Kālan kōlam* is the only *kōlam* that performs in accordance with content of the song. There are two performers in *kālan kōlam*. One main performer and another one minor, who appear in the *ka½am* only on rare occasions . It is important to note that the performance is a monoact that he takes role of the main performer, the role of *mārkandēya* as well as his parents and *šiva* in different occasions. *Kālan kōlam* is two types: one with five faces and the other with three faces. According to the belief of the folk the three faced *kōlam* represents the time (past, present and future) and the other one represents five faced *kilan* itself. Among these one is his real face and the other faces are drawn on the fronds. Sixteen fronds are used for this *kōlam*. Performers face is painted with *manayōla* and put flowing devilish teeth and fierce eyes made by fronds. The subordinate performer wears a white dothi upto knee and

red silk on it. *KuṣuĒĒōla* leaves are worn as a skirt on it and his head is covered with a *ĒōrĒĒu*.

*PakĀikōlam* includes in *Paṃjakōlam*. The appearance and dance movements of *pakĀikōlam* justify the word meaning of it, that *pakĀi* means bird and *kōlam* is form. It is the belief of the folk that the performance of *pakĀikkōlam* is to ward off contagious diseases effecting children through birds. It uses a mask with bird's beak. Five fronds are used for the entire *kōlam*. Red silk on waist and *kuṣuĒĒōla* on it. It also takes *kuṣuĒĒōla* as wing. Two or more *pakĀikkōlams* perform together as a usual practice. Birds walk, fight and pranks etc. the different phases, seen in *pakĀikkōlam*. The songs used for it is the story of the bird that tries to kill lord Krishna in his childhood. Folk believe that this *kōlam* is the oldest *kōlam* in *padaya, i*.

*Mā·an* is one of the male *kōlams* in *padaya, i*. It has six forms viz: *Cettamā·an*, *Ēoppimā·an*, *Vaṇṇimā·an*, *Pu<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>imā·an*, *Cu·alamā·an* and *Kālamā·an*. Among these

*vaṅṅimā·an* is most the familiar and it has a mask that made up of one frond. Its crown looks like the shape of matted hair of lord *śiva*. It wears *Neṃjumāla* to cover breast. It dances, looking towards the sky, hauls and it beats on the floor with stick occasionally. It is believed that *mā·an* is trying to beat the shadow of human beings. The content of the song sung during the dance is that the deity would give good people those who offer sacrifices.

There are so many *yakāikōlams* in *Padaya, i* such as *Suṅṅāra Yakāi*, *Aṅṅāra Yakāi*, *Ambāra Yakāi*, *Māya Yakāi*, *Aṅṅakkiyakāi* and *Kālayakāi* etc. *Yakāikōlam* is performed for the general safety of the village. It is interesting to note that *yakāikōlams* are unique by form and movement. *Suṅṅāra Yakāi* is one of the beautiful *kōlam* in *padaya, i*. Mask, *neṃjumāla*, *aṅṅamāla*, the skirt made out of *kuṅṅuṅṅōla*, arecanut flower bunch in hand a ring made by *kuṅṅuṅṅōla* on either side and on the peak of the mask, thick black hair in back side, *cilambu*, nails etc. made by *kuṅṅuṅṅōla* are the makeup of *Suṅṅārayakāi*. *Yakāies* usually give performance in a group that consists

of four to eight *yakÀies*. From the songs it can be understood that *su<sup>o</sup>Èaᵛa yakÀi* symbolizes beauty. Its mask is made up of one frond. *A<sup>o</sup>Èaᵛa YakÀi* is the goddess of air, *Su<sup>o</sup>Èaᵛa YakÀi* wears mask where as *A<sup>o</sup>Èaᵛa YakÀi* wears crown. Nine fronds are used for crown. The details of make up are as follows: Anklets in to two hands, *cilambu*, and *kuᵛuÉÉōla* as a skirt in waist, *kuᵛuÉÉōla* nails, *ka<sub>,</sub>um kuriyum*, and *ekirum pallum*. *Neᵛjumāla* and *aᵛamāla* are other ornaments. Usually two *A<sup>o</sup>Èaᵛa yakÀi* appear in the *kalam*. *Ambaᵛa yakÀi* is described as the goddess who flees through the sky in a sky chariot. It is believed that she came to earth on the invitation of the people to see *padaya<sub>,</sub>i*. Its costumes and steps are similar to that of *A<sup>o</sup>Èaᵛa YakÀi*. Only one difference is that it wears silk *sāᵛi* with an *Anga VasÉram* on it. It uses *manay<sup>o</sup>lapacca* on face. In rare cases *A<sup>o</sup>Èaᵛa YakÀi* is carried by four people in a palanquin. The steps and body movements are just indicative of the journey through sky. *AᵛakkiyakÀi* is the goddess of punishment. Compared to other *yakÀikōlams* it has many

differences in its dance. The first part of the *kōlam* performance is done at the back of curtain. It uses a mask by remaining face part of the frond, blackens the face and put white dots on it by using rice powder, ties *kaḥum kuriyum* puts *ekiru* and wears *neḡjumāla*. A red silk is worn on waist; long nail and bracelet made by *kuḥuĒĒōla* are other makeups. *MāyayakĀi* is the symbol of illusory power. This is also known as *MālayakĀi*. It has so many differences when compared to other *yakĀikōlams*. Eventhough it is a *Ēoppikkōlam* it can be constructed in different manner. But its dressing is identical to that of *AĒĒaxa YakĀi*. The rhythm also is same as others. But the steps, body movements and emotions are different. *KālayakĀi* represents time. It has frightful figure. The mask in one frond and crown made by knitting fronds on a frame are used for *kālayakĀi*. Totally twenty one fronds are used for this *kōlam*. Black is the dominating colour used for the makeup of *kālayakĀi*. It wears *neḡjumāla*, *axamāla*, *cilambu* and skirt made out of *ilaḡji* leaves. Its actions, expressions

and steps are well enough to arouse fear among audience. Many people gather in the north part of *kalam* to prevent the *kālayakĀi* from entering through that side.

*B<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi kōlam* is the biggest *kōlam* in *padaya<sub>1</sub>i*. It is considered as *kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. Different *B<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi kōlams* are there such as *Ni<sub>1</sub>ab<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi*, *B<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi*, and *E«uÉÉub<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi*. *Ni<sub>1</sub>ab<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi* form is identical to *KālayakĀi* and its crown is in triangular shape. Generally fifty one fronds are used for *Ni<sub>1</sub>ab<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi*. The face of the performer is either covered by a mask or painted in a special way named as *ka<sub>1</sub>um kuriyum* and *ekiṣum pallum*. The performer uses his one hand to give support to the crown and other hand to take the sword. A *panÉam* is fixed in the center of the crown. It wears *neṃjumāla*, *Aṣamāla* and red silk at the waist, a skirt by *KuṣuÉÉōla* on it and *cilambu* etc. It is believed that this is in the form of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* who killed *Èāṣuka*. Content of the song, expression, movements and steps of *Ni<sub>1</sub>ab<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi* remembering the dreadful fight of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and *Èāṣuka*. Songs also narrate the story of *ca<sub>1</sub>a*, *mu<sub>1</sub>a*, *ṣumba*, *niṣumba*, *ṣakÉa bijāsuṣa* etc. that

may be the reason why *Ni,ab<sup>h</sup>aiṅavi* is also known as *cāmu, .i, ṅakÉēs<sup>w</sup>axi, rakÉacāmu, .i* and so on.

Many fronds are used for *B<sup>h</sup>aiṅavikkōlam*, ranging from fifty one to thousand and one. The drawn fronds are woven in the areca nut frame and it put on the head of the performer, which is the crown of *B<sup>h</sup>aiṅavi*. The performer covers its face with a mask. Its crown is triangular in shape and decorated with drawings of snakeheads and flowers. All these are drawn separately and knitted in the frame by using the mid rib of the blade of the coconut leaf. Generally fifty one fronds are used for *b<sup>h</sup>aiṅavi*. The one third part of it is used for back part of the crown. Its ears are woven separately. One ear is decorated with the drawing of elephant where as the other one is with lion. *Neṃjumāla, AṅaÉÉāli; kuṅuÉÉōla* skirt on red silk and *cilambu* are other makeups. It has minimum of five faces. Two faces are kept in both sides of the real face of the performer that covered with a mask. Besides the five faces so many other faces drawn on the fronds of the crown. The face of *yakÀi* is fixed by

the side of the performers mask and the pictures of the snake are drawn on the top of the *kōlam* those are different in forms such as *kāxināgakke᳚᳚u*, *Cu«ināgakke᳚᳚u*, *LaÉa*, *ManÉā᳚am* etc, *Kōlam* moves from *Kāvu* to *padaya*, *i ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* in a procession. Entering the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am b<sup>h</sup>ai᳚avi* gives performance. As two hands of the performer are used for giving support to the heavy crown there is no chance to used hands for dancing. *B<sup>h</sup>ai᳚avi* performance starts at midnight and it last along for dawn. No performer is able to carry the *b<sup>h</sup>ai᳚avi kolam* built with thousand and one fronds on the head and therefore they make separate frames known as *ca᳚᳚am* to support it. This *k<sup>o</sup>lam* is also known as *ca᳚᳚aÉÉēl kōlam*. It is very big and tall in size, tall as a coconut tree. The fronds are woven on an arecanut tree frame and it is tied on the *ca᳚᳚am*. To carry the *ca᳚᳚aÉÉēl kōlam* they use *cādu* and it has four tyres. People pull the *cādu* by holding the rope tied on it. The work of *ca᳚᳚aÉÉēl kōlam* starts on the day before the day of procession. Now this *kōlam* is performed only in

*puÉiyaku½angaxa* temple in Othara. *B<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavik°lam* is the last *kōlam* in *padaya,i* performance. The myth says that *šiva* and his *b<sup>h</sup>ūÉaga,ās* perform many *kōlams* to appear *kā½zi*; but in vein. At last she was appeased by her *kōlam* drawn by *ga,aka*. This is the reason why *b<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavi kōlam* is performed in the last. *E«uÉÉub<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavi* has only minor difference from that of *b<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavi* performance. It is performed for prosperity and knowledge. Now-a-days it is seen only in some places.

*Kāμjiᵑamila* is another *kōlam* performed along with *b<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavi*. It has only some minor differences from *B<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavi* such as its size that is less than *b<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavi*. Instead of drawing of snake heads, flowers and snakes to decorate ears or it is seen in *b<sup>h</sup>aiᵑavi kōlam*, *Kāμjiᵑamāla* is having flowers, flowers and snakes respectively. It is believed that *kāμjiramāla* is *manōÈari*, the wife of *Èāᵑuka*, who was killed by *Kā½zi*. *ManōÈari* followed by *Kā½zi*, who cheated her and took the *manÉrās* from her and used the same to kill her husband. The dance of *kāμjiᵑamāla* with

*b<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi* symbolizes this. It is also believed that it is the deity of smallpox.

*Manga½akōlam* is performed in the early morning just before the closing of rituals. As the form of the *kōlam* is concerned it is the same as that of *b<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi*. This is the deity to whom devotees pray to forgive for all their mistakes that they committed while performing *padaya<sub>i</sub>*, such as mistakes in songs, dance steps, rhythm and so on. Versions are there in the procedures of *manga½akōlam*. In some places *manga½akōlam* ends after dedicating *kōlam* to village goddess by singing dedication songs. It dances and becomes crazy in its mood and moves to the *ciramudi*. At *ciramudi* they sacrifice coacks to the goddess. Then they tie the crown on the *pila* tree and return and the taboo is that they wouldn't look back while returning.

*Nāyāṅṅu* performance that occurs on the last day of *padaya<sub>i</sub>* is special to few *padaya<sub>i</sub>ikkāvus*. It is performed just after *pulavriÉÉam*. Branches of trees are

put in *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* in such a way that it creates a feeling of forest and then make call for hunting. The content of the song sung during the performance is the story of lord Ayyappa. The *kōlams* of tiger, pigs etc. enter in to the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* in the midst of the performance and it is followed by a hunter along with his hunting dog, and enacts hunting.

*Nāyaṅṅṅu* is followed by another non ritual performance, called *kuÉiṅakkōlam*. As the words denotes it is the *kōlam* of horse. The body of the horse is made out of *kuṅuÉÉōla* in such a way that the performer can stand in the center of the *kōlam* by carrying it on his waist. The face of the horse is made by one frond. The movements of the performer standing in the center of the artificial horse are sufficient enough to create the feeling that some one is riding the horse. The performer puts artificial mostache and ties a white cloth on head. This *kōlam* is known as *arakkuÉiṅa* as the word denotes. The *kōlam* of the horse is fixed on the waist of the

performer. It dances with group consist of two to four horse.

*Porāṅṅu* is a common practice in the ritualistic performances of Kerala, that performers enact the role of different communities and makes the audience to laugh. Humorous dialogues and abuses are the basic mean to create humorous situation. They abuse and make fun of all communities' even gods and goddesses. *Porāṅṅus* can be found among the *kōlams* of *padaya<sub>i</sub>*.

*Padaya<sub>i</sub> kōlams* are drawn on fronds. They collect fronds in the morning hours and take only one frond from one areca nut tree. It is believed that the fronds won't touch on the earth while collecting. They did it with great awe and respect. It is cut in to different pieces and separates the fronds for different *kōlams*. Outer side of the fronds is green and that green is removed to get pure white and all drawings are done on this with the accompaniment of certain rituals. It is very important that a *Nilavi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akku* should be kept at the eastern part of

the working area. *Ka<sub>1</sub>iyān* (*ga<sub>1</sub>aka*) has the right to draw the *kōlams*. It is believed that they got this right from lord *Subrahma<sub>1</sub>ya*. At first they cut the fronds in the shape of mask, and put holes in the place of eyes. The five colors used to draw the *kōlam* are; red, black, white, green and yellow. These are all natural colors. White is got when the green part of the frond is removed. The green parts are kept wherever the green colour is required for the *kolam*. Well grinded laterite is used for red *Ca<sub>1</sub>akka* juice is used for yellow. Burned leaves of mango tree grinded with water serves as black colour. All aids used to make *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ams* are things collected from nature.

*Paṃjakōlam* will be repeated till the last day of *padaya<sub>1</sub>i*. All *kōlams* in a particular day are received with a solemn procession from their *kāvu* to *padaya<sub>1</sub>ikka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*, is the first ritual performance of the day. Procession is supported by the accompaniments of musical instruments and rhythmic sounds by their mouth. When *kōlams* reach the *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am* women also start to perform

*kuṣava*. Then they circambulate the temple and reach the *padaya, ikka<sup>1/2</sup>am* again and return to the *kāvu*. Then it is the time for the entrance of *kōlams* one after another. The order of the entrance of *kōlams* is varied place to place. Last day is important and it is known as ‘*Valiya Padaya, i*’ as almost all *kōlams* are performed on that day. A special ceremony is also there and it is *ba<sup>o</sup>Èukkāṣa swikāṣa, am*, literally it means welcome to relatives.

Pūppada is the last ritual performed with the permission of oracle. In this performance a performer sits in the *padaya, ikka<sup>1/2</sup>am* as a representative of the village by covering his head with a white dothi. A heap of *kuṣuÈÈōla* is put before. He carries coconut flower bunch or flowers and leaves of other trees in his hand. The singers start to sing *māṣan pāṅṅu* with the accompaniment of udukku and cymbal. It continues for a while and the *pi, iyāl* get possessed. The village people gathered there make different musical sounds with their mouth. Suddenly the performer called *pi, iyāl* stuck

himself and villagers try their level best to make shiver again. But fails – So they bring an astrologer to know the reason. Astrologer takes his cowry and takes the flower bunch from *pi, iyāl* and gives back it after chanting *manÉrās* in to it. Rhythm of songs starts and *pi, iyāl* begins to shiver this repeats twice. When song reaches its peak *pi, iyāl* moves around the heap of the flower and splits on the heap and it throws away. There ends *pūppada*.

The entire ritual of *padaya, i* ends with *guxusi* performed after *pūppada*.

## **6. PĒNA**

*Pina* is a ritual performed in *Kā½i kāvus* and very rarely in certain houses. It is popular in palaghat, Thrissur, Ernakulam, Malappuram districts. Men from Nair *Éaravādus* perform *pāna*. It is performed with the complete co-operation of the people from that place. So it is called as *Éšappāna*.

Male members of Nair community, to propitiate *ka<sup>1/2</sup>i* for a better prosperity, perform *Pina* once in a year before *ka<sup>1/2</sup>i* temple that officiated by Nair community. As other festivals *Pina* also performed in the season after harvest.

### **Myth**

The *Asuṛās* stole the ‘*AmruÉu*’ got from *pala«i*. So *Èēvās* attacked *Asurās* and *Èēvās* war commenced and it lasted for twelve years and *Asuṛa* race was defeated in and they were completely eliminated. Two ladies named *ÈanavaÉi* and *ÈanavaÉi*, who escaped, lived in *paÉā<sup>1/2</sup>a* for a long time. In the meanwhile they went to *Kailāsa* and appealed to *šiva* to bless them with a son to save their race. *šiva* appeared before them and asked them to pray to Lord Brahma as he couldn’t do any thing with regard to this. So they placated Lord Brahma and he appeared before them. He gave each *manÉrapi, ās* to both of them and asked them to approach the *asuṛa*

named *Pā,ivakÉra* to fulfill their wishes. They did so and became pregnant on behalf of it.

They gave birth to two sons and among them *Èāṣuka* is one. At the time of *Èāṣuka*'s birth seas and hills shook, the leaves fell down from trees. Almost all the creatures' became helter skelter with fear. The *NambūÉiri*'s got mistake in worship and chanting. When he became a five year old boy, he asked his mother to give a name to him. His mother asked him to approach *šiva*. He did so and *šiva* called him *Èāṣuka* and gave him blessings, boons and *manÉrās* named *saÈāpaÉi* and *viswavaÉi*. Because of this *Èāṣuka* became proud and arrogant. So Lord *ViÀ,u* tried to check him and reduce his proud. Disguised as *Nāṣada* he planted a bringal confusedly and watered it with a hollen pot. *Èāṣuka* laughed on seeing this. *Nāṣada* asked the cause for his laughter and he also asked about his travel. *Èāṣuka* said about the boons, *manÉrās* and name he got from Lord *šiva*. *Nāṣada* laughed at him for getting boon from *šiva* for not being killed by ladies. *Nāṣada* said that the arms

of ladies are *muram* and wiper. He argued that if the boons that he got were fulfilled the bringal that he planted confusedly would also fruitify. Hearing this *Ēāṣuka* got angry and he went to *Kailāsa* and informed *śiva* about this. *śiva* realized that the hands of lord *ViÀ, u* were behind this. Then *śiva* started an intercation with *Ēāṣuka* and the boons he gave would be nullified and cursed him that he would be killed by a trident. So *Ēāṣuka* went to *Brahmalōka* and observed deep penance to make *Brahma* appear to earn some boons from him. On the way back he saw the mother *VeĒā½a*. They talked each other but at last they quarreled. She cursed *Ēāṣuka* and told that she would drink blood from his thigh.

As the story going on, once *Ēāruka* asked to his mother about the cause of the decline of their race and about their enemies. From there he realized *Ēēvās* as enemies and moved against them. *Ēēvās* and *asuxās* continued the battle for a long time. As he had the curse to be killed by a woman, Lord *śiva* gave birth to

*Bhāḥakā*<sup>1/2</sup>*i*. Lord *Viā<sub>u</sub>*, Brahma and *śiva* gave birth to hundred *ĒvaĒās* from their own strength. The *ĒvaĒās* born from *śiva* were called *KāĒyāyanies*, from *Viā<sub>u</sub>* called *Viā<sub>u</sub> Kā<sup>1/2</sup>īs* and from Brahma as ‘Brahmanīs’. They attacked and killed *Ēvās*.

*Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* was in full rage after killing *Ēāḥuka*. So *śiva* and his *BhūĒga<sub>ās</sub>* tried their level best to pasify her. *śiva* performed *maĒĒavilāsam ĒrikkūĒĒu*. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* put the head of *Ēāḥuka* on *śiva*’s feet and *śiva* gave some drop of blood to her by cutting his small finger. He blessed her and told her to go to Kerala as their mother goddess.

The entire myth is narrated in *Ēōttam pāḥḥu*. *Pāna* performs this in a decorated *panĒal* which has sixty four pillars. Pillars are made from *pāla* tree. The work of *panĒal* starts on Tuesdays or Fridays. The carpenter decides the pices and he cuts them and hands over them to the *iśān*. *iśān* brings it to the *Kāvu* with the accompaniment of instruments. Married ladies welcome it with *Ēālam*. Then they make special adoration for the

*panÉal*. *Ki, i pūja* or *Nada<sup>oo</sup>u pūja* is the most important ritual in *pāna*. Good training is needed to perform it. *išān* takes his makeup after a bath. He draws traditional marks on body and wears a dhoti, waist belt, bangles, *paÉakam*, rings, chains encarved with the form of Lakshmi etc. He moves towards the four edges of *Ma, apam* with dancing. Two or three helpers are there. It lasts till three hours and forty five munutes.

*Éarppa, am* is practiced after it. After *guᵂuÉi*, equipments used for it is thrown in the northern part of *Ma, apam*. He pastes *Éarppa, am* on his own body, throws on helpers' body and towards the four edges of the *ma, apam* too. At this time *pūjāri (išān)* becomes frenzied and the helpers give a sword to him. *Pūjāri* circambulates the *ma, apam* three times and throws rice and flowers around. It is done to make the *panÉal* safe from all evils.

*Éiᵂiyu«iccil (PanÉakka<sup>1/2</sup>i)* is the next ritual. For this they make long wicks soaked in oil. *išān* moves round

the *ma,·apam* with the lighted wick. He dances in tune with the rhythm and worships through this. For this performance body movements and experiences are required. *išan* circambulate the *ma,·apam* three times and then hands over this to his main helper. *Kē½ikkai*, a small entertainment in the course of the ritual is performed after it. *MaÈÈa½am*, *ce,·a* cymbal etc are the instruments used for it. After it the performers dance with coconut flower bunch, *pāna* stick and rounds the *pa°Éal* with it. They take different rythemic steps and this is called as *pānapiduÉÉam*. *PānapiduÉÉam* can be done only by the person who got sufficient training and this training is given to them during their *vraÉa* period.

After *pānapiduÉÉam* the performers seat in the southern part of the *panÉal* and perform *Éōttam* para and *nanÈu,·i* etc instruments use for it. In *Éōttam* they praise Lord *Vign®šwara*, *Ayyappa*, and minor goddesses' gurus and narrate the story of *kā½i* and the battle between *kā½i* and *Èāṅuka*. Along with it they also narrate the story of *KudiyiruÉÉal* of the six *ÈēvaÉas* and about the

place of *Kāḷi* in Kodungalloor. It takes days together to complete the entire *Ēṭtam*. Seven days or fourteen days of performances are usual. Rituals of each day is offered by different devotees. As a belief Folk didn't allow the pregnant ladies to hear the portion of myth that describes the killing of *Ēāṅka*. The *pāna* that perform through out day and night is called *paḷippāna*.

*Ēṭtam* followed by the entrance of *Veḷiccappādu*. The *veḷiccappādu* wears waist belt, anklet and takes sword in hand. He circumbulates the *maḷapam*. Along with him the *pāna* performers and others run around the *maḷapam* by making loud sounds and by destroying the *panēal*. Among this they practice a ritual called *Kuḷamcāḷam* in which the oracle and *pāna* performers move to the temple pond and return after bath. The possessed *Veḷiccappādu* gives prophecy, after it. He gives blessings to all who gathered around him. Slowly he becomes calm. *Kanalāḷam* is performed as a last ritual related to *pāna*. For this, according to the prescription of the astrologer plants of bunian tree, jack

tree are brought and put in fire and during the time musical instruments will be there. The ritual comes to an end with a ritual that *Ve<sup>1/2</sup>iccappādu* and performers enter in to the fire.

## **7. PARAŪĒTTU**

*Para,ēttu* is a ritual performance found only in Thiruvananthapuram district. It is a post harvest ritual performed during the beginning of *Kumb<sup>h</sup>am* to 10<sup>th</sup> of *Mēdam*. The crown of *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* will be shifted to the temporary *Muṇṇippuṣa* from the fixed *Muṇṇippuṣa*. The entire *Para,ēttu* is based on the myth of *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* and *Ēāṣuka* and belief related to it.

*Para,ēttu*, officiated by Nair community, is performed by Daivampadi (Vazhi), Kollan, paravan, Ezhava or Thandan communities in the temple premises. *tilappoli*, *Pongila* and *KuĒĒiy°ṇṇam* are other performance along with paranettu. The whole village participate and observe the entire ritual with awe and respect.

## Myth

In a war between *Ēvās* and *asurās*, the *asurās* were defeated. Most of them were killed. Rests of them were forced to run a way from the land of *asura* and therefore their woman sought shelter in other lands. Among these two were called *ĒnavaĒi* and *ĒsumaĒi*. They wanted to sustain their race and to avenge for the terrible attack. So they worshipped Lord Brahma and did deep penance. Brahma blessed them with two sons *Ēuka* and *Ēnava* because of their deep penance. Of them *Ēuka* is courageous and he worshipped Lord Brahma and took deep penance. As Brahma was reluctant to appear before him, he started to wound his neck. Hence Brahma had to appear before him and he blessed *Ēuka* with some boons and some secret *manĒrās*. But he dismissed the fear of being killed by a woman. So he didn't accept any boon to escape from this because of his pride. Because of the blessings he became as powerful as *Ēvas*. He misruled the country, disturbed and attacked the *Ēvās*. So *Ēvās* complained to *śiva* with the help of *Nāda*.

From *śiva* they came to know the fact that only a woman could kill *Èāṣuka*. So each God created each *ÈēvāÉa* from their own magical power. Brahma gave birth to Brahmi, *śiva* to *Mahēśwaxi*, *ViÀ,u* to *VaiÀ,avi*, *Subrahma,ya* to *Koumāi*, *Yama* to *Vaxhi* and *Indṣa* to *InÈṣāni*. Though they attacked *Èāṣuka* one by one they were defeated. So *Èāṣuka* moved from bad to worse. So *Èēvās* complained again to *śiva*. On hearing this *śiva* got angry. Fire started emitting from his eyes and *Kā½i* took birth from the fire that came out from his third eye. And *Kā½i* killed *Èāṣuka* after a long fight.

*Para,®ttu* follows with *Ka½am Kāval*, *Uccabali*, *Èikkubali*, *Para,ēttu*, *NilaÉÉilpōṣu Guṣusi* and *irā᳚᳚u*. A temporary shed is made in the field and invoke *kā½i* in to it and worship are done. This temporary shed is known as *Mu᳚ippuṣa*. *Éottam pā᳚᳚u*, which narrates the myth of *Kā½i* and *Èāṣuka*, is performed there. The main priest in *Para,ēttu* is called *VāÉÉi*.

*Ka<sup>1/2</sup>am Kāval* is presented as a part of this performance. It is believed that this is observed the self-protection of *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*. In this *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* observes the surroundings and it is also believed that *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* appoints her *b<sup>h</sup>ūÉÉga, ās* to observe her place. After *Ka<sup>1/2</sup>am Kāval* *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* will be seated in the *GuxuÉi PanÉal*. From there *VāÉÉi* will perform *Pūppa᳚avā᳚al*. It is followed by *GuxuÉi*. It is believed that this *GuxuÉi* is performed by *šiva* for his daughter. *VāÉÉi* ties *Kāppu* (sacred thread) adored on the hand of the *U<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>ādan*. This ritual is called *Kāppuke᳚᳚al*. The *VāÉÉi* prepares a *Kalašam* mixed with gold coin, flower, areca nut flower, paddy, betel leaf, areca nut, coconut etc. and puts it on the head of the priest also and gives a *Cū᳚᳚u* (folk torch). He can't leave from the *Mu᳚ippuxa* till the last day of *para, ēttu* and he wants to accompany *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* wherever she visits. *U<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>ādan* wants to go before *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* by holding the *cū᳚᳚u* on the hand and *Kalašm* on head. *U<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>ādan* is considered to be a friend of *Èā᳚uka*. So *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* attracts him by some offerings and helps thinking that *U<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>ādan* would accompany her to all the

places that *Ēāṅuka* infest. After the *GuṅuĒi Kā½i* will find out location of her *Muṅippuṅa* by throwing her trident and her crown known as *Muṅi* and it will kept *Muṅippuṅa* till the last ritual of *para, ēttu*. As *muṅi* is kept in this, it is known as *muṅippuṅa* (The house of *muṅi*).

Uccabali is the ritual that follows *guṅuĒi*. For this they invoke *Ēēvi* into *Ka½am* and arrange a place for *Ēēvi* in the *Uccabalikka½am*. They make a square *Ka½am* of 16 feet. It has four doors with the lower edge part of the plantain leaf. A small square *Ka½am* is also made in the middle of the big *Ka½am* and bamboo sticks are fixed in each of its corner. Besides this bamboo sticks are also stuck in each corner of the big *Ka½am* and a pair of bamboo sticks near each doors. The four corners of the *Ka½am* are decorated with tender coconut leaves. A big *pīdam* will be fixed in the *Ka½am* that is drawn in the middle. Some rice in a plantain leaf will be placed on the *pīdam* and another plantain leaf with paddy will also be kept on it. A coconut will be placed on it and all of it will be decorate with a garland. It is considered as *Ēēvi*. A

temporary hut will be made for *Ēēvi* in the *Uccabalikka<sup>1/2</sup>m* facing toward north. *Ēēvi* will be seated in such a way that *Ēēvi* and *ka<sup>1/2</sup>am* are face to face. Some rituals will be observed there, the *VāĒĒi* who performs this, wears a black colored pointed hat made with areca nut spate. A warrior, sent by *Ēāṣuka* tries to destroy all set up made there in the *Ka<sup>1/2</sup>am*. During this time *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* kills him by using her trident. *Uccabali* ends with this.

Before *Uccabali* *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* moves to each part of the place in search of *Ēāṣuka*. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* offers *bali* towards four directions. It is called *Ēikkubali*. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* will visit all houses of that area after *Ēikkubali*. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* is invoked into an idol from the crown. It is related to agriculture. Through this ritual *Ēēvi* is collecting the wealth and crops for temple.

Once all these rituals come to a close *para,ēttu* begins. *Para,us* will be set up for this. They cut four-coconut trees up to sixteen to twenty three kol (1 kol=72 cm) height without making any contact with the ground

and fix them on the ground into square shape. On the top of it they make a stage by using wooden blocks taken from tamarind tree and round it as a wall with small pieces of that tree. Ladder is also made by using areca nut trees and tamarind tree's pieces. Opposite to it another *para,u* will also be erected with araca nut tree facing towards the *para,u* made by coconut tree. This *para,u* is small when compared to the first. The big *para,u* made by coconut tree is meant for *Kā̄̄zi* and the small for *Ē̄̄uka*. After the ceremonial offerings in the evening the crown of *Kā̄̄zi* will be carried and brought near the big *para,u* in a procession. It is believed that *Kā̄̄zi* is moving to sky after searching *Ē̄̄uka* all over the earth. *Kā̄̄zi* climbs on the *para,u* and looks for *Ē̄̄uka* in the sky. Following this *Ē̄̄uka* also climbs on his *para,u*. A *Ē̄̄tam* that narrates the story of *Kā̄̄zi* and *Ē̄̄uka* will be presented on the *para,u*. The singers will be seated on *Ē̄̄uka's para,u*. *Kā̄̄zi* challenges *Ē̄̄uka* through the *Ē̄̄tam*. Then *Kā̄̄zi* locates the place of the battle on the

earth by throwing her trident. Then both of them descend from the *para\_u*.

The battle on the ground is called *NilāÉÉilpōxu*. It will occur in seven stages on the day time. Six *Ēēvatās* will fight with *Ēāxuuka* before *Kā½i*'s fight. They are *Brahmi*, *Mahešwari*, *Koumāxi*, *VaiÀ\_avi*, *Vaxahi* and *InÈrā\_i*. They fight with *Ēāxuuka* and are defeated by him one by one. Finally *Kā½i* enters into the battle field and takes *Ēāxuuka*'s crown after a long fight. It symbolizes the death of *Ēāxuuka*.

*Guxusi* performed after it. *Guxusi* will occur under the *para\_u* of *Kāi*, *VāÉÉi* lead *Guxusi*. After *guxusi* the crown is taken the nearest pond called *Ciramuŋi* for sacred bath. This is called *ārāŋŋu*. Then *Kā½i* will enter into her *Muŋippuxa* from the temporary *muŋippuxa*. The entire ritual of *para\_eŋŋu* ends with this.

## **8. PŪíANUM ÍIRAYUM**

*PūÉ anum Éirayum* is a ritual performanace prevalent in most part of Palaghat, Malappuram and Thrissur

Districts. It is performed in connection with the *Vēla* festival and *Éālapoli* festival which are celebrated in the *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* temples and *Kāvus*. *Mannan* community is involved in this. It takes place in the month of *Makāṁam*, *Kumb<sup>h</sup>am*, *Mīnam* and *Mēdam*. Tuesday and Friday are auspicious day for *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi*

*PÉÉanam Éirayum* is part of the annual festival of *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi Kivu* of valluvanadu along with *V<sup>o</sup>la* and *Éilappoli*. After harvest *PÉÉanam Éirayum* visit all households and give performances. Members of the mannan community who are elder having the right to perform *Éira* and those who belongs the age of group between 12 to 45 having the right to perform *pÉÉan*.

## **Myth**

*Éāṁuka* on getting boons from Lord Brahma started to disturb the *Éēvās* and the other people in the world. As they couldn't tolerate this *Éēvās* went to *Kailāsa* to see *śiva* to complaint. Knowing all these *śiva* got irritated and *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* took birth from his third eye. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* moved to earth

with her father's blessing. She challenged *Ēāṣuka* for fight. *Kāḷzi* killed *Ēāṣuka* through a fight and she came back furiously. On seeing the condition of *Kāḷzi* *śiva* sent his *B<sup>h</sup>ūĒaga,ās* to appease her. It is believed that *Kāḷzi* was pacified only after seeing the activities of *B<sup>h</sup>ūĒaga,ās*. The story has been followed in *PūĒanum Ēirayum*. The *Ēira* in this perform as the *Kāḷzi* who killed *Ēāṣuka* and *PūĒan* is one among the *B<sup>h</sup>ūĒaga,ās* sent by *śiva*. On account of this belief *PūĒan* and *Ēira* is performed simultaneously. *PūĒan* is the colloquial usage of the word *B<sup>h</sup>ūĒam*.

### **PūĒan**

*Ma,ān* community and *Paraya* community perform *pūĒan*. The *pūtan* performed by *ma,ān* community is called as *Ma,āppūĒan* and *Paraya* community is called as *ParayappūĒan*. The male performer at the age of twelve to forty five used to perform the *pūĒan*. The performers have to get trained *Mayilāṣṣam*, *Cilambāṣṣam*, *K<sup>o</sup>«iyangam*, *Ēirakūl*, *ōĒīṣam* *Mariyal*. The performance of

*PūÉan* is a folk dance as per the rhythm of *Éudi*. Two or three *pūÉan* appears in the scene at the same time. *1½ampūÉan*, *PeᵛumpūÉan*, and *vaᵛakkan PūÉan* are three types of *PūÉan* and all of them wear black, white or red coloured big mask. For this, they use laterite for red, lime for white and charcoal for black. The mask's big mouth is opened and performer could see and take air through this whole. Hair of the mask is made with the feather of peacock, bamboo sticks and strings of a kind of mat. The quarter part of the masks covered by the mouth and chin. Eyes, nose and forehead are painted on it. On the upper part the snake's forms are engraved. Ears are stuck two sides of the mask. The holes, which help to tie the mask tightly, are in the position of ears. Mask is decorated with pieces of glass.

Elaborate make-up and dressings are there for *PūÉan*. *Poᵛiyaᵛa*, *kālkeᵛᵛi*, *cittāᵛa*, *aᵛaÉÉāli*, *ēlassu*, Waist belt, *mārÉÉāli*, watch, shirt, anklet etc. are some of them and it takes *ponÉikkōl* in one hand and a shield in the others. They tie *mappiri* with cloths to avoid the

scratches with mask. The performer bit a string to fix the mask tightly on his face. The performers are to take seven days of *vraÉa* and they avoid non-vegeterian food and liquor. In each of their houses they worship a platform meant for the died *Kāṁa,avar*. The make-up coming to an end with the fixing of mask on face. The *PūÉan* didn't utter a word after fixing the mask. After saluting the *Kāṁa,avar* it will take its *PonÉi* and *Paṁija* and move to salute *Kāvilamma* with a procession. It salutes and worships *Kāvilamma* with certain ritualistic steps. Then it moves to the village and visits houses with Éira. The house owner presents paddy, rice and money to them.

The *ParappūÉam* has got no make up. It fixes round hair on head and hangs peacock feathers in the back as hair. It uses a kind of folded dress with white and black color. It wears *celliyakam*, *mukkūṁṁam*, *mārcāṁṁa*, *mārÉāli*, *kaiÉÉāmaṁa*, *vanji*, *kamaṁṁam*, *aṁama,i*, *cilambu* and *kaṁakam* etc.

## Éira

*Éira* is a common term used for the form of the deity as well as the crown. The half moon shaped crown put on the head of the performer is called as *Éira*. *Éira* is prepared with sixteen pieces of jack tree. These sixteen pieces are tied one another using thick threads. The form of *VēĒā½a* is carved on front side of *Éira* to trace its connection with the myth. Ears made of wood are hung in both side of *Éira*. The *Éira* will be put on the white dothi that tied round the head. It has no mask. Instead of mask some marks and drawings are there on the face like that of trident and others by using rice and turmeric. Eyes are beautiful with collyrium. It also wears a garland of saffron flower and waist belts. It is believed that garland worn is the heads of *Ēāṅuka* and the bells on the waist are his hands. *CanĒanakkuri* (Devotional mark) is drawn on the chest. As per the untouchability practiced in the olden days it salutes and worships *Ēēvi* from out side the temple.

The performers remind people the day of *pūṣam* or *vēla* on the previous day of the festivals by tapping in the para. This is known as *Koṅṅiyariyikkal*. By beating para they remind people *Éira* and by sounding *Éuti* they tell them about *pūÉan*. After worshipping the *Kāṣa,avar* and their deity they move as procession. *PūÉan* and Para moves together. The first performance is in the house of landlord and then they move on to the other rich and upper class households. The members of the house welcome *pūÉan* and *Éira* by lighting *Nilavi<sup>1/2</sup>akku*. They arrange one *na«i* with full of rice, and the other with full of paddy and coconut etc. in a plantain leaf. Then *pūÉan* performs according to the rhythm of *Éuṅi* and *Éira* according to the rhythm of para. Once the dance compleates there takes place a conversation between *pūÉan* and the head of the family. All questions are through gestures and the head of the family gives answers. *PūÉan* makes loud noise by beating with the stick on the shield kept in his hands. The performers of *Éuṅi* translate his gestures to the house owner. After this

head of the family presents many gifts to the *pūÉan* and on receiving it *pūÉan* plays out *sammānakka½i*. Gifts are offered to *Éira* and it also repeats the same. But *Éira* doesn't act and only sings some songs. This doesn't take place in all the houses except in the houses of landlords and others who ask for such songs.

The *pūÉan* and *Éira* bless the members of the houses and the cows and other pet animals by throwing rice and paddy after their performance. In certain places they break coconut in front of the houses. They get back the *kāvu* in the after noon of the *vēla* day and performances are being conducted there also. This is known as *kāvukayaral*. After *kāvukayaral* they return from the *kāvu* by saluting *Kā½i* and receiving *prasāÈam*. *PūÉan* removes its make up before the *kāvu* itself and returns. There ends the performance.

## **9. RUD<sup>h</sup>IRAKKŌLAM (KŌLAMVEŪŪU)**

*rud<sup>h</sup>irakkōlam* is a ritualistic dance in temple premises, based on *Kā½i-Èāᵛuka* myth. Kuruppu

community is engaged in manifesting the ritual as a tradition. As a practice the nephew of the *Kāli* performers takes the character of *Ēāṣuka*. It is carried out in the month of *Kumb<sup>h</sup>am*, *mīnam* and *Mēdam*. *rud<sup>h</sup>iṣakkōlam* starts around 3 am and continues for one hour.

It is performed in the *B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* temples officiated by Nair community in Koyilandy and surrounded area of Kozhikode district as a part of the ritual related to *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. Other rituals related *Rud<sup>h</sup>iṣakkōlam* are *piṅṅum vi<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>akkum* and *Ēalappoli*. Even though Nair is the officiating group the people of the land belong to all castes use to propitiate the *Ē<sup>®</sup>vaĒa*.

## **Myth**

*Ēāṣuka*, the *asuṣa* King, winning all the battle, ruled his kingdom gloriously. While he was coming back after a glorious victory through the forest he happened to see a girl on a swing. She called *Ēāṣuka* and asked him to continue his journey after receiving a boon from her. But the arrogant *Ēāṣuka* rejected her proposal defiantly. It

was *Kāḷi* and she got angry seeing the belligerent attitude of *Ēāṣuka*. So she challenged *Ēāṣuka* for a duel. But she could't defeat *Ēāṣuka* because of the secret *ManÉrās* he earned from Brahma. Having realized this *Kāḷi* withdrew from it and tried to acquire the secret *ManÉrās* that *Ēāṣuka* asked his wife to keep safely. As per the boon from Brahma the moment she handed over the *ManÉrās* to anybody *Ēāṣuka*'s energy will be declined. So *Kāḷi*, disguised as an old lady, approached *Ēāṣuka*'s wife and told her that she could earn prosperity and wealth by exchanging the *ManÉrās* to somebody. Hearing this she was ready to handover the *ManÉrās* to old lady. *Ēāṣuka*'s strength started to decline when *Kāḷi* earned the *ManÉrās*. So she could kill him easily. While *Kāḷi* started to dance with the head of *Ēāṣuka*. Lord *śiva* and Brahma came near *Kāḷi*. *Kāḷi* asked for the next duty. So they asked her to move to earth. They also said that people in the earth would worship her by lighting the customary lamp and giving offerings. If anybody neglected her they would suffer from diseases like Leprosy and Small pox.

Hearing this *Kāḷi* was pleased and she calmly and quietly went to earth.

The battle between *Kāḷi* and *Ēāṅuka* is reflected in *ṅudḥiṅakkōlam*. The entire episode is characterized with sword fighting. In Malayalam “*Veṅṅu*” means wounding. So the ritual of wounding with sword is called as *Kōlamveṅṅu* too.

The Kurupu, who takes the role of *Kāḷi*, takes bath from temple pond and a *KaḒina* is exploded when he comes back. He comes back by stepping on the hair and leafs used for of shampoo. It is believed that this will prevent the performer from getting over frenzied. He wears a white dhoti, fixes long hair, pastes colour on face and body, use collyrium and wears ornaments in body. *Ēāṅuka* wears white dhoti in a different manner, pastes black colour on body and face, uses collyrium on eyes and fixes crown on head. Each *Kōlam* carries a sword in hands.

There are no conversation and songs in this performance. *Ēāṣuka* and *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* will make some sounds, roars and shouts during the performance. It is believed that for every sound there is a meaning. Instruments like *Edakka*, *Ku«al*, and *Cāngala* are used in the performance.

*Ēāṣuka* and *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* will be seated in the makeup room by turning towards opposite sides. They didn't see each other. Because during this time it is believed that *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* was on the look out for *Ēāṣuka*. *Ēāṣuka* enters the stage first. *Ēāṣuka* runs towards the rhythm makers by howling and shaking the sword in his hand. Through this he is challenging *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. Hearing this *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* enters from the other side of the temple. She roars and howls with rage. Then she moves to the *Srīkōvil* and shouts from there. All these show the rage of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. *Ēāṣuka* makes sounds as a counter to it. Then they fight each other with swords. The rhythm makers accelerate the pace with the fast numbers on their instruments.

After a long attack *Ēāṣuka* realizes his failure and runs away from there. He hides behind the temple to escape. He moves his crown to make his hiding place safe because he fears that *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* could find him by seeing the shining of the crown from far. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* becomes furious and she wounds herself at this time. Then she moves around the temple in search of *Ēāṣuka*. She howls and shouts throughout this time. At this time *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* finds the crown that *Ēāṣuka* abandoned in the temple courtyard. It considers as the head of *Ēāṣuka* and *kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* will dance with this head. Then she moves out of the courtyard and cuts the plantain tree that fixed earlier for the purpose and cuts it into pieces. And the performance lasts after their symbolic slaughter of *Ēāṣuka*.

## **10. ÍĒYIPAÍAIÓVAÍA / VALIYAÍAMPUIĒÛÛI**

*ĒāyipaṣaĒēvaĒa* is important among the goddesses in Ēeyyam. The actual place of *ĒāyipaṣaĒēvaĒa* is considered as *Mā·āyikkāvu*. So it is called as

*mādāyikāvilacci. ÈēvaÉās* which are come under the category of *ÉāyipaᵛaÈēvaÉa* use big crown.

*ÉāyipaᵛaÈēvaÉa/ValiyaÉampuriᵛᵛi* is one of the *Éeyyam* performed by vannan community. This deity is considered as the main deity of *K°laÉÉiᵛi* and therefore it is common deity in *K°laÉÉuni·u* and known as *K°laswaᵛᵛᵛpaÉÉingal Éiyi*.

*ÉāyipaᵛaÈēvaÉa/ Valiya Éampuriᵛᵛi* is one of the teyyam performed by vannan community. Though this deity is considered as the main deity of the *K°laÉÉiᵛi* dynasty. It is common to all castes, except lower castes and therefore it is known as '*K°lswaᵛᵛᵛpaÉÉingal Éiyi*'.

## **Myth**

*Èāᵛuka* prayed and adored Lord *śiva* in order to appease him. So *śiva* appeared before him and gave him blessing and boons. Getting these blessings *Èāᵛuka* built a fort in his kingdom and lived there. Once *NāᵛaÈa* came to his fort, but *Èāᵛuka* neglected him. So *NāᵛaÈa* got angry and went to *śiva* and complained against him. He

also talked about *Ēāruka*'s bad manners. As per the boon from lord brahma hundreds were created as helpers and *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* was also created to kill him. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* had eight heads, sixteen hands, one conch on hand, wheel, blooded eye and cheeks, two elephants instead of ears. She offered *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a*, the *Ēāruka*'s blood and liver. So *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* accompanied her. *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* travelled on *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a*'s back. She challenged *Ēāruka* for fight and held *Ēāruka*'s hair and swayed him around the whole world. *Ēāruka* requested her for not to kill him .But, *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* did not listen to his words. If *Ēāruka* was killed in the day or night the strength of sun and moon would delay, if he killed from the earth the strength of earth would decay. So *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* killed *Ēāruka* from *VēĒā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>a*'s tongue at dusk. The *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* who killed *Ēāruka* is believed to be the *ĒāyipaṁaĒēvaĒa*

In teyyam the word *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is used as suffix with so many deities, such as *Puliyūṁu Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, *Nigakā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, *Pu<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ḷ<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ikaṁimkā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* which are in no way connected to the *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* concept.

The special feature of this teyyam is that the long crown of 42 feet of length made of bamboo and coloured cloths and attractive waist dress in certain kavus such as *ma·ayikivu* arecanut trees and 51 bamboos are used to erect the crown. Crown will be decorated by knitting red and black silks on white cloth in an artistic manner (Appendix IV: p.239). It wears the waist dress known as *viÉinaÉara* which is common to some of the important deities. The Éeyyam is decorated with seven wooden snakes called *pakkapimbu* on both sides of the crown.

The performer of *ÉāyipaᵛaÉēvaÉa* is called as *ma·ayipeᵛuva, an* and he takes *vraÉa* days before *ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iyiᵛᵛam*. The fall drawing of the Éeyyam is a special one that common to most of the *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉies*, with a picture of dove on both cheeks. It also wears anklets, takes sword on right hand, trident and shield on left. The ritual performance is almost same as of other *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi Éeyyam*.

## 11. ĪŪKKAM

*Ēūkkam* or *villil Ēūkkam* is a ritual performed in the *Kā½i* temples of South Kerala to appease *Kā½i*. *Ēūkkam* performs during 3 months that begins with the Malayalam month *Ēhanu*. The performer dresses like the bird *Gāu·a*, the vehicle of lord *ViĀ,u* with beaks and wings and dances in tune the rhythm. The doer is called *Ēūkkakkāṣan* and their dance is called *Ēūkkam payattu*. *Ce,ṅa* and *ymbals* are used as instruments. It is believed that this enactment is the continuation of the theme of *Mudiyēttu*.

*Ēūkkam* is performed in *Ki½i* shrines in some villages of Alappuzha, Kottayam and Ernakulam to propitiate *Ki½i*. Once it was performed only by Nairs where as now Marar and Ezhava community also perform this to propitiate *Ki½i*.

### Myth

*Ki½i* killed *Ēāṣuka*, the mischievous king and his brother. But she couldn't control her rage even after it.

All gods tried to appease her. So lord *ViĀ,u* sent his vehicle *Gaxu·a* to pacify *Kā½i*. *Gaxu·a* danced before her, but its attempt was in vain. Its dance couldn't have the capacity to calm the furious *Kā½i*. But when *Gaxu·a* gave two or three drops of its blood *Kā½i* was quietened.

Another myth says that after killing *Ēaxuka*, *Kā½i* happened to see the flying *Gaxu·a*. She tried to catch and kill it. It appeased *Kā½i* earnestly and continuously not to kill it. But *Kā½i* turned a deaf ear. Finally *Gaxu·a* offered some drops of its blood. Hence *Kā½i* was appeased.

To satiate *Kā½i* the folk who believed this myth offers two or three drops of blood each year. It is stated that in *Ēttam* sings that *Ēukkam* is one of the offerings through which *kā½i* appeases. There are four types of *Ēukkam* called as *AmmaĒukkam*, *Pi½½aĒukkam*, *NerccaĒukkam* and *Villo«ivuĒukkam*.

The first performance that is *Ēukkam* done by a *VāĒĒi* is called by *AmmaĒukkam*. *Pi½½aĒukkam* is meant for children as in evident from the name because in

Malayalam ‘Pi<sup>1/2</sup>1/2a’ means child. The family members offer this *Éūkkam* for issues a child especially boys. Once the wish of the family member fulfilled they make arrangements for *tūkkam*. Accordingly *Éūkkam* will hang on the *Éūkkavillu* by holding the proposed child on his hands. Some times the devotees, who offer *Éūkkam* for protecting them from the evil spirits, for having children or for marriage, will hang himself on the *Éūkkavillu*. This ‘*Éūkkam*’ is called as ‘*N®rccaÉ£kkam*’. The *tūkkam* performed as the last of all kinds of *Éūkkam* is called as *villo«iccu Éūkkam*. In this only the *Éūkkakkaᵂan* will hang on the *Éūkkavillu*.

The *Éūkkavillu* used for *Éūkkam* has two parts, Cidu (vehicle), villu (bow). *Éūkkamvillus* are in different types: with one villu, with two villu, with four villu and so on. Each villu carries one *Éūkkakiᵂan*. The *Éūkkam* which is observed by two is called *iᵂa¶¶aÉūkkam*. The *Éūkkavillu* is made by carpenter and he fixes the cadu on the previous itself. The villu will be struct after the procession. The *Éūkkam* performers have to take seven

days of *vraÉa*. As a part of this they stay in the temple by avoiding non- vegetarian foods and liquor.

Another kind of offering by devotees is *Gaxu·an Éūkkam*. They are offering one or more *Gaxu·as*. It moves towards the temple as a procession. The arrangements of the performance begin with the fasting of the performer. It starts before seven days. Around six o' clock evening *Kē<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iko᳚᳚u* starts from the house to alert the members of that house and the neighbors about the commencement of the ritual. After *kēliko᳚᳚u* they worship Lord *Vignēšwaxa* to avoid the hindrances and it is followed by 'cu᳚᳚ikuÉÉal'. It lasts for one hour. The costumes of *Gaxu·a* are similar to that of *KaÉaka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. Apart from this beaks , wings, *cāmaxam*, mu<sup>o</sup>᳚᳚i, tail, over gown etc are the costumes worn by *Gaxu·an* and it ties a red silk on head. Once make up is completed it adorned beak and crown and comes out of the house with rhythmic steps known as *Ga,apaÉi*.

Then the house owner lights a wick of the *Ni<sup>1/2</sup>avi<sup>1/2</sup>akku* by putting money in it recalling his for fathers. *Gaxu·a* performs according to *cempa᳚a*, *kā᳚ika*, *camba* etc. rhythms. *Ce<sub>᳚</sub>a* is used as an instrument. After *camba* rhythm *Gaxu·a* invoke serpent into it and moves around the house by throwing *Ée<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>i* powder. Then it moves towards the temple in the *ci᳚᳚u* of *Éūkkavillu*. A person lights a *panÉam* and throws *Ée<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>i* on it by standing in front of the *ci᳚᳚u*. It is believed that it has ben done to eliminate the *b<sup>h</sup>ūÉās* who create troubles on the way.

After entering to the temple the *Gaxu·a* also rotates the temple. Then it dances in front of the temple and it is known as *Gaxu·an parava*. It is believed that *Gaxu·a* will receive the permission of Lord *ViÀ<sub>᳚</sub>u* from here to move towards *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*. Then it receives the garland from the temple that is adored from morning to evening. It wears the garland and enters on the ground and moves near to the decorated *Éūkkavillu* and ties on the *Éūkkavillu*. Oracle follows the *Éūkkakkixan*. The small edge of

*Éūkkavillu* will pierce in the shoulder of *Éūkkakkāṣan*. Some drops of blood will come at that time. It is meant for *Kāḷḷi*. After it the *tūkkakkāṣan* descends from the *Éūkkavillu* and gives back the garland to the temple. Thus the rituals of *Éūkkam* end.

## 12. ĪYYĀŪŪ

*Éīyyāḷḷu* is a ritual dance performed by *Éīyyāḷḷu, ḷikal*. It is prevalent in Kottayam, Ernakulam, Alappuzha districts. Two kinds of *Éīyyāḷḷu* are there, *Ayyappantīyyāḷḷu* and *kāḷḷitīyyāḷḷu*. *Ayyappantīyyāḷḷu* is performed by *tīyyāḷḷi* Nambyar and *Kāḷḷitīyyāḷḷu* by *tīyyāḷḷu, ḷikal*. *Kāḷḷitīyyāḷḷu* is considered as a ritual related to *Kāḷḷi*. It is performed to protect the people from chicken pox and other diseases and it is also presented as an offering. It also for the perfection of their wishes, to get children and for their prosperity too. It is performed both in the *Èēvi temple* and houses. In this *Kāḷḷi* is telling to *śiva* about her fight and killing of *Èāṣuka*, the Demon King.



*Gaḥākar*, an from his ear. As *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* didn't allow him to lick her face *Gandākar*, an licked all the other parts of her body. So the blemishes of the disease remained on face. This remaining smallpox on the face of *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is seen in the face of the performer during the performance. After recovering from it she cursed *ManōĒaxi* and turned her blind and handicapped. Then she moved to *Kailāsa* with full of rage. On seeing this *śiva* tries to pacify her by playing many tricks. But none worked. Finally *śiva* performed a full naked dance before *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. As *Kā<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* could not see her father in this form, she walked around *Kailāsa* and pacified later and saluted her father with folded hands and prostrated before him.

The decoration of panĒal, *VēĒappāḥḥu*, *Kalme«uḥḥu*, *Vacco<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>ukku*, *SanĒyakkōḥḥu*, Welcoming, adoring of *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*, *Tiḥiyu«iccil*, Saluting of *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>am*, *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ampāḥḥu*, Dressing and makeup, *Ēḥyyāḥḥu*, *PanĒam u«iccil* etc are the rituals related to *Ēḥyyāḥḥu*.

In Temples or houses, for *Éīyyāññu* they set up a peculiar place for performance. For this, they make a *panÉal* and decorate it with red silks, white cloths, tender coconut leaves, aracanut flower other flowers, garlands, betel leaves and aracanut. In it a *pīdam* is arranged and a sword is fixed on it. Paddy rice, coconut, molasses etc are put to worship lord *Vignēšwaxa* and *Kā½i*. Song along with *mē½am* is sung in the noon time, so it is called *Uccappāññu*. It is also called *UccaÉīyyāññu*. *Kā½ame«uññu* starts just after it. It is believed that, earlier five sorts of metal powders were required for ritualistic *ka½ams*. It is believed that *Kā½i*'s presence is felt in the *ka½ams* drawn with metal powder. But now five color powders are used instead of metal powders. Turmeric instead of gold, Red for brass, black for iron, white for silver and *vāka* powder for tin. It is believed that these colors represents *panjab<sup>h</sup>ūÉās*, ie. black represents the sky, Green for air, Red for fire, White for water and Yellow for earth. The drawn *Kā½i* may be with

two hands, four hands, eight hands or sixteen hands. But *Kā½i* with two and sixteen hands are seen rarely.

After the completion of *ka½ame«uÉÉu* they arrange different things near the *Ka½am* to prove the presence of *kā½i* in it. This is called *vaccoᳵukku*. By considering *aÀŋaÈwigpālakās* they perform *vaccoᳵukku* in eight parts of the *Ka½am*. Plantain leaf, paddy, rice, coconut, betel leaf, aracanut, flower buch, *nilavi½akku* etc. are used for this. *SanÈyakkofŋŋu* starts after *vaccoᳵukku*. In temples *sanÈyakkofŋŋu* starts just after ‘ÈṛᳵaÈana’. In houses also it takes place at the same time. *Para* and *Cēngila* are the musical instruments used for *SanÈyakkofŋŋu*. In some places *sandyakkofŋŋu* is also known as *koŋŋiyariyippu*. *EÉiᳵēlppu*, (welcoming) is conducted just after it. For this they use *Kuᳵava*, *ārppu* and *mē½am*. If *Éṛyyāŋŋu* is made in the temples *eÉirēlppu* is conducted in front of the *šṛikōvil*, if it is in houses it is observed at the entrance. It is believed that, through this they are accosting the *Èēvi* in to the *ka½am*. For this, the

*aÀtamangalayam* and *ku¶¶uvi½akku* are made use of prepare the *aÀtamangalayam* as a symbol of *Èēvi*.

The authority of *ka½am* is done just after it by the Brahmin priest. Besides this *Éīyyā¶¶u, ,i* also adoned. Then in praise of *Kā½i* they describe the physique of *Kā½i* from top to bottom and vise versa. For this, they use *manimangaÉō¶¶am* and *Èā᳚ukaÉō¶¶am*. *Para*, *Cēngila* and Drum are the instruments used. Then *Éīyyā¶¶u, ,i* who enacts as *Kā½i* enters the *ka½am*. One of the projected parts signifying the breasts of *kā½i* is wiped away at last.

*Éīyyā¶¶u, ,i* starts to take its *camayam* after or in the middle of *ka½ampā¶¶u*. Three *Éīyyā¶¶u, ,is* are there related to a *Éīyyā¶¶u*. The performer ties a *ÉōrÉÉu* on head by invokiong *Èēvi* in to it. Then starts to take facial decoration. It pastes ghee or oil mixed with charcoal on face. *Cu¶¶i* is fixed on it with a mixture of rice powder and lime. After make up it wears a kind of frock and a kind of tunic made with red silk. Then it

wears *munÉi*. *Ka᳚isūÉram*, Bangles, *Kaippūvu*, breasts, earrings Chains, anglets and false teeth. Finally it fixes its crown on head and takes its sword called '*Ka᳚uÉÉila*'.

The crown of *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* is round shaped or long round shaped. It is decorated with red silk or glittering papers. Crowned *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i*'s face is engraved on the middle part of the crown. It is made with wooden blocks taken from jack tree. Hair is fixed on the back part of crown. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* performs in the light of a big *ka<sup>1/2</sup>ivi<sup>1/2</sup>akku*. It performs after saluting lord *Vignēṣwaxa*, *Grahah<sup>h</sup>ūtās*, elites and *icāxyās* in the given order. First it presents *Éixanō᳚᳚am* by holding the two parts of its dress as curtain. Some among the audience create fearful atmosphere throwing the *Ée<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>i* powder in to the fire. Then *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* dances with both in calm and furious position. *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* challenges *Éāxuka* after the dance. Then it fill *Ée<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>i* powder into the shell of coconut and fires it with a *panÉam* and moves the lighted shell around the *nilavi<sup>1/2</sup>akku*. It is called '*ExiÉēnga u«iccil*'. Then *panÉam* is burned with *Ée<sup>1/2</sup><sup>1/2</sup>i* powder. It is believed that this practice saves

people from diseases and also from evil spirits. Then *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* dances with *panÉam* and adore *Èēvi* with *jalaga<sup>o</sup>Èa* flowers. The dance prolongs for an hour. The performer puts down the crown and with crown blesses the devotees by moving around head lamp.

*Tiāiyu«iccil* has been performed as last ritual in *Éīyyāṅṅu*. The *Éīyyāṅṅu, i* who enact as *Kā<sup>1/2</sup>i* practices this ritual. He lights a *panÉam* and offers a coconut to Lord *śiva*. Then he takes the *pa,Éam* in both hands. It is belived that this is the *pa,Éam* given by Lord *śiva*. Then he moves around the *ka<sup>1/2</sup>am* and temple with the *pa,Éam* then rounds the idol too. There ends *Éīyyāṅṅu*.

CHAPTER III  
**THE CONCEPT OF KĒḌI IN  
BELIEFS  
RITUALS AND CUSTOMS**

*Ki½i* is believed as the mother in every sense. So people give their whole consideration to her. The worship of mother goddess in India as deity of prosperity had been started in remote past. It is seen in the stone plates excavated in Harappa engraved the mother goddess on one side and human sacrifice on the other. The agrarian society believed *Ki½i* as the goddess of plants and the folk who depend on cattle accepted *Ki½i* as the goddess who protect cattle. Later these goddesses on the different phases merged together and became the omnipotent '*Ki½i*'. *Ki½i* is also considered as *i·ipaḁi śakḁi* and also one among *ÈašamahiviÈyas*. Among them *Ki½i* is worshipped in different parts of India, Especially Kerala and West Bengal. In Kerala she is benevolent as well as Malavelent. Rarely it is seen in Kozhikode district, *Ki½i* is functioning as a *Ma<sup>o</sup>ÉramÉrÉÉi*.

This version of *Ki½i* known as °·*akki½i* is propitiated by Malaya Community. It is believed that °·*akki½i* is used for *o·is®va*. If a person use *o·is®va* to put the enemy in trouble the only way to save himself form ill happenings by pleasing the °·*akki½i*.

Each and every community in Kerala worship *Ki½i* with awe and respect. It is believed that she protect people from natural calamities as well as uncurbale diseases. So she is popular among people who live in all geographical areas. In hilly area, worshipped as *p°rkkali B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi*; in coastal areas as *Srçkurumba*; in middle areas as *Ki½i* (iÉi BiÉa *vinišini* Nama:).

Tuesdays, Sundays and Fridays are special days *Ki½i*. Among these Tuesdays and Fridays are called as *Ko·iyi«cca*. The first *Ko·iyi«cca* in every Malayalam month is special to *Ki½i* and on these days the devotees offer redsilk to *Ki½i* to protect them from all harms. This offering is known as *C°ppoppikkal*.

The worship system related to *ÉanÉra* is divided into two. *Samayamirga* and *Ka£½amirga*. *Samaya* worship follows the traditional text that explains the procedure when, where and why it should be done. But for *ka£½amirga* texts are several according to the place. Different *kulas* and villages are following different versions of worshipping system and accordingly. Manifestations of *Ki½i* are in varied forms.

In Kerala *Ki½i* is worshipped according to *Ka£laÈarm*. According to this tradition the existence of the whole universe is on the basis of *šiva* and *šakÉi* and all males are believed as *šiva* and female as *šakÉi*. *Paµca'ma' kiᵛa p£ja* is the peculiarity of *Ka£½aÈarma*. It gives importance to female and worship them as a part of *šakÉi*. The Brahmins are against the *ka£½aÈiram* because it is not accepting the *Var,a* system and Caste system that boosts the social status of Brahmins (Acharyathraipuram: 2004: 21).

*śikÉ®ya* tradition is also part of *ka£½aÉarma* which is being done for the benevelence of the family as well as individual. *GuᵠuÉi* and *Bali* are unavoidable part of *śikÉ®yam*. Musath, Pitaraka, Yogigurukkal, Nayar, Ezhava, Parava, Kaniyan, Viswakarma etc. are the caste groups believe in *ka£½aÉarma* and follow the practices of its ritual. Many *śikᵠ®yakivukal* are there in Kerala. Some among them are popular. *Ki½iyimba½½ikivu*, *Mi·iyikkavu*, *MaººamburaÉÉukivu*, *PiÀirikkivu*, *MiminaÉÉukivu*, *Ùiᵠuvanj®rikkivu*, *Ka½aᵠiviᵠukkal* are few among them. The mythological connections and ritual bonds between these *kivus* with Kodungalloor temple reveals the fact that Kodungalloor temple is the centre of this worshipping system.

It is believed that at its origin the Goddess in Kodungalloor temple was *śrᵠkurumba* and later it became as *Kodungallooramma*. Now the concept of *É®vi* at Kodungalloor temple is a fusion if *Ki½i*, *Srᵠkurumba* and *Ka, ,aki* and devotees are free to identify the Goddess according to their will. For example to Mukkuva

community *Kodungallooramma* is *Srçkuᵛumba* and they do worship *Srçkuᵛumba* in *Cçrmakkivus*.

The myth behind the worship of *Ki½i* in Kodungalloor is the post episode of *Ki½i-Èiᵛuka* fight. The ritual on the eve of *b<sup>h</sup>aᵛa, i* festival is believed as the enactment of the acts of *Ki½i* on the way back from the battle field. The whole situation is reminiscence the acts of *Ki½i* when she was on the way back from battle field. The *p£ja* at the end of the festival is meant for the purification of *Ki½i* who was polluted by killing *Èiᵛuka*. *Ka, ,aki* myth also is one of the attributes to Kodungallooramma who is the heroin in *Ka, ,aki K°vilan KaÉai*. There is a secret Chamber in Kodungalloor temple which was not opened ever and it is believed that after the salvation of *Ka, ,aki* her body was cremated and later bones were collected and brought to Kodungalloor which was the capital of *Ch®ᵛa* Kingdom. The collected bones were kept in this chamber.

The myth of *Ka, ,aki* is as follows:

*Ka,,aki* and *K°vilan* lived in Pukar. Both of them were members of wealthy family. *Ka,,aki's* father *Peṣumku·i Vaišyan Mi,,ikkan* was an eminent sailor. *Ka,,aki* and *K°vilan* married at the age of twelve and sixteen respectively. *Midhavi*, the dancer in Pukar dynasty, is a charming lady attracts men by her beauty and dance. *K°vilan* also was attracted and longed to enjoy her beauty and spent some hours with her when he saw her dance from the Palace C°½a King. *K°vilan* tried to fulfill his wishes and failed many times. One day he met *Midhavi's* servant on the way to market to sell the green stoned necklace, gifted by the king. The servant informed him that those who buy the necklace by paying 1008 *Ka½amuju* gold could marry *Midhavi*. On hearing this, *K°vilan* bought the necklace without thinking twice and followed the serve to marry *Mi·havi*. Eventhough *Ka,,aki* and *Mi·havi* are same in age and beauty, *K°vilan* was attracted more by *Mi·havi* than *Ka,,aki*. He completely forgot *Ka,,aki*.

Without knowing these incidents, *Kaṣṣaki* lived awaiting *K°vilan*, avoiding her luxurious life. She lived in a temple premises praying and with her *MangalyasÉra* and patiently waited for the arrival of *K°vilan*.

Years passed and *Mi·havi* gave birth to a beautiful child *Maṣim᠙gᵃala*. Years after *K°vilan* began to suspect the chastity of *Mi·havi* and slowly he lost passion towards her. Their life became miserable because of this and *K°vilan* went away from her. *Midhavi* could not tolerate this. She wished to bring back him and send her servant *VasanÉamilika* as a messenger to give him a letter. He was reluctant to accept the letter and sent back the servant. He became poor. During this time *Kaṣṣaki* was living in a *CiÉÉan* temple with *VraÉa* and *PÉja*. *K°vilan* approached *Kaṣṣaki* with regret and told her that he lost everything because of the worst life with dirty prostitute *Mi·havi*. *Kaṣṣaki* believed that *K°vilan* approached her with the aim to earn money for *Midhavi* and still she gave him two anklets that she kept with her, with a smile inside. *K°vilan* said to her that he would go to Madurai to

sell out the anklets and he would re-start the trade to regain the lost wealth. He requested to *Kaṣṣaki* to follow him. *Kaṣṣaki* followed the words of *K°vilan* like a child and *K°vilan* felt happy. They travelled to *Ma·urai* by dreaming a new life. On the way they took rest in the *iṣram* of *Kavu°Éi A·ikal*. From there *Kavu°Éi A·ikal* also followed them to Madurai. On the way a forest goddess appeared before *K°vilan* in the form of *Vasa°Éamilika*, when they stopped near a stream to drink water. When she tried to attract him *K°vilan* chanted *Èurgama°Éra* as a self protection.

In Madurai, whenever he wanted to go outside *Kaṣṣaki* was under the protection of *Kavu°Éi A·ikal*. One day the Brahmin, *Kauṣikan* approach *K°vilan* and gave *Midhavi's* letter to him. The content of this letter was about the pitty condition of his parents. *K°vilan* felt very sorry. He thought that he himself was the cause for all misseries, not *Midhavi*. He gave a reply letter to his parents. The hours long talk on this issue with *Kavu°Éi A·ikal* was a solace to him. With the help of *Kavu°Éi*

*Aikal K°vilan* found out shepherded, *MiÉiri* and resided with her in her house. The experience in that house with *Ka,,aki* opened the eyes of *K°vilan* and he confessed his own ill deeds in their wealthy life in the past.

One day *K°vilan* went to the street to sell one of the anklets of *Ka,,aki*, unfortunately he approached the gold merchant who had been the gold smith of the palace. On seeing the anklets Goldsmith planned to a treachery that accuse *K°vilan* for theft of anklet of the Queen. He informed the queen about *K°vilan* who was under his custody with the anklet. For some reason king wanted to please queen and therefore he ordered to produce *K°vilan* with anklet before him. He was sentenced to death by the King and hanged. On hearing the news from *Ayya*, daughter of *miÉiri*. *Ka,,aki* fell down unconsciously. She wept a lot and then became furious. Holding anklet in her hand she ran to the palace to see the king, who sentenced *K°vilan* to death. The gate keepers stopped her way. Hearing the roaring noise at the gate king asked the gate keepers to let her to get in.

She wanted to know the truth, why her husband was hanged to death. King's argument could not convince her. She was ready to prove that the anklet was her own because she was sure that inside her anklet there are small thin diamonds. King told that queen's anklet consists of small pearls. Then the king ordered to bring the anklet. While bringing it she snatched the anklet and threw it on the floor. Thin diamonds spread all over the floor. Seeing this and realizing his mistake king fell down and died. Realizing the facts queen also died after it. Then *Ka,aki* moved towards street and plucked her left breast in fury and threw it away. Fire emitted from it swallowed entire Madurai except Brahmins, cattle, old people and children. Then she moved towards the west of Madurai and reached in Chera Kingdom and took shelter under a tree. *K°vilan* came down from heaven and took her also to heaven. After the cremation of the body the bones were taken to Kodungalloor, the capital of Chera Kingdom. Later, she became deity of Kodungalloor temple.

Kodungalloor is known as the pivotal place of 64 major *B<sup>h</sup>aĒraKi½i* temples in Kerala. Besides these there are around hundreds of temples related to Kondungalloor (Appendix I: p.216).

Thousands of devotees belong to all castes except Brahmin participate in the annual festival of Kodungalloor temple, known as '*B<sup>h</sup>aᵛa, i* UĒsavam that starts on the day of '*Kumb<sup>h</sup>a b<sup>h</sup>aᵛa, i* and ends on *mᵠna B<sup>h</sup>aᵛa, i*.

In the early morning of the *B<sup>h</sup>aᵛa, i* in the month of *Kumb<sup>h</sup>am* a representative of *Ēaᵛᵛin* who has the right to do ritual in temple visit the temple and circumbulate it 3 times by ringing the bell of brones. At the end of 3<sup>rd</sup> round he adorn *Ē®vi* with a golden *Ēili*. This is the beginning of *B<sup>h</sup>aᵛa, i* festival. After it *edamukku mĒppan* hangs ritualistic flags in different colours on the near by palm trees.

*K°«iveᵛᵛu* is one of the important rituals of Kodungallor temple. Thousands of coacks are sacrificed before *K°«ikkallu*, near the temple. Kodungalloor

*b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi Vçdu* one of the famous Nair *Éaravidu* has the right to cut the first coack in *K°«ive¶¶u* and *Éacc°½i* *Éaravidu* of Kadathanad has the right to bring the first coack. As per animal and birds sacrifice Prohibition Act of 1953 Coack sacrifice was banned by the Government. Therefore as symbol of sacrifice, now coacks are brought and flees them before the *K°«ikkallu*. After *K°«ikkallum£·al* obscene songs are sung from the northern side of the temple by devotees. *KivuÉç,·al* is a ritual having active participation of devotees. It was on the day of *ašwaÉi*. Immediately after the visit of the Kodungalloor King secret pooja will be performed in the temple on the same day. They wounds their own head with sword in a trance and sprinkle blood. It is believed that this perform once is reminiscence of the battle with *Ki½i* and *Èiαuka*. The *Palakkal v®la* community have the right to take the first round of *KivuÉç,·al*. In this after noon performance of *šikÉ®yap£ja* takes place very secretly. The performers of this pooja are three members of 3 *Éaravids* who have this right traditionally.

No one knows the details of this, because the secret will be disclosed to a 4<sup>th</sup> person only if one of the member passes away. *KunnaÉÉ Ma·am, NçlaÉÉ Ma·am, °a,a·aÉÉil Ma·am* are the three families having the above given right. These *pÉjiries* are known as *a·ikal*. They will clean the *Srçk°vil* before the pooja, prepare a mixture of turmeric and water of tender coconut. The utensils used are exclusively for this pooja. Tender coconut by removing its top part are offered in the pooja. *ÉrimaÈuxam* also offers along with this. It is believed that during the occasion of pooja *Ki½i* is taking rest to cure her injuries that she got during the war. The king of Kodungallur who sits in the *Balikkalpura*, leaves the temple only after hand over the customary stick to one of the *a·ikal* who comes out of the temple after completing the pooja. The king moves towards '*Nilapi·uÉara*' which is in the eastern side of the temple. When he is seated his servant raises a redsilk umbrella as a sign to start *KivuÉç,·il*. Making sound by blessing on a metal one of the member of *Palakkal v®la*

community takes the first round of *KivuÉç, ·al*. Then it is free to do *KivuÉç, ·al* by all devotees assembled *Éç, ·al*. They are all possessed. the *srçkovil* is closed after *ašwaÉi p£ja*. On that day only one pooja is performed and *vaxiyaxi piyasam* is offered to *È®vi*. The *Na·a* is closed for six days after *B<sup>h</sup>axa, i*. On those days *A·igal* does pooja for *È®vi* once in a day by entering into the temple through backside.

*Éilappoli* will perform after *mçnab<sup>h</sup>axa, i*. Now a days *Éilappoli* is performed only one day. In olden days *Éilappoli* is for 7 days and *Éilappoli* of each day is the right of different communities. The details are given below:

- |                     |   |   |
|---------------------|---|---|
| 1 <sup>st</sup> day | - | <i>O<sup>oo</sup>ukaxa iyixam Y°gam</i> |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> day | - | <i>Ayir£r Ayyayiram Nayar y°gam</i>     |
| 3 <sup>rd</sup> day | - | King of Cochin                          |
| 4 <sup>th</sup> day | - | Kodungallor <i>Éambuaxin</i>            |
| 5 <sup>th</sup> day | - | King of Travancore                      |
| 6 <sup>th</sup> day | - | <i>Axaya</i> community                  |

7<sup>th</sup> day - Ka, akka community

On the first day the ladies from the family of *Onnukāṣa iyīṣam y°gam* have the right to take the *Éilam* for the *e«u<sup>o</sup>a<sup>1/2</sup>1/2aÉÉ*. The Kudumbi community, now known as *mÉppan*, have the right to explore 1008 *kaÉina* which is the signal to begin *Éilappoli*. On the first day of *Makāṣam* Kudumbi community perform *°a·aÉa<sup>1/2</sup>1/2al*. Goats are decorated with garlands and brought in a procession, carrying banana bunch with the accompaniment of 'Éappu'. In the morning of the same day ladies of Kudumbi community perform a ritual called 'Suvisini'. This is a group prayer for getting suit grooms for girls and to get a long married life.

On other days, *Éilappoli* is officiated by the Cochin *É®veswam* board. On all days *Éilappoli* starts from the nearest Kurumba temple, except the 3<sup>rd</sup> day which starts from *PaÉine¶¶arayilal k°vilakam*.

*GuṣuÉi* and Bali are two important rituals in *šikÉ®ya PÉja*. Auspicious days for *šikÉ®ya pÉja* are

Monday, Tuesday and Sunday. the blood of offered animal or birds is used for *GuxuÉi*. Brahmin priests also use to do *guxuÉi* ritual. But instead of blood they use the mixture of turmeric and lime water. Now the same is used by all because of the prohibition of animal/bird sacrifice. There is a raised platform in the northern side of the *šikÉ®ya kivus*, which is known *Vaŋakk®nviÉil*, the place for sacrifice. If there is no permanent altars temporary altars made of skin part of plantain leaf are used for the purpose.

If a person is diseased by *vas£xi* (small pox), people believe that the dead body have been taken as the food of *Ki½i*, failing which *Ki½i* becomes furious and spreads *vas£xi* to everybody in the village.

*Éilappoli* is one of the main ritual for the appeasement of *Ki½i*. This is the enactment of the events that happened after the slaughtering of *Èxiruka*. Nobody could controls the fury of *Ki½i* and thus to cool down she was received by vergins who carried '*Éilam*' in

both hands in which broken half of coconut is placed filled with oil and litted wicks in it. Usually the *Éilappoli* starts from a particular *Éaxavi*, which has traditional rights in the specific temple of *Ki½zi*. *Éilappoli* move towards the temple in a procession with the accompaniment of musical instruments.

*Éa, çxamruÉu* is another ritual in which special poojas are performed and *u, iyappan* is offered to *Ki½zi*,

*V®la* is performed almost all *Kivus* in Kerala. Among these *Bªaxa, iv®la* and *p£xav®la* are important. Obscene songs, *pa·aya, i* and *Éilappoli* are also performed along with *v®la*. The *P£xav®la* in *BªagavaÉi Kivus* of North Kerala is entirely different from that of South Kerala. In North Kerala, *p£xam* is performed for nine days from the day of *KirÉika* and ends with *p£xamku½zi*. *Bªaxa, i V®la* is considered as an important *v®la* related to *Ki½zi* as *Bªaxa, i* is the birth star of *Ki½zi*. Kodungalloor *Bªaxa, i* is important among these. Besides this *cçrmba Kivus* in Kerala are famous for *Bªaxa, i v®la*.

*Pongila* is another ritual as part of *Bhaxxi v@la*. Attukal *pongila* is very famous. Ladies, as a vow visit the temple in the early morning carrying rice and others accessories to prepare rice and *Èi,·ana·a* and it is prepared in the temporary oven made in front of the temple. The number of participators in *pongila* is very high especially in temples such as Attukal and therefore temporary ovens are made both sides of all roads, even ten to fifteen kilometers away from the temple. Once rice is cooked sacred water from the temple is sprinkled over that. *Kalam Kaxikal* ritual is similar to *pongila*. For this also ladies take *vxaÉa*. They arrange a new clay pot filled with rice powder and fix an aracanut, betel leaf, coconut and mollasses on it and move to the temple in a procession. From the temple they prepare *Èi,·a, a·a (A·a)*, a kind of sweet prepared out of rice, coconut and mollasses.

Ladies offer *cuttuvi½akku* for *È@vi*, all over Kerala. For this devotees fill the lamps fixed around the temple with oils and lit wicks in it.

*Kalašam* is another offering to *Ki½i* especially in *Ki½çkivu*. *Kalašam*, *Kaṁinkalašam*, *PuÉÉaṁikkalašam*, *Po·ikkalašam*, *Èikkukalašam*, *MuÈṁakkalašam* are different types of *Kalašam*.

Brahmins also worship *Ki½i* as their goddess in their own way. To them *Ki½i* is one among the *SapÉaÈ®vaÉa*. According to Kuzhikkattu Pacca *Ki½i* is the seventh *È®vaÉa*, an addition in the *Kafla* context (kuzhikkattu Maheswaran Bhattathirippad; 1974. Introduction p:7). Rarely they also perform *šikÉ®ya p£ja*. But they avoid liquor and flesh. Instead of that 'aṁaÉÉam' a mixture of lime and turmeric and add *Éecci* flower and *malar* in it is prepared. For *šikeÉ®ya p£ja* they make symbolic altar with the skin part of plantain leaf and fix K°ÉÉiṁ on it and decorate it with *kuṁuÉÉ°la*.

The secret worships for *Ki½i* is mainly done by a caste group who are entirely different from Namboodiries who are known as *Piṁiraka*, *M£saÉu* etc. Offerings for *Ki½i* are *Paṁcamakiṁas'*. Like Namboodiries their

residence are also known as *illam*. *A·i* is another group who practice the pooja for *Ki½i*, especially in Kodungalloor temple. Their living places are known as *ma·am* – '*Y°giguᵂukkal* also entitled to do pooja for *Ki½i*. *Ki½i* worship in Nair *Éaravid* is done by Nairs. The reference in *B<sup>h</sup>aÉᵂaki½i* worship in *Éacch°li OÉ®nan's Éaravid* is an evidence for that. *B<sup>h</sup>adraki½i* is *Ka½aᵂimÉrÉÉy*. Those who are oracles in some of the *Ki½i* temples, belong to theyyampadi Kuruppu and their group is considered as a fraction of Nair community. Likewise, *raᵂappiÀiᵂa*, *P®ᵂi·ippa, ikkar* and *a·i* who are related *Ki½i* worship are part of Nair community.

In *PÉvanka,·i B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* temple, in Kozhikode district, Kallikkodan *kivu* in Kannur, *Kaᵂi, ki½i* temple in *Ciladu*, *Nellik°·u Kivu* in Ramnattukara, *PÉjaries* belong to thiyya community. *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÉᵂaki½i* have an important role in the death rituals of thiyyas of Malabar. *GuᵂuÉi* for *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÉᵂaki½i* along with death rituals of thiyya community is evident that thiyya community has special affinity towards *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÉraki½i*. Ezhava

community is having right in Kodungalloor as *Mēppan*. They are also called as *Ēa, an*.

Pulaya community have their own *Ki½zi* temples in different parts of Kerala. They worship *šmašinaki½zi*, *cimu, i*, etc. Vela community also worship *Ki½zi* and perform *Ka½ame«uĒĒumpiŋŋu* in Kodungalloor. The relationship of Vannan community with *Ki½zi* is very deep that goes down to its origin. The origin myth of Vannan community is as follows:

Because of the Duel with *Ēiᳵuka*, *Ki½zi's* body injured seriously. On seeing *Ki½zi's* sufferings Lord Vishnu created *Vannan* from his right hand to cure the injury. *Vannan* could give relief to *Ki½zi's* body except her genital area. So *viÀ, u* created *vannatti* from his left hand and send them to earth and blessed them with traditional medicinal practices, *Pa½½ivi½*, Redsilks, Cila'ka, *RuĒᳵ ikÀa* and *Vçna*. All these are used by *Vannan's* while gave offerings to *Ki½zi*. Parava, Kuruppu and Viswakarma community also worship *Ki½zi*.

The Araya/Mukkuva community who lives in the coast of Kerala are also worshippers of *Ki½zi* and pooja for *Ki½zi* is being done by themselves. In hill tribes such as Kurichyar, Kurumar, Adiyar also worship *Ki½zi*. Kurichiyar worship *šrçpp°rkkali* the deity of Pazhassiraja as their deity. Adiyar worship *Kaxi´ki½zi* and *cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÈxaki½zi*. They worship *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÈxaki½zi* along with spirits. *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÈxaki½zi* is entitled to protect the spirits till the end of death rituals and on the day of *pula* (*A·iyanÉixam*) take back the spirit from *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÈxaki½zi*. Kurichiyar and Adiya follow the same ritual proceedings in the case of *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>aÈraki½zi*. On the day of *a·iyanÉixam* they perform – *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉiyiŋŋam* too. Besides *Ki½zi* *Kaxi´ki½zi* is also worshipped by Kurichyar along with *malakkixi* teyyam. They also perform *Kumb<sup>h</sup>appiŋŋu* and toddy as offerings.

*šiva, ViÀ, u, Ga, apaÉi, Subrahma, ya, Èuxga* are Pan Indian God/Goddesses which are popular in Kerala. In Kuzhikkattupacca the details of installation and description of *p£javiÈi* of *Ki½zi*, as a seventh God also

included. In the preface of the book the author himself stated that *Ki½i* is an addition in the Kerala context, which is popular in Kerala. Wherever it may be, in all settlements the presence of *Ki½i* as Goddess as a protector and at the same time destructor will be there. *Ki½i* is accepted as a village goddess all over Kerala and accordingly its different manifestations that suits to its own contexts. One who is in search of the identity of the Kerala folk may realise that the first and foremost special feature is the belief in *Ki½i*. *Ki½i* is the only God/Goddess having acceptability by all caste in Kerala and popular in all places of Kerala from south to north and performance and rituals are so many to propitiate *Ki½i*. Customary practices in relation to the beliefs of *Ki½i* are also popular all over Kerala.

In Kerala *Ki½i* is accepted as the goddess of both protection and destruction. In certain cases she is worshiped as protector of life and wealth and at the same time she used to punish by giving contagious diseases such as small pox. The whole belief system related to

*Ki½i* is in support of the above given fact; not only belief system but, rituals also. The myth and its special versions is evident that people from Kerala from south to north believe in the destruction and constructive power of *Ki½i*: For fertility, both in the case of the earth and women she have been propitiated since remote pasts. The belief system behind *padaya,i*, *K°lam Éu½½al*, *mu·iyettu*, *Ki½iy£¶¶u* and so on emphasises the same fact that each folk wanted to propitiated *Ki½i* to achieve prosperity and to escape from the wrath of *Ki½i*. It is believed that whether, it is *padaya,i*, *mu·iy®ttu*, or *Éilappoli* all festival are to cool down the wrath of *Ki½i*.

*Ki½i* is the most furious Goddess among other Goddesses of Kerala. The myth behind any of the ritual/performance of the Goddess exemplify that all ritual/performance are aimed at cool down the Goddess whose anger was at its peak to kill *Èi¾uka*. This is the case with the concept of *Cçrmba* and *Ka,,aki*. In the mind of people there is no difference between *Ki½i* who got birth from *šiva*, *Cçrmba* who originated from the third

eye of *śiva* and *Kaṣṭhaki* who destroyed the whole city of Madurai out of her anger.

The Gods/Goddess of Hindu Pantheon and Kerala village Gods/Goddesses are basically different to each other not only because of the concepts, but by practice of rituals also. In this regard *Kiṣṭhi* belongs to the Kerala Gods/Goddesses who will be appeared by receiving offerings such as blood, flesh, liquor and more over animal sacrifice. But animal sacrifice in the case of *Kiṣṭhi* is not an offering for it. But to appease the *bḥḥāgaṣṭhi* with *Kiṣṭhi* who were created by *śiva* to help *Kiṣṭhi* in the battle field. As part of hinduisation, almost all gods/goddess of Kerala were approved by *Ēaḥḥasamuccaya* and accordingly installation were made and daily/annual rituals were prescribed. In these such cases native Gods/Goddesses are considered as partial incarnation of any of these Hindu gods and installation is made in the name of particular God/Goddesses. But, *Kiṣṭhi*, the native Goddess having different manifestations all over Kerala was accepted by Hindu tantric system as

one among the *Ē®vaĒa* and separate '*Ēa°ĒraviĒi*' was prescribed for it. Each of the six Hindu god/goddess have its own '*Ēa°ĒraviĒi*' and accepted rituals where as in the case of *Ki½i* even though installation rituals are prescribed by Kuzhikkattupacca, the festivals and other series of rituals that take place in household in different from place to place. The myth of *Ki½i* is every where the same. But, for the above given facts *Ki½i* worship in Kerala can be considered as unique and it is one of the expression of its identity.

The *Ēttam* songs, '*Kivile piŋŋu*' and origin myths of various main *Ki½i* temples such as midayikivu, at Pazhayangadi, *L°kanirkivu* at Vatakara, *PiÀiæikivu* at Koyilandi, *Va½ayanidukivu* at Kozhikode, *Ka½iyaŋŋakkivu* at Malappuram and *B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒikivu* at South Kollam elucidate that the origin of *Ki½i* worship or the centre place *Ki½i* worship is Kodungalloor temple. According to the myth *Mçna B<sup>h</sup>aæa,i* in the 'birth star' of *Ki½i* and therefore the annual festival (*uĒsavam*) falls on the same day in all most all *Ki½i* temple all over Kerala

or special rituals are performed on the day in all *Ki½i* temples. In the grand festival and series of ritual that take place in Kodungallur denotes from all over Kerala participate and give offerings to *Ki½i* in the form of rituals and cash or kinds. Apart from this devotees of *Ki½i* have certain customary practices in their own houses. Another special belief worth to mention in that the devotees one who dies in received by *Ki½i* and he becomes the part of *Ki½i* and special rituals are performed to them on all annual days. The ritual practices and propitiating system in different from one place to another. It is because of people in different parts of Kerala conceived *Ki½i* in different way and manifested through rituals and festivals accordingly. For e.g., *Padaya,i* represents post-war episode where as *mudiy®ttu* enacts the story of *Ki½i-Èiαuka* story. In the same way several other episode is being enacted through different rituals that exists in different parts of Kerala.

*Pongila* in south Kerala, especially in Attukal temple, *Kalamkarikkal* in other parts of Kerala and *tilappoli* in so

many *Ki½i* shrines all over Kerala are special features of *Ki½i* worship that exist at present also. Among these ‘Attukal *Pongila*’ is the ritual observance in which the number of women participate is more than one lakh. All these ritual performances are observed only by women also emphasises the uniqueness of the *Ki½i* worship in Kerala.

Kodungalloor temple is the main centre of *Ki½i* worship where the obscene songs are sung by devotees is a special ritual performances one who killed *Èiᵠuka* is *B<sup>h</sup>adraki½i* who was created by *šiva*. *Cᵠrmba* is the Goddess came out of the 3<sup>rd</sup> eye of *šiva*. And *Kaᵠᵠaki* is the heroin who destroyed completely Madurai city and became Goddess. The whole ritual performances in *Ki½i* temples are generally to propitiate *Ki½i* who killed *Èiᵠuka*; *Padayaᵠi*, *Ki½iyᵠᵠᵠu* and *oiᵠabali* are some of the examples. *Éilappoli* also is to cool down the wrath of *Ki½i*. The main rituals in *cᵠrmbakivu* of Mokaya community and thiyya and few other communities of Malabar are to propitiate *Cᵠᵠmba* who is known as the

*È®vaÉa* of ‘*vas£xi*’. It is believed that the obscene songs that performed in Kodungalloor temple on the occasion of *Mçna B<sup>h</sup>axa<sub>,i</sub>* festival is part of ‘*paµcamakira p£ja*’ for *Ka<sub>,,aki</sub>* who lived her whole life without any pleasant experience with her husband (It is also believed that obscene songs are to cool down *Ki½i* who was on way back from the battle field, immediately after killing *Èixuka*).

The belief, ritual and customs related to *Ki½i* worship in Kodungalloor point out that the above said three *È®vaÉa* concepts are merged together and became one. In the same way in *Cçrmba Kivu* all over Kerala the myths, ritual and customs are the expression of the strong faith of these three Goddesses. The song sung during the annual festival of *Cçrmba* shrine known as ‘*Kivile Pi¶¶u*’, for 3 nights or 7 nights continuously narrated the story of these 3 *È®vaÉis*. In *Cçrmba Kivu* of north Kerala the main *È®vata* is *Cçrmba* . But, the *Ka½am* drawn, before which sacrifice and ritualistic dances are taking place of *Ki½i*. The merging of the

above said 3 deities makes the *Ki½i* concept unique when it is compared with any other deities in Kerala.

*Ki½i* is common to all caste groups in Kerala, Paraya to Brahmins. Brahmin incorporated *Ki½i* as the seventh 'Ē®vaĒa'. The 'Pooja' in the main temples of *Ki½i* in Kerala follows the 'Ka½aĒarma' which has no written text and as a result different texts are available in different temples. Some of the cases it is known as 'šikĒ®yap½ja'.

According to caste *Ki½i* is conceived differently and therefore ritual practices and even names are also different in different caste. *Ki½i B<sup>h</sup>adraki½i, Cudalab<sup>h</sup>aĒaki½i, šmašinaki½i, °ŋakki½i, Ka, ,aki, C ċrmba* are few of the names popular among different castes. This difference is not limited to names. But, in ritual practices also. This is the reason, in Kerala, geographically and socially *Ki½i* concept get hundreds of manifestations. As an expression *Ki½ikeŋŋu* in north

Malabar has no comparison either with the ritual practices in Kodungalloor or with *Padaya, i*.

Eventhough the right for installation of *Ki½zi* belongs to *Éa°Éri* who is a brahmin the right over to perform daily *PÉja* is of the *PiÉara*, *mussaÉ*, *adigal* or *yogi gurukkal*, who are not brahmins. As mentioned elsewhere each caste has its own shrine of *Ki½zi* and the priest and oracle are from the same caste. In certain cases, such as *ni, abali* the Malaya caste members perform *Ki½zi* rituals in house hold of other castes. Here also the priest or ‘ritual man will be from the officiating caste.

The analysis of believe for, rituals and customs brings to an notice that the concept of *Ki½zi* in Kerala is unique by its mythology, which is almost same in communities and all over Kerala by its varied ritual performances that exists in different temples and shrines of different castes and by its customary practices available in all most all communities of Kerala. There is no other Goddess that having such a deep root in the

mind of the people who belongs to different caste groups and accordingly that having varied manifestations in different parts of Kerala.

## CHAPTER IV

# INTERPRETATIONS

The derivation of the word *Ki½i* may be either from the Sanskrit root '*Ki½i*' that means 'one which is black' (Tharanadha Tharkkavachaspathi: 2006 (rpt): 2021) or from the dravidian root '*Ki½i*' that means burn with flames (T. Burrow, M.B. Emeneau: 105: 1966). One who (she) is in black colour is called '*Kili*'. *Ki½i* is black whereas *Gouxi* is white and both of them are related to *šiva*. Due to Sanskritisation and the influence of pan Indian Mythology, the meaning one who is in black colour got currency among Kerala folk and as a result generally it is believed that *Ki½i* is black in colour. And accordingly philosophical interpretations have been made that *ki½i* is the goddess one who rescue the world from the darkness (Introduction: p.3). The origin myth of *ki½i* that prevails in Kerala even today, and the various ritual performances as manifestations of *ki½i* myth all over Kerala are evident that the name *Ki½i* is derived from the Dravidian root *Ki½i*. There is no evidence either in myth or in ritual

performances that *Ki½i* is black. The description of the appearance of *Ki½i*, from top to bottom is available in *É°ŋŋam* songs and in *pinaÉÉottam*. *Pa·aya,i* songs and various dramatic performances in which *Ki½i* appears all over Kerala emphasises that the colour of *Ki½i* is not black. The total appearance of *Ki½i* in *ki½iyŋŋu*, *paᵛanᵛtt*, *pa·aya,i*, *mu·iyᵛttu*, *pŋÉanum* *Éirayum*, *ᵛud<sup>h</sup>iᵛakk°lam*, *ni,abali*, *ki½ittiyiŋŋu* *ÉiyippaᵛaÈᵛviÉa* denotes that *Ka½i* is not black in colour but red tone, mostly the colour of the flame. The *É°ttam* songs of *PuÉiya b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* explains, in *H°maku,·a B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* appeared just like *ponninpa«ukka* (colour of ripened arecanut). It is quiet interesting to note that the ritual also support this fact. Exactly at the moment the *ve½iccapidu* enters in the fire with all costumes and weapons before the shrine the *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* who is decorated with huge 4 *pa°Éam* (torches) around the waist and over the crown stand up and begins vigorous dance. This is the enactment of the episode explained in the myth while giving the description of the origin of the

goddess. It was described that while doing ritual to the fire pit *Ki½i* appeared in it with an appearance of flame. According to another version *Ki½i* was originated from the third eye on the forehead of the *śiva* which is also full of fire. In both cases, *Ki½i*'s origin is in fire and having all qualities of fire (Chapter I: p.20).

In Kerala, two types of worship are common: 1. The native worship system that prevailing in *kivu* 2. The worship system that follows *Ēa<sup>o</sup>Ērasamuccayam* which is common in Brahmanic temples. Among those gods and goddesses who get worship in shrines, *Ki½i* always known as *B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* and which is the main deity of Kerala. The subject of the myth behind *ki½i* in Kerala is *Ki½i – Ēaᵛaka* fight which is unique because it is not seen anywhere including *Ēevib<sup>h</sup>igavaĒam*. Where as *ki½i* the annihilator of *Ēaᵛuka* is got origin and got several manifestations, oral and performance all over Kerala. The clear demarcation between the temple where the goddess is installed and the *kivu* where the deity is

invoked and appeared are basically part of these two different religious thoughts.

The socio political and economic system prevailed in Kerala was totally regulated by the feudal system based on the caste hierarchy. Each caste has its own space in the community and it keeps always its own identity. The identity of each caste is expressed through various folklore forms including religion. Most of the castes are having their own deities and various rituals to appear the God/ Goddesses.

But *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is common to people belongs to almost all castes. Even though, all are devotees of *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i*, in the case of physical appearance, performance etc. their expression is different from one to another. For *K<sup>o</sup>laÉÉixi*, *SimÉitixi*, *P<sup>o</sup>r<sup>1/2</sup>itixi* and Chera king *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is the *KulaÉ®vaÉa* and all Poojas are not done by themselves. The duty of all 'Karmas' are assigned to a particular community namely *piŋiŋaka/mÉsaÉu/a·igal*. But as part of brahminisation most of the *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivu* became

temple through installation of *Ē®vaĒa* and series of tantra-rituals. In these temples, once in a year *Ēa°Ēri*/brahmin pays visit and do the needful ritual to resurrect/rejuvenate the *Ē®vaĒa*. In certain cases brahmin does pooja by changing rituals which are not appropriate to *ti°Ēric* ritual. In *Va·akkan piŋŋu* references are there that, *Ēacc°li OĒ®nan* used to worship *Ki½i* in his *Ēaravi·u* and it is common that each *ka½ari* having *Ki½i* as *paṁaĒ®vaĒa*. It is also be noted that the other form of *Ki½i* as *Kaṁikili*, *Nḥlanki½i*, *Õ·akki½i*, *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>adraki½i* are propitiated in the *kivu* of lower castes. So, irrespective of castes *Ki½i* is considered as the common *Ē®vaĒa* of Kerala.

The *Ki½i* worship follows '*SikĒ®ya pŋja*' which comes under *Kaŋ½aĒarma*, mostly in temples related Kodungalloorkivu where as *B<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi kivus* in village system of worship is entirely different from that of *SikĒ®yakivus* (Chapter III, p.112). The means to propitiate *Ki½i* in *kivus* of Pathanamthitta is *pa·aya,i* where as in Central Kerala it is the performance of

Mudiyattu. Hundreds of manifestations are there, for the expression of devotion towards *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* in Kerala. The rituals such as *GuxuÉi*, *Éa*, *çramruÉu* are only offering to *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* and these are part of *paµja* 'ma' kara pooja. Kuzhikkattu paccha, the Kerala version of *ÉanÉric* proceedings is narrating the installation method and systems of worship to resurrect and sustain the power of God/Goddess. According to Kuzhikkattu paccha *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is one among the seven goddesses. In the introduction given by the author to Kuzhikkattu paccha it is stated that *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is an addition as 7<sup>th</sup> *É®vaÉa* to six other pan Indian Gods as a special consideration to kerlaitees. All these infer that *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is unique as far as Kerala people are concerned.

Majority of the popular *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* *kivus* are *ŠikÉ®ya* in nature of worship, especially owned and officiated by different dynasties such as Madayikkavu, Kaliyamvallikkavu, Pisharikavu, Thirumandamkunnu, Sreekurumbakavu, Sreeporkkali etc. But it is seen that when the same *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* received by pulayan or panan community rituals are entirely get changed. For eg. the

*B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* in Vazhayil kivu of pulayan community is the same *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* of Pisharikivu ( $E^{1/2}ayava^{1/2}$ ). But, the rituals and annual festivals are entirely different from that of Pisharikivu. Instead of šikÉ®yap£ja other p£jas are performed by Malaya community for °·akka<sup>1/2</sup>i. A special note to be given here is that as part of aryanaisation few of the *ŠikÉeya kivas* deviated from the old tradition and followed brahmanic way of worship. One of the interesting facts to be noted that to fulfill this *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* had been changed to *Èurga* in accordance with the sanction of astrologist. All these facts denotes that even though *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is one and the same everywhere conceptually, by ritual performance, by way of worshipping each region and each caste has its own uniqueness.

Miminathukivu, Midiyikkivu, Ka<sup>1/2</sup>aæiviÉukkal, Ammoko¶¶am, Miminikunnu kivu, SapÉa Mitrupuæam, CippiraÉukivu, Éiæuvinc®æi kivu, *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>iyimva<sup>1/2</sup>1/2*ikkivu, PiÀiæikivu, Éiæuvalayanidu kivu, Éiæumindimkunnu kivu, KodikkunnaÉÉu kivu, Srçkurumbakkivu, çšinaÉÉu kivu,

Panayanar kivu, Éixuvariŋŋu kivu, are the main *SikÉeyakivus* in Kerala where *ki½i* is the È®vaÉa. All these are under the control of the rulers of the respective area. 'Paṃca 'Ma' kara worship is following in these shrines. The *pÉjaries* of this *šikÉ®ya* temples belongs to certain castes such as *piŋirakas*, moosathu etc; do not belong to brahmin community and their worshipping system is part of Kauladharna. Among these pitarakas & moosathu are non-vegetarians. These also affirms the fact that *ka½i* worship is unique when it is compared to Hindu way of worship in temples and verities of propitiation of deities all over Kerala (Chapter III: p.111).

*šikt®ya* temples have not any idol as such and nobody knows except the respective pitarakas what the process of pooja does inside the sanctum sanctorum. After incorporating *ki½i* one among the È®vaÉas and prescribed specific procedure for the installation and perpetuation of *ki½i* the Éa°Éra way of *pooja* and other rituals are used to observe in *Ki½i* temples. Still, 'Kau½aÉarma' way of worship continued in these temples

in certain instances, *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* had been transformed as Ēurga by way of tantric rituals and these temples therefore followed the tantric rituals by displacing the earlier ritual practices. For instance, in some of the *kivus* '*kuṁuÉi*' has been replaced by a particular ritual '*p£m£·al*' (Chapter II: p.45). Even though the situation is this, the people of Kerala still continuing the traditional ritual practices in *šikt®ya* temples besides the tantric rituals such as *kalašam* and *pooja*. For *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, '*kuṁuÉi*' is one of the unavoidable ritual practices that sacrifice animal or chicken and the blood is mixed with a solution of turmeric, *cu, ,ambu* and water and offer it by way of splashing it towards the deity. The brahminic way of doing '*kuṁuÉi*' is that prepare the above said solution and put pieces of flesh of tender coconuts in it. Sacrifice of animal/chicken is replaced by cutting melon. So Brahminisation in native shrines is two fold. 1. Displace completely the rituals by transformation of Ē®vaÉa. 2. Assimilation of native ritual practices with certain modifications.

Annual festival of temple is known as '*ulsavam*'. It may be for one day or several days. The '*Éi·ambu*' (symbolic image of *È®vaÉa*) of *È®vaÉa* which is inside the sanctum – sanctorum is brought outside and exhibit either on the elephant or on the head of a ritual man (in the case of '*Éi·ambu nriÉÉam*') and take rounds to the temple with the accompaniment of musical instruments. The closing ritual is the ceremonial bath of the *È®vaÉa* (*Éi·ampu*) in the near by tank (Chapter II: p.87).

But in *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* temples the annual festival is called as *Ka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iyayam pÉram, v®la, Éilappoli* etc. Usually it falls on the day of birth star of the *È®vaÉa* and the procedure is different from one place to the other. Yearly once, the whole village people assemble before the *kivu* and participate in the ritual performance. Most of the cases performances are enactment of the myth of *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* as seen in *mudiy®ttu* or *pa·aya, i. Pongila, Éalappoli* etc. are the means of propitiation. The method or process of propitiation in each *kivu* is different from the other and in most of the cases it is unique as obscene songs

performed in *Bharaḥi* festival at Kodungallurkavu and as part of '*CerĒalapĒram*'. Even though, now all annual festivals of the temples are generally called as *ulsavam* the festival in *ki½i* temples keep its own identity in form, structure and function.

The ritual practice of native Ē®vaĒa in Kerala is that it get deification in one place and then it travels and get so many places of worship. In certain cases it moves with any of the person (s) who is a devotee and get new places of worship. The description of the journey of the Ē®vaĒa is seen in all Ēottam songs. For eg: Kunjar kuraĒi gets stanam by seeing Mootharajan and destroying his city. By seeing prosperity and obedience ĒevaĒa may stay at once and get place of worship. The virtue of devotee may be an attraction of the Ē®vaĒa and settle there as their '*paḥaĒ®vaĒa* ' as it is seen in the myth of *Muccil°¶¶u BhagavaĒi*. She was pleased with the devotion of '*Muccil°¶¶u pa¶a* Nair and resided in the central room of his house. It is also believed that *Srçkurumba* had travelled in a *Maḥakkalam* from south to north, reached

northern part of Kerala and many places of worship had been established. Many more *È®vaÉas* especially *MaᵛakkalaÉÉilamma* were travelled in Maᵛakkalam and reached north Kerala and became deities of various shrines also emphasises the native feature of d®vaÉa (Chapter III: p.129).

The local mythology of *ki½zi* narrates how it got places of worship in various parts of Kerala. For example; Sri. PiÀiᵛikivilamma reached in Panthalayani with Ravari Nayars, who belongs to merchants community from south Kollam and got place of worship at Panᵛalayani. From there she moved towards north and became the goddess of Lokanarkavu which was later owned by Kadathanadu dynasty. Even today, with out the presence of the representative of Ravari Nayars from Kollam the *Ka½ziyiᵛᵛam* of *PiÀiᵛikivu* won't happen. So it can be assumed that the above said features are common to all *È®vaÉas* of the land. In contrary to this in the case of Hindu gods temples are being constructed and installation of the concerned *È®vaÉa* is being done by

ÉanÉries. The way of propitiation/ulsavam also is decided by ÉanÉries. Above given two system of features of È®vaÉa are different and quite contrary to one another. Hence, *ki½i* as È®vaÉa comes under the first category which belongs to native system. And moreover, it is interesting to note that È®vaÉa also will be polluted as it happened to have any association with untouchable castes and never be allowed to get back in any of the temples of higher castes, thereafter. The myth of the È®vaÉa in vazhayil piÉi½am exemplify this fact.

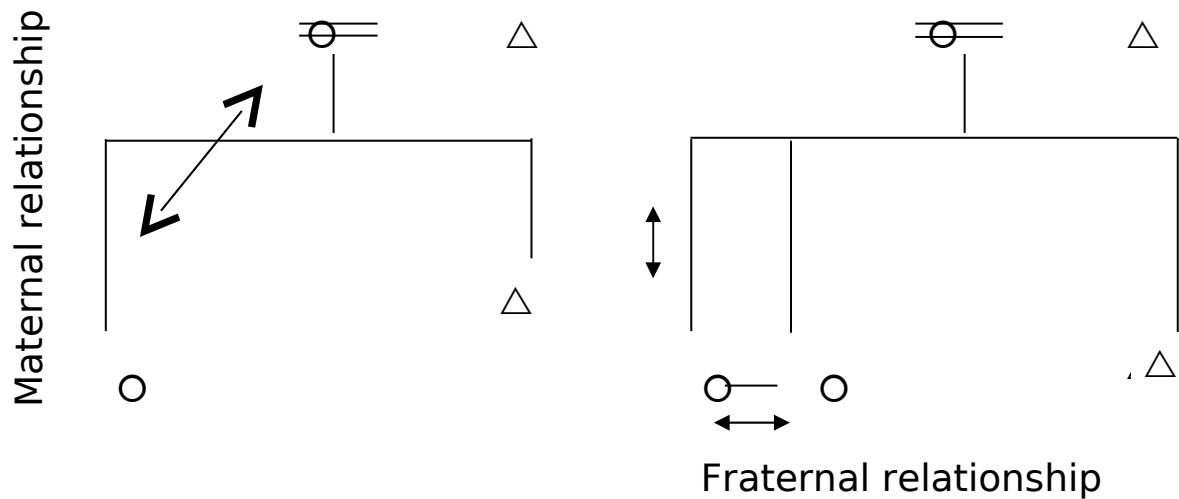
It is believed that each and every goddess have their own route place. A native È®vaÉa always has its own route of journey through which it travels from one place to the other, which is technically known as 'Vaina·a' in É°ttam of songs of Éeyyam. Kodungalloor is considered as the main centre of *ki½i* and later it travelled with Ravari Nayars who were merchants to so many places and got places of worships. *Ki½i* went first *P°rkkili* and hence known as *P°rkkili BhagavaÉi*. Then it travelled towards south and then towards north. It was not alien

that *ĒṛvaĒa* moves with merchant community. *Pḻmala b<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* and *iryapḻkanni* reached north Kerala by travelling by country ships called '*Maṅakkalam*' with those who did voyage for goods transaction. One of these such goddesses in north Kerala is named after '*MarakkalaĒĒilamma*'.

As described in the *Kivilepiṅṅu Srḻkurumba* travelled in a *Maṅakkalam* and reached north Kerala, where she got *sĒanam* in many places of coastal area of North Kerala, which are called as *cḻrmbakivus* (C.M.S. Chandra: 2004: 66)) . And there by *cḻrma* had been received by thiyya, mukkuva, asari communities.

'younger – elder sisters' and 'mother-daughter' kinships are attributed to *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is not an exceptional case as far as all other *ĒṛvaĒas* of Kerala concerned. What all kinship devotees have is imposed on *ĒṛvaĒas* also. *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>iyḻṅṅu* is performed before the mu·ippuṅṅa where two crowns are kept; one for *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* and other for durga. The

people believe that *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is the elder sister and as *Èurga* is the younger one.



**(Fig. No. 1)**

In the myth and ritual of *Srçkurumbakivu / çrma* the 'younger – elder concept is very prevalent. The myth narrates the details of *çrmba* and *e<sup>1/2</sup>ayaval* who travelled all the way from south to Kannur is narrated in ritual songs of *çrmba*. Separate idols are there for each Goddess and ritual performances for these are different. *iyaÉÉan*, the ritual man perform dances for both *çrmba* and *e<sup>1/2</sup>ayaval*. Usual dress of *iyaÉÉan* who represents *çrmba/Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is red cloth where as, while performing

'*iriĒana*' (a special ritual dance) for *e<sup>1/2</sup>ayaval iyaĒĒin*'s dress is white clothes. No meat or arrack is offered to her. She is propitiated by offering flowers. In certain *kivus* annual performance for *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is in the month of *kumb<sup>h</sup>am*, known as *kumb<sup>h</sup>aĒĒilappoli* and in *mçnam* another *Ēilappoli* is festivated namely *mçnaĒĒilappoli*. *iyaĒĒin* smear sandal paste on chest, arms etc. during *kumb<sup>h</sup>aĒĒilappoli* and for *mçniĒĒalappoli* smear turmeric along with sandal paste.

It is believed that the 'elder- younger' concept of *cçrmba* is related to *ka<sub>,,aki</sub>*. *Ka<sub>,,aki</sub>* travelled towards west after total destruction of mudurai city along with the daughter of *pi<sub>,ya</sub>* king and reached Chera kingdom. It is believed that *ka<sub>,,aki</sub>* is *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* and daughter of *pa<sub>,ya</sub>* king is *elayaval* (younger one). The same concept is every where in Kerala.

It is the conviction of the people that Vazhayil *b<sup>h</sup>agavaŋi* of muchukunnu is the younger sister of the *b<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* in *PiĀirikivu*. According to the myth

PiÀiḡikivilamma with her two sisters reached panthalayani along with Ravari Nairs. From there *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* travelled with her two youngers. But on the way one among them became thirsty. She drank water from a pulaya lady (untouchable) and the other sister refused to take her along with. She stayed there itself as a goddess of pulaya community and that place was known as Vazhayil pathalam. The elder proceeded the journey and reached kongannur and then to Lokanarkavu. All these infer that *ki½i* is a native Goddess of Kerala people.

Sacrifice of animal, cock or even human had been seen in almost all ancient societies. It is described that "first offered blood by killing human being, then gave the blood of elephant as human sacrifice was not possible, then gave the blood of goat instead of elephant sacrifice. Now it is substituted by blood of cock as human being, elephant and goat are not available (K.K.N. Kurup: 1980: 54). All devatas except *Srḡkurumba / ki½i* get performances as ¶eyyam. It is because, people believe

that without human sacrifice the wrath of the goddess would not be cooled down. So, *Éilappoli*, *ka½am* and *guᵂuÉi* are the ritual to propitiate *ki½i*. Generally, sacrifice of Cock and *guᵂuÉi* are the main offering to any of the Gods/Goddesses in Kerala. Till few years back Coack sacrifice had been done for *Ki½i* in *PiÀiᵂikivu* temple and Kodungalloor. In Kodungalloor *K°«ikuᵂuÉi* has been displaced by *K°«ikkallum£·al* and the coacks offered in the temple are being put on the *K°«ikkallu* and are being flew in the air ritualistically. Instead of sacrificing coack a melon is being cut. In *ki½iyiᵂᵂakivu* in Malappuram district coack is the main offering to *b<sup>h</sup>agavaᵂi*.

In *Pamja'ma'kara* pooja in all *ki½i* temples which are known as *šikÉ®yaktivukal*, flesh is one of the offering to *ki½i* and sacrifice/offering *GuᵂuÉi* are unavoidable. *šikÉ®ya* pooja which is also known as '*Vaᵂakk®n b<sup>h</sup>igam*' is common to most of the Goddesses, not only to *É®vaÉas*, but to those who have caused to death by small pox or those who are true devotees of *ki½i*. So it is

assumed that with out these two rituals, sacrifice and *GuxuÉi* propitiation of *ki½zi* could not be fulfilled. 'Even though, cutting of melon is done as symbolic representation of sacrifice of animal/coack. It is not integral part of the so called Hindu way of propitiation; But displacement of a ritual while incorporating the same to the Hindu system of worship.

Even though the concept of *ki½zi* by mythology may be the same by ritual, by beliefs and by annual festival it is diversified in nature. The mythology behind *ki½zi* is basically the *Ki½zi – Èiæuka* fight and killing of *Èiæuka* at the end. People wanted to cool down *ki½zi* who was furious, even at a stage that her wrath might have resulted into the total annihilation of the earth.

Considering the nature of worship in prevalence, the officiating authority and the person or community indulged in propitiating ritual *ki½zi kivus* in Kerala fall in to 3 categories 1. *šikÉ®yakivus* 2. *Ki½zi kivus* 3. Native *kivus*.

<i>Kivu</i>	Officiated by	Native worship	Ritual person
<i>šikÉeya kivus</i>	Rulers	<i>šikÉ®ya p£ja</i> Annual festival	Pitarakas moosathu / Adikal
<i>Ki½i kivus</i>	Caste community	Fertility rituals & <i>Éilappoli</i>	Member of the caste
Native kivus	Village community	Ritual performance to appear <i>ki½i</i>	Member of the officiating caste. But all the village people participate

**Table No. 1**

But as explained elsewhere the manifestation of the concept of *ki½i* is in diversified forms.

*Ki½i* worship in Kerala is not monolithic in nature. *Ki½i* concept had been travelled with the history of the people of the land and accordingly it had undergone changes, still undergoing, both in nature and context. A close examination of *ki½i* cult in Kerala would throw new light to understand the system of worship. Mainly 3 visible layers are there for *ki½i* worship. These are not

water tight compartments and therefore functionally overlapping each other.

*Ki½i* is worshipped by people of all areas and at the same time it is seen that most of the castes in Kerala perceived *ki½i* concept and expressed it in innumerable ways. The varieties of ritual acts and performances in rural / village areas of Kerala exemplify it. For example, *padaya* in pathanamitta is unique in the sense that the attitude and participation of the devotees, the pictures way of presentation and elaborate way of performance have no parallel anywhere else in Kerala.

In the same way every nook and corner of Kerala celebrate *ki½i*, either as *Cçrmba* or *ki½i*. The common myth behind these ritual is *ki½i Èiæka* fight. So, it can be assumed that '*ki½i – Èiæuka*' story is a common theme popular all over Kerala and so many texts of rituals and performances were being created out of this common stem.

In between 'Ni, abali' in north to *Ki½iy£¶¶u* in south hundreds of tiny and elaborate ritual festivals are there in Kerala in relation to '*Ki½i –Èiα£ka*' 'theme. All these rituals/performances are varied manifestations of the same theme in accordance with the nature and culture of the land. In the surface, these rituals / performances have no parallel. Even though the village shrines are officiated by certain caste and rituals are being conducted by representatives of different castes of the village, members of all castes have its own role to play and confirm its participation. Therefore this kind of *ki½i* worship is a real expression of folks in all respects.

In the long run of the history, during the reign of Chera kings, some how the myth of *ka, aki* became popular and the concept of 'Ottamulacci' which is malevolent in nature spread all over the land. When *ka, aki* got the status of a Goddess and merged with *ki½i* of Kodungalloor *kivu* slowly the malevolent 'Ottamulacci' faded away in the mind of the people. Another popular Goddess, *Srçkurumba* which is the

goddess of small pox, parallel to *miṣiyamman* of Tamil nadu was also merged with *ki½zi*. Kodungalloor temple is the centre of this new developed cult.

*Ki½zi* worship had disseminated and several *ki½zi kivus* were established all over Kerala. The main feature of worship in these *kivus*, directly or indirectly related to fertility. *Éilappoli* and pongala are two important rituals in these temples. *Éilappoli* is an enactment of the act how the wrath of *ki½zi* was cooled down by keeping vergins with '*Éalams*' in both hands, in two rows, on the way in which *ki½zi* was returned. The other ritual *pongila*, *kalamkanikkal* in north Kerala is a fertility ritual, aimed at prosperity. So, once *ki½zi* is cooled down then she is no more malevolent and she is the way to prosperity. The yearly ritual for *Srḥkurumba/Ki½zi* is referred as *Éalappoli* denotes the importance of *Éalappoli* as far as the Goddess is concerned. The *Kivus* where *Éilappoli* is being conducted is another level of manifestation of *ki½zi* that falls in between the *ki½zi* of *ṣikt®yakivu* and of village *kivus*, generally known as '*B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉikkivu*'. These such

*B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus* are there all over Kerala which are officiated by certain castes especially Nairs. In *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivu* pooja and other rituals are done by persons belonging to the officiating community.

*B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉhi kivu* which are known as *šikÉ®ya kavu* belongs to another level where Pitaraka and few other communities do *šikÉ®ya* pooja. This group of *Kivus* are officiated by rulers such as *k°laÉiri*, *sim£Éiri*, porlathiri etc and they considered the *È®vata* as the deity of their kingdom and even the *È®vaÉa* is known in the name that prefixed with the name of the kingdom. For eg. *Éayipparad®vaÉa / madiyikavilacci* is known as the '*k°laswaꣳpaÉinkal Éiyi*' (*k°laswaꣳ£pam* means the kingdom of *k°laÉiri*). In these temples the *ÉanÉric* rituals such as *kalašam* and *pooja* are only peripheral where as *šikÉ®ya* rituals are at the core.

The above discussions infer that there are three layers of *ki½i* worship, one over the other, the village performances all over Kerala as the base and *šikÉ®ya*

worship officiated by rulers on the top and rituals *Bhagavati kivu* officiated by certain castes in between. It can be assumed that this phenomena is related to the power and feudal setup based on caste hierarchy in Kerala. The *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* worship system in *śikṛyaku* is comparatively recent, and it is part of the political system then existed in Kerala, because officiating power was on the hands of ruling caste and right to performing pooja is of tiny castes who were people, according to belief, brought for serving this purpose. The process of performance *śikṛya pooja* is a secret knowledge of this caste. The common people have no other right except to be devotees.

Where as the *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i kavu* all over Kerala, in most of the cases are officiated by different castes and rituals for the *ṚvaṚa* are being done by the same castes and it is the place of worship of the common people, one way or the other having some kind of rights/duried in the fulfillment of the performance. Over this layer, actually all other systematized, worshipping system of *ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is set up.

The pan-Indian Hindu way propitiation based/on *ÉanÉra* is having a little or little influence on the above said way of worship.

The burial of those who caused to death by smallpox is done in a special way that a pit or laterite chamber is made east-west direction and body is kept inside that. Usual practice of burial or cremation by all castes of Kerala is that, keep head of the body towards south and feet towards north. The entire ritual at the time of burial and after-wards in this case are different from that of the usual practice. The died person becomes '*B<sup>h</sup>a, ·aᵂamÉrÉÉi*' and it gets similar rituals as *ki½i* gets in *Ki½ikavu* or similar ritual practices followed in '*Vaᵂakk®nvitil*'.

Those who were oracles or some way or other related to *ki½i* die and those who get few small pox pimples on his forehead, while death will be considered as *Ba, ·aᵂamÉrÉÉi*'. Those who die in sitting posture are

called as Samadhi *B<sup>h</sup>a, ·aṣamḥrÉÉi'* and buried in sitting posture itself.

The rituals those are being done by the side of the burial pit and annual ritual at the same place are similar to that of the ritual given to *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, especially *vaḥakk®nviÉil* ritual.

The belief of the people is that after death the concerned person who was diseased by smallpox or those who died with some sign of small pox on the forehead in the case of oracle or ritual person of *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* becomes part of *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* and attain the status of deity known as *B<sup>h</sup>a, ·aṣamḥrÉÉi'* who gets propitiation by lighting wicks daily and annual *vatakk®nviÉil*. Certain cases, small shrine is being erected by family members and propitiation is also being done.

Religion is the attitude of 'man' towards the transcendental. In that respect *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* worship is a religion, especially a folk religion. As per the Hindu religion there are four possibilities for an individual after death.

1. *Jçvitma* may dissolve in the *PaçamiÉma* without any chances to rebirth which is called as MokÀa (salvation)
2. *Jçvitma* gets rebirth
3. *Jçvitma* become *pr®Éam* (spirit) and wander in the world
4. *Jçvitma* is received by the God (*viÀ,u*) and in such cases it appears the world to receive the *šriÈÈam*.

But the belief related to *kili* is that after death there are 2 possibilities.

1. May become *b<sup>h</sup>a<sub>,</sub>·açam£rÉÉi'*
2. May become Samadhi *b<sup>h</sup>a<sub>,</sub>·aram£rÉÉi*

In both cases *ki½i* accept the individual (spirit) with her and accordingly it holds the rights to get similar offerings given to *ki½i*. So the devotees of *ki½i* is having clear understanding about life and life after death and therefore *ki½i* worship is not mere a ritual but it is religion by itself, not contrary to but, complimentary to Hindu religion. This is why in the same family persons are

there who attained the status of *b<sup>h</sup>a, ·aṁam£rÉÉi'*, and the rest of the persons may undergo the Hindu way of transformation, described above.

A close examination of the varied manifestation of *ki½zi* concept reveals that it is very popular among caste groups that falls in between Brahmin and those castes which were come under untouchable communities. *Ki½ziy£¶¶u*, *Padaya, i*, *É£kkam*, *Mudiy®ttu*, *Pina*, *Ni, abali*, *ṁuÈ<sup>h</sup>iṁak°lam*, *Éeyyam* etc. are mainly the worshipping system of the people who belong to the above mentioned group. All these castes are agriculturalists and who are having right over land either as land owners or as tenants. The interesting fact to be noted is that either the brahmins or the marginalized castes have no direct role in the above said performances.

*Ki½zi* such as, *Õdakkili*, *Cu·alab<sup>h</sup>adṁaki½zi* etc. which are familiar among them untouchable castes are not the same as the *ki½zi* concept based *Ki½zi – Èaṁuka* myth. These are not the same functionally also. Paraya caste

make use of their *ki½i* for magical purposes also, which is alien to the *ki½i* concept that existing among the caste society of Kerala. It is very rare that the same *ki½i*, based on *Ki½i-Èiruka* myth is seen among lower castes. For eg. vazhayil pathalam where pulayas propitiate the same *ki½i*. The origin myth of the È®vaÉa is evident that it is a borrowed one; the younger polluted sister stayed with them as there È®vaÉa.

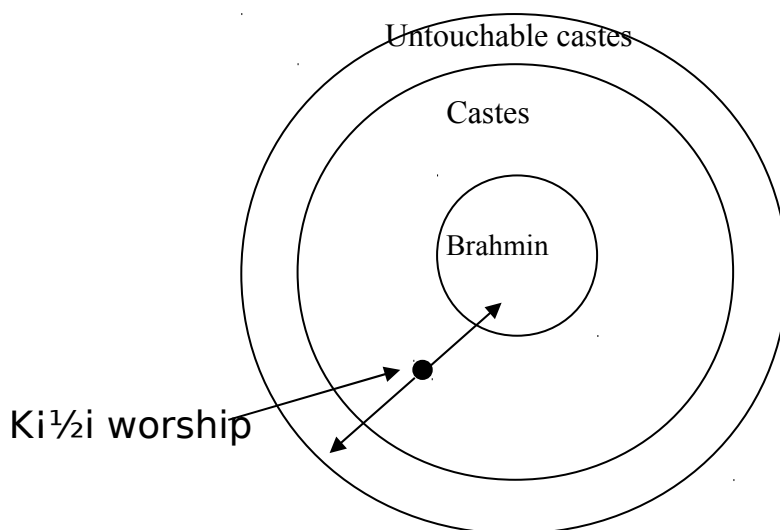
Brahmins have no temples or shrine of *ki½i* of their own, whereas they have either any varied form of *ki½i* worship or their own myth and ritual in support of that. The only relationship with *ki½i* to them is that they accepted *ki½i* as the 7<sup>th</sup> goddess that having installation, kalašam and pooja according to ÉanÉra. Because the right over the land and power over the rulers they were able to impose their own concept of È®vata on *ki½i* and establish their own ritual practice on that. Still, the people continued the traditional practice of worship as usual along with the tantric ritual. Even in Kodungalloor and other *sikt®ya kivus* on the first day of annual

festival the *kivu* is purified and the *Ēvata* is offered with tantric rituals. Then only the ritual person(s) get the right to perform their own rituals. It is true that almost all *kivus* got installation and getting yearly, monthly or daily *pooja*. This is no more an imposition because people already accept it. The process of changes that happened in this regard can be considered either as part of Brahminisation or Hinduisation.

The units of the structure of the society were castes and each caste was functioning as labour group. The entire mechanism of the society was based on the production and distribution of agriculture and therefore the ownership or right over land played a crucial role in the establishment of social structure. In the caste hierarchy Brahmins were on the top who had right over the land and also had religious power. Then comes the ruling caste. As social, economic and political power were concerned all other castes except untouchable castes were functioning as a group, those who had right over the land either as land owners or tenants. Actually these

caste groups were indulged in agriculture production. There were untouchable castes who had no role in production and distribution except giving labour.

So, it is seen that as a feudal society based on caste hierarchy, brahmin on the top, all other castes except untouchable castes functioning as one group and untouchables are on the peripheral as a separate group as shown in the figure No: (2).



**Fig. No. 2**

Earlier discussions elucidate that different manifestations of *ki½i* are part of religious life of the people who belong to the caste group exists in between

brahmin and untouchable castes, who were agricultural producers. Their life and others life through them also become prosperous through the production from the land which was to them the mother earth. The only way to fertile the land is through the appeasement of the mother Goddess. This is the context in which the concept of *Ki½i* and all rituals that lead to fertility of the land and women originated.

So it can be assumed that the Goddess, *Ki½i* originated among the castes group which indulged in agriculture and it got different spacial texts all over Kerala. And later it was disseminated to the brahmins who were in the centre of structure of society and to untouchable castes who were in the peripheral.

A close examination of the rituals related to *Ki½i* worship brings out the fact that all the rituals can be categorized in to two groups. viz. 1. Rituals to cool down the *Ki½i* 2. Appease *Ki½i* for fertility. *Éilappoli* come under the first category (Chapter 3: p.121). The myth

behind *Ki½i* give the details of the origin of *Éilappoli*. According to the myth to cool down *Ki½i* 'Kanyakis' (virgins) stood in two rows carrying 'Éilam' on both palms, on the way of *Ki½i* to receive her. The enactment of the same is continuing in *Ki½ikivus*. The annual festival of all *Srçkurumba kivus* and few other *Ki½ikivus* is known as '*Éilappoli*' is the episode that considered as the core of all rituals. *Éilappoli* represents the whole ritual means the folk perceived *Ki½i* as one who is angry even to destroy the entire world and people also believe that ill happenings should be there due to the wrath of the Goddess. So, the folk wanted to cool down *Ki½i* and make her tend towards fertility. Two kinds of *Éilappoli* are performed usually in *Ki½i kivus*. One is in 'Kumb<sup>h</sup>am' and other one is in the month of *mçnam*. The *Éilappoli* of kumb<sup>h</sup>am is performed for *Cçrma/* and *B<sup>h</sup>aÈraki½i* and the *MçnaÉilappoli* is for the Goddess, the younger one. Three types of *Éilappoli* are seen in *Ki½ikivus/Srçkurumbakavus*. 1. *Éilappoli* 2. *Ve½½aÉilappoli* 3. *iyixaaÉÉiri*. *Éilappoli* is performed by maiden carrying

*Éilam* on both palms. *Ve<sup>1/2</sup>1/2a Éilappoli* is performed by mothers by holding their small children on their shoulder and taking *Éilam* on their right palm. *iyiᵛaÉÉiri* is performed in *šikÉ®yakavu*. Old ladies perform this by holding vessel (*uᵛu<sup>1/2</sup>i*), filled with rice and hundred lighted wicks of lamp on head.

*Éilappoli* is common in *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>ikivus* and *Srᵛkurumba kivu's* except *šikÉ®yakavu*. The myth and presence of *Éilappoli* in *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i kivus* are evident that *Éilappoli* is, by origin related to *Kili*. *Kili* worship is common to Kerala and annual festival in *Ka<sup>1/2</sup>ikavu* is referred as *Éilappoli*, lead us to a conclusion that *Éilappoli* is a unique ritual of Kerala. The enactment of the incident that happened to *Ka<sup>1/2</sup>i* while returning from the battle field after killing *Èaᵛuka* is an unavoidable part of the performance as far as the people are concerned.

The table given below provide us a picture of the distribution *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i Èaᵛuka* theme and its manifestations in different areas of Kerala; Malabar (North Kerala), Cochin (central Kerala) and Tiruvithamkur (South Kerala).

*Éiyipaxad®vaÉa, Ni,abali, x̣uÈirakk°lam, Ka,yirki½i* and *Éilappoli* are the main performance of North Kerala. *Pina, Éçyittu, Mu·iyettu* etc are the performance available in the area of Cochin. *Padaya,i, Ki½iy£¶¶u, É£kkam, paxan®ttu* are popular in different parts of Thiruvithamkur.

The theme for annual performance of *Ki½i kivus* may be divided in terms of context into two viz. war and post war.

War	Post war
Ni,abali	<i>Pa·aya,i</i>
x̣uÈirakk°lam	<i>Éçyi¶¶u</i>
Éiyippard®vate	<i>É£kkam</i>
Ki½iy£¶¶u	Pina
Paran®ttu	Ka,yirki½i
P£tanum tirayum	
Mu·iye¶¶u	

**Table No. 2**

As all these are considered as performance as enactment of *Kili Èaxuka* confront it an be categorized according to theme, as war, post-war. *ÉiyipaxaÈ®vaÉa* in

Éeyyam represents the *Ki½i*. But, it does not enact any of the episodes. Where as ni,abali is the enactment of *Kili - Èiᵛuka* fight. ᵛudiᵛakk°lam also is the enactment of the fight between *Èiᵛuka* and *Ki½i*. But, *Éilappoli* is the enactment of post-war situation (To cool down *Ki½i*) that vergins welcome *Ki½i* with tilams in their hands.

Except *Éiyipaᵛad®vaÉa* and *Éilappoli* all other performance are enactment of war between *Ki½i* and *Èiᵛuka*. In the case of *Éiyipaᵛad®vaÉa* even though fight is not enacted the theme is elaborately described in t°ttam songs and create an atmosphere of fight. '*Éilappoli*' is the particular ritual act that to cool down *Ki½i* is the core of the ritual performances in *Srçkurumba kivu / Ki½i kivus*. In *Srçkurumba Kivu* the concept of *Ki½i* is the merged form of *Srçkurumba*, *Ka, ,aki* and *Ki½i*. *Éilappoli* is seen in *kivus* where *Ki½i* is merged with *Srçkurumba* and *Ki½i* in isolation also. So, it can be assumed that *Éilappoli* meant for *Ki½i*, not for *Srçkurumba*. But, for *Ki½i* *Éilappoli* does not perform in south Kerala is an issue to be answered. *Éilappoli* is

performed in Kodungalloor *Kivu* from where merged form of *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* disseminated, especially towards north. So there is all reasons to come to a conclusion that *Éilappoli* originated in Kodungalloor as part of the rituals even before the merging of other two *d®vaÉas*.

The table given below points out that the major performances related to *Ki½i* in central Kerala are *pina*, *Éçya¶¶u* and *mu·iy®ttu*. All these performances are either the enactment of war or the enactment of the episode after war. *PinaÉ°ttam* narrates the whole story of the fight between *Ki½i* and *Èixuka*. The theme of *Ki½iy£¶¶u* performance also is *Ki½i – Èaxuka* fight. All these shows that, in Central Kerala, the folk perceive *Ki½i* as a heroine who is dare enough to encounter *Èixuka* and killed by cutting his head. So, war is the central theme enacted in Central Kerala as seen in North Kerala

North Kerala (Malabar)	Middle Kerala (Cochin)	South Kerala (Travancore)
Ni,abali - War	Pina – Post War	Ki½iy£¶¶u - War

Rudixakk°lam - War	Thçyi¶¶¶u – War	Paran®ttu – War
Éilappoli – Post War	Mu·iy®ttu – War	É£kkam - Post War
Éiyipaxad®vaÉa – War		Pa·aya,i – Post War
Ka,yirki½i – Post War		
P£tanum Éirayum - War		

**Table No. 3**

*Pa·aya,i*, *É£kkam*, *Ki½iy£¶¶u* and *Paran®ttu* are the main performances popular in Travancore area. Among these *ki½iy£¶¶u* and *paran®ttu* are enactment of war where as *padaya,i* and *É£kkam* enact post-war episode. In *pa·aya,i* neither *Éaxuka* appear on the stage nor any enactment in relation to the fight. *Padaya,i* reveals the post war episode in which *Ki½i* with uncontrollable rage was tried to cool down by giving dance by different 'K°lams' such as *YakÀi*, *MaruÉa* etc. So, it represents completely post war episode. *É£kkam* also is an attempt to cool down *Ki½i*. All these show that

comparing to other parts of Kerala travancore area is more interested in enacting the post-war episode.

In North Kerala, especially in Kannur and Kozhikode district no post war episode of *Ki½i* myth is enacted; war is the theme of performance. *Ni, abali* and *æuÈirakk°lam* are vigorous in nature. The costumes and make ups are having special features that to cope up with the situation, especially the *Èæuka* in *Ni, abali*. The annual festival of *Ki½i kivu / Srçkurumba kivu* in north become the stage for ferocious enactment of the fight between *Ki½i* and *Èæuka* is not a coincidence. It is because, North Kerala is the land of hero worship, where heroes become deities and where a specific genre in orality, *vaŋakkan piŋŋu* in which the life of several heroes are praised, originated and still in existence. So, the mind set up of the people of North Kerala is to accept all heroic acts and even to elevate the heroes to the status of God/Godess. So, naturally *ki½i*, the heroine who got triumph over the evil *Èæuka* attract the mind of the folk and they would like to see again and again the valoric act of *Kili*. Even though

*Éilappoli* is the enactment of post-war incident it is only a ritual to appease *Ki½i*. This is the reason that the fight between *Ki½i* and *Èiᵛuka* becomes the central theme of the festival. This is the reason for the enactment of war becomes the central theme of performance in *Ki½ikivu* of North Kerala.

*Ka½ame«uÉÉu* is performed as part of God/Godesses worship, magical rituals, tantric rituals etc. mannan, ganakan, vannan, malayan, panan, velan, pulluvan, munnᵑttin, pulayan, thᵑyyattunni, thᵑyadi Nambiar, theyyampidi kuruppu, kallatta kuruppu, Kerala brahmins are the castes traditionally engaged in *Ka½ame«uÉÉu*. Among the two types of kolam, the kolam that draw the figure of God/Godess is known as ᵛ *ᵑpakka½am* and the other one that draw columns and other forms is called as *paÈmakka½am*. *BᵑaÈaki½ikka½am* which is drawn for *BᵑaÈᵛaki½iÉÉᵑyiᵑᵑu*, *Brihmanippiᵑᵑu*, *Pa·aya,i* etc. are popular all over Kerala except northern part. The *Ka½am* drawn as

part of the ritual at *Srçkurumba kivu* is not the figure of anyone of the Goddess but, symbolic columns.

There are evidences to prove that *Ka½ame«uÉÉu*, especially '*α£pakka½am*' is originated as part of the rituals in *ki½ikivu*. It was the first time that Subrahmanya drawn the ferocious form of *Ki½i* on the way through which *Ki½i* returned back from battle field, thinking that if she realize her own figure, her wrath would reduce and she will be cooled down. Apart from this the tradition of *Ka½ame«uÉÉu* is seen all over Kerala, in *Ki½i kivus* where as *Ka½ame«uÉÉu* is only an option as far as other Gods/ Goddesses are concerned. For example, for the appeasement of *šasÉivu* or *V®ttakkoꝝumakan*, there are so many means of rituals apart from *Kalame«uÉÉu*. *šasÉivu* has its own cult related to Sabarimala. To propitiate *šasÉivu* teyyam is also performed. Tantric way worship also popular. In the same way *VeÉÉakkoꝝumakan* is propitiated in shrines by offering *Éeyyam* performance, by *Ka½aÉÉilaꝝiyum Piꝝꝝum*. For these such *È®vaÉis Kalame«uÉÉu* and other

forms of rituals are in complementary distribution. From south to north, for *Ki½i Ka½ame«uÉÉu* is an integral part of its rituals (exception may be there). The *Ki½i* who sits on the shoulders of *v®Éa«a* is drawn in Sarngara *BhagavaÉi* temple in Kollam and *Ki½i* in its symbolic form appears in *Ka½am* drawn in *Srçkurumba kivu*. Therefore *Ka½ame«uÉÉu* is a feature of *Kili* worship and later it might have disseminated to all other related performances.

Both *æfpakka½am* and *PaÈmakka½am* are practiced in the worship of *Ki½i*. In all *Ki½i kivus* it is seen that *æfpakkalam* is drawn. Initially sakti of the *È®vaÉis* is invoked in the *ka½am* and pooja are being done to the *ka½am*, where as in Kodungalloor temple and *Srçkurumba* temple and elsewhere *PaÈmakka½am* is drawn for representing *Ki½i* and '*KuæuÉi*' is offered by cutting chicken or goat. All these point out that *Kalame«uÉÉu* is an integral part of *Ki½i* worship and it has currency all over Kerala.

Different from that of Hindu way of worship in which all rituals are aimed at either propitiation or rejuvenation of *È®vaÉa*, *Ki½i* worship is unique because it aims at either to cool down the goddess or to appease the Goddess. After killing *Èaxuka* *Ki½i*'s fury was at a stage even to destroy all the worlds. In the mind of the devotees the figure of *Ki½i* is in that stature. They wanted cool down *Ki½i* and then lead it to bless them with prosperity. So, any ritual act of worship of *Ki½i* aims at either cooling down or to appease it. *Éilappoli*, *Kalame«uÉÉu*, *GuæuÉi*, etc. are the ritual to cool down *Ki½i* where as *pongila*, *Kalamkanikkal*, *Kalašam* in various forms are to appease *Ki½i*. It leads the women and the earth fertile and as result the life of the people become prosperous. The concept of *Ki½i* in the mind of the people of Kerala is that it causes both destruction and protection. They envisage the *ki½i* who is raged and therefore they wanted to kept her benevolent by sprouting motherly affection in her, which leads to fertility in all levels.

A close examination of *Ki½zi* worship reveals that it is not monolithic in nature, it comprises of varied worshipping systems that connected with caste system. As discussed earlier *Ki½zi* worship in its root is being practiced by the folk belong to different castes. Poojari or ritual man belongs to the same caste, by whom it is officiated. For example in *Srçkurumbakivu* of thiyya community, the rituals are done by the thiyyan entitled *embron* and another Thiyyan as oracle entitled as 'iyaÉÉan'. It is true to all *Srçkurumbakivu* officiated by other castes.

Another system that exists in *Ki½zi* worship is that officiating community is different from the community entitled to do rituals. All *šikÉ®yakivus* are officiated either by kings or by land lords. In these such cases there is specific persons belong to particular traditional castes. For eg. Pitaraka caste is instructed to do *šikÉ®ya pooja* in the *šikÉ®yakivu* at Koyilandy and madayikavu at Pazhayangadi.

Apart from this, recently all most all *Ki½ikivu* got installation of *È®vaÉa* and accordingly tantric poojas also introduced in these *kivus*. During Annual festival in the *Kivu* the first day *ÉanÉri* purify the temples and premises and does pooja accordingly to *ÉanÉric* tradition, than the *Kivu* is left to the officiating persons for the traditional rituals and festival. Re-installation (*Pu, ahpraÉis¶a*) and different forms of *Kalaša¶¶u* also will be conducted as and when the astrologer recommends for the same.

The discussion given above reveals that the concept of *Ki½i* in Kerala is hetrogenic. According to caste and according to the place it takes different manifestations. In the same *Kivu* different ritual practices are followed by different castes as it is seen in the case of *áikt®yakivu* that brahmin does *ÉanÉric* pooja, pitaraka does *áikt®ya pooja* and other rituals by native folk. It is because different groups of people perceive *Ki½i* according to their own needs and according to the reality around them.

'Ottamulacci' (one who has only one breast) was a dreadful belief among the people of Kerala. The word Orumulai paÉÉini with the same meaning is used in *Cilappatikāṣam*. To make the children obey, the elders use to tell them that 'Ottamulacci' was coming. Kaᵑᵑaki realized that her innocent husband, *K°vlin* was hanged by the king she was furious like anything and plucked and threw one of her breast towards madurai city and it was ruined. That malevolent concept of Kaᵑᵑaki was disseminated in Kerala and it has only the status of evil spirit that can be compared with the concept of 'YakÀi'.

People believes that 'Ottamulacci' use to appear in her dreadful form in the darkness of night and those who met her on the way will be killed. Olden days, anecdotes were reported that by seeing 'ottamulacci' so many people got fever and died with in few days.

To a section of people of Kerala Kaᵑᵑaki is a È®vaÉa dreadful in nature can be cooled down and becomes benevolent by appeasement. Evil spirit and È®vaÉa are

opposites and usually it would not get co-existence in a folk and therefore this phenomena is to be examined.

In Kerala there is no worshipping centre where Kaṣṣaki as such, in isolation is considered as È®vaÉa and propitiating it. Kaṣṣaki is merged with *Ki½zi* and *Srçkurumba* and that is the È®vaÉa worshipped in Kodungalloor and all *Srçkurumbakivu*. The 'Ve½iccappadu' with one anklet and the recital of Kaṣṣaki story in *Srçkurumba Kivu* and *bʰagavaÉikivu* as part of rituals are evidents for the presence of Kaṣṣaki in these temples as È®vaÉa in a merged state. The 'iraÉana' ritual in *Srçkurumbakivu* by 'iyaÉÉin is also meant for Kaṣṣaki (Chapter III: p.117).

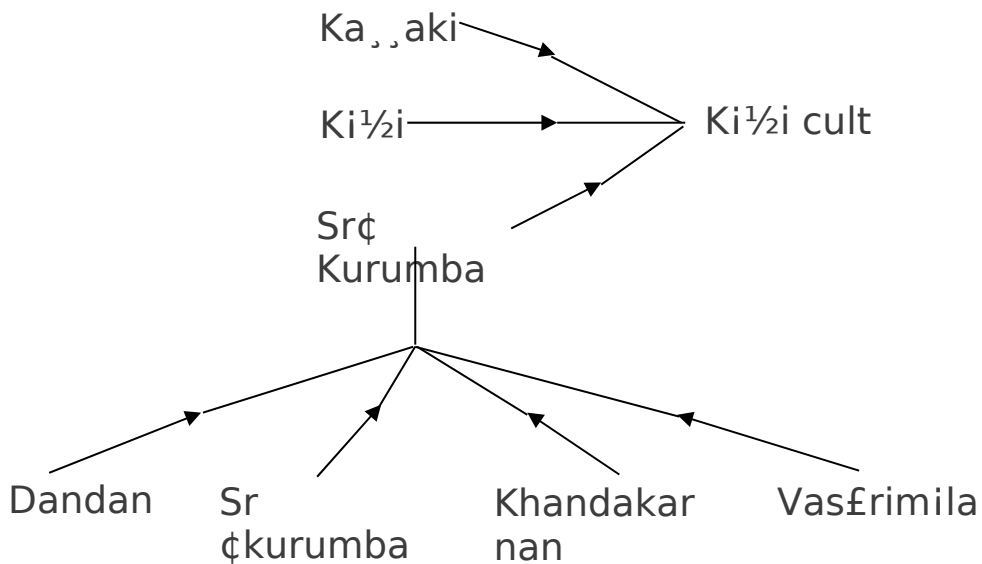
It can be assumed that before the merging of Kaṣṣaki with *Ki½zi* and *Srçkurumba* Kaṣṣaki as a menovelent spirit might have disseminated in Kerala in the lower level, among common people. Later, the merged form of Kaṣṣaki was accepted by few castes and they propitiated it in their own *Kivus* with special rituals.

Still in the belief system of these castes it is in the latent form and for the rest of the people 'Ottamulacci' belief has been continuing. So this is an example for dual manifestation of the same concept, Kaṣṣaki and Ottamulacci.

As explained elsewhere *Ki½i* worship in Kerala is having multi phases. In lower level, all over Kerala *Ki½i* is worshipped as mother Goddess based on the *Ki½i-Èaxuka* myth in various forms. Hundreds of worshipping systems are still in existence in the rural villages of Kerala. Among these pa·ayaḷi and mu·iyettu are having several performing texts in different *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus*. Special attention is to be given to the fact that all these performances and series of ritual are exclusively for propitiating *Ki½i*.

Another tradition popular in Kerala is *Srḥkurumba Kivu*, especially in north Kerala. The worshipping system in *Srḥkurumbakivu* is entirely different from that of *Ki½i Kivu* in villages of Kerala. Here, *Ki½i* who killed *Èaxuka*

and rescued the earth, *Srçkurumba*, the Goddess of smallpox and Kaçaki are getting worship and still it is known as *Srçkurumba Kivu*.



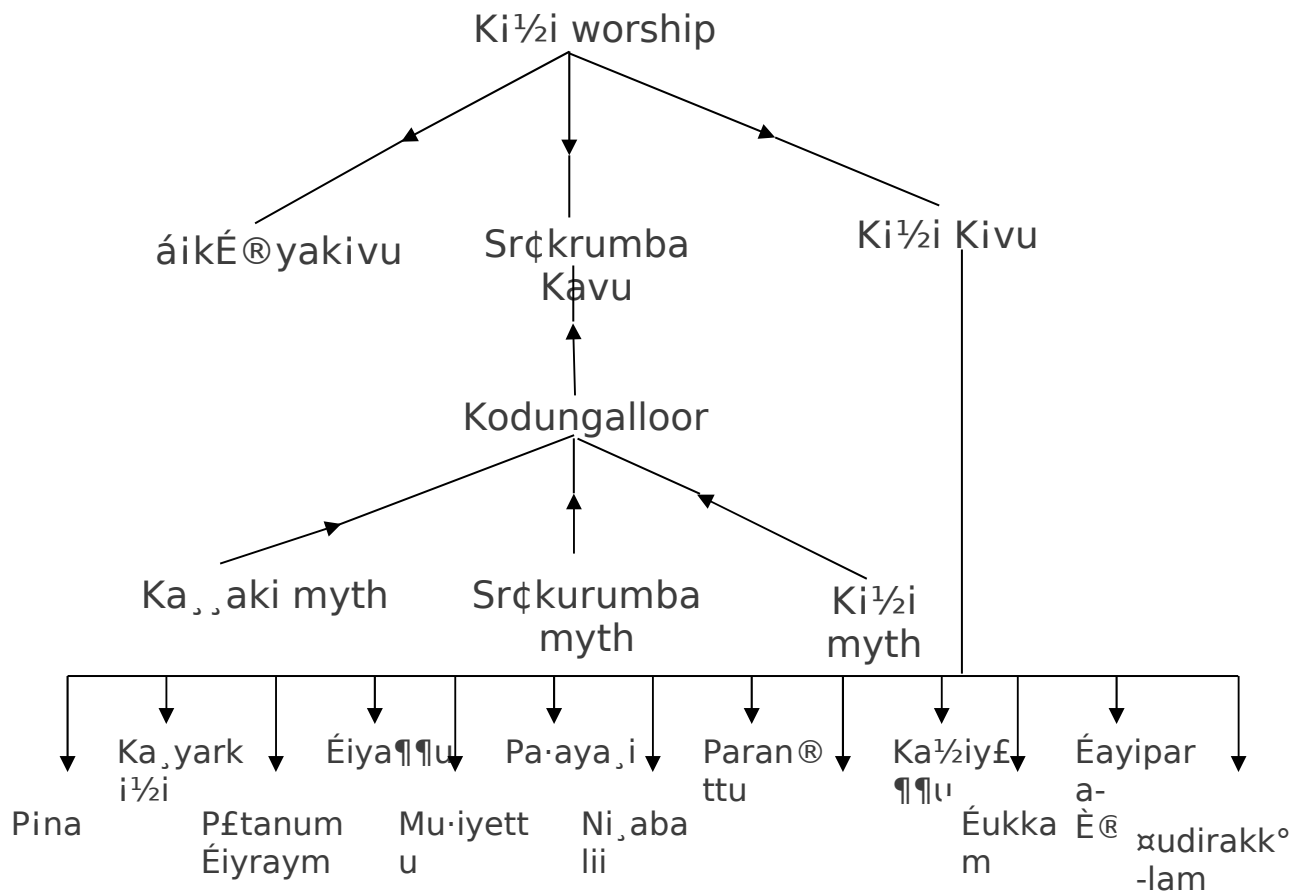
**Figure No. 3**

Elaborate ritual songs are sung during the festival that narrates how it reached the northern part of Kerala. Not only that it narrates the origin of it from the third eye of *šiva* and the long voyage it conducted to reach the earth. Apart from the myth, the áikt®ya pooja that the ritual man does in *Kivu*, and in the burrial place of 'b<sup>h</sup>a, ,arm£rÉi' donates its strong bond with Kodungalloor *Kivu*. So, *Srçkurumba kivu* tradition is one of the off shoots of Kodungalloor *Kivu*.

Quite different from the above described two modes of worship, in *ŠikÉ®ya kivu* officiated by rulers special rituals are being performed by pitarakas etc. Which is also known as *ŠikÉ®ya pooja*, but different from that the ritual-man does in village *kivus* and for b<sup>h</sup>andiram£Éies. So, *Ki½zi* worship as a whole consists of 3 layers viz., 1. Worship in village *Ki½zi Kavus*. 2. Worship in *Srçkurumba Kivus*, 3. Worship in *ŠikÉ®ya kivas*.

Semantically and functionally all these three *È®vaÉas* are one and same because they were born in a similar situation and by appearance they are similar and their motives also the same that to annihilate the enemy. More over in deep level all these *È®vaÉas* are the same. That is the reason all these 3 *È®vaÉas* merged at Kodungalloor *Kivu* situated at Kodungalloor which was the capital of Chera kingdom during the reign of Cheran Chenkuttawan. Later, two modes of worship emerged from this tradition. 1. *Srçkurumba kivu* tradition among certain castes such as Mukkuva, Thiyya etc., which is

more than a worship; It attained the status of a kind of religion. 2. *áikt®ya* worship in *kivus* officiated by rules.



**Figure No. 4**

The evolution of *Ki½zi* worship is as shown in the figure No. (4) *Ki½zi* worship based on the *Ki½zi* who killed *Éæuka* was originally part of native religion which is popular all over Kerala, even today. Later *Srçkurumba* and *Ka,aki* merged into *Ki½zi*, *Kodungalloor* as its centre and generated a new method of worship. The worship of *Ki½zi* in *Kodungalloor* disseminated through two roots. 1.

*śikÉ®ya* worship in *Ki½i Kivus*. 2. *Srçkurumba* worship at local *Srçkurumba Kivus*. The dissemination of the first one was through merchant community (Ravari Nairs) and *Srçkurumba* worship was disseminated through different castes such as Tiyya, Mukkuva etc. The similarity of rituals in these two different types of worship is that in both cases *śikÉ®ya* pooja is observed. *śikÉ®yap£ja* in *śikÉ®ya kivu* is done secretly by specific castes whereas in *Srçkurumba kivu* ritual has a root among the people and the similar rituals are being done by the same ritual person does pooja in *Kivu*, as part of the death ritual. So, the *Ki½i* worship related to *Srçkurumbakivu* has been elevated to the status of folk region.

## CONCLUSION

Mother goddess worships have prominent role among Hindus in India and it is seen that nine crores of names are in currency for mother goddess. The excavations prove that the mother goddess worship was here even at the time of Sindu civilization (K.K.N. Kurup: 1980: 17). Among these *Ki½i* has a prominent role. In Devibhagavatam *Ki½i* is considered as *idipaxaxakñi*. In *Puxanas*, especially in Adhyathma Ramayana origin of *Ki½i* is described in relation to Sçña (Appendix No. III, page 228). *Ki½i* is praised as *Mahiki½i*, *B<sup>h</sup>draki½i*, *B<sup>h</sup>aiçavai*, *MahiÀasuxamarÈini*, etc. These goddesses disseminated all over India and temples are so many with the idols of *Ki½i*.

In the Kinsariya inscription of AD 999 - *Ki½i* is considered as the main goddess of Bengal. But K.K.N. Kurup opined that *Cimu, i* is the primary Goddess of Bengal (1980: 21). Kalighat in Calcutta and the myth from Bengal emphasises the presence of *Ki½i* in Bengal.

Another area where *Ki½i* worship got prominence is Kerala. But, it is quite different from the cult of *Ki½i* in Bengal, by myth, by ritual and even by festival. In cognition itself *Ki½i* in Kerala and Bengal are different. For Bengalis *Ki½i* is black in colour and they conceived *Ki½i* as durga. In Kerala, *Ki½i*'s presence is there in all villages and having varieties of rituals, beliefs and ritual performances. Hinduisation at its different stages changed the perception and conception of *Ki½i* of natives of Kerala and accordingly the idea that *Ki½i* is in black colour got prominence. Still, myth, *Éottampiŋŋu*, traditional praising songs, appearance (costumes and make-up) and symbolic enactments emphasises that *Ki½i* is not black in colour, but in colour of burning flame (Chapter 1: p.20).

In India, generally *Ki½i* is perceived as black in colour. The myth (Introduction: p.3), top to bottom description, the idol and the derivation of the word are in support of this. According to Hindu mythology both Gouri and *Ki½i*, are related to *šiva*. The word *Ki½i* is derived

from the Sanskrit root '*Ki½a*' means black (Tharanatha Tharkkavachaspath: 2006 (rpt.): 2021) which is quite opposite to the derivation from Dravidian root '*ka½*' (T. Burrow, M.B. Emeneau: 1966: 105)). As far as the concept and manifestation of *Ki½i* all over India except Kerala is concerned, *Kali* is black in colour. But, it is not true as far as the evidence available in various manifestations of *Ki½i* in Kerala. Dravidian root '*Ka½*' means red colour of burning flame (Chapter 1: p.20) is supported by origin myth (*Ki½i - Éiæuka* myth), physical feature described in stuthi of different rituals and the appearance of the figure of *Ki½i* in performance.

In Kerala, north to south '*Ki½i-Éiæuka*' myth has got different manifestations as explained elsewhere. The major folk performances in relation to this manifestations are *Éeyyam*, *Éira*, *ni,abali*, floral drawings of *Ki½i* in different styles, *mu·iy®ttu*, *k°lamÉu½½al*, *padya,i*, *Ki½iy£¶¶*, *t£kkam*, etc. All these performances elucidate that the colour of *Ki½i* is not black but red. This shows that the people of Kerala perceived *Ki½i* not as perceived

by the so called Hindus all over India. The origin myth of *Ki½i* also is there in support of this fact. Not only that, *ki½am* and *Ki½i* are popular names given to persons, even in tribal communities in which the *Ki½i* of Hindu pantheon has not much roots of its own. In the same way 'Neeli' also was popular name for ladies especially who belongs to lower castes. Not only that, one 'Neeli' who was victimised by '*tampuxin*' became powerful native goddess and disseminated all over Kerala. All these facts are the evidence to prove that the term '*Ki½i*' denotes not black but, red that resembles the red of the burning flame of fire. The origin myth of *Ki½i* of Hindu pantheon is that *Kali* originated from the third eye of *šiva* to kill the *asuxa*, '*Cinda mundas*'. Therefore it is also called as Chamundi or *MahiÀisuxa*. And it is one among the '*SapÉamitrakkal*'. The *Ki½i* in Kerala is completely depend upon the native myth in which *Ki½i* was born to kill *Èixuka* who encountered everyone in this world and received boons from *šiva* though which he became unformidable. *Ki½i* was born from the third eye

of *MahiĒṛva* and received from him all boons and assistants that made her powerful to overcome and kill *Ēiṅuka*. Innumerable manifestations and variants of the particular myth and enactment of the theme all over Kerala shows that how innate, powerful, deep rooted is this concept of *Ki½i* in the mind of the people of Kerala. The concept and ritual in relation to *Ka½iyimpa½½i* 'Vaṅakkṛn Viti' is so predominant and common to all ritual performance related to mother Goddesses also is reminiscence of the sacrifice given to *Ki½i* and *b<sup>h</sup>ooĒiga*, is in all auspicious occasion in local shrines, in olden days.

More over there is a dichotomy between these two colours Red and black; Red for *Ki½i* and black for *Gu½ikan (Kilan)*. That is why in certain rituals prepare red *GuruĒi* and offer towards north to *b<sup>h</sup>agavaĒi* and black '*GuruĒi*' towards south to '*Kilan*'.

All discussion above lead to a conclusion that the concept of *Ki½i* in Kerala is unique by itself and there is

no comparison with the *Ki½i* concept popular in Hindu pantheon all over India.

It is seen that in Kerala, *Ki½i* is worshipped generally in *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi Kivus*, *šakÉ®ya kivus* and *Srçkurumba kiuvus*. The mode of worship and other traditions in these *kivus* are different. The distribution of *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus* and *šakÉ®ya kivus* are all over Kerala where as *Srçkurumba kiuvus* are in north Kerala. Comparing to other kavus the *šakÉ®ya kivus* are more in number and it is very popular in almost all villages of Kerala. *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus* and *Srçkurumba kiuvus* are officiated by certain castes where as *šakÉ®ya kivus* are of the ruling community or related to dynasties. For example *midiyi kivu* in Kannur district is of Kolathiri and *Lokanarkivu* is of Kadathanadu dynasty and Valaynadu *Kivu* is of samoothiri.

The system of worship today in *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi Kivu* is having different layers. Installation, *Kalašams* to rejuvenate the Goddess and daily poojas (where ever it is

there) are done by brahmins. Other rituals are done by 'ritual man' from specific castes as a traditional right and annual festival is celebrated by the whole village or cluster of villages. *śakÉ®ya kivas* are concerned it is officiated by authorities installation and poojas are done by brahmins and daily rituals are done by members of the specific castes such as adikal, moosaths. But devotees are the people of the land.

The annual festival of *B<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi Kivas* and *Srçkurumba kivas* are known as *Éilappoli/v®la* where as in *śakÉ®ya kivas* it is known as *Ka½iyi¶¶am*. The interesting fact to be noted that these *Kivas* are different in terms of festival and performance. The basic myth on which all these rests are one and same, that is *Ki½i - Éaxuka* myth.

The origin and development of *kivas*, with respect to *Srçkurumba kivu* and *śakÉ®ya kivu* are very well narrated in the myth, belief and ritual songs; from where the *É®vaÉa* set out and through which it travelled and

how it got seat in particular place. But, *B<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi Kivus* are village shrines and its bone and flesh are given by the folk itself. *Ki½j*, the Goddess of Vanikas (*ᵠivari Nair*) travelled with them towards south and north and established *šakÉ®ya kivu* and later, the rulers took over the charge of the *kivu* and these became the Goddess of their dynasty.

Evidences are there that during the reign of Cheran Chenkuttuvan, his younger brother Elamkoadigal brought the remnants of the body of *Ka, ,aki* to Kodungalloor temple and established new order of worship (Chapter III: p.119). The *B<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi Kivu* at Kondungalloor became *šakÉ®ya kivu* after the merging of *Ka, ,aki* in to it. Not only *Ka, ,aki*, the concept of *Srçkurumba* also merged with this. Once these were merged it dissiminated into two levels: 1. evolved *šakÉ®ya kivu* with rigid observation of rituals by certain specific communities. 2. evolved a new way of worship named as *Éalappoli* all over north Kerala, officiated by Thiyya, Asari and few other communities. A new deity named after

'*puÉiyabhgavÉi*' originated from the *H°maku,•a* of *Srçkurumba*. Eventhough *Srçkurumba* has no Éeyyam performance, it was accepted in to the cult and separate rituals were being attributed to it. *šakÉ®ya pooja* also performed with this which is not the same as done by pitarakas or moosaths. In the case of *Srçkurumbakivu* in north Malabar the whole *Ki½zi* worship have been assimilated into the system of *teyyam* and still features of *šakÉ®ya* worship is visible in varied texts of performances in the kavus of Asaries, mukkuvas and Thiyyas.

*Ki½zi* worship based on '*Ki½zi-Èaαuka*' myth in isolation is in existence all over Kerala, with varied texts in each and every cultural region where as *Ka,aki* worship and *Srçkurumba* worship are not performing usually anywhere in the popular *šakÉ®ya kivu and Srçkurumba kivu*. Here *Ki½zi*, *Ka,aki* and *Srçkurumba* concept are in a merged form. The main attraction of the annual festival of *B<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi kivu* is the enactment of '*Ki½zi-Èiαuka*' story or any of the episode, pre-war or post

war. But, the ritual performances of *śakṛtya kivu* or *Srṣṭkurumba kivu* are the mixture of symbolic activities of all these stories.

All these arguments lead us to a fact that *Kiṛi* worship is native and earlier when it is compared with *Kaṣṭaki* worship and *Srṣṭkurumba* worship. There was a time the myth of *Kiṛi* was popular among the people of Kerala and the affinity towards it and devotion were expressed through different rituals and performances that suit for the socio-economic and political surroundings. The merger of the *ĒṛvaĒa* concepts of *Srṣṭkurumba* and *Kaṣṭaki* merged with Kali and it took new shapes and later these also disseminated other parts of Kerala. Hindu *ĒṛvaĒa* concept influenced these native concepts of *ĒṛvaĒa* and installation and *Kalaśam* are done for the *ĒṛvaĒa*. So, now there are four layers of belief system in *Kaṛi* worship 1. Native *BḥagavaĒi* 2. *Kaṣṭaki* 3. *Srṣṭkurumba* 4. *ĒṛvaĒa* who is having installation and rejuvenation.

Little more elaboration is needed for the above given discussion. Number of occurrences, homogeneous distribution, existence in isolation with maximum features, participation of people are main considerations to evaluate a particular motif or even which is innate. Apart from this, how many texts it could create also is to be taken into consideration essentially when it is a folklore form.

<i>Kivu</i> tradition	Distribution	Existence in isolation	Participation		Texts available
			Officiated	Devotees	
1. <i>BhagavÉi (Ki½zi)</i>	all over Kerala among all folks	existing all over Kerala	Specific castes	Village folk	innumerable
2. <i>Kannaki</i>	All over Kerala. Not among all castes	Nil (merged with <i>Sr çkurumba</i> and <i>Ki½zi</i> )	Specific castes	Portion of village folk	Not many
3. <i>Sr çkurumba</i>	North Kerala (from Kodungallur)	Nil (merged with Kali and Kannaki)	Specific castes	Portion of village folk	Not many

**Table No. 3**

The above given table elucidates that *Ki½zi* is the only Goddess having *Kivu* all over Kerala in isolation and

where the whole village people gather as devotees. Therefore *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* and *B<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi kivu* all over Kerala can be considered as the innate, and at the same time the same *É®vaÉa* got various manifestations in all level (myth, performance etc.).

The ritual such as *Éilappoli*, *Kalašam*, *pongala/Kalamkanikkal* and *Kaliyamvalli/Vadakkenbhagam* are some of the important rituals in all *Kivus* related to *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i*. All these rituals are either aimed at appeasement/ propitiation of *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* or to achieve fertility. In toto let us say that it aims at prosperity of the community. As discussed earlier in the chapter, interpretation originally *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* worship was of the community (castes) who were indulged in cultivation of their land. These were the castes in between temple castes and the untouchable castes of those times. They were the people anxious about the fertility of the land as well as the fertility of the women. The main source of prosperity was cultivation and therefore ritualistic acts, one way or the other related to fertility. Once the

ferocious Goddess is cooled down then only it could be persuaded the goddess to give blessing for fertility. Therefore most of the rituals in *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus* officiated by the above said set of castes are either to cool down *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* or to appease her. Through the propitiation of *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, it is believed that the land will be fertile and the whole village will be prosperous, as the whole economy of the village is based on cultivation. Thus, the whole village become devotees of *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*. These facts elucidate that *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* worship is the original cult of the land and it was accepted by all communities and suitable appropriation are attributed to it by each and every folk according to its own surroundings.

The performances like *ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iyÉttu ka<sub>2</sub>yarka<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i*, *mudiyÉttu*, *ni<sub>2</sub>abali*, *padaya<sub>2</sub>i*, *pina*, *paranÉttu*, *pÉÉanum tirayum*, *ÉuÉirak<sup>o</sup>lam*, *ÉiyaÉÉu*, *ÉiyipaÉaÉÉvaÉa*, *ÉÉkkam* etc. are the enactment of the same myth '*Ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i-ÉaÉuka*' representing war post-war or episodes of both. Among the above said performances *ni<sub>2</sub>abali*, *ÉuÉirak<sup>o</sup>lam*, *Ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iyÉttu*, *paranÉttu*, *pÉÉanum*

*tirayum*, and *mudiyattu* are the enactment of war where as *padaya*, *Éiyaŋŋu*, *Éŋkkam*, *pina* and *Ka,yarka½zi* are related to poast war and at the same time having ritualistic value in appeasing *Ki½zi*, in most of the cases. It is not a coincidence that fight between *Ki½zi* and *Èaxuka* is the main theme enacted in north Kerala. *Éilappoli* and *vaŋakken b<sup>h</sup>agam* that in seen in this area are not actually the enactment of any event but, ritual that aims at fertility. It is the same area where *Vaŋakkan piŋŋu*, the heroic ballads are sung and those valouric persons after death attains the status of deity. Where as in southern Kerala the importance is for the post-war enactment. So, one of the main reasons for the difference in manifestation is the cultural and traditional impacts.

As discussed elsewhere, *Ki½zi* worship seen in *b<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi kivu*, *šakÉya kivu* and *srçkurumba kivu*. Officiating authorities of the *kivus* are from different castes except Brahmins. *Ki½zi* as a *ÈvaÉa* in isolation is seen only in *b<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi kivus*. *šakÉya kivu* and in *sr*

*çkurumba kivu* it is merged with other Goddesses and rituals are vary according to the *kivu*. Kerala was a caste society and each caste is having not only social features but also religious attitudes. According to the tradition of the particular caste religious beliefs as well as ritual performances take new shapes. It happened in the case of *Ki½zi* worship also. Now *b<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi kivas* all over Kerala express their belief through various performances and rituals. This is one of the reasons why the same theme gets *Ka½ame«uÉÉu*, ritual songs (*pina*) and performance of *Éeyyam* in various places. Caste has a main role in deciding what kind of ritual performance is appropriate to *Ki½zi* in a particular *Kivu*. caste has a prominent role in deciding the nature of worship also.

From the earlier discussions it is clear that *b<sup>h</sup>gavaÉi kivas* are native and it got different texts spacially and temporarily. In the case of Kodungalloor *kivu* several rituals are prefixed, suffixed and infix. All these changes had been took pace at different point of time, as a consequence of appropriation mode by different castes.

As discussed earlier three *Ē®vaĒas* were merged and the *Ki½i* in Kodungalloor got an identity and accordingly worshipping system also had undergone considerable change. Evidences are so many for the transformation local shrines into temples due to Hinduisation. But, what happened in Kodungalloor is strange that instead of assimilation it accomodated all kinds worship of different castes. At present the order of the rituals in Kodungalloor temple is as follows. Brahmins practice purifying ritual and pooja at first, then *adikal* perform secret poojas/ *šakĒ®ya poojas* for *Ki½i*. It is followed by *Kivutĉ, •al* and other rituals by Nairs and thiyyas, and untouchable castes does their own rituals at last. So, caste structure has its own impact on the worshipping system of *Ki½i* in Kerala.

Religious system of a land is not only consists of Gods and Goddesses; But, benevolent and malevolent spirit also. '*pr®Ēam*' (spirit) and *yakĀi* (virgin dies without desires satisfied) are benevolent in nature, according to the belief in Kerala. It is believed that for

the Kerala folk, on these days, before *Kaṣṣaki* merged with *Ki½i* it was 'Ottamulacci', a malevolent spirit. When it was merged with *Ki½i* and *Srṭkurumba* it got the status of the *È®vaÉa*, not for the whole castes, but for few of them. As part of belief *Kaṣṣaki* is a malevolent spirit and at the same time, by merger with *Ki½i* it became a Goddess. In a sense, this process can be considered as partial assimilation. These type of partial assimilation is a native feature of Kerala.

Dance performances of *Ki½i* or *Ki½i-Èaxuka* fight that reflects the total fury that she had, various techniques employed to cool down *Ki½i* and several rituals to appease *Ki½i* are not expressed in linear position any where in performances of *Ki½i*. Semantically all these are linear. Certain folk are interested in seeing the ferocious *Ki½i* and through series of ritual they invoke the Goddess whereas among certain other groups, the figure of *Ki½i* is drawn on floor and series of rituals are done before the *Ka½am*. To cool down *Ki½i* and to satisfy the thirst of *Ki½i Éilappoli* and

*bali/vaṅṅakkṛn bhgam* are done at different time and place on the occasion of the same ritual. *Pongila/Kalamkanikkal* is the ritual all over Kerala as an offering to *Ki½i* is to get fertility and prosperity. So, *Ki½i* worship, with all of its units, as explained above is functioning as a complete communication system with specific messages. But in reality all the units are scattered and in certain cases some units of it get prominence. Merging and assimilation also had been happened in certain cases as we see in Kodungalloor *Kivu* and few other *b<sup>h</sup>gavaḒi kivus*. As an agricultural society the people of Kerala were always anxious about the fertility of the land and women and also prosperity. Most of the rituals and festivals that the Kerala folk observes are same how or other related to fertility. For eg: *Nira, puḒḒaxi pḒḒam* etc. *Ki½i* worship also is not an exception. To them *Ki½i* is malevolent and at the same time benevolent also. So every year they wanted to observe ferocious *Ki½i* with awe and respect bow before her and cool down her through employing many

techniques. Then appease her through various kinds propitiation. In nut shell, *Ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i* is an organic part of worshipping system that people of Kerala have been perpetuating.

Kerala is a caste society since long before and therefore functioning of any event, physical or related to transcendental is a group activity by keeping caste hierarchy. Each caste has its own right/duty to perform even in marriage ceremonies as well as in funeral rites. Annual festivals in *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi Kivus*, *šakÉ®ya kivus* and *Srçkurumba kiuvs* this system is followed even today. Without the participation of even untouchable caste the ritual could not complete.

In Kodungalloor *kivu* the temporal distribution of rituals are followed the order of the caste hierarchy. Almost the same hierarchical order of serving ritual is practiced in *Madayi kivu* in Pazhayangadi of Kannur District. As part of Hinduisation the native *devatas* of got installation and as a result purification ceremony and

tantric pooja are mandatory in these *kivu*. It is followed by all rituals and other performance of the *kivu* t. It is the same text performed in all *kivu* in Kerala by brahmins whereas the ritual practices and performances in each *kivu* are different and it gets new texts according to the context. All these denotes that *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* worship in *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivu* and other *kivus* are part of native religion and therefore it gets texts after texts time to time and place to place.

Religion of a community is not only rest upon the belief in particular God/Goddess(s). It consists of all belief system in relation to the other world, the relationship of human to the God, to spirits and to the power behind this universe etc. On this context the '*Bhan•āmoorthy*' concept related to *Ki<sup>1/2</sup>i* is worthy for special mention. What happens to a person after death is a main concern of any religion. According to the Hindu belief he/she becomes *pretam* and there are series of rituals to move *pretam* to the other world and annually on certain days and/or the same day of death it comes

back to receive the offering given by the legitimate relative. Belief in rebirth also is there and according to that belief through various means such as *Jnana-yoga*, *karma*, *y°ga*, *B<sup>h</sup>akÉi y°ga* one can attain mokÀa, the ultimate aim of human life by which an individual does not have any more birth in this world.

According to the belief *Ki½i* receives one who has such a devotion towards *Ki½i*, after death and those who are diseased by small-pox and he is entitled to get all rituals like *vatakkā b<sup>h</sup>agam* and *aurutha* on a particular day. The burial ritual of these such persons is also unique when it is compared with Hindu rituals. After death, all, persons attain this status are known as '*B<sup>h</sup>a, •axamÉr¶¶i*'. (*B<sup>h</sup>a, •axa* means the burial chamber and *mÉr¶¶i* means deity). The word meaning itself denotes that these persons attained the status of a deity. All these rituals are being performed in households shows that *Ki½i* worship is having deep root in the life of a group of people.

Eventhough social organisation had considerable influence on native culture, continuously in the history of Kerala, including on religion and assimilation was the strategy through which it over come all resistance. Still *Ki½i* worship is able to keep its own existence, even today. Brahmins assimilated *GuṣuÉi* which is part of '*Vaṅṅakkenb<sup>h</sup>igam*', in which offering blood of cock or got is displaced by preparing '*GuṣuÉi*' by mixing turmeric and '*cu,am*' in water. In certain occassions sacrifice of animals or birds are offered by cutting melon.

Eventhough Hinduism and brahmanisation influenced the life of Kerala in its all levels the above given facts elucidate the *Ki½i* could resist at a certain extend to keep it's own identity. At the same time it was forced to accomodate *tantric* system of worship and other system of worship as part of the worshipping system in *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus*.

All discussion have been made so far can be summarised as follows: *Ki½i* in the name *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi* was

the original Goddess of the land, Kerala and it was disseminated spatially and temporarily by creating innumerable texts all over Kerala. As the whole life of Kerala was systematised and developed through the feudal system based on castes and caste influenced *b<sup>h</sup>agavati* cult and it could create so many texts of it at its various levels. The *È®vaÉa*, *Ki½i* got different expressive forms all over Kerala and among all most all castes. The *Ki½i* elsewhere in India as part of Hindu mythology and the propitiating system are entirely different from the *Ki½i* concept in Kerala. The word meaning (one who is black in colour according to Sanskrit and one who is in the colour of fire flame according Dravidian root meaning), the ritual performance, all other perceptions through mythology and prasing songs also substantiate all the same.

Various events in the social and political history of Kerala puts several imprints on *Ki½i* concepts and its various expressive forms. Among these the merging of *Ka,aki* and *Srçkurumba* is worth to mention because it could create new off shorts of traditions such as ritual system of *srçkurumba kivu*, *šakteya kivu*, by incorporating different traits from those traditions. In the case of *ka,aki* basically Kerala folk accepted it a malevolent spirit named as 'Ottamulacci' was elevated to the status of a goddess through the merger of it with the concept of *Ki½i*.

It is very clear that there are three layers *Ki½i* for worship in Kerala.

1. *Ki½i* worship based on *Ki½i-daruka* myth seen all over Kerala irrespective of caste, in all *b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivas*. This *Ki½i* is manifested through various expressive forms.
2. *Ka,aki* and *Srçkurumba* merged with *Ki½i* at Kodungallur kivu and disseminated in two levels, all

over Kerala. This *Ē®vi* moved with Ravari nayars and later this *Ē®vaÉa* was accepted by ruling community as them Goddess of dynasty.

3. The Same *Ki½i* who was merged with *Ka, ,aki* and *Srçkurumba* disseminated, especially towards north and got popularity among few castes such as Mukkuva, Thiyya, Asari etc. These *Kivus* are known as *Srçkurumba Kivus*. Even though all these *Ē®vaÉas* were merged together conceptually and ritually they have their own existence in these *Kivus* and therefore specific rituals and offerings are there for each *Ē®vaÉas*.

Even though brahminisation influenced the native system of worship, in all levels the concept of *Ki½i* and its expressive forms could resist at a certain extend and still it survives in the mind of the folk and in expressive forms. The impact of tantric system of worship on other different forms of worship that existing in Kerala is unremarkable. As a result *Ē®vaÉa* of most of the

*b<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus* got installation and tantric way of pooja. *Ki½ikivus* are not an exception. Still, apart from tantric worship the native worship of *Ki½i* also is pursuing by the folk in *B<sup>h</sup>agavaÉi kivus*, *Srçkurumba kivus* and *šakteya kivu*. The process of brahminisation/Hinduisation is still in prevalence and as a result assimilation of all other system of worship into tantric worship is in the process of assimilation. All local worshiping systems including *Ki½i* worship is towards assimilation into the tantric system of worship and therefore it is not easy to predict how long these expressive systems can exist.

Religion is nothing but the attitude of human being towards the supernatural being/God. The total sum of the concepts of Ottamulacci, *ka, aki*, *ki½i*, *srçkurumba*, *b<sup>h</sup>a, iᵠamÉrÉÉi* etc. and innumerable expressive systems such as ritual performances, enactments of myth, belief system, magic, exorcism related to the worship of *Ki½i* elucidate that the concept of *ki½i* and its diversified manifestation in Kerala is more than a native

worshipping system under the umbrella of Hinduism but,  
a religion by itself.

## GLOSSARY

adavikka½am	- Arena for the performance of Adavikkolam
iÈiraxakÉi	- The female power behind the universe
adiya°Éixa,	- Ritual
ikišayakÀi	- An ariel spirit in Padaya ,i
in•ikuÉÉu	- A part of Kannyarkali
ambaxayakÀi	- One of the Ka½ams in Padaya ,i
axakkiyakÀi	- One of the Ka½ams in Padaya ,i
axakkuÉixa	- One of the Ka½ams in Padaya ,i the form of horse made out the tender leaves of coconut weared on the waist.
axamila	- Waist belt
axanguk®½i	- A musical performance as an introduction to the performance of mu-yettu
axaÉÉam	- A mixture of water, turmeric and lime used for GuxuÉi instead of blood.
araÉÉali	- Waist belt
iri¶¶uku¶¶ixa	- Artificial horse used for temple festival
axippara	- A kind of drum
Bali	- Sacrifice
Ba°Èukkaaxa çkaxa ,am	sw - Welcoming the adjacent village people

B <sup>h</sup> gavaÉi	- Goddess
B <sup>h</sup> aiᵛavi	- The biggest K <sup>o</sup> lam in Pa·aya <sub>ᵛi</sub>
B <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>ᵛi</sub>	- The second star of the 27 constellations
B <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>ᵛiv</sub> ®la	- Annual festival of South Kerala in related to Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i.
B <sup>h</sup> uÉaga <sub>ᵛa</sub>	- The attendant of Lord šiva
BrahmaÈa <sub>ᵛu</sub>	- An arm offered by Lord šiva
Cidu	- A kind of Charriot to move the big k <sup>o</sup> lam made of 1001 fronds of aracanut tree
Ca <sub>ᵛᵛ</sub> akka	- A kind of turmeric
CaᵛᵛaÉÉ®I K <sup>o</sup> lam	- The B <sup>h</sup> airavi K <sup>o</sup> lam made of 1001 fronds
Ciᵛᵛu	- Frame used as support to the big b <sup>h</sup> aiᵛavi K <sup>o</sup> lam
Cenda	- Country drum, cylindrical in shape of 2 to 2 1/2 feet length and 3/45 to 1 fat diametre. Both hollow ends are covered with goat skin.
C®ngila	- A kind of metallic musical instrument
Cettamai·an	- One of the K <sup>o</sup> lams in padaya <sub>ᵛi</sub>
Cilambu	- anklets
Cittida	- A kind of costume weared by pÉÉam
Cᵛral	- Cane
Cᵛᵛu veppu	- A ritual in padaya <sub>ᵛi</sub>
C <sup>o</sup> ppoppikkal	- An offering to Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i. Folded red

Cuḥḥambu	- lime
Cudalamidan	- One of the K°lams in padayaḥi
C£ḥḥu	- Dried coconut leaves rolled in a scroll and used as in rituals
Èandanada	- A kind of sweet offered on 'pongala' prepared cut of rice, coconut and mollasses
d®šamudiyettu	- In mudiy®ttu, after the right performance Ki½i and other use to visit all nearby houses of the Kivu and the bless the people.
È®valoka	- The land of È®vas
È®vaÈasies	- The servant of È®valoka
Èikkukalašam	- The Kalašam offered towards four directions
edanga«i	- A country measure for volume 4 ni«i is equal to an edanga«i
edakka	- A kind of drum
ekirum pallum	- false teeth
elanji	- A kind of tree
elnka	- Synonym for Kalikavu
®llasu	- A kind of magical wearing for protection
elaÉÉi½am	- Cymbal
eḥiḥ®lppu	- Welcoming
e«unnallaÉÉ	- Ritualistic procession
e«uÉÉu bḥaiḥavi	- A version of Bḥaiḥavi K°lam
Gaḥaka	- A such caste in Hindus in Kerala

GaḷapaĒik°lam	- The first K°lam, appears in padayani
G°pikkuri	- A kind of caste mark on forehead earth sandal paste Kumkum and b <sup>h</sup> asmam
GuruĒi	- Blood sacrifice
illam	- Residence of Namboodiries
Iravakka½i	- A part of Kaḷyirka½i
TṣinmaruĒa	- One of the K°lams in padayaḷi
JḷviĒa	- A kind of charriot that bear the idol of the goddess out of the temple
Kadakam	- Bangle
Kailisam	- The land of Lord ṣiva
KaiĒimaḡa	- A kind of ornament wear in hands
Kaippivu	- A kind of ornament used in hand
Kadumpayasam	- A kind of pudding made of jaggery
KalakakeṣimaruĒa	- One of the K°lams in Padayaḷi
Kilamadan	- One of the K°lams in Padayaḷi
Kalame«uĒĒu	- Traditional floral drawing of Kerala, in five colours, Both figures of Gods/Godess and symbolic colour
Kalame«uĒĒum Piṅṅum	- A ritual that consists of floral drawing of ĒṠvaĒa and appearing songs
Ka½am Kival	- Security of Ka½am

Ka«anju	- A measuring unit
Kilcca	- Offering to goddess carried by people and bring to the shrine in a procession
Kalketti	- Anklet
Ka½½uku•iyan	- Drunkard
KalayakÀi	- One of the K°lam in Padayaᵊi
Kaᵊiyin	- A subcaste among Hindus in Kerala
Kinjiramila	- A K°lam performed along with B <sup>h</sup> aiᵊavi K°lam
Kaᵊᵊum Kuriym	- The mask used in padayaᵊi with special attention to eyes
Kippoli	- An episode in padayaᵊi performance that preceded to Éappu m®½am
Kaᵊadiga	- A kind of drum
Kiᵊanavar	- Maternal uncle
KaᵊimarauÉa	- One of the K°lams in Padayaᵊi
KirÉika	- The third star among 27 constellations
KaÉa	- Story
Kippu	- A sacred thread used by particular ritual in Ki½iyÉᵊᵊᵊu
KaᵊisÉÉram	- A kind of ornament wear in wrist
Kival Madappuᵊa	- Shelter for security of the goddess
Kivilamma	- Goddess in shrine

Ka,ikkiyal	- An ornament weared on feet in Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> iy£¶¶u
Ki,di	- Cermonious metallic pot to water traditionally used in houses as well as for ritual
Kadiya«cca	- Important days for Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i worship
Ka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> iyaccan	- Guru
Ka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> iyišin	- Guru in Ka,yirka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i
Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> ikumbidal	- A dance part in Ka,yirka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i
Kivilutay°n	- Security guard of the Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i's Matappura in Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> iy£ttu
K°l	- A measuring unit of length equal to 72cm
K°lam	- A figure of gods or goddess drawn on the spathe of aracanut leaf for padaya,i
K°lamÉu <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> al	- Dance performance of K°lam
K°maḡam	- Oracle
KoÉÉiḡi	- A kind of small torch made of stick and one end of the stick is rolled with cloths and lighted with oil
Ko¶¶iyarçkkal	- To announce the performance by dram
Ks®Éram	- Temple
Ku«il	- A kind of wind pipe use in ritual performance
K£ <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i	- A comedy character that appears in mu·iy®ttu as an attendant of Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i

KuÉÉuvilakku	- A ritualistic oil lamp with long handle and hanging pot at the end. This handle is to carry the lamp and also is used as a supporting stand
Kuᵂava	- A musical sound with mouth, usually created by women on certain ceremonial occasion.
Kᵂ•iyiᵂᵂlam	- Group performance of different k°lams
KuᵂuÉÉ°la	- Tender coconut palm leaf
Kurikarikkal	- The ritual to fix the date of performance
Kuri	- Ritualistic mark with sandal paste on forehead
Mi·an K°lam	- One of the male K°lam in Padayaᵂi
MaÈÈalam	- A kind of drum
Manay°la	- Bio sulphate of arsenic
Mandapam	- A raised place from for ritual purpose
Maᵂᵂin	- A caste among Hindus
MangalyasᵂÉram	- The sacred string that adorned as a necklace by the bridegroom to the bride.
Mantravadi	- Magical stick
Ma <sup>1</sup> / <sub>4</sub> Éili	- One of the K°lam in Padayaᵂi
MaruÉa	- One of the K°lams in Padayaᵂi
Miyayaksi	- One of the K°lams in Padayaᵂi
Malamakka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i	- A part of Kaᵂyirka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i performed

by Malaya Community

- MalamakkŃÉÉu - A ritualistic dance part in Ka,yirka½i
- Mittu - Washed cloth given by 'Vannan' women by which any polluted one will be purified
- M@lšinÉi - Main priest in a temple
- Muºiikku - A kind of ornament wear in waist
- MuºÉi - A kind of Ornament
- MuÉiÉÉalamidal - Joyous dance of Bhadrakali in Parnettu
- Nada - In the way on front of the Temple
- NadaÉa½½al - Give goats of cows to temple as an offering
- Nagakkettu - Floral drawing of serpents in groups
- Nikkila - End portion of a plantain leaf
- Nil - Birth star
- Na«i - A measure for grains
- NaÈu,i - A stringed musical instrument
- Niyi¶¶u - hunting
- Nenmeni Vaka - A kind of tree
- NilaÉÉil pºru - Dual fight of Ki½i and Èiæuka in the floor  
Episode in paranettu and KiliyŃ¶¶u
- Ni,am - Ni,am literally means blood. It is a paste in blood colour made mixing rice powder, turmeric and

	Cu <sub>3</sub> am. Ni <sub>3</sub> am use to paste in the face and body to make-up terrifying characters
O•is®va	- Appear in disguise as animal on the way to frighten the enemy
°la	- Palm leaf
Pila	- A kind of tree
Pinan	- A caste among Hindus
Panjab <sup>h</sup> uÉas	- Air, water, fire, sand and sky
Pa°Éam	- Rays dripped in oil and one end of a stick is rolled thickly with old white cloth to make a bunch and is dripped in a oils which becomes a torch.
Parayan	- One caste among Hindus
Para <sub>3</sub> u	- A stage of 42 feet height erected on four coconut trees fixed in a square
Parija	- Shield
PiÉalavisi	- One who live under world
P®šal	- Chanting
Pi <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> amaruÉa	- Children of maruÉa one of the K°lams in padayani
Pç·am	- Typical wooden stood used in ritual contexts
Podikkalašam	- Kalašam with powder
PonÉi	- A kind of arm used by God/Goddess
Pori¶¶uka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i	- An entertainment episode in

	between a ritual performance
PṘravṠa	- A ritual performance in South Kerala
Prasidam	- Things offered to the God that later distribute among devotees
PrṠĒa	- Ghost
Pula	- Untouchability observed traditionally during some occasion such as birth, death etc., that happens in a family
Paravan	- A caste among Hindus
RakĒabṠja	- A demon. It is believed that for each blood drop of him thousands of demons would form
ṠiṠi	- Any one of the twelve sign of the Zodiac
ṠṠvaĒi	- The 27 <sup>th</sup> star ion the constellation of stars
SanĒyakoṠṠu	- Drumming for evening pooja
SapĒadevata	- Seven goddess referred in Devi bhagavatha
SrṠkṠvil	- Sanctum – sanctorium of temple
SĒuĒi	- Praising song
SuṠĒaṠayakĒi	- Most beautiful KṠlams among YakĒikṠlams in padayani
Suvisini	- A group prayer by ladies for getting suit grooms for girls and to get a long married life, practiced in Kodungalloor Kavu
Ēilappoli	- Vergins stand in two rows

carrying in both hands ceremonial lamps and offerings in plates, to welcome the Goddess, Ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i

- Éalam - A kind of vessel
- Éa<sub>•</sub>in - Leader among the thiyya community in North Kerala
- Éappu - A percussion instrument. One side of it is covered with skin of Calf. It is mainly used for padaya<sub>i</sub>
- Éaravidu - Ancestry house
- Éa<sub>¶¶</sub>an - Goldsmith
- Éavadi - A performance related to padaya<sub>i</sub>
- tarippanam - Parched rice powder
- ta<sup>o</sup>ri - Main priest
- Éecci - A specious of chry santhus flowers
- ÉekkaÉu - Synonym for Ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>ikivu

Ée <sup>1/2</sup> <sub>1/2</sub> powder	- A powder used to create flames, during the ritual performances
ÉiruviÉira	- The Sixth star of the 27 constellation of stars
Éi•ambu	- Symbolic image of È®vaÉa
Éi•ambu nriÉÉan	- Dance by carrying idol of the god/goddess
Éongal	- A kind of hangings
Éoppimidan	- One among the K°lams in padaya <sub>i</sub>
É°rÉÉu	- A kerchief in long size
Éris£la	- trident
Éullal puᵛa	- Dancing place/room
Udukku	- A small drum, that is seen in the hand of šiva
Uᵛi <sup>1/2</sup> <sub>i</sub>	- A subcaste among Nair community
Vaccoᵛukku	- An offering
Vadimi•an	- One among the °lam in padayani
Vas£ᵛi	- Chicken pox
Vata	- A kind of tree
VaᵛlakkenviÉil	- The ritual of guᵛuÉi performed in the north east side of shrine
Ve <sup>1/2</sup> iccappidu	- Oracle
Ve <sup>1/2</sup> <sub>1/2</sub> a	- White cloth
Vennippara	- Victory sound of drum
V®Éilam	- Marvellous creation of šiva, to assist Ki <sup>1/2</sup> <sub>i</sub> in the battle field as a carrier.

Ve<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>uÉÉ®dan - A caste group among Hindu  
Villu - bow

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## **APPENDIX I**

### **TEMPLES RELATED TO KODUNGALLUR**

<b>District</b>	<b>Temples</b>
Thiruvananthapuram	- Attukal
Kottayam	- Vaikkam Ilam Kivu, Thodupuzha Karikkode, Parpparthukiv, Velurkkara Amballoor Kunduvakkiv, Pallipurathkivu, Thavannurkivu
Alappuzha	- Chethala Chemmanattu devi, Kayamkulam Panniyur, Peppittippara Vallikkivu, Karthikappalli Valiyakivu, Perungottu Kothachira, Cheruthuruthi Chirakkulangara
Pathanamthitta	- Kurambala puthankavu, Urakam Kizhakke Gopuram Muriyad Tharakkal Bhagavathi temple, Vadakkamcheri Thiruvanikkivu, Kurumbilavu Thiruvanikkivu, Chelakkara Chovvakkivu, Thekkumthalabhagavathi, Thechiyoorkavu, Puthanpeedika Thiruvanikkivu, Paryoor

<b>District</b>	<b>Temples</b>
	Thonniyakivu, Udayamperoor Nadakkavu, Ezhamkulam Bhadrakal
Ernakulam	- Amballoorkavu, Amballoor Kuttekkivu, Paralam Payankal Bhagavathi, Thiruvaniyoor Kumbappalikkivu, Kurumali Kivu, Piravamkunduvakkiv, Vadakkancheri Kodikkattukivu, Elavoor Puthankivu, Elavoor Pichekkivu, Thrippunithura Puthiyakivu, Kandallor Pullukulangara Kutamaloor Padinjattukivu
Idukki	- Kollappuzha devi, Paravoor Kottuvallikkivu, Perungotu Kothachira, Cheruthuruthi Chirakkulangara
Palakkad	- Chenakkathur, Puthukkotta Kannabrakkivu, Puthesseri Kurumba Bhagavathi
Malappuram	- Ezhavathuruthi Kandakurumbakkivu, Attuppuzhkkivu
Wayanad	- Valliyoorkavu, Manantavadi

**APPENDIX II**  
**Kali Temples in Kerala**

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
	THIRUVANANTHAPURAM		
1	Attukal Bhagavathi Temple	Attukal	Ponkala, GuᵁuÉi
2	Udiyannur Devi Temple	Maruthamkuzhi	Ooroottu festival
3	Vellayani Bhadrakali Temple	Vellayani	Ki½iy£¶¶u
4	Sarkkara Bhagavathi Temple	Chirayinkeezhu	GᵁuÈanth£kka m, Ka½iy£¶¶u
	KOLLAM		
1	Kodimoottil Bhagavathi Temple	Parippalli	Èᵁa¶¶u
2	Pattazhi Bhadrakali Temple	Pattazhi	Èᵁa¶¶u
3	Puthiyakavu Bhagavathi temple	Near Kollam Railway station	Èᵁa¶¶u, Pongala
4	Kolloorvila Bharanikkavu	Madanada	Ke¶¶uka«cca
	ALAPPUZHA		
1	Ilanjimeᵁ Vallikkavu	Budhanoor, Puliyoor	Padayaᵁi, Aᵁdiyi¶¶am
2	Kavankal Devi Temple	Mannancheri	Aᵁi¶¶u, V®lapadayani

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
3	Chammanadu Bhadrakali Temple	Kodanthuruthu	Guṟuti
4	Chettikulangara Bhagavathi Temple	Chettikulangara	CanÉaṟṟam, Keṟṟukazcca
5	Mankombu Bhagavathi Temple	Pulinkunnu	Éḑkam
6	Valiyakulangara Devi temple	Karthikappalli	CanÉaṟṟam, Keṟṟukazcca
7	Varanadu Devi Temple	Thanneermukkam	Gaṟudantḑkka m, Kamb <sup>h</sup> amkudam
8	Vezhapra Bhagavathi temple	Ramankari	Éṟaṟṟu
	KOTTAYAM		
1	Anakkulangara Devi temple	Mutholi	Patimudayam
2	Anikkad Bhagavathi Temple	Pallikkathode	Anditḑlal, Gaṟudanthḑkka m
3	Karikulangara Bhagavathi temple	Aymanam	Guṟuṟi, Gaṟudanthḑkka m
4	Karippadavathu Kavu	Kurhichithanam	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> aṟa ,i m
5	Keezhur Bhagavathi Temple	Mulankulam	Pina, Kumb <sup>h</sup> amkudam, Tilappoli, Gaṟudanthḑkka m, Peelithḑkka m,

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
			Guru᳚i
6	Kumarakam Puthiyakavu Bhagavathi Temple	Kumarakam	Guxu᳚i
7	Kummanam Ilamkavu	Aymanam	Gaxu·anth᳚kka m, Kumb <sup>h</sup> akudam
8	Chembakkara Bhagavathi temple	Karukachal	M᳚nab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>᳚</sub> i
9	Chengalathukavu	Chengalathu	M᳚nab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>᳚</sub> i
10	Cheruvallikkavu	Chirakkadavu	CanÉa᳚᳚am, P᳚ramadi
11	Padinjattukavu Bhavagathi	Velloor	Pina, Mudiy᳚ttu, É᳚kkam
12	Pallippurathukavu	Kodimatha	PaÉamuÉayam
13	Moothedathukavu	T.V. Puram	Éalappoli, Garudanth᳚kka m, Guxuti, Th ᳚yya᳚᳚u
14	Ilamkavu	Vadayar	Gaxudanth᳚kk am
15	Thekkumthala Bhagavathi Temple	Mundankunnu	M᳚nap᳚ram, Axa᳚᳚u
16	Parappadam Devi Temple	Parappadu	M᳚nab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>᳚</sub> i Axa᳚᳚u
17	Ilamkavu temple	Vadayar	Gaxudanth᳚kk am

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
18	Changanasserikkavu	Changanasser i	Kalame«uÉupa ¶¶um
19	Cheruvallikkavu	Aymanam	Kumb <sup>h</sup> amkuda m, P£ramadi
20	Thekkumthala Bhagavathi Temple	Mundankunnu	Mçnab <sup>h</sup> aªª <sub>2</sub> i
	PATHANAMTHITTA		
1	Ezhamkulam Devi Temple	Adoor	Ke¶¶uka«cca, É£kkam, Ponkila
2	Kadammanitta Bhagavathi Temple	Kadammanitt a	Padaya <sub>2</sub> i
3	Kallooppara Bhagavathi Temple	Kallooppara	Padaya <sub>2</sub> i, Ke¶¶uka«cca
4	Kunnamthanam Bhagavathi Temple	Kunnamthana m	Padaya <sub>2</sub> i
5	Kulathoor Devi Temple	Kottangal	Padaya <sub>2</sub> i, Kavadi
6	Kurumbala Puthankavu	Kurumbala	Padaya <sub>2</sub> i
7	Thittayil Olippurath Bhagavathi Temple	Tholuzhath	É£kkam, Ke¶¶uka«cca
8	Thazhoor Bhagavathi Temple	Thazhoor	Padaya <sub>2</sub> i
9	Thelliyoorkkavu Bhagavathi temple	Vennikulam	Padaya <sub>2</sub> i
10	Mannadi Bhadrakali Temple	Mannadi	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> aªª <sub>2</sub> i
11	Malayalappuzha Devi	Malayalappuz	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> aªª <sub>2</sub> i

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
	Temple	ha	
	IDUKKI		
1	Karikkottu Bhagavathi Temple	Thodupuzha	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>i</sub>
2	Kollappuzha Devi Temple	Udumbhannor	Th <sub>£</sub> kkam, P <sub>£</sub> ram
3	Valliyanikkattukavu	Kumaramangalam	Gaxudan <sub>£</sub> kkam
	ERNAKULAM		
1	Arayankavu Temple	Shornur	Garudanth <sub>£</sub> kkam, Mudiya <sub>£</sub> ttu, Gu <sub>£</sub> uti
2	Adampallikkavu	Thrippunithura	Can <sub>£</sub> a <sub>£</sub> lam
3	Amballoorkkavu	Amballoor	Kalame <sub>£</sub> um Pi <sub>£</sub> um
4	Ambasserikkavu	Kakkur	Gaxudan <sub>£</sub> kkam
5	Alpparakkavu	Perumbavoor	Gu <sub>£</sub> u <sub>£</sub> i, Mudiya <sub>£</sub> ttu
6	Ilamkavu Bhadrakali Temple	Kothamangalam	<sub>£</sub> kkam
7	Elavoor Puthankavu		<sub>£</sub> kkam
8	Kuttekkavu Bhagavati Temple	Ambathoor	<sub>£</sub> kkam
9	Kottuvallikkavu	Kottuvalli	<sub>£</sub> kkam
10	Chemmazhikkattukavu	Kundanadu	Can <sub>£</sub> a <sub>£</sub> lam

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
11	Thrikkaparam Bhagavathi Temple	Kottuvalli	Padaya ,i
12	Thonniyakavu	North Paravur	Mudiy®ttu
13	Neelamkulangara Bhagavathi Temple	Mattoor	Mudiy®ttu, GuæuÉi
14	Paramara Devi temple	Ernakulam North	CanÉa¶¶am, Kumb <sup>h</sup> a B <sup>h</sup> aæa ,i
15	Palliyarakkavu	Mattancheri	CanÉa¶¶am, GuæuÉi
16	Pazhangadu Kaleeswari Temple	Kaitharam	GuæuÉi
17	Peecherikavu	Elavoor	Makæa b <sup>h</sup> aæa ,i
18	Puthiyakavu Bhagavathi temple	Trippunithura	Éilappoli
19	Puliyambulli Bhagavathi temple	Thuravankara	GuæuÉi
20	Ponekkavu	Ponekkavu	GuæuÉi
21	Markkarakavu	Puthuppadi	É£kkam, Mudiy®ttu
22	Vattappara Pallikkakkavu temple	Vattappara	Mçnap£æam
23	Vattaykkattu Bhagavathi Temple	Kurumasseri	Mudiy®ttu, Kalame«uÉum pa¶¶um
	THRISSUR		
1	Karuvanthala Bhagavati Temple	Venkidangu	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> aæa ,i, KuÉiæav®la
2	Kattukambal Bhagavati	Kattukambal	Ki½i Èirika

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
	Temple		VaÉam
3	Kurumakkavu	Kanjirakkodu	Ka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> aka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i, PÉÉanum Éirayum
4.	Kurumal Bhagavati Temple	Veloor	Kalame <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> uÉum Pi¶¶um
5.	Kumaranjira Bhagavati Temple	Kumaranjira	CanÉa¶¶am
6.	Kurumalikkavu	Pathukkad	CanÉa¶¶am, GuæuÉi
7.	Kodungallor Bhagavati temple	Kodungalloor	Obscene songs
8.	Kozhimam parambu Bhagavati Temple	Cheruthuruthi	PÉram
9.	Chiraykkal Bhagavati Temple	Annakkara	V®la
10	Chiravarambathukavu	Kattukambal	Kivadiya¶¶am, GuæuÉi
11	Choorakkodu Bhagavathi Temple	Kandassamka davu	Makaæa B <sup>h</sup> aæa <sub>2</sub> i, Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> aka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i
12	Cherukulangara Bhagavathi Temple	Olokkara	GuæuÉi
13	Chovvakkavu	Chelakkara	ÉolppivakÉÉu, GuæuÉi, PÉtanum Éirayum
14	Tharakkal Bhagavathi Temple	Mooriyad	Éalappoli GuæuÉi

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
15	Thanikkudam Bhagavathi Temple	Thanikkudath u	KuÉiravela
16	Thiruvanikkavu	Thekkumkara	V®la, PÉÉan, Kumb <sup>h</sup> amkuda m
17	Thiruvanikkavu	Kurumbilavil	PavakkÉÉu, KuÉirakali, V®la, PÉÉan
18	Thiruvanikkavu	Ollookkara	Kumb <sup>h</sup> a B <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>i</sub> , V®la
19	Thiruvanikkavu	Mulloorkkara	B <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>i</sub> , PivakkoÉru
20	Thekkemdam Bhagavathi temple		
21	Thonniyakavu	Puthanpeedik a	Mudiy®ttu
22	Nandhikkarathanniyil Bhagavathi Temple	Parappookkar e	Éalappoli
23	Themkulangara Temple	Cheroor	Kivadi
24	Narayanan Kulangara Temple	Mammiyor	V®la
25	Payankal Bhagathi Temple	Paralam	PÉÉamka <sup>1/2</sup> i, Aivarka <sup>1/2</sup> i, Ki <sup>1/2</sup> aka <sup>1/2</sup> i, KuÉiraka <sup>1/2</sup> i
26	Payyoorkavu	Varantharapp alli	PÉram
27	Pallisseri Bhagavathi Temple	Arattupuzha	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>i</sub>

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
28 .	Palappetti Bhavathi Temple	Edamuttam	CanÉa¶¶am, Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>2</sub> i
29 .	Puthiyakavu Bhagavathi Temple	Manakkalappa di	M@dab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>2</sub> i
30 .	Madathil Kavuv	Poopathi	Éalappoli
31 .	Mallisserikkavu	Pangarappalli	Èirika vaÈam, Ka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> av@la
32 .	Mayyannoor Kavuv Bhagavathi Temple	Mayyannoor	CiÉira, Èra¶¶u, pi¶¶u
33 .	Rudhira Mahakalikavu (Uthraikkavu)	Vadakkancher i	V@la
34 .	Vadakkurambhakkavu	Ambalanada	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>2</sub> i V@la
35 .	Viruttanam Bhagavathi Temple	Chellippadi	CanÉa¶¶am, Èra¶¶u
36 .	Veliyannoor Bhagavathi Temple	Veliyannor	Kumb <sup>h</sup> ab <sup>h</sup> axa <sub>2</sub> i
	<b>PALAKKAD</b>		
1.	Ilambulasseri Nallisserikkavu		
2.	Ethannur Maruthi Bhagavathi Temple	Moduvayoor	
3.	Kotikkattukavu	Vadakkancher i	
4.	Koyankavil Bhagavathi	Vavannoor	

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
	Temple		
5.	Chittoorkavu	Chittor	Konganpada
6.	Cheermakkavu	Thrippaloor	
7.	Cheru Netton Bhagavathi Temple	Chittilasseri	
8.	Thottha Bhagavathi Temple	Thootha	
9.	Nellikulangara Bhagavathi Temple	Nenmara	CanÉa᳚᳚am
10.	Panamkurussi Bhagavathi Temple	Tachanattukk ara	PÉÉanum Éirayum, Éalappoli
11.	Panthakkal Bhagavathi Temple	Pattambi	Éilappoli, Ki <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> aka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i, PÉtamka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> i
12.	Paraykkatt Bhagavathi Temple	Kavasseri	MçnappÉam
13.	Pariyanampatta Devi Temple	Mangalamkun nu	CanÉa᳚᳚am, GuæuÉi ÉolppivakkÉÉu, ÉolpivakkÉÉu, MÉrÉiya᳚᳚am
14.	Pookottukalikavu	Pookottukavu	PÉÉanum Éirayum
15.	Poozhiparambu Nalisseri Bhagavathi Temple	Mannampatta	CanÉa᳚᳚am
16.	Manappullikkavu		

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
17	Mangangottukavu	Anjumoorthim angalam	
18	Mukkarathikkavu Bhagavathi Temple		P&am, Éilappoli, K&ÉuÉilappoli
19	Mulayankavu	Mulayankavu	Ka½av®la, Éolppivakk&Éu
20	Uthrathikkavu	Sreekrishnapu ram	
21	Oottukulangara		
22	Kunnekkattukavu	Thennalipura m	
23	Thriuvilayanattukavu	Kottappuram	
24	Palliyarakkavu	Paruvasseri	Can&A¶¶am, Éilappoli
25	Kodikkannu Bhagavathi Temple	Pattambi	Gu&u&Ei
	<b>KOZHIKODE</b>		
1.	Azhakodikkavu		
2.	Kollam Pisharikavu	Kollam (Koyilandy)	
3.	Thiruvilayanattu kavu	Mankavu	
	<b>WAYANAD</b>		
1.	Kottayil Bhagavathi Temple	Meppadi	
2.	Vallioyoorkkavu		Oppanavaravu

	<b>Name of the Temple</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Performances</b>
	KANNUR		
1.	Azheekkode Puthiya Kavu	Azeekkode	Ka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> iyiŋŋam
2.	Keezhare Kadom	Keezhara	Ka <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> iyiŋŋam – Éeyyam
3.	Chamakkavu Bhagavathi Temple	Velloor	Éiddambu NirÉam
4.	Chala Bhagavathi Temple	Edakkad	PÉram Èraŋŋu, ŋidambu Nriŋam
5.	Chazhali Bhagavathi Temple	Chengalayi	Éeyyam
6.	Thekkumbad Thasehkavu	Mattoolil	Éeyyam
7.	Mundayamparambu Tharakku Meethal Bhagavathi Temple	Aralam	K°lam, Kalašam
	KASARKODE		
1.	Raiyramangalam Bhagavathi Temple	Peelikkode, Kalikkadavu	Piŋŋulsvam, PÉam

## APPENDIX III

### 1. Myth related to Adyatma Ramayana

According to Adyatma Ramayana the origin of *Ki½i* is connected with *sṭÉa*. The legend describes that after destruction of *Riva,a*, Rama started to boasted himself of his power. Hearing this *šiva* smiled and said "you have subjugated a ten headed *Riva,a*; but what would you say about a thousand headed Ravana; Destroy him too". Rama there after collected his army and set out for a fight with thousand headed Ravana, but he was not successful. *SṭÉa* then took the form of *Ki½i* and destroyed the thousand headed Ravana after a long, ten years battle.

### 2. Myth Collected from Dravidian Gods in Modern Hinduism

Poleranna is the goddess of smallpox in the Telegu country, as Mariyamma in Tamil country and *Ki½i* in Kerala. She is also considered to be responsible to some extent for all other troubles in the village, such as cattle disease, drought, and sickness among the people. The name poleramma, however, is the common expression among the people for smallpox.

When small pox breaks out in a village, the people say that poleramma has come to them. She is supposed to be angry, and express her anger by the disease.

### **3. Origin Myth of *Cçrmba e½ayaval***

*Cçrmba e½ayaval* and *mÉÉÉaval* were born from the third eye of Srç *MahiÈ®va*. As he carried them he was infected with *vas£ri* and hence he did not want their presence in *È®val°ka*. Therefore he ordered them to go to the earth. As they were thirsty *mahiÈ®va* gave them blood by cutting hundreds of elephants and cocks. The water from 'Palkkadal' also did not satisfy them and finally *mahiÈ®va* gave them his own blood by cutting his finger. Then they were sent to earth providing them with golden chariot and golden anklet. To cross *pilkkadal*, they approached a *Éaccan* (carpenter) who was old at the age of 101 and he was able to erect the *Maçakkalam* by rejuvenating him to a youngman. They sailed towards south and reached 'Kanathur'. From the ship with the help of mukkuva (fisher community) they reached the land. The sailor of the boat was killed by Kunnathur *Kaik°½an*. It was known by Chirmbas through their dreams and gave rebirth and provided him with the right of *Èya¶¶in*.

### **4. Myth of *Ki½i* in Bengal\***

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\* Ref: Kali the black goddess of Daksineswar.

Divine mother in the form of Sati married *śiva* against the will of her father Daksha. Since he thought of *śiva* as a good for nothing beggar, Daksha not only refused to accept him in to his family, but also denounced sati and forbade her to return to his kingdom. For many years *śiva* and Sati lived happily on mount Koilasa, high up in the Himalayas. One day, a sage Narada arrived with the news that Daksha was planning a big festival and sacrifice in which all Gods and their familier were asked to attend. Neither *śiva* nor *sati* had been invited. Upon Sati's insistance to attend the sacrifice, *śiva* gave in and asked his carrier, the old blue Nandi, to take *sati* to her father's court.

Up on arrival, *sati* was glad to see her father after such a long absence. She was about to embrace him, but he pushed and asked "why did you come here, beggers wife"? shouted Daksha. He was about to curse *śiva*. Sati retorted words such as these, "the faithful wife must never hear. My ears have listened to you and are now defiled. You gave me life. Now, take it back. I shall not keep it after such dishonour". All colour drained from her body and she fell dead at Daksh's feet.

The attendant Nandi sadly retuned to Kailasa and told *śiva* about his wife's death. *śiva*'s instant grief and wrath were beyond control. He shook his matted locks and out of them leapt a whole army of gaints, snakes and

ghosts, they turned Daksha's palace to ashes in no time.

Mean while, *śiva* picked up the dead body of sati and, bearing it upon his shoulders, he began a terrible dance of destruction. His footsteps shook the world, causing earth quakes and tidal waves that threatened extinction to all.

To save mankind, Vishnu hurled his discus again and again at sati's corpse until her body fell to the earth, piece by piece. It took fifty one throws to destroy sati's body. As soon as *śiva* felt her weight gone, he withdrew to Kailasa and did solitary meditation. He became so absorbed that the divine mother reborn later as Uma, had difficulty in arousing him to forget sati and marry her.

Wherever the fragments of Sati's body had fallen to earth, they sprouted sacred *sakthi* pithas (places dedicated to mother worship). Ancient temples stand on this spot and daily, hundreds of pilgrims come to pay their homage to the great Mother. Sati's toes fell to the earth at Kalighat in South Calcutta, and she is worshipped there as Mother Kalika. The gem of Sati's earring fell on Manikarnikaghat in Behar. Sati's right and left breast fell at Jalandhara and Ramgiri she is worshipped there as Tripuramalini. Sati's sexual organ (*yoni*) fell at Kamakhya in Assam.

**Appendix IV**



**ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>i in mudiy®ttu**



**Èiɣuka in mudiy®ttu**



**ki½i in ki½iÉçyi¶¶u**



**ki<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>iÉçyiᑲᑲu**



**ni,abali**



**ni\_abali**



**പഠനം ഏറയം**



**കുമ്മി**



**paṃca k°lams in padaya, i**



**b<sup>h</sup>aiṣavi k°lam in padaya, i**



caṅṅaÉ®I k°lam in padaya ,i



**ka , irka<sup>1/2</sup>i**



**gaᵂudan in É£kkam**



ÉiyipaxaÈ®vaÉa



**gaxudanÉ£kkam**



**pina**



**guxuÉi**



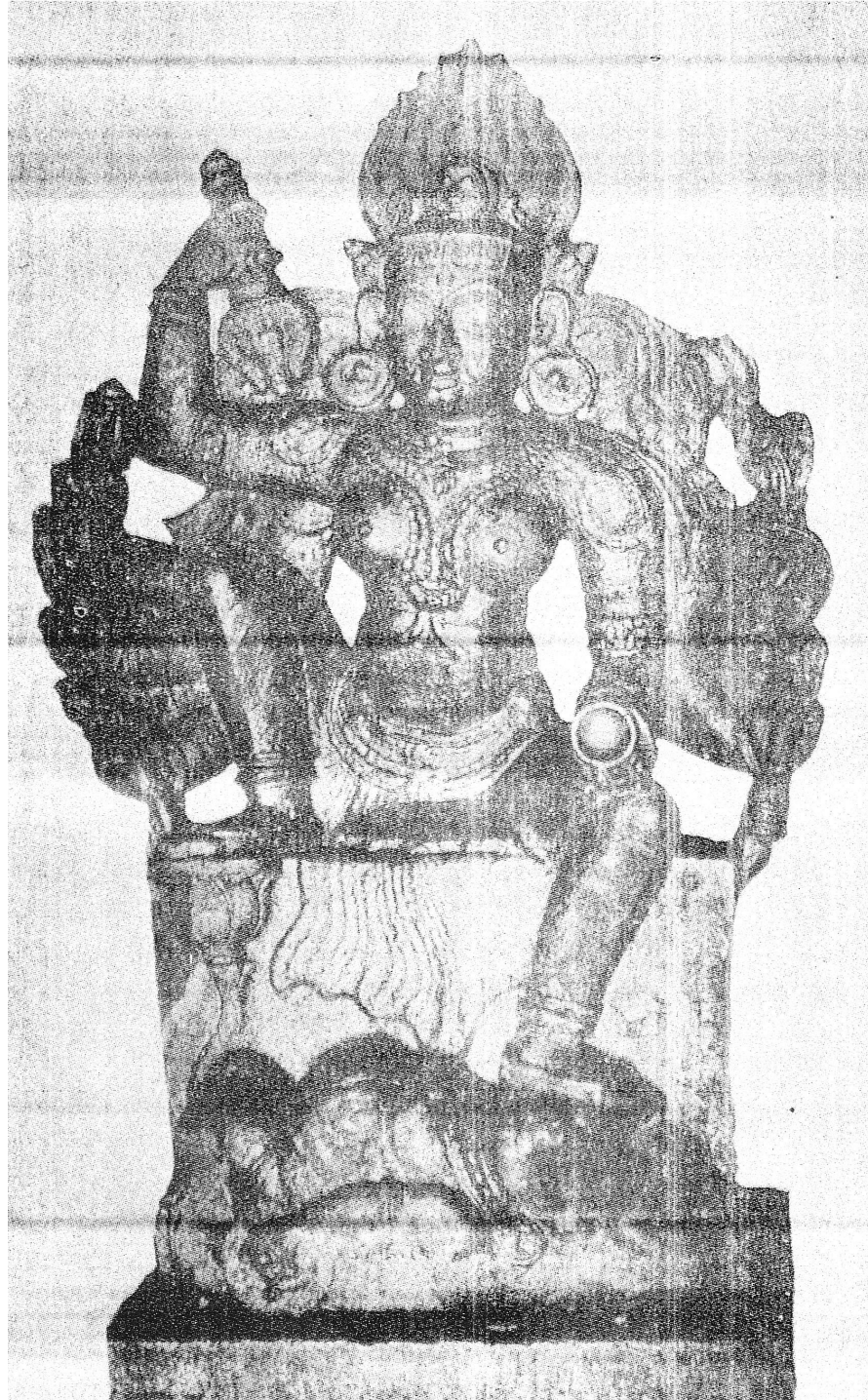
ki½iy£¶¶u

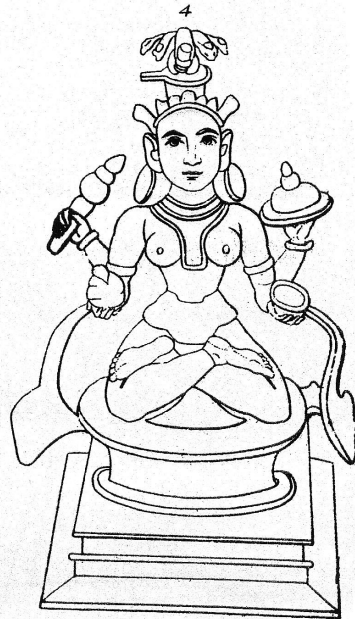


**b<sup>h</sup>aÈraki<sup>1/2</sup>i ka<sup>1/2</sup>ams**

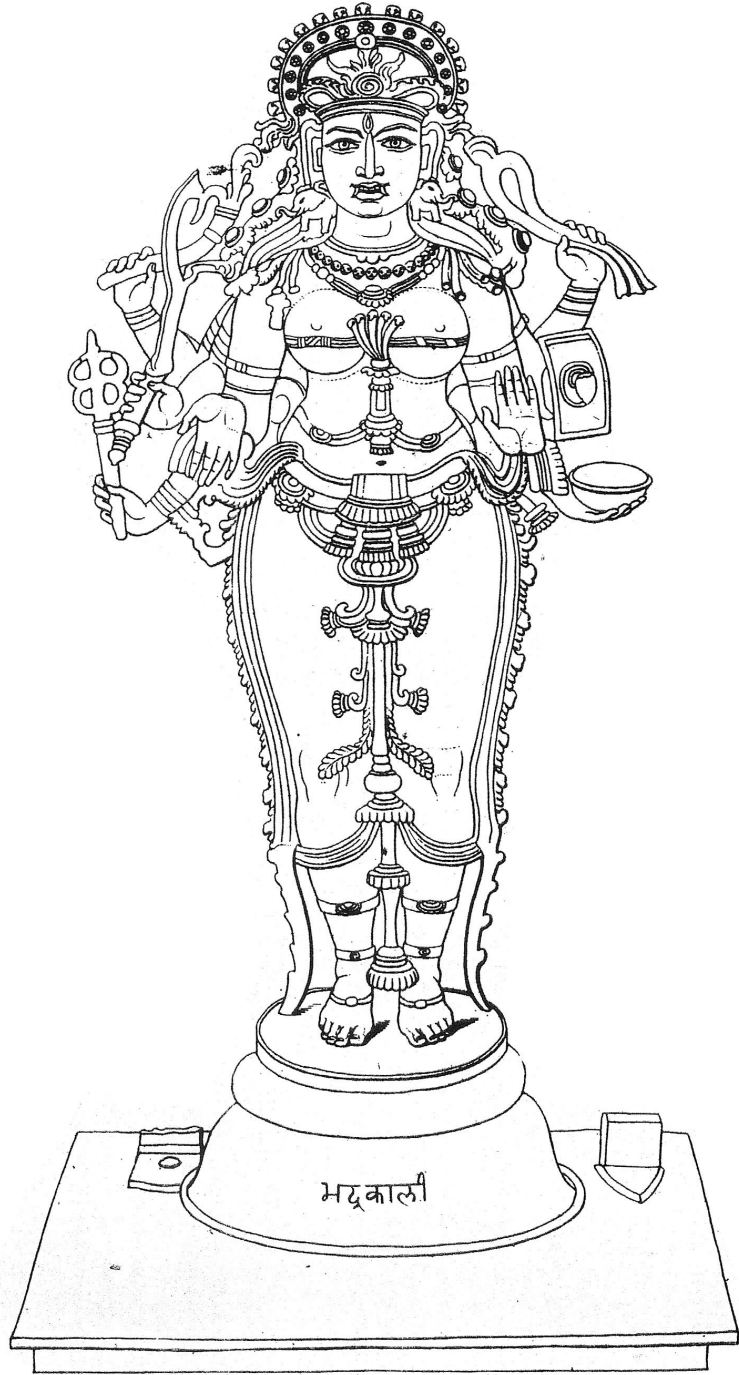
**Appendix V**

**Different Forms of Kili\***

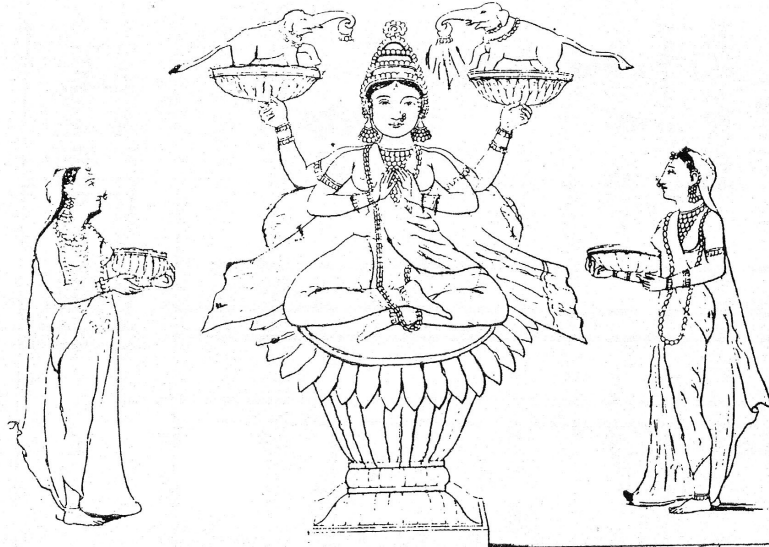




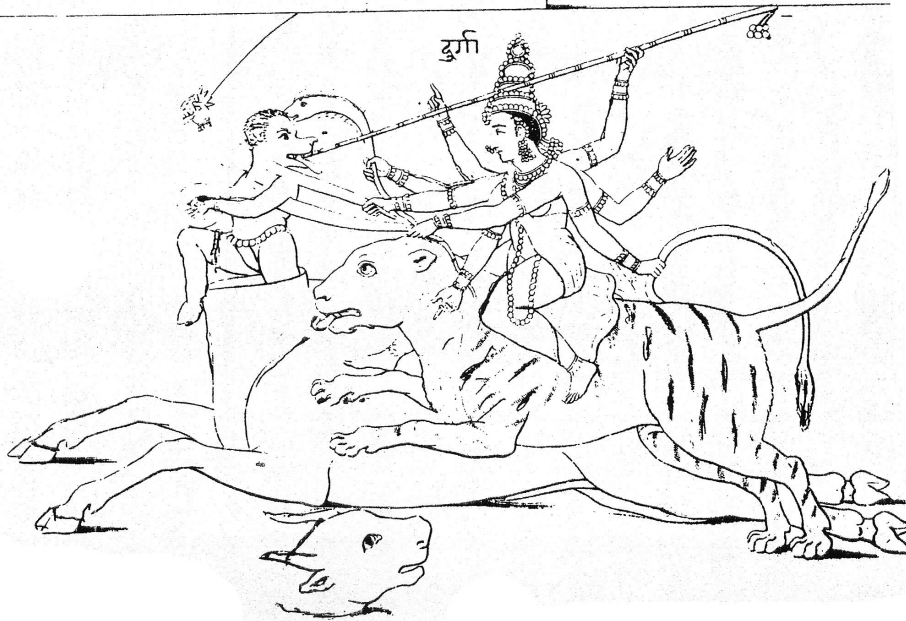


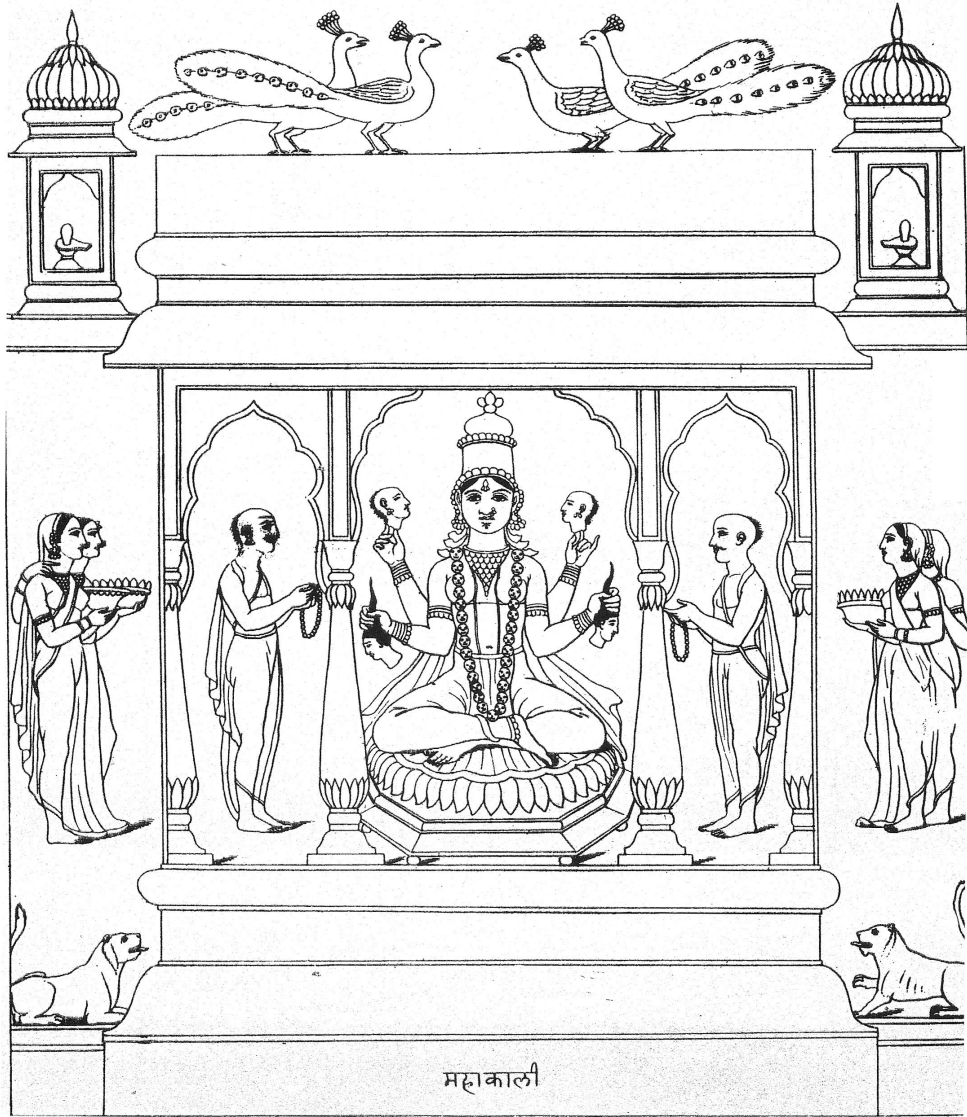


देवी

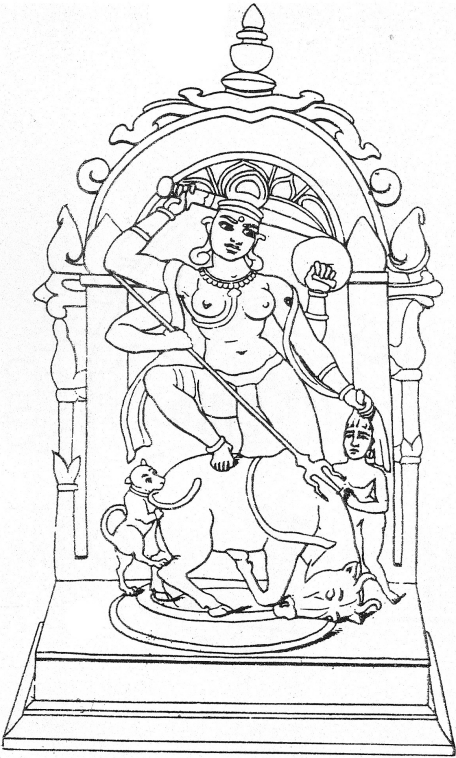


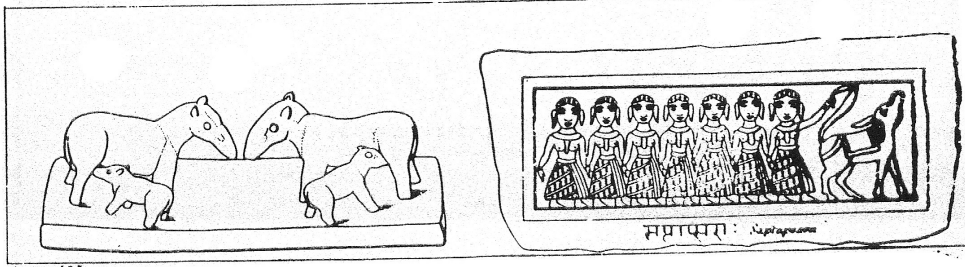
दुर्गा

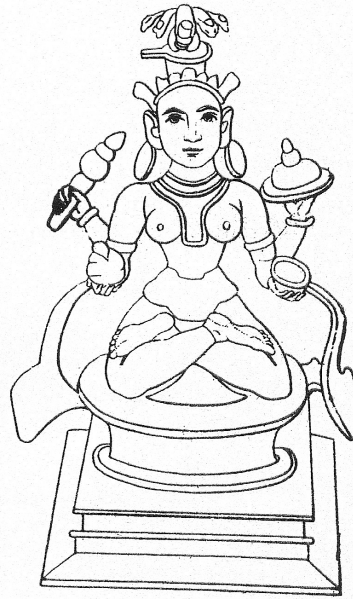


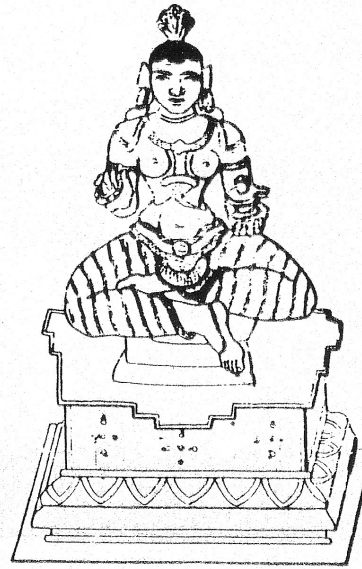
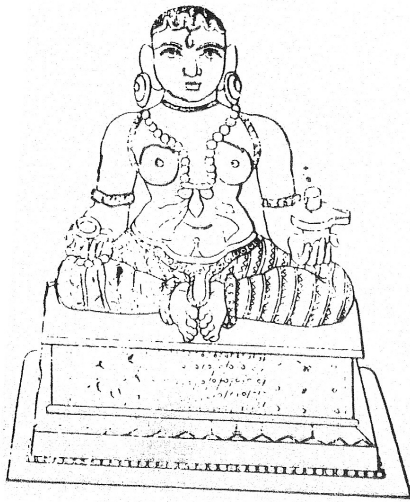
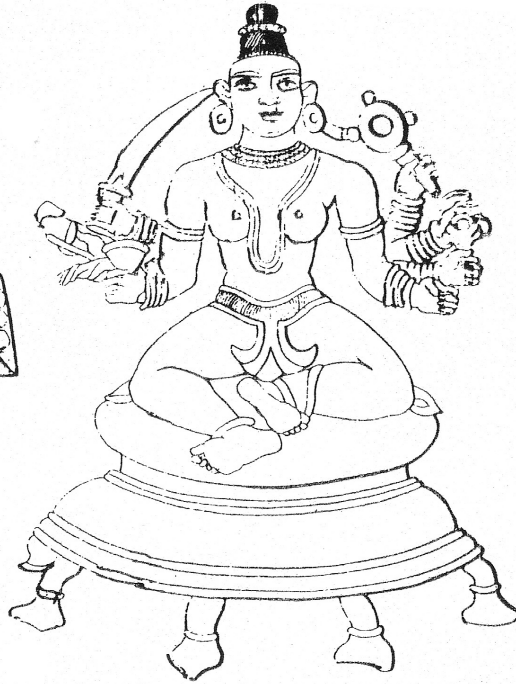
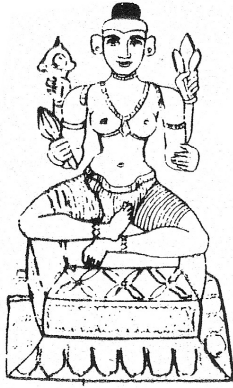


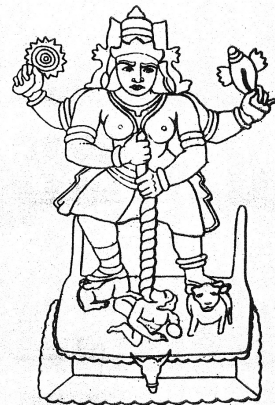
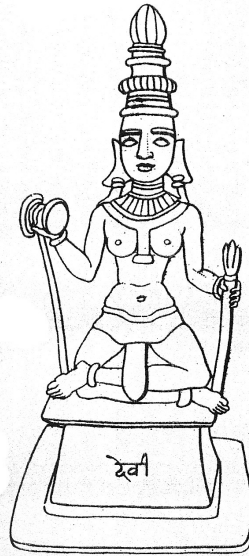
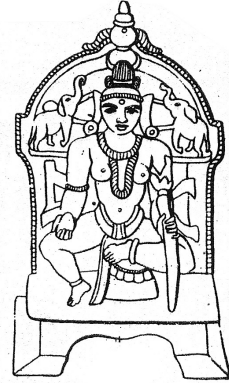
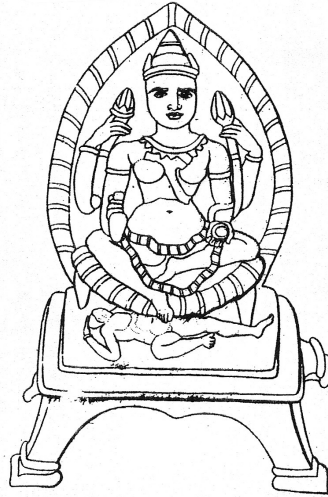
महाकाली

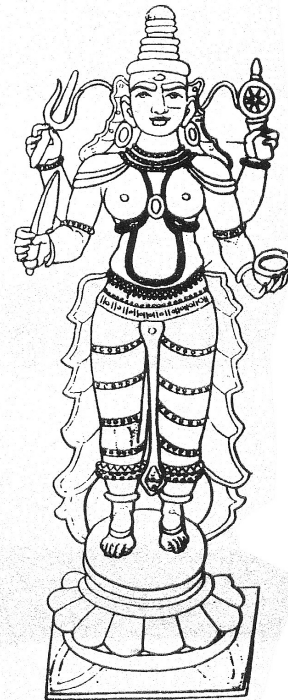
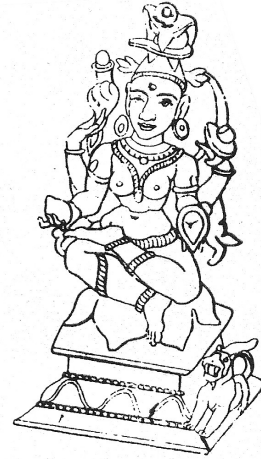


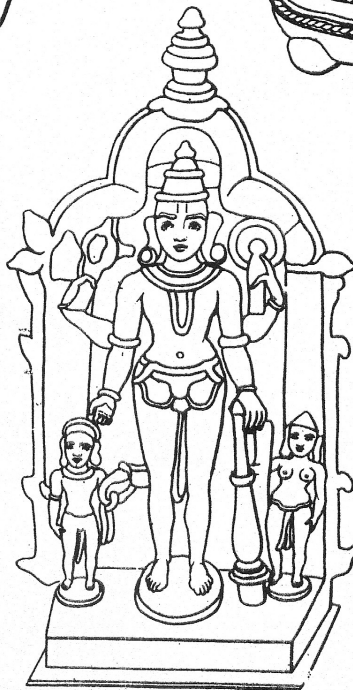
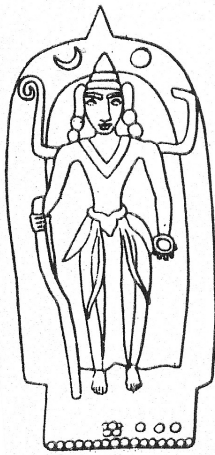
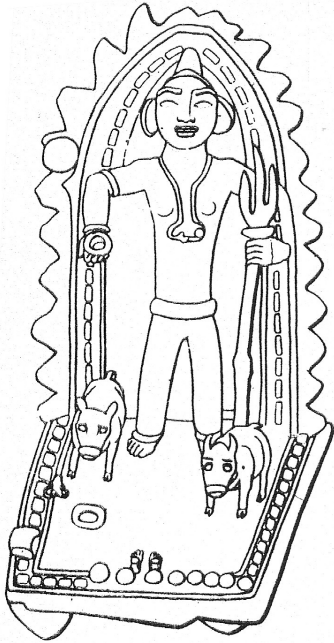


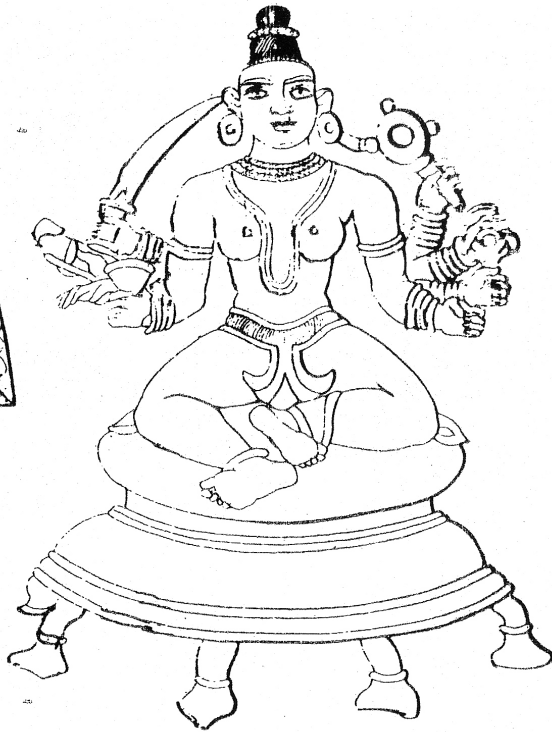




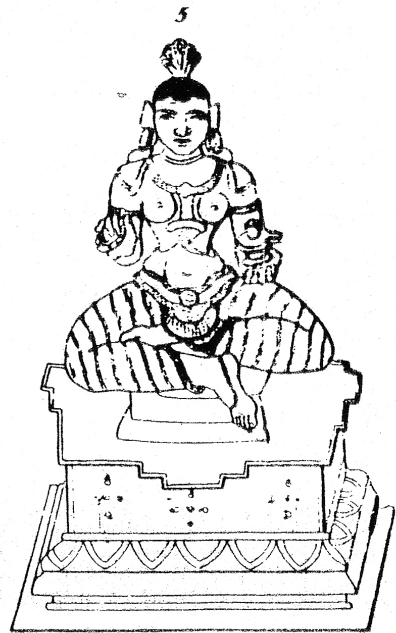
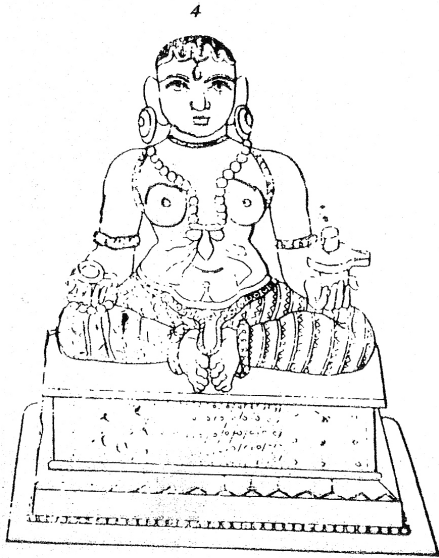








देवय





\* Extracted from Hindu Pantheon and Kali the Black Goddess of Dakshineswar

## INFORMANT LIST

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Pallippuram  
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Kummannur  
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Uppathu Narayanan  
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Vijayamma Ramakrishna  
(64)  
Kanattu  
Kadammanitta.

Vargees (54)  
Kulathoor

Viswanathan Nair K N (70)  
Kolath  
Valavoor, Pala  
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