

THE PROCESSES OF TRADE AND URBANIZATION IN TRICHUR SINCE 1790

THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
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By

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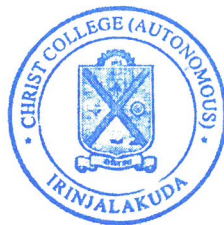
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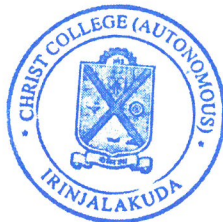
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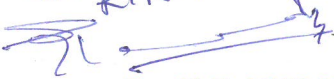
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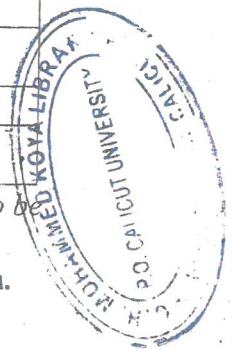
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

| | | |
|-------|---|---|
| AITUC | - | All India Trade Union Congress |
| AKTU | - | All Kerala Trade Union |
| BRVRI | - | Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute |
| CMI | - | Carmelite Missionary Congregation |
| CMS | - | Church Mission Society |
| LMS | - | London Mission Society |
| SCB | - | Service Co -operative Bank |
| SCS | - | Service Co-operative Society |
| SNDP | - | Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam |
| TEC | - | Trichur Engineering Company |
| TAS | - | Travancore Archaeological Series |
| YMA | - | Young Men's Association |

The Processes of Trade and Urbanization in Trichur Since 1790

Abstract

Urbanization has always been a part of human civilization. The history of urbanization is also the history of different civilizations like Indus Valley, Egypt, Greece etc. Urbanization is not a uniform process. It takes place at different stages, at different ages, at different places and sometimes has witnessed a localized growth. The development trajectory of Trichur is examined here with particular emphasis on its economic growth and the processes of urbanization that transformed Trichur into an urban centre


Trichur region witnessed a number of economic and social factors which formed the backbone of making it an urban centre. The processes of urbanisation started from the period of Sakthan Thampuran reached its peak during the period of amalgamation of Cochin with Travancore. The present work is an endeavour to understand the socio economic and political configuration of Trichur in the context of urbanization. Various factors have contributed to the development of Trichur since 1790. The modern city of Trichur which had been part of Cochin, rose to its prominence during the period of Sakthan Thampuran who ruled Cochin from 1790 to 1805. In the development of Trichur, multiple causative factors can be identified in the nexus of social, economic and political transformation which resulted in the urban forms. Power structure continued to be a determining factor in the growth of the city. The institution of kingship, state apparatus for taxation and exchange network provided stimulus for urban growth. Increase in trade and commercial activity introduced an element of heterogeneity in the urban centre of Trichur.

The processes of trade and urbanization in Trichur were facilitated by agriculture, commerce, merchants, markets, industries, trade unions, co-operative movements and social developments. The integration of religious communities and consequent social mobilization benefited the market to a certain extent. The different state departments and institutions were being utilized by the rulers for their trade. The construction of network of roads, waterways and introduction of railways enabled the mobilization of resources and promotion of trade. Emergence of diverse industries, financial establishments and academic institutions paved the way for the modernization and consequent urbanization of Trichur.

Key words - city, urbanization, Sakthan Thampuran, migration, trade.

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തൃശ്ശൂരിലെ വ്യാപാര നഗരവൽക്കരണ പ്രക്രിയകൾ 1790 മുതൽ

സംഗ്രഹം

നാഗരികത എന്നത് മനുഷ്യ സംസ്കാരത്തിന്റെ വളർച്ചയുടെ ഒരു പ്രധാന വഴിത്തിരിവാണ്. നാഗരികതയുടെ ചരിത്രം സംസ്കാരത്തിന്റെ ചരിത്രം കൂടിയാണ്. ഹാർപ്പ, ചൈന, ഈജിപ്റ്റ്, ഗ്രീസ് തുടങ്ങിയ സംസ്കാരങ്ങളുടെ ചരിത്രം എന്നത് അക്കാലത്തെ നഗരവൽക്കരണത്തിന്റെ ചരിത്രം കൂടിയിരിക്കുന്നു. നഗരവൽക്കരണം വ്യത്യസ്ത കാലഘട്ടങ്ങളിൽ വ്യത്യസ്ത ഭൂപ്രദേശങ്ങളിൽ വ്യത്യസ്തമായ സ്വഭാവങ്ങൾ കൈവരിക്കുന്നതോടൊപ്പം തന്നെ പലപ്പോഴും പ്രാദേശികമായ പരിണാമങ്ങൾക്കും വിധേയമാകുന്നു.

തൃശ്ശൂർ ഒരു നാഗരിക കേന്ദ്രമായി മാറിയതിന് പിന്നിൽ നിരവധി സാമ്പത്തിക സാമൂഹിക ഘടകങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ട്. ശക്തൻ തമ്പുരാന്റെ (1790-1805) കാലത്ത് ആരംഭിച്ച നഗരവൽക്കരണ പ്രക്രിയ അതിന്റെ പാരമ്യത്തിൽ എത്തിയത് കൊച്ചി തിരുവിതാംകൂർ ലയന കാലഘട്ടത്തിലാണ്. നിരവധി സാമൂഹ്യ സാമ്പത്തിക രാഷ്ട്രീയ പരിവർത്തനങ്ങളുടെ ഫലമാണ് തൃശ്ശൂരിന്റെ ഒരു നഗരം എന്ന രീതിയിലുള്ള വികസനം. നഗരത്തിന്റെ വളർച്ചയിൽ ഒരു നിർണായക ഘടകം അധികാരഘടനയായിരുന്നു. കേന്ദ്രീകൃത രാജഭരണം, നികുതിവ്യവസ്ഥ, വിനിമയ ശൃംഖല എന്നിവ തൃശ്ശൂരിന്റെ നഗര വളർച്ചയ്ക്ക് ഊർജ്ജം നൽകി. വ്യാപാര വാണിജ്യ പ്രവർത്തനങ്ങളിലെ പുരോഗതി ഒരു നഗര കേന്ദ്രം എന്ന നിലയിൽ തൃശ്ശൂരിനെ വൈവിധ്യമാർന്നതാക്കി. തൃശ്ശൂർ ഒരു ആധുനിക നഗരമായി മാറിയ ചരിത്രപ്രക്രിയയെ അതിന്റെ സാമൂഹിക രാഷ്ട്രീയ ഘടകങ്ങളെ അപഗ്രഥനം ചെയ്യുകൊണ്ട് അന്വേഷിക്കുകയാണ് ഈ പ്രബന്ധത്തിൽ ചെയ്തിരിക്കുന്നത്.

തൃശ്ശൂരിന്റെ നഗരവൽക്കരണ പ്രക്രിയയ്ക്ക് ശക്തൻ തമ്പുരാന്റെ ഭരണത്തോടൊപ്പം തന്നെ കൃഷി, വ്യാപാരം, അങ്ങാടികളുടെ വളർച്ച, വ്യവസായങ്ങളുടെ വളർച്ച, ട്രേഡ് യൂണിയനുകൾ സഹകരണ സംഘങ്ങൾ എന്നിവയുടെ രൂപീകരണം, ആഭ്യന്തര വ്യാപാരം, കടിയേറ്റംഎന്നിവ തൃശ്ശൂരിനെ ഒരു ആധുനിക നഗരമാക്കുന്നതിൽ പ്രധാന പങ്കുവഹിച്ചു. ഭരണം, അധികാരം, വ്യാപാരം, റെയിൽവേ പോലെയുള്ള ഗതാഗതസൗകര്യങ്ങളുടെ തുടക്കം, വിവിധ മതസമൂഹങ്ങളുടെ തൃശ്ശൂരിലേക്കുള്ള കടന്നുവരവ്, വിഭവങ്ങളുടെ കൃത്യമായ സമാഹരണവും വിതരണവും ഇവയെല്ലാം വിശകലനം ചെയ്യുകയാണ് ഈ പഠനത്തിൽ. നഗരവൽക്കരണത്തിന്റെ രണ്ടു പ്രധാന വിഭാഗങ്ങളായ ഭരണകർത്താക്കളും വ്യാപാരികളും തൃശ്ശൂരിന്റെ പരിവർത്തനത്തിന് കാരണമായത് എങ്ങിനെ എന്നും ഈ പഠനം വിശദീകരിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്.

താക്കോൽ വാക്കുകൾ- നഗരം, നഗരവൽക്കരണപ്രക്രിയ, ശക്തൻതമ്പുരാൻ, കടിയേറ്റം, കച്ചവടം.

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Introduction

Urbanization has always been a part of human civilization. The history of urbanization is also the history of different civilizations like Indus Valley, Egypt, Greece etc. Urbanization is not a uniform process. It takes place at different stages, at different ages, at different places and sometimes has witnessed a localized growth.

History reveals that cities were mainly the seats of political power and probably began independently in various parts of the world. The ancient cities mainly between the Persian Gulf and the Mediterranean regions were the ones where urbanization became the product of concentration of power.

In the second stage, cities emerged along with the growth of trade and commerce. The surplus production with the help of advanced technology and improved communication became the main cause for this development. Pataliputra, Taxila, Rome and Constantinople were such international cities which developed through brisk trade.

In the medieval period, the structure of the city also changed due to changing socio- economic organization and more advanced technology. The urban community comprised mainly of merchants and artisans. In fact, guilds and co-operative associations played a major role in enhancing trade and they moved to hitherto unknown places.

The Renaissance movement generated a spirit of enquiry and turned man's attention to the things of this world. This helped in changing the medieval outlook and fine arts flourished in the cities like Naples, Florence and Venice which became the centres of urban culture. It also enhanced trade, which led to the growth of the ports.

In the western countries, the urban growth occurred in response to the advancement in technology in 18th and 19th centuries. As a result of the transformation

of social structure, the civilization became more complex. The two major metropolises of the period were London and Paris which were growing rapidly by this period¹.

With the Industrial Revolution of the late 18th century, the nature and concept of urbanization itself underwent a major change. The machine world brought an enormous growth in productivity. Moreover, the feudal society transformed into a capitalist society. The broadening economic capacity of the society led to colonization. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the British and the French setup colonies where they developed towns and cities like Colombo, New Amsterdam, Johannesburg, Batavia, Calcutta etc. to name a few. By the middle of the 19th century, there were a large number of towns which emerged in all continents with high population. Sydney, Hong Kong, Madras and Bombay were some of the newly emerged cities².

The Indian sub-continent experienced several stages of urbanization which began with the Indus Valley civilization. But it is a story of spatial and temporal discontinuities.

The Indus Valley civilization with its urban features confined to the sites of Indus Valley such as Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat and western Uttar Pradesh. The other regions remained untouched with the characteristics of urbanization. The spatial discontinuity in urbanization is evident once more from 6th century BCE to 3rd century C E³.

The early phase of urbanization in South India is represented in the Deccan region, Andhra Pradesh and Tamil country. The urbanization in South India from

¹ K C Alexander, *The process of Development of Societies*, Sage Publications, New Delhi, 1994, p.107.

² Sumitha Gosh, *Introduction to Settlement Geography*, Orient BlackSwan, Kolkatha, 2003, pp.127-129.

³ M D N Sahi, "Process of urbanization in the upper Gangetic Valley in the light of Excavations at Jakhera" in S N R, Rizvi ed., *Studies in Indian History*, South Asia Books, New Delhi, 1999, pp.34-38.

11th to 13th century is the direct result of the activities of trade through merchant bodies, *Nagarams* and craft organizations. Their attempt to control areas with rich trade was also a prominent factor in medieval trade. As a result, before the colonial administration, trade, commerce and temples were the primary drivers of urbanization. The internal growth process of these regions was contributed by the maritime trade and vast expanding trade networks with Central Asia and Roman world⁴. Prof. Champaka Lakshmi locates the period of early urbanization in South India from the 7th century to the 14th century. She also examines how the Pallava and Pandya periods evolved due to the integration of *Brahmadeya* villages and temples, which strengthened their connections with hinterlands in the northern and southern regions of Tamil country, as well as their ports.

South India experienced urban development during the reigns of the Pallavas of Kanchi, the Chalukyas of Badami, the Pandyas of Madurai, the Kakatiyas of Warangal, and the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra and so on wherein the land and resources were exploited and the maritime environment was utilized for overseas trade and commerce. There are several ways in which external trade interacted with the economy of South India. The growing trade was the intra-Asian nexus which was later distinguished when trade to Europe grew rapidly. The expansion of intra-Asian trade began to slow down toward the late seventeenth century due to a decline in its overall profitability. This is simultaneously the period when European traders made substantial inroads into intra-Asian trade, a process which further accelerated in the course of eighteenth century⁵. The advent of Vasco da Gama marked a new epoch in the history of urban civilization.

Numerous major and minor port cities gained prominence with the arrival of various European trading groups and indigenous merchant communities. These ports

⁴ R. Champakalakshmi, *Trade Ideology and Urbanization—South India.300 B C to AD 1300*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1996, pp.25-26.

⁵ K.M Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, Somaiya Publications, New Delhi, 1999, pp.21-29.

rapidly developed into metropolises, driven by the concentration of goods and services and the expansion of transportation and communication networks. Hence, the nature and process of urbanization is qualitatively different from that of the medieval period⁶. At the beginning of the 17th century, Portuguese influence in Cochin declined, while the Dutch emerged as the dominant power.

From the second half of 18th century, the urban growth took a paradigm shift when the English East India Company emerged as the political power in India. It was the naval dominance of the British in the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea which became the causative factor behind their success. It was the British colonial economic policies and social attitudes that determined the course of urbanization in India after 1800 AD.

The state of Kerala, the land of Malayalam speaking people, comprises the former Princely states of Travancore, Cochin and British Malabar. Kerala began to have constant touch with the European powers from 1498 with the arrival of Vasco da Gama in Calicut. The Portuguese, the Dutch, the French and the English arrived in Kerala for the purpose of trade. The primary objective of the Europeans altered with political interest and the British survived in the struggle for political and economic domination. The places of Malabar directly came under the British and the rulers of Travancore and Cochin signed treaties of subsidiary alliance and friendship. This shows that though the princely states were not directly under colonial control, they were in the shadow of the colonial rule⁷. In 1792, Malabar became a part of the British rule placed under Madras presidency and administered by a principal collector and sub-ordinate collectors.

In the world context, the period witnessed great changes. In Europe, the most important development was rationalism and liberalism climaxing in the French

⁶ Satish Chandra, ed., *Religion State and Society in Medieval India*, Collected works of Nurul Hasan, Oxford University Press, India, 2005, p.50.

⁷ C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Govt. Press, Calcutta, 1909, Vol X, pp.259-262.

Revolution in the last decade of 18th century. This was followed by a reaction which is often called as the Romanticist movement highlighting the Medieval thinking and ideology in the 19th century. The period also witnessed the anti-colonial movements which had their beginning in the United States of America in 1773 and it began to influence the other parts of the world. The signs of these resistance movements can be seen in India in the fights of Marathas and the Mysore wars. In Kerala, though such resistance movements arose under the leadership of Pazhassi Raja, Kurichiya, Velu Thampi and Paliath Achan, the whole society of Kerala was under the shadow of the colonial set up.

The present work is an endeavour to understand the socio economic and political configuration of Trichur in the context of urbanization. Various factors contributed to the development of Trichur since 1790. The modern city of Trichur which was a part of Cochin rose to its prominence during the period of Sakthan Thampuran who ruled Cochin from 1790 to 1805. Even from 1769 onwards he controlled the administration of Cochin as Yuvaraja and had great influence upon the future of Cochin. He took initiative in bringing more revenue to the state. As part of this he controlled the *devaswoms* and started *Thrissur pooram* and changed the landscape of Thekkinkadu *Maithanam*. Trichur evolved into a major financial and commercial hub of South India by inviting Syrian Christian families and *Paradesi Pattars* from neighbouring regions.. He took keen interest in the organization of agricultural production and trade by natives. He monopolised trade in pepper. Soon Trichur became a flourishing centre of internal trade in Kerala.

In the development of Trichur, multiple causative factors can be identified in the nexus of social, economic and political transformation which resulted in the urban forms. Power structure is sustained as the determining factor in the growth of the city. The institution of kingship, state apparatus for taxation and exchange network provided stimulus for urban growth. Increase in trade and commercial activity introduced an element of heterogeneity in the urban centre of Trichur.

Conceptual Frame of Urbanization

The development trajectory of Trichur is examined here with particular emphasis on its economic growth and the processes of urbanization that transformed Trichur into an urban centre. The study is an attempt to bring focus on the specific factors responsible for and accompanying the processes of urbanization in a colonial setup. It aims to introduce and discuss the various terms and concepts and also general theories on urbanization.

Urbanization

The term 'urban' means polished, cultured or refined and its opposite word 'rustic' means coarse or unrefined. Therefore, urbanization expected to bring refinement and culture. The concept of urbanization is a complex one which cannot be explained in one single definition which is applicable to all situations. Urbanization is a process effecting changes in socio-economic and cultural parameters and relationships. The phenomenon of urbanization was studied by scholars from different disciplines and they have given their own different definitions. The term urbanization leading to the context of transformation from rural to urban includes behavioural changes, economic and demographic changes. All these changes affect spatial organization of human settlement thereby shaping the city landscape itself.

From a behavioural point of view, urbanization refers to personal behaviour and change in the lifestyles. This process is termed as urbanism. From a structural point, the focus is on the patterned activities of population as a whole. But the mostly accepted one is the demographic interpretation of urbanization. These types of interpretations are based on statistics as it refers to increase in population in a given place over a period of time, i.e., urbanization refers to concentration of population in urban settlements. According to W.S. Thompson, urbanization is marked by the migration of people from rural, agriculture-based communities to urban centres focused on government, trade, manufacturing, and related industries.⁸ According to

⁸ W.S. Thompson, 'Urbanization' in *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences* Vol XV, Macmillan, New York, 1935, p.189.

Hope Tisdale Eldridge, there exists two elements in the process of population concentration. First element is the multiplication of points of concentration and the second is the increase in the size of individual concentrations. An increasing shift from agrarian society to industrial society is a process by which the number of points of population concentration increases involves a shift from agrarian to non-agrarian occupations. In other words, development of non-agricultural functions induces migration from rural to urban areas⁹. According to G.S. Ghurye, urbanization refers to the migration of people from villages to cities, impacting both the migrants and their families, as well as the communities they leave behind¹⁰.

Another view put forward by the scholars is ‘the breakdown of traditional social institutions and values.’ M.S.A. Rao analyses the varied aspects of urbanization in the context of India. He observes that the ‘breakdown hypotheses originated from Western experience and it ignores the trait of traditional urbanization in India¹¹. According to Rao, the breakdown hypothesis in Indian context implies that the caste system will change into the class system, nuclear families will emerge from joint families and religion will be highly secularized. Therefore, hypothesis assumes that urbanization in India is in the model of Westernization. It ignores the existence of traditional urbanization on which modern urbanization had its first impact.

The theories of urbanization for a long period intersected with the aspects of cities, industrialization and recently globalization. In an article by Xizhe Peng, Xiangming Chen and Yuan Cheng, they discuss in detail about urbanization through four major aspects¹². Their theories focused on the rural urban population shift as

⁹ Hope Tisdale Eldridge “The Process of Urbanization”, in J.J. Spengler and O.D. Duncan et.al., *Demographic Analysis*, Glencoe, 1956, p.338.

¹⁰ G.S. Ghurye, *Caste and Race in India*, Kegan Paul Bombay, 1969, p.123.

¹¹ M.S.A. Rao et.al., *A Reader in Urban Sociology*, Orient Longman, New Delhi, 1991, pp. 2-3.

¹² Xizhe Peng, Xiangming Chen and Yuan Cheng, “Urbanization and its Consequences”, in *Demography* Vol II UNESCO, Encyclopaedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS) Joint Committee, New York, 2010, pp. 5-6.

fundamental to urbanization and they identify industrialization as the basic factor behind the movement of rural population to urban areas. But this approach suffers from the drawback of narrow focusing on the rural-urban shift within countries as key to urbanization.

The Modernization theory was another theoretical approach which had a tendency to compare the present state of any given society with its initial stage of development, i.e. urbanization at the onset of modernization. This theory gives more importance to the growth of technology than a society's social organization in shaping urbanization.

Another theoretical perspective introduced by A.G. Frank¹³ and Immanuel Wallerstein is known as World System theory or Dependency theory¹⁴. They assume that there exists a unique capitalist pattern which asserts capitalism as a unique form of social organization. The theory put forward is that capitalism requires a certain social structure which is characterized by unequal exchange, uneven development, individual social inequality, core periphery hierarchies and dominance structure. The dependency/world system theory is stronger in suggesting association between urbanization and capitalist development.

Urban Area

In order to have a deep understanding of the concept of urbanization, we have to discuss different criteria for classifying the settlement as 'urban.' The term urban can be used in two senses, demographically and sociologically. Demographically the emphasis is given to the size of population and density of population but sociologically focus is given to heterogeneity, impersonality, interdependence and quality of life. According to Urban Geography, urban places are identified as settlements in which most of the people are engaged in secondary, tertiary and

¹³ A.G. Frank, *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969.

¹⁴ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979.

quaternary activities. The emergence of these settlements indicates the growth of trade, commerce and manufacture which in turn threatens the growth of agricultural areas. Generally, an urban area can be related to cities and towns which consist of dwelling place, industries, retail trade, wholesale trade and transportation facilities.

Size of population is considered by many of the historians as the criterion for urbanization but it is not necessary as proven by certain cities with small population that its non-agricultural activities are more important. Many of the countries do not have such geographical positioning in order to have a considerable number of people for any given place. Geography of countries vary from plain region to mountain tracts. Majid Hussain in his book *Human Geography* makes a detailed analysis of this. He says that many of the countries define their urban settlement on the basis of minimum size of population. While considering a settlement as urban on the basis of size of population it becomes complicated. For example, in Argentina, settlements above 2000 people is considered as urban. In Canada people with 1000 in number is called urban but in South Korea cities with 40, 000 or above inhabitants are considered as urban. In USA urban settlements have more than 2500 people.

When we consider the Census reports of India, definition of an urban area is more or less the same as between 1881-1951. The Census definition of a town during this period is as: 1) every municipality of whatever size 2) all civil lines not included within the municipal limits 3) every other continuous collection of houses, permanently inhabited by not less than 5000 persons, which the provincial superintendent of Census may decide to treat as town for census purposes¹⁵. Administrative purpose of a place is considered for deciding the town and not the population size. Discretionary power of Census Superintendent is visible in naming the place as town.

¹⁵ *Census of India 1901*, Vol I, Govt. of India, p.21.

TABLE 0.1**The Number of Urban Centres in India: - 1901-1951**

| Year | Number of Urban Agglomeration/ towns | Urban Population | Rural Population | Total Population |
|-------------|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1901 | 1827 | 25851873 | 212544454 | 238396327 |
| 1911 | 1825 | 25941633 | 226151757 | 252093390 |
| 1921 | 1949 | 28086167 | 223235046 | 251321213 |
| 1931 | 2072 | 33455989 | 245521249 | 278977238 |
| 1941 | 2250 | 44153297 | 274507283 | 318660580 |
| 1951 | 2843 | 62443709 | 298644381 | 361088090 |

Source: Census reports of India 1901-1951

The table shows the number of urban towns in India. The criterion for the definition of town stated by the administrative officials. Finally, there is no other specified test for urban characteristics like public utility, which a settlement is required to have, in order to qualify as urban place. To avoid all these defects in the definition, Indian Census adopted a relatively strict and comprehensive definition in 1961¹⁶. The criteria of the town were elaborated in the succeeding census years of 1971, 1981 and 1991.

Urban Environment

Urban Environment is another term related to urbanization. It denotes the human made spaces, buildings and structures that one can find in cities and towns. This concept is quite different from the concept of rural which means a natural environment which is not managed or created by the humans¹⁷. Urban environment is thus an open and highly interrelated system or subsystem of natural or manmade elements and in this the latter consists of extremely mobile

¹⁶ N.T.K. Naik and S. Mansoor Rahman, *Urbanization of India*, Serials Publications, New Delhi, 2007, pp. 2-5.

¹⁷ John Barry, *Environment and Social Theory*, Routledge, London, 1990, p.26.

functions of various character performed in a concentrated built up area¹⁸. According to R Ramachandran the urban environment is quite different from the rural countryside because the urban areas are artificially built up by man for their own purpose and for others. There are two reasons for the different appearance of urban area, i.e. morphological and functional. Morphological aspect is related to the fact that urban areas are characterized by a core area with brick-and-mortar structures of which some have more than two storeys. The main streets and roads carry heavy traffic and public buildings like administrative offices, courts, hospitals, schools are prominent in urban area. A cluster of a variety of shops like tea and coffee shops, grocery shops, textiles shops, bakeries, fish selling, etc. attract customers not only from within the settlement and nearby areas as well. Again, the layman's perception of city environment is in terms of its commercial role¹⁹.

The urban environment also constitutes open spaces like park, playground, etc. which play an integral role in recreational activities and healthy life of its settlers. The artificial urban environment gives much importance to electricity, water supply, drainages and other public utility services. At the same time the urban environment is a disturbed one where exists the transformation of the physical surface into masonry structure, macadamized road and concrete surface along with water and air pollution. When we analyse the social sphere of an urban environment there exists different styles of living. At one end there exists a congenial atmosphere, standard earning, hygienic situation, high standard of living, etc. but on the other end there is joblessness, insecurity of employment, uncertainty of life, chaos, etc. Anti-social elements also disturb the urban environment like theft, rape, loot, adultery, murder, etc.

¹⁸ Sisir Kumar Biswas, "Enigma of Urban Environment", in Prithvish Nag et.al., *Geography and Environment*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1997, p.252.

¹⁹ R. Ramachandran, *Urbanization and Urban systems in India*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2001, p.104.

URBANISM

The term urbanism is a concept which inherited all its characters from urbanization and urban way of life. The concept of urbanism was given its final shape by Louis Wirth and to him it is a 'way of life'²⁰. According to him, population size, density and heterogeneity are the basic determinants of urbanism. The characteristics of urbanism include transiency, superficiality, anonymity and individualism. The increasing number of populations beyond the limit in an urban space will lead to competition for resources that reduces intimacy. In such a situation people have a tendency to forget the old relationships and start relations with new ones. According to the economic and social status, tastes and preferences the bondage between the people becomes wide range and the ties of kinship become absent. As a result, in an urban society competition and social control mechanism decide the bonds of solidarity. All will lead to a place where urbanites do not know each other intimately and always give more importance to their own selfish interests. Urbanism as a mode of life, Wirth says, it is necessary to stop identifying urbanism with the physical entity of the city and go beyond an arbitrary line and consider how technological developments in transportation and communication have enormously extended the urban mode of living beyond the confines of the city itself²¹.

Marxist Geographers like Harvey and Castells discuss about the accumulation of capital at certain points. According to David Harvey²² and Manuel Castells, urbanism is not an autonomous process, but is part of a larger political and economic process and change. In modern urbanism Harvey points out that space is continually restructured. The process is determined by large firms. Castells stresses that the special form of a city is very much related to the larger process of the society.

²⁰ Louis Wirth, Urbanism as a way of Life, in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIV, No.1, Chicago, July 1938, pp. 1-24.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City*, Urban History Press, Baltimore, 1993; Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity: The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture*, Volume II, Oxford, 2009.

Hebbherber (1963) argues that urbanism is no longer a matter of geographic location or something confined to urban places. It is characterized by a mentality and way of behavior²³.

According to Theodorson and Theodorson, the term urbanism refers to an organization of society in terms of complex division of labour, high levels of technology, high mobility and interdependence of members in fulfilling economic functions and impersonality in social relations²⁴.

Anderson listed three characteristics of urbanism which are adjustability, mobility and diffusion. K. Dewis puts forward the characteristics of urban social system. He places social heterogeneity as the main feature of urbanism.

The concept of urbanism can be referred to as a process of change in values, attitudes and styles of life of those people who migrate to cities from villages. The concentration of people in the urban areas affected the physical conditions which demanded spatial utilization in urban places. As a result, a particular type of culture evolved by the people settled in the urban space.

The approach adopted for the present study to analyze the urban process that took place in Trichur during the colonial period falls into two categories, i.e., materialistic and non-materialistic. Materialistic approach gives importance to external environment, population structure, land use pattern, etc. The non-materialistic approach covers the role of social and cultural values, attitudes of people and behaviour of people as determinants of urbanization²⁵. The focus point of non-materialistic approach was based on urbanity and urbanism as a way and pattern of life in terms of values, attitudes and behaviour. According to Meadows, urbanism

²³ Sumita Ghosh, *Introduction to Settlement Geography*, Orient Black Swan, Kolkata, 2003, p.121.

²⁴ Theodorson G.A. and Theodorson A., ed., *A Modern Dictionary of Sociology*, Crowell, New York, 1969, p.543.

²⁵ P M Hauser and Leo F. Schnore, ed., "Cities in Developing and in Industrial Societies" in Gideon Sjoberg, *The study of Urbanization*, New York, 1967, p.159.

and urbanity depended upon the appearance and growth of an economic surplus which became a part of materialistic approach²⁶. As a result, the materialistic and non-materialistic interpretations are complimentary to each other.

Studies on urban space and spatiality was done by Henri Lefebvre, David Harvey, Edward Soja and others. They discussed about the potentials of spatiality as a response to the decline of historicism in the post-modern era. Lefebvre produced voluminous work on 'the production of space' giving typological and schematic analysis which had profound influence on contemporary studies on urban spatiality. According to him space is simply not a parameter of social relations and actions, rather it is operative in the 'assembly' in these. He opined that traditional dualities of physical space and mental space are bridged by the processes of production of space through spatial practice, i.e., the material experience of social relations in 'everyday life.'²⁷ Harvey and Soja tried to emphasize the productivity of urban space under conditions of an advanced political economy²⁸.

Traditionally the Geographers used the term 'spatial' to signify the locational content. The term spatial also refers to the geometrical properties of things such as cities, farms, people or forests located in a space. A relative understanding of spatial behaviour has to be analysed by the historians as to how the space was constituted and tried to interpret the meaning of human behaviour. Space is not a passive geometry rather it is continuously produced through socio-spatial relations involving location, movement or use of space. Migration is a form of spatial behaviour²⁹. While analysing the continuous spatial process space becomes private and public, commercial and ceremonial, divided and shared, individual and institutional and furthermore it is the space of male and female.

²⁶ Paul Meadows and Ephraim Mizruchi, ed., *Urbanism, Urbanization and Change, Comparative Perspectives*, Longman, Massachusetts, 1969, p.14.

²⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *Writings on cities*, Translated by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas, Oxford, 1991.

²⁸ Harvey and Soja 1989; *Race and Urban Space in Contemporary American Culture*, Liam Kennedy, Edinburg, 2000, pp. 8-9.

²⁹ C. Murray Austin, et. al., *Human Geography*, West Publishing, Oxford, 1987, p.23.

Space and Spatialisation - A Conceptual Framework

The term urbanization interpreted by historians was in a way that it led to the concept of change and also the concept of space, relationship, interaction, etc. In a broad sense of interpretation, the term ‘urban’ also identified with the idea of ‘city.’ Henri Pirenne identified city as a purely economic entity based on long distance trade originating after the Muslims allegedly closed the Mediterranean to trade in the 17th century. He opined that the late medieval cities, increasingly industrial dominated by craftsmen through their guilds, institutionalized narrow focus that compromised city’s prosperity by self-defeating industrial protectionism³⁰.

Henri Pirenne considered, the cities of medieval period as ‘islands of capitalism.’ The economically defined city consisted of settlements of inhabitants who primarily lived on trade and commerce rather than agriculture. But it is not proper to call all such trade dominated places as city.

The German sociologist Max Weber considers city as fundamentally economic in character with a high degree of occupational differentiation. The largest cities attracted the capitalists due to the facility of services and availability of raw materials. Weber was of the opinion that medieval cities had wealthy consumers, political rulers and land owners who controlled the capital through rent and they provided demand for the goods of the long-distance traders. He argues that most of the cities were political centres with fortifications and consist of court and the like associations. Weber gives more importance to social action and autonomous city government³¹.

Gideon Sjoberg classified cities into two types. The first is the pre-industrial city which was a feudal one but it is clear that feudalism was not the

³⁰ David Nicholas, *The Growth of the Medieval City: From Late Antiquity to Early Fourteenth Century*, New York, 1997, p. XV; Henri Pirenne, *Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade*, Princeton, 1946, pp.56-76.

³¹ Max Weber, *The Nature of the City*, in Chris Jenks ed., *Urban Culture: Critical concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, New York, 2004, p.145.

only base for the city formation. The second is the industrial city which is a modern city in which industrialization is not the only cause for the emergence of the city.

Kingsley Davis rejected the theories that argues about the population density as the main feature of the city. He argues that city is the community characterized by social, economic and political heterogeneity organized by formal means of control due to its artificiality, individualism, competition and congestion³². From a modern point of view, city is considered to be a political unit in a place governed by any type of administrative body or organization like municipality with specific territory of control. In other words, city is an urban area with a name and specified political boundary³³. It is clear that city is not a static one, it operates in conjunction with many other factors like population patterns, social and cultural interactions, political institutions, spatial behaviour, etc. So, it is a complex system referred to as city and the meaning of the city is altered along with the changes in the socio-economic and political processes.

Many historians like Spengler, Toynbee, Ghurye, Geddes, Louis Wirth and Mumford considered the history of the world as the history of the cities. They believed that the city is exposed in the form of civilization. According to Harvey city is the highest embodiment of human achievement and in his words: “A city is an agglomeration of productive forces built by labour employed within a temporal process of circulation of capital. It is nourished out of the metabolism of capitalist production for exchange on the world market and supported out of a highly sophisticated system of production and distribution organized within its confines. It is populated by individuals who reproduce themselves using money incomes earned off the circulation of capital (wages and profits) or its derivative revenues (rents, taxes, interest, merchants’ profits, payments) for services”³⁴.

³² Kingsley Davis, *Human Society*, Macmillan, New York, 1967, p. 320.

³³ C. Murray Austin et. al, *Op. Cit.*, p. 418.

³⁴ David Harvey, *Urban Experience*, Urban History Review, Baltimore, 1985, p.229.

Robert E. Park discussed in detail about the city³⁵. He opined that city is more than a congeries of individual men or of social conveniences like buildings, telephone, etc. and something more than the cluster of public institutions and administrative devices, rather it is a state of mind, body of constructions, customs and traditions which are to be transmitted. So city is not merely a physical mechanism but it is the result of the efforts of the individual who are involved in it. More than that it is the product of nature, particularly human nature.

Cities can be divided into several classes on the basis of its size. There are metropolitan cities which are huge and complex cities. Hierarchical classification of cities is in the form of a pyramid. In India an urban place with more than one lakh people is called a city and no specific size is considered in order to distinguish a town from the city. David Nicholas distinguished the towns and cities of medieval period on the basis of occupation differentiation and specialization than the villages³⁶. While the features of the town implied the artisan group and the craftsmen its economic radius was narrower than the city.

Ancient history of India speaks about a number of towns and urban centres formally called cities where different activities were undertaken. The activities of the urban centres included trade, crafts, manufacturing, distribution, political administration and defence. Different types of cities or towns were known in different names such as *nagara*, *pattana*, *dronamukha*, *kheta*, *sakhanagara*, *rajadhani* and *nigama*. *Nagara* was an ordinary fortified town with inland trade but *pattanam* was a large commercial port on the bank of a river or sea. *Dronamukha* was a small town in the midst of villages, frequented by traders. The market town was called *nigama* and the capital city of the ruling dynasty was known as *rajadhani* which had a belt of walls and ramparts and military outposts³⁷. The archaeological

³⁵ Robert E. Park, *The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the City Environment*, in Chris Jenks ed., *Urban Culture, Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, Vol. I, New York, 2004, p.19.

³⁶ David Nicholas, *Op. Cit.*, pp. XVI-XVII.

³⁷ M.S.A. Rao, *Op. Cit.*, p.22.

and historical evidences shows that there existed a number of towns and cities in Ancient India. The towns were concentrated human settlements. Many of these were well planned and belongs to Indus Valley culture.

The emergence of many towns in India have taken place in the late medieval period. It played a crucial role in the economic development. Many of the towns had their relevance as administrative centres or temple towns. The most significant towns during this period were Thanjavur, Vijayanagar, Calicut, Agra, Cochin, Hampi etc. The rise, growth and decline of various towns could have changed the power dominance in the country

With the expansion of capitalist world system, there arose cities in colonial societies. Colonial relationship changed the production in the colonies according to the need of colonial masters. It was the duty of the colonial cities to export it to the core nations. The wealth of the colonies was drained to the core nations with help of an economic system controlled by merchants, moneylenders, banks, etc. This type of colonial unequal relationships was housed by core nations with political institutions such as bureaucracy, police and military. In India, Bombay, Madras and Calcutta emerged as the colonial urban centres from 18th century onwards. The core capitalist nations implanted urban cities in many of the pre capitalist societies as new ones in many of their colonies. Thus, the core maintained unequal development in the colonies through urban culture as the amalgam of the core and the periphery.

In Kerala trade and commercial activities developed in centres especially in Kodungallur, Tyndis, Bareca, Nelkinda, Naura, Kollam etc facilitated economic development in ancient period. The trade guilds like *Anchuvannam* and *Manigramam* began to decline by the early medieval period and new trade centres emerged. The prominent trade centres in pre- modern Kerala were Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, Cannanore etc. The major merchant communities by this time were Muslims, Jews and Syrian Christians. Along with trade there emerged urban centres with their own contributions to the society. They hold their own uniqueness in their processes of

urbanization. Trichur also emerged into an urban centre by the middle of the 18th century. Though not a port city Trichur developed its own urban features from the period of Rama Varma Sakthan Thampuran. Town functioned as an instrument of rulers where they controlled the authority of the temples and lands. It became a centre of development with its all-urban forms like cultural and educational institutions. Trade and commerce regulated by the ruler favoured the development of Trichur.

Review of Literature

A Sketch of Urban Studies in India

The study of urban issues began to attract the attention of geographers and sociologists to some extent in the 1920s; however, serious research on urban problems in India started in the post-independent period in all the Social Science disciplines³⁸. Urban studies in India and the interest in towns and cities as part of urban studies stimulated by S Patrick Geddes, an Indian social scientist, in 1975.

Attempts to understand the nature of urbanization at academic level were based mainly on the archaeological excavations and literary sources. Scholars such as A. Gosh³⁹, Vijayakumar Thakur⁴⁰, and Dilip K. Chakrabarti took the initiative in this area of study. Additionally, Kameshwar Prasad contributed to this field through his work, *Cities, Crafts and Commerce under Kusanas* in 1984⁴¹. In 1986, M. Lal explored the role of iron in the growth of cities in the Gangetic Valley as part of his study on urbanization.

In 1987, R.S. Sharma in his *Urban Decay in India*⁴² argued that early historic cities of India declined along with the decline of trade which reached its zenith in the period of Kushanas. In 1988 Dilip K. Chakrabarti in his work '*Theoretical Issues*

³⁸ R.Ramachandran, *Op. Cit.*, p.6.

³⁹ A Ghosh, *The City in Early Historical India*, IIAS, New Delhi, 1973.

⁴⁰ Vijayakumar Thakur, *Urbanization in Ancient India*, Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1981.

⁴¹ Dilip K Chakrabarti, *The Archaeology of Ancient Indian Cities*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1997.

⁴² R.S. Sharma, *Urban Decay in India*, Manoharlal Publishers, New Delhi, 1987.

in *Indian Archaeology*' added some factors on the phenomenon of urbanization as agriculture, metallurgy and trade.

Scholars like Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi, I.C. Gupta, J.S. Grewal and Indu Banga have published studies on the urban history of medieval period of Indian history. H.K. Naqvi⁴³ opined that during the Mughal period there was greater urbanization due to existence of Kabul-Kandahar trade routes and the protection given to traders and foreign merchants. She also showed how different capital cities and market towns were linked together by a network of trade relations in India.

Howard Spodek⁴⁴ made an analysis of three basic areas of India's urbanization in his article as physical planning, administrative mechanisms of government and urban architecture. At first, he enquired about the significance of differences in settlements especially by size, technology, political organisation, etc. Then he examined the urban system of Indian cities and also the internal functions of cities and migration.

R.I. Crane in the work *Urbanism in India*⁴⁵ gives an insight into the growth of cities in the pre- British period and British period. Anthony D. King made an analysis of colonial urban development. His case study on the transformation of Delhi in the 19th Century was an attempt to construct the distinction between the factors of modernisation and westernisation.

Kenneth Gillon⁴⁶ and Christine Dobbins⁴⁷ in their studies analysed the colonial situation under the British. Christine Dobbins, in her study of mid-19th

⁴³ Hameeda Khatoon Naqvi, *Urban Centres and Industries in Upper India (1556-1803)*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1928.

⁴⁴ Howard Spodek, *Urban-Rural Integration in Regional Development: A Case Study of Saurashtra, India-1800-1960*, Chicago, 1976; Recent perspectives on Urbanisation, *EPW* Vol.53, Issue No-49, 15 Dec. 2018.

⁴⁵ R I Crane, *Urbanism in India*, in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol-60, issue-5, pp.463-470.

⁴⁶ Gillon, Kenneth, *Ahmedabad: A Study in Indian Urban History*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1968.

century Bombay, highlighted the rapid pace at which various local communities, generally open to the new ideas introduced by the British, capitalized on emerging opportunities. Prof. Bayly⁴⁸ in the studies of Allahabad analysed the emerging elite urban group in that place. This new elite leadership was instrumental in shaping the early policies of the Congress party.

Pradeep Sinha⁴⁹ in his work argues that urban landlord families shaped the spatial organisation of their neighbouring areas by the concept of ‘peopling’ space. He traced the growth of Calcutta from the cluster of villages into a capital city.

Some remarkable works on the processes of urbanization are *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India*,⁵⁰ and “*Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*” The third volume of the series *Bombay and Mumbai, the City in Transition* was edited by Sujata Patel and Jim Masselos. The essay covers almost 200 years of its history from early years of 1800 when it was under the control of East India Company. The series also include themes like urban planning and developments, labour struggles and the competing and co existing local identities. This work is useful and relevant for the scholars on Indian cities and those interested in studies on urbanization in general.

Hazareesingh’s work based on Bombay titled “*The Colonial City and the Challenging Modernity: Urban Hegemonies and Civic Contestations in Bombay (1900-1925)*” offers a stimulating insight into the relationship between modernity, colonialism and evolution of urban space. It explains the era of transformation in Bombay and its political relationship and urbanization in the colonial context of modernity. Janaki Nair’s work *Bangalore’s Twentieth Century: The Promise of the*

⁴⁷ Christine E Dobbin, *Urban Leadership in Western India: Politics and Communities in Bombay City, 1840-1885*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 1972.

⁴⁸ C A Bayly, *The Local Roots of Indian Politics: Allahabad, 1880-1920*, Clarendon Press, Michigan, 1975.

⁴⁹ Pradeep Sinha, *Calcutta in Urban History*, South Asia Books, Calcutta, 1978.

⁵⁰ Sujata Patel and Alice Thorner, ed., *Bombay: Metaphor for Modern India*, and *Bombay: Mosaic of Modern Culture*, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1996.

*Metropolis*⁵¹ discusses in detail about the evolution of the city of Bangalore in its social, economic, religious and spatial sphere. She focusses on town planning, local economy and its post independent development including its transition into an IT hub.

Studies in Kerala

The *Travancore Archaeological Series* provide information on ancient Kerala. Archaeology and Numismatics throw light on ancient rulers and their grants to the temples. *Ramavarma Research Institute Bulletin* is a source of first-hand information on Trichur. Koodalmanikyam temple inscription from Irinjalakkuda refers to the temple administration. It is the earliest record related to Trichur. This inscription was issued on the eleventh regnal year of Sthanu Ravi *i.e.* A D 855. Thrikkulasekharapuram temple inscription give reference to *Nalu Tali*. The Vadakkumnathan temple inscriptions give reference about the temple *uralars* and their powers. The Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy published the inscriptions of Peruvanam, Triprayar, Muthuvara, Thrikkur, Kadavallur, Guruvayur, Chowallur, and Chavakkad and these referred to the various facts related to the temple. The copperplates discovered from Palayur church also throw light on the economic activities of the church in 17th century⁵².

Rajan Gurukkal in his work on *Rethinking Classical Indo- Roman Trade: The Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations* discuss India's maritime contact. The trade was a combination of multiple forms of exchange. It discusses about ports, marts and ship technology in early South India. He explains the trade in Cochin in the early modern era and the pepper gathering communities in the Western Ghats. It also includes the socio- political formations of Ancient South India., Drawing from archaeological findings at the *Pattanam* excavation site in Kerala, the author suggests that early historic ports differed

⁵¹ Janaki Nair, *The Promise of the Metropolis: Bangalore's Twentieth Century*, New Delhi, 2005.

⁵² Prof. Elamkulam Kunjanpillai, *Chandrolsavam* (Mal.), SPCS, Kottayam, 2016, p.32.

significantly from modern harbours. Instead, they functioned more like ‘bazaars’, ‘fairs’ or ‘camp grounds’⁵³ where craftsmen, merchants, and maritime traders gathered seasonally to exchange goods.

The Sanskrit work *Kokilasandesam* of Uddhanda Sastrikal refers to places in Trichur like Porkalam, Vadakkumnathan temple, Urakam Temple, Koodalmanikkyam temple, Thiruvanchikulam Mahodayapuram and Cheraman Kovilakam⁵⁴. The *Manipravalam* work *Suka sandesam* mentions about the second Chera capital and *Nalu Tali*⁵⁵. Neelakanda in his poem *Tenkailanadodayam* speaks Vadakkumnathan temple and its related legends.

There are references to Thrissur in the *Manipravalam* works. *Chandrolsavam* an anonymous work highlights the places of Thrissivaperur gramam, Irinjalakkuda gramam and also Vadakkumnathan. It mentions Ariyannur near Chittilappilly where *Chandrolsavam* takes place. The writer is assumed to be a native of Ariyannur. The work gives the expression of the elite Brahmin community. It speaks about the place Poongunam which is identified as Poonkunnam near Trichur. Puthur and Nandikkara are also mentioned in *Chandrolsavam*⁵⁶.

Kamapooja, a work by K T Ramavarma describes the aspects of prostitution while explaining *Manipravalam* works. *Unniadicharitham* speaks of the markets in Kerala and the items of trade⁵⁷. It refers to Sivapuram which is identified as Thrissivaperur by M G S Narayanan. It gives a detailed examination of the *Manipravalam* works especially *Unniachicharitham*, *Unniaticharitham* and *Chandrolsavam*.

⁵³ Rajan Gurukkal, *Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade: Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2016.

⁵⁴ Kunjukuttan Thampuraan, *Randu Sandesangal* (Mal.), Kalpamudram press, Thrissivaperur, 1903, p.29.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p.155.

⁵⁷ K T Ramavarma, *Kamapooja* (Mal.), Mathrubhoomi Books, Kottayam, 2017.

Grandhavaries throw much light on the history of Trichur. The most important among these are *Peruvanam Grandhavari*, *Vadakkumnathan Grandhavari*, and *Koodalmanikkyam Grandhavari*. *Peruvanam Grandhavari* gives information on the *Avarodham* ceremony and taxes like *Pattam*, *Melvaram* and *Kanam*. It discusses *Sanketham*, the lands owned by the temple and its forest lands. *Vadakkumnathan Grandhavari* gives information on *Sanketham* and *Yogathiri avarodham*. It mentions the exploits of Tipu and Zamorin. *Koodalmanikkayam Grandhavari* throws light on the *Avarodham* ceremony but is related to *Thachudaya kaimal*. The *Perumpadappu Grandhavari* and *Vanjeri Grandhavari*, refer to Trichur.

Kesavan Veluthat in his work '*The Early Medieval in South India*'⁵⁸ analyses the '*nagaram*' of Medieval South India in a scientific way. Kesavan Veluthat along with M.G.S wrote *Bakthi Movement in South India*, which provides deep information about the temple-centred society in medieval period.

M. G.S Narayanan in his work *Perumals of Kerala* gave the structure of the *Perumal* rule in Kerala. It provides information on Trichur from the 9th century onwards with reference to different communities in Kerala and about the trade guilds and *angadis*.

Meera Mary Abraham in her work *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India* details the organization and functioning of *Anchuvannam* and *Manigramam*, the two important merchant guilds of South India⁵⁹.

Maritime India, by Pius Malekandathil speaks about the hinterland trade in Kerala and the spread of Christianity. It throws light on the history of Christians in Trichur from 9th century onwards⁶⁰. *Reflections on Pre-modern Kerala* by K. N Ganesh throws light on the ownership of land, *Naduvazhi Swaroopams*, trade networks and polity of medieval Kerala⁶¹.

⁵⁸ Kesavan Veluthat, *The Early Medieval in South India*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2009.

⁵⁹ Meera Mary Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, University of Virginia, 1988.

⁶⁰ Pius Malekandathil, *Maritime India*, Primus Books, Delhi, 2010.

⁶¹ K. N Ganesh, *Reflections on Pre-modern Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2016.

State and Society in Pre-modern South India written by R Champakalakshmi et al discusses about the *swaroopams* in medieval Kerala⁶². It analyse the role of merchants in the activities of trade and commerce. K. N. Ganesh, in his work *Keralathinte Innalekal*, discusses the import of cotton into Kerala, the various weights, measures, and coins in circulation. He also examines the settlement patterns of medieval Kerala, highlighting the extensive settlements in port towns.⁶³

M. R. Raghava Varier, in his *Madhyakala Keralam: Swaropaneethiyude Charithrapatungal*, provides a theoretical framework for analyzing the issues of trade and urbanization in medieval period. He offers insights into the origin and growth of urban centres and the relationship between towns and their hinterlands⁶⁴.

Kerala Charitram, the co-authored work of Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, treated trade in Medieval Kerala separately⁶⁵. Varier's research on the formation of village communities serves as a foundation for exploring medieval trade and commerce. While his work is rooted in scientific analysis, the study of urbanization remains limited to specific individual trading centres.

The work of Rajan Gurukkal on *Medieval Temples and agrarian system* does not directly focus on trade but seeks to conceptualize the economy of medieval Kerala. It includes numerous references to money, the monetary system, the exchange of food grains and other commodities, the gold-paddy ratio, and merchant organizations⁶⁶.

*Asia and Western Dominance*⁶⁷ by K.M Panikkar gives a detailed description of European colonialism through world trade. *Nammude Natturajyangal* written by Kanippayyur Sankaran Nambuthirippad focuses on the princely states of

⁶² R Champakalakshmi et al., *State and Society in Pre-modern South India*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2002.

⁶³ K. N Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal* (Mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1990.

⁶⁴ M R Raghava Varier, *Madhyakala Keralam: Swaropaneethiyude Charithrapatungal*, (Mal.), SPCS, Kottayam, 2022.

⁶⁵ Raghava Varier and Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Charitram* (Mal.), Sukapuram, 1995.

⁶⁶ Rajan Gurukkal, *Kerala Temple and Early Medieval Agrarian system*, Vallathol Vidhyapeedam, Sukapuram, 1993.

⁶⁷ K.M Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, George Allen and Unwil Ltd., London, 1953.

Cochin and Travancore. It discusses the administration, *devaswoms*, *naduvil madom*, Cochin harbour etc.

Puthezhathu Rama Menon in his work *Sakthan Thampuran*⁶⁸ gives a detailed description on the administrative achievements of Rama Varma Sakthan Thampuran. He gives information on communities who were engaged in various commercial activities in Trichur. Sakthan established markets in different places especially in *Puthenpetta* in Trichur where 52 Christian families settled with his blessings. The work also explains the temple *Sanketham*, and *Avarodham* ceremony. He gives information on the places like Kodungallur, Irinjalakkuda and Thiruvilwamala and provides an insight into the history of Trichur. The achievements of Sakthan Thampuran are also highlighted in another work *Thrissur- Trichur*⁶⁹.

K.P Padmanabha Menon in his *Cochi Rajya Charithram*⁷⁰ gives a detailed description of the then Cochin. It is an authentic work on the Kingdom of Cochin including Trichur. It provides information on the temples and system of administration.

P Bhaskaranunni in his work *Pathonpatham Noottandile Keralam*⁷¹ gives a detailed description of the life and people of Kerala He examines how the Kerala society functioned under caste hierarchy. It explains the role of British colonialism in weakening the princely states, especially the role of Munroe. He examined the role played by Sakthan Thampuran in developing trade in Cochin.

T C Varghese in his work *Agrarian Change and Social Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960*⁷² examines the effects of the agrarian system on economic development.

⁶⁸ Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Sakthan Thampuran* (Mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 1989.

⁶⁹ Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Thrissur-Trichur* (Mal.), H and C Books, Thrissur, 2020.

⁷⁰ K P Padmanabha Menon, *Cochi Rajya Charitram* (Mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 1989.

⁷¹ P Bhaskaranunni, *Pathonpatham Noottandile Keralam* (Mal.), Keala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 2015.

⁷² T C Varghese, *Agrarian Change and Social Consequences: Land Tenures in Kerala, 1850-1960*, Bombay, 1970.

E.M.S Namboodirippad in *Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubumi* gives an account of the emerging identity of the people of Kerala under the British.⁷³ The National movement and their experiences finally led the people to form their own *Mathrubumi*. He deals with the concept of *jathijenmi naduvazhitham*.

Dutch in Malabar by A. Gallitti and Rev P Grout refers to agriculture, coins, exports etc. Among this, the references about the medieval *naduvazhi swaroopams* in Trichur is an exemption⁷⁴. Reports of Ward and Conner from 1816 to 1820 explains the ecology, *angadis*, water transportation, religion, census etc. The Vadakkumnathan temple, forts and Kovilakam and the *kole* fields in Trichur are discussed in this work. He states that Trichur was not at all a town at that time⁷⁵. The report of Francis Buchanan refers to the places north of Trichur including Kakkad, Kunnamkulam, Chettuva, Chavakkad and Veliyancode. It discusses on the *angadis*, weights and measures, agriculture and its products, slave trade etc. *Kerala Gazetteers* written by A. Sreedhara Menon published in 1962 provides information upon the political history of Trichur

The work, *Land Reforms and Socio- Economic Change in Kerala* by M. A Oommen is important both as historical survey and cultural evaluation on the topic of land tenures and agrarian relations⁷⁶.

C.A Krishnan's *Anchu Vilakku* and *Thrissur Pooram: Pakittum Polimayum* by K.K Sivadas provide relevant information on the cultural history of Trichur⁷⁷.

⁷³ E.M.S Namboodirippad, *Keralam Malayalikalude Mathrubumi* (Mal.), Mathrubhoomi Books, Thiruvananthapuram, 1948.

⁷⁴ A. Gallitti and Rev P Grout (trans), *The Dutch in Malabar*, Forgotten Books, Madras, 1911.

⁷⁵ Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the survey of Travancore and Cochin States*, Govt. of Kerala, 1994.

⁷⁶ M. A Oommen, *Land Reforms and Socio- Economic Change in Kerala: An Introductory Study*. CSIR, Vol 8, 1971.

⁷⁷ C.A Krishnan, *Anchu Vilakku* (Mal.), Green Books, Thrissur, 2009; K.K Sivadas, *Thrissur Pooram: Pakittum Polimayum*, Current Books, Thrissur, 2010.

*Kalabham*⁷⁸ written by M Rajendran is a work on the history of Arattupuzha Temple. It speaks about the temples which were popular in the late Eighteenth Century. The functioning of *uralars* and the *koyma* power exercised by the Rajas have been highlighted in his work. The temples discussed are Arattupuzha, Peruvanam, Triprayar, Cherpu, Thiruvullakkavu etc.

The work of T.R Venugopalan, *Sampathum Adhikaravum: Thrissuril Ninnulla Oru Kazhcha* (Mal.), he discusses the development of Trichur and its social and political formations along with the agricultural and trading activities till 18th century⁷⁹. The work gives more prominence to the temple-oriented society without exploring its colonial antecedents. This work analyses the hinterland trade and concentration of power under *Naduvazhis* in a vague manner depending mainly literary and inscriptional evidences. According to him urbanization is not visible in Trichur till the end of 18th century. It is only a small populated area with few markets as told by Goold in 1816. At the end of 18th century, Travancore and Cochin emerged as political powers which became a challenge to the very powerful nature of the temples. Side by side, he discusses the different communities with their trading interests.

Research Problem

Trichur region witnessed a number of economic and social factors which formed the backbone of making it an urban centre. It comprised of trade, agriculture, industries, markets, merchants, trade unions, co-operative movements and social developments which led to the process of urbanization. Of these activities of trade Trichur had a unique place in the state. The development of the market with the help of hinterlands and consequent expansion of internal trade along with the migration of communities were the positive steps in urbanizing Trichur.

Another proposition is that the integration of religious communities and consequent social mobilization benefited the market to a certain extent. The subject of the economic change in modern Trichur is vast and complex. An adequate

⁷⁸ M. Rajendran, *Kalabham* (Mal.), Puzha Publications, Thrissur, 2017.

⁷⁹ T.R Venugopalan, *Sampathum Adhikaravum Thrissuril Ninnulla Oru kazhcha* (Mal.), Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2012.

understanding of it will require extensive and in-depth studies into the economic, social and cultural history of Trichur. It also examines how the different state departments and institutions were being utilized by the rulers for their trade interest. The attempt to penetrate into the interior parts of Cochin by the introduction of railways entrepreneurship and provision of other infrastructure facilities to extract the resources of the state is as well scrutinized. The study also looks into the way by which the rulers as well as the merchants responded to the upcoming changes. Moreover, how the reforms of the state was helpful for the modernization and development of Trichur is also examined through this attempt.

The present study examines the historicity of market and trade in Trichur and the factors that led to its transition. This is an attempt to trace the commercial linkage of Trichur with erstwhile Cochin and outside the state. It analyses the role of Sakthan Thampuran in bringing the merchant communities to Trichur which led to the emergence of urban center. Additionally, it examines whether the policies of Cochin rulers and their trade interests had a bearing on the development of markets, education, transport and communication. The development of industries. had any impact on Trichur also comes under the scope of the study.

Aims and Objectives

- To assess the historicity of urbanization of Trichur under the rulers of Cochin from 1790 onwards
- To assess the Role of Sakthan Thampuran in the development of Trichur
- To assess the correlation between the markets and the mobilization of the different communities in Trichur.
- To study the role of religious institutions (temples and churches) in the growth of trade and urbanization.
- To study the centrality of Trichur in trade and its linkage with other markets like Kunnankulam, Guruvayur, Irinjalakkuda and Chalakkudy which are located almost at equal distance from Trichur.
- To assess the urban developments in Trichur in Nineteenth and Twentieth century

The present study entitled “The Processes of Trade and Urbanization in Trichur since 1790” seeks to explore the growth and development of Trichur in the shadow of colonial context. It also attempts to examine the nature and extent of the role of the rulers upon the emergence of the urban centre of Trichur. The study analyses the multiple spatial processes that went into the shaping of the city of Trichur. It also analyses the various mechanisms behind the transformation of a small place into an urban landscape.

The emergence of port town and the proliferation of markets and fairs in Cochin resulted in the concentration of surplus in a few hands (power centres). The network of exchange centres and the development of hinterlands as extracting surplus centres led to the emergence of powerful territorial authorities. They asserted their position and established their right over the income from these territories. With the control over rich hinterlands and ports, newly emerged power centres began to assert their hegemony over the inland kingdoms. Thus, they tried to carve out independent states. This is what Immanuel Wallerstein explained as the state’s exercise of power not only within its jurisdiction but also beyond it. It is a period of territorial conquest, maritime trade and emergence of towns and cities⁸⁰. The internal and external trade and fiscal systems were interdependent and complemented each other, contributing to the emergence of Trichur as an urban centre. Despite functioning as an extractive system, Trichur played a crucial role in establishing strong connections with trading communities and developing new mechanisms for economic surplus appropriation. The state was not indifferent to trade; rather, it actively fostered collaborations with mercantile groups, thereby increasing its revenue share. In doing so, the state created space for a significant informal sector dominated by fiscal intermediaries.

⁸⁰ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, pp.291-292.

Period of the Study

The period 1790 - 1949 was significant in many respects in the history of Trichur. The processes of urbanization in Trichur began with the accession of Rama Varma, better known as Sakthan Thampuran to the throne in 1790. The proposed study ends with 1949 when the state of Cochin was integrated to Travancore to form the United Travancore Cochin state. The period under study constitutes a transitional stage in the economy of Trichur. The period witnessed a transition from the traditional to modern society facilitated by the development of agriculture, trade and commerce, public works, fostering of education, development of transport and communication.

Relevance of the Study

The proposed study has both academic and socio – economic relevance. Most of the works of Trichur are of Portuguese period and the dynastic history of the rulers. So far, no substantial work has been produced in the social development and economic growth of Trichur. The present work has been a pioneer effort to study the causative factors behind the growth of trade and urbanization in Trichur.

Area of Study

The urban area chosen for this study is limited to Trichur Taluk and its hinterlands. The study proceeds with special examination of the central part of Trichur town which includes Trichur, Kanimangalam, Peringavu, Aranattukara Ollukkara, Chiyaram, Ayyanthole and Poonkunnam. In general, the history of Trichur and its trade connection with hinterlands and to Cochin came under the purview of the study. With the growth of trade and agriculture, the development of peripheries in to trade centers along with the core taken into consideration. The linkage of Trichur with Kunnamkulam, Guruvayur, Chavakkad, Wadakkanchery, Chalakudy, Irinjalakuda, Koratty etc make mention.

Design of the Thesis

Based on the collection and analysis of relevant materials, this thesis is designed to examine the economic growth of Trichur and provide a deeper understanding of its transformation into an urbanized economy. The study is organized into five chapters, in addition to an introduction and conclusion.

The introduction focuses on the philosophical and theoretical interpretations of key concepts that form the foundation of the thesis. It specifically outlines the conceptual framework that guides the research. The concept of urbanization, city, urbanity and urban environment have been discussed.

The first chapter 'Trade and Urbanization in Kerala: Historical Overview' observes the existing system of trade in pre modern Kerala. It discusses the general conditions of trade in Kerala especially in Cochin. It includes the development of markets, port cities and merchant groups. The emergence of port towns and proliferation of markets resulted in the concentration of surplus in few power centres. The port centres of Cochin, Quilon, Kodungallur and Calicut were discussed in detail.

The second chapter 'Land, Temples and Authority: Trichur in the 18th Century' discusses the various power relations including the role of temples. It analyses the ways in which how the temples became the centres of power and how *swaroopams* emerged as hinderance to the development of a state. So, in the first part this chapter examined the economic importance of the temples as centres of resource mobilisation and redistribution. The *sanketham* of prominent temples with their wealth and power can be clearly seen from the inscriptional sources. The rulers of Cochin Kozhikode and Travancore were competing each other for getting the *koyma* power. In the second part, the chapter evaluates the pre-colonial state structure on which the city was constructed. Discussion also made on the *Naduvazhis* and major *swaroopams* in Trichur. The military strength of the Perumpadappu *swaroopam* and the army of the *naduvazhis* discussed in detail.

The third chapter 'Modernisation and Urbanization of Trichur under Sakthan Thampuran' examine how policies and programmes of Sakthan Thampuran resulted in the urbanization of Trichur. The changing land relations, agricultural development, improvement in transportation, development of trade and banking have been analysed as causative factors in urbanising the region.

The fourth chapter 'Agrarian Relations, Commercialisation and Demographic Change' contextualizes the administrative space of the city which finally is the decisive factor in the growth of the city. The fourth chapter explores how the economic space of the city was structured to align with the ruler's requirements. It provides the historical background of the thesis, detailing the emergence of Trichur as a centre of a developing state under the Cochin rulers. The chapter examines how various channels utilized to build up the capital city which became the symbol of power exercised by rulers of Cochin. City still locates the headquarters of many nationalised scheduled banks and non-banking finance companies and contributes significantly to the financial sector of the state.

The fifth chapter, titled "Imprints of Urbanization, " focuses on how the newly emerged community restructured the city's social space. In the broader context of the thesis, this chapter examines the transformative impact of urbanization on social dynamics and spatial organization. It is based upon the major themes i.e. urbanization, newly emerged industries, intellectual community, spatial processes and the evolution of urbanism. The city's strategic location enables the transportation of goods via rail, road, and waterways, with proximity to the Cochin port further enhancing connectivity. Additionally, the availability of cheap labour force contributed to Trichur's industrial growth. The tile and brick industry developed in the areas of Ollur, Pudukkad, Amballur etc became centres of industrial development. The timber industry, along with the growing number of sawmills, was of considerable importance. A substantial portion of the timber was sourced from the forests of Trichur and Chalakudy. Increasing number of beedi manufacturing, rice mills, coir and coir products, textile mills had clear indication of

the industrial development in the Trichur region. The establishment of industrial estate and the Engineering workshops became positive results of industrial development.

Methodology and Sources

The methodology of the study is mainly empirical based on the primary sources available at various repositories.

Archival materials available in Kerala and Tamil Nadu have been utilized for this study. The sources like settlement Registers, Administrative Reports and Census Reports. Handbooks, government publications, contemporary literary works, and relevant theoretical studies obtained from various libraries have also been utilized for this research.

CHAPTER 1

Trade and Urbanization in Kerala: Historical Overview

“For whosoever commands the sea, commands the trade; whosoever commands the trade of the world commands the riches of the world, and consequently, the world itself.”

– Sir Walter Raleigh

As part of the study, this section attempts to furnish a historical overview of the development of markets, port cities and merchant groups in pre-modern Kerala as part of the process of urbanization.

Archaeological, archival and numismatic sources and literary accounts both indigenous and foreign provide valuable information on Kerala. It was the geographical location of Kerala that brought her within the ambit of trade. The long coastal region and the monsoon winds set her in the crest and cradle of Indian Ocean trade. The features of unique sea board of Kerala like the river banks further boosted the sea-borne trade¹. Additionally, the geographical conditions and climate helped her to grow peculiar spices and resources that enriched the trade.

The study of State structures, merchant communities and the markets in pre-modern Kerala involves a wide range of factors. One of them, the most prominent, is related to urban processes in which the study of port cities and hinterland that evolves in a particular region becomes important. Various political structures had emerged in Kerala even from the period of ‘Tamizhakam’ as explained in the Tamil anthologies and later the Kingdom of the Rajas of Travancore, Cochin and Kozhikode. In all these periods, there existed port centers which later on developed into urban centers or kicked off the process of urbanization with the help of hinterland and political patronage.

¹ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Kozhikode, 2012, p.47.

Archaeological sources of maritime trade go back to the centuries before the Christian era. Remains of inscriptions, iron-age remains, coins of Cheras and Cholas, Roman gold coins, Egyptian Papyri, Graeco-Roman maritime writings and Tamil anthologies provide insightful information on Kerala's internal and overseas trade.

Graeco-Roman writings give insights into the Early South Indian ports, marts and ship technology. Most important among them in the Kerala coast were Muziris, Tyndis, Becare and Nelcynda². Graeco-Roman writings, especially *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, explain Muziris as a fairly big settlement, the main mart, as big as the port of Limyrike. According to the author, the land of Keprobotos owed its prosperity to the overseas commerce with the Roman Empire, which involved shipping of Arabian and Greek cargoes and Indian cargoes from Muziris. *Periplus Maris, Erithraei or PME* ('Voyage around Erythraean sea) connects the port with black pepper, a spice in demand all over the Mediterranean world and beyond³. The work mentions about spices in huge loads brought by the local suppliers and stored in warehouses well before the arrival of the Graeco-Roman merchants. Pliny the Elder calls Muziris as the *primum emporium indiae*. Ptolemy locates Muziris towards the north of the river mouth. The *Peutinger Table* marks a large lake behind the Muziris emporium and puts an icon denoting *Templum Augusti* which is generally considered as a temple of Augustus⁴. A passage in *Purananuru* describes the riches of *Muchiri* by referring to the ship bringing gold and the boat bringing it ashore. The poem also mentions the prosperity of *Muchiri* by referring to the paddy heaped in the fisherman's boat after selling the fish and the houses with pepper sacks piled up⁵. The poems in *Akananuru* also depicts the political structure including that of the chieftains and *ventars*. The port Tyndis is mentioned in *PME* as

² Rajan Gurukkal, *Rethinking Classical Indo-Roman Trade: Political Economy of Eastern Mediterranean Exchange Relations*, Oxford University Press, New Delhi, 2016, p.154.

³ *Ibid.*, p.162.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.164.

⁵ *Ibid.*

the first major mart next to Naoura that marks the northern boundary of Limyrike⁶. Pliny the Elder and Strabo certifies the port of Nelcynda and Becare as better navigable than Muziris.

The port centers acted as ferry and bazaar. Located in the interior, a few ports constrained the ships to be off-shore and depended on smaller boats for the conveyance of goods. Muziris was basically a trans-shipment ferry which presupposed warehouses, camps of overseas traders, a bazaar of merchandise, convergence of overland merchants and craftsmen. The trade networks on the Malabar Coast could be divided into three; local trade, long distance overland trade and long- distance overseas trade⁷.

The evidences from the early records negate the traditional view that the Indian Ocean trade network developed only with the advent of European Naval powers. Recent studies re-examined the Eurocentric theory and concluded that the Indian Ocean trade network was well knit long before the advent of the European naval powers.

Kerala assumed the characteristics of a major political unit with the emergence of the *Perumals* of Mahodayapuram. The rise of the *Perumals* and political unification marked the culmination of a series of complex processes with far-reaching consequences in economy and society. The development of port centers and markets can be seen in the post Perumal period. The accounts of medieval travelers also revealed that in South India an Oceanic trade system existed extending from Red Sea to China which was linked with Eastern Mediterranean. The main centers of this Oceanic trade system were Venice, Alexandria, Hormuz, Aiden, Quilon, Calicut and the port towns. *Sandesakavyas* reflect various routes of trade in Kerala during the period between 13th to 15th centuries. Repeated references to routes

⁶ W H Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century*, Logmans, New York, 1912, pp.40-50.

⁷ P. J. Cherian (ed.), *Perspectives in Kerala History: The Second Millennium*, Kerala Gazetteers Department Thiruvananthapuram, 1999, p.99.

make it clear that merchants of Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Konkan, Karnataka, Kalinga and Malwa reached the markets of Kerala. Literary reference also makes it clear that the routes ran South to North, in certain regions parallel to the sea coast, and in some other places it touched the South Indian markets. *Unnuneelisesandesam* refers to the route from Quilon to Thiruvalla through Kayamkulam. It also pictured the thick forest on both sides up to the end of Thekkinkuru.

In Medieval period Kerala witnessed the emergence of *Swaroopams* and *Naduvazhis*. Hierarchy of power emerged along with the establishment of *Swaroopam*. Duties, rights, privileges and powers were assigned to various power structures which were Desam, Tara and Nadus. Most of the *Swaroopams* had developed in the agrarian regions called *nadus*. They came into existence during and even before the later Chera state, from 9th to 11th CE.⁸ Many of these *Nadus* continued to exist and became stronger after the decline of the Chera state. There occurred territorial changes and political configuration in these *nadus* during the period between 12th and 18th centuries⁹. *Nadus* had the basic characteristics of a medieval state such as revenue system, military and judicial administration and court culture. It also meant the form of the ruling houses and signified the extent of the political and cultural domain of the rulers¹⁰. These joint families were known as Swaroopams. The political fragmentation after the *Perumals* paved way for the emergence of several *Swaroopams* and *Naduvazhis*¹¹. The main *Nadus* were Kolathunadu, Purakeezhanadu, Kurumburainadu. Ramavalanadu, Eralanadu, Valluvanadu, Kalkarinadu, Kizhmalainadu and Venad. These *Nadus* developed as power structures due to the consolidation of resources. The rulers of these *Nadus* were *Naduvazhis* who were known by the locality where their joint family was originally situated.

⁸ K. N. Ganesh, *Reflections on Pre- Modern Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2016, p.97.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ S Raju, *Political Organization of Medieval Self forms: Swarupam and Muppuvazhcha*, Lateral Study Series, No. 15, School of Social Sciences, M. G. University, Kottayam.

¹¹ M. G. S. Narayanan, *Kozhikkodinte Katha*, (Mal.), Ottapalam, 2001, p.36.

The functioning of such units needed a large number of functionaries that resulted in the formation of several new sections in the society. One of the important *Swaroopams* was Nedyirippu *Swaroopam* which transferred their royal residence from Nedyirippu to maritime trade center, Calicut. The chief eventually came to be known as Zamorin (the Lord of the Ocean) whose shifting of headquarters to Calicut coincided with the intensification of maritime trade. After securing a permanent base that ensured a regular flow of wealth, Zamorin consolidated his political and commercial position in Kerala with the money supplied by Al Karimi merchants.

Along with these developments, the chief of Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* who had his seat in the inland agrarian center of Vanneri also started moving from there. They moved to Mahodayapuram due to military expeditions of the Zamorin¹². Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* was the name of the royal family of Cochin. It was so called after the village of the same name in Vanneri in Ponnani Taluk of Malabar, which was said to have been the original seat of the family. It was also called Madathumkal *Swaroopam*. The official designation of the rulers of Cochin was *Perumpadappu GangadharaVira Kerala Trikkovil Adhikarikal*. This title indicated that the ruler exercised jurisdiction over a large number of Temples in Kerala irrespective of all considerations of political boundaries¹³.

There were powerful merchant families like the Karimi merchants who dominated the trade between Kerala and Egypt in the 13th century¹⁴. The Oceanic trade network was dependent on international cooperation and merchants worked beyond political considerations. This is evident from the development of the Caliphate and the strengthening of the East West trade dominated by the Islamic traders. By the end of the 14th century, Malabar became the central point in the

¹² C. Achyutha Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, Ernakulam, 1911, p.2.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹⁴ Walter J. Fichel, "The Spice Trade in Mamuluk Egypt, A Contribution to the Economic History of Medieval Islam", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 1, 1958, pp.157-174.

pepper trade. Trade on the Malabar Coast focused mainly on the ports of Quilon, Kodungallur, Panthalayani Kollam, Kozhikode and Cochin. These towns were flourishing local trading centers capable of dealing with overseas trade.

Quilon was a brisk trading center and all the facilities including warehouses existed in the town and the presence of foreign trade communities in the town is also attested by the inscriptions¹⁵.

Kodungallur, which was known in the medieval records as Muyirikkode or Makotai Pattanam, contributed immensely to the overseas trade of Kerala. The excavations of Anujan Achan threw light into the flourishing foreign trade centered in the town¹⁶. The inscriptional evidence also exhibits the rights and privileges enjoyed by the trading communities¹⁷.

The port town of Calicut was another important port town in the Indian Ocean trade which was frequently visited by merchants from various nations¹⁸. Panthalayani Kollam was another port trading center that connected Kerala with Indian Ocean trade.

The great flood of 1341 in Periyar changed the geography of Cochin. Kodungallur lost its earlier importance as trade center. It was during this period that 'Kochazhi' (little port) or Cochi gained prominence. When the trading activities shifted to Cochin, the Royal Family shifted their headquarters to Cochin in 1405 which continued till the end of 18th century. It seems to have stemmed from the desire to build on the gains from trade and the perception that a strong state could check the Zamorin's expansion.

The emergence of port towns and proliferation of markets and fairs resulted in the concentration of surplus in a few hands or power centers. The network of

¹⁵ M.G.S. Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972, pp.31-37.

¹⁶ Anujan Achan, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of Cochin State 1947-48*, Ernamkulam.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.79-81.

¹⁸ Abd-er-Razzak, R. H. Major, *India in the Fifteenth century*, London, 1857, p.19.

exchange centers and extraction of surplus helped the rulers to assert their position and hegemony over the inland kingdoms. This is what Immanuel Wallerstein explained as the state; exercise of power not only within its jurisdiction but also beyond it. It was a period of territorial conquests, maritime trade and emergence of towns and cities¹⁹.

Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* later developed as Kingdom of Cochin. The period between the emergence of Naduvazhi *Swaroopam* and the advent of the European colonial interest proves to be a very important phase in the history of Kerala. The period witnessed crucial economic transformation in the form of spread of agrarian settlements, transition in land relations, increase in production of food crops and spices, proliferation of the *angadis* and *chanthas*, and the increasing hinterland river transportation. There was also a change in language in order to equip with the emerging trends. Along with these changes, the *Karanavar* of *Swaroopams* made changes in their royal and political positions. The changes that developed in the Naduvazhi *Swaroopam* varied in their power and wealth but such kind of development was same in almost all parts of Kerala. The succession conflict among the *tavazhis* (lineages) led to the decline of the *Swaroopams* as is recorded in the Mathilakam *Grandhavari* and Kozhikkodan *Grandhavari*²⁰.

The development of trade and the commercial activities of the period were well documented by the traveler Ma Huan who visited Kerala in 1409²¹. He speaks about the trade transactions at the port of Cochin, especially pepper trade with China. He refers to the gold and silver coins used for making purchases in the market²². Fei Hsin who visited Cochin in 1436 testifies the wide variety of the

¹⁹ Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Capitalist World-Economy*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1979, pp.291-292.

²⁰ M. R.Raghava Varier, *Madhyakala Keralam Swaroopaneethiyude CharithraPadangal* (Mal.), Kottayam, 2014, p.12.

²¹ K. N. Chaudhuri, *Trade and Civilisation in the Indian Ocean: An Economic History from the rise of Islam to 1750*, Cambridge, 1975, p.60.

²² Ma Huan, *Ying-yai Sheng-lan*, Hariprasad Ray, An Enquiry into the presence of the Chinese in South and South East Asia after the Voyages of Zheng He in Early Fifteenth Century, a paper presented in the Second International Symposium on Maritime Studies, Pondicherry, 16-20, Dec., 1991.

circulation of coins and trade transactions in this port.²³ He also testifies that local merchants dictated prices, movement of ships and specified the maximum time limit for one's stay in a port.

However, by the end of the 15th century, most of the coins exchanged in mercantile transactions were not issued by the King of Cochin because he was deprived by Zamorin of the right to strike coins²⁴. The merchant groups were not only natives, they included the *chettis* from Coromandal coast, traders from Cranganore, St. Thomas Christians, the Jews, Kolings from Pegu and Malacca, who shifted to Cochin. Their involvement in Cochin trade indicates that this port was incorporated in the exchange system of South East Asia. It is clear that, "in ancient period Muziris occupied a prime position which was taken over by Quilon in Early Medieval period till 16th century later assumed by Calicut. With the coming of Portuguese, the prime position was taken over by Cochin. At the same time these trade centers of spice acted as major units of political life of Malabar. These three ports were the nucleus of political consolidation in pre- Portuguese period"²⁵.

The natural result of all these developments was the genesis of an urban center in and around the port of Cochin. An important feature of the port city was that its economic life was linked with two or more marketing systems. There were overseas markets with which the port was immediately linked to the hinterland products²⁶. The goods imported were carried for consumption and further distribution throughout the hinterland.

²³ Fei Hsin, *Hsing-Ch'a Sheng-Lan* 30- "Kochih", translated by Rockhill, Notes on the Relations and Trade of China, 1914, p.452.

²⁴ Duarte Barbosa, *The Book of Duarte Barbosa: An Account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean and their Inhabitants*, Translated by Mansel Longworth Dames, Vol II, Nendeln, 1967, p.95.

²⁵ M. C. Pius, *Urban Growth of Cochin in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Unpublished M. Phil Dissertation submitted to Pondicherry Central University, 1992, pp.27-45.

²⁶ Frank Broeze, ed., *Brides of the Sea: Port Cities of Asia from 16th to 20th Centuries*, Kensington, 1989, p.11.

Hinterlands were more economic units than geographical regions. They supplied the city with commodities to be taken to the overseas markets and also for local consumption. So the extracted surplus from the hinterlands were traded to the port cities. Port cities also facilitated colonial penetration into the interior. The transition of port centers into markets of international trade made these centers the hub of urbanization.

In the 17th century, kings of Cochin turned out to be more assertive. This affected the Portuguese trade in Cochin and the Portuguese succeeded in bringing them to a cooperative endeavor. Fall of Ormuz affected the empire of the private traders of Cochin. Circumstances that led to the establishment of Portuguese India Company paved way for the increasing trade with the rulers of Cochin. Besides the Kingdom of Cochin, many *nadus* in Central Kerala were noted for large scale spice production which were carved out in the hinterlands of Cochin. They were Poracad, Thekkumkur, Vadakkumkur, Kizhumalainadu, Alengad, Parur and Cranganore. The Portuguese offered monetary reward to the rulers of Cochin who in turn helped them to integrate and incorporate these hinterlands with the port of Cochin. The Vembanadu Lake into which various land routes and the seven riverine routes merged facilitated easy transportation of commodities from hinterlands to Cochin. Various parts of spice growing hinterlands connected with Cochin flourished until the middle of the 17th century.

Seaborne trade across Indian Ocean primarily determined by what Braudel called 'Longue duree' or long-term rhythm of the natural and human environment, both political and natural events getting affected by rhythms of human activity. The impact of each kingdom upon maritime trade was different. The Dutch East India Company moved beyond simply controlling ports as the Portuguese had done, to establishing either direct or indirect control of spice and pepper producing areas in the Moluccas, Colombo and Cochin²⁷. By 1700, the Dutch were the dominant

²⁷ Kenneth Mc Pherson, *The Indian Ocean: A History of People and the Sea*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1993, p.183.

European power in the Indian Ocean in terms of trade and territory. “In the 18th century, the British built up a well-knit commercial network in the Indian Ocean. It was not only because of their capital and technology but because of the use of force”²⁸.

Merchant Communities in Kerala

Innumerable merchant groups existed in Kerala even from the ancient period. They were engaged in different types of exchange activities. These merchant groups ranged from long distance traders to small groups or peddling traders. All these trading groups ensured continuity in the circulation of commodities. The peddling traders collected products at grass root level for the merchants involved in long distance trade. However, the strategies employed by these merchant groups varied from each other. They introduced diverse strategy and mechanism for the continuity of their trading activities without affecting changes in polity, economy and society. The merchant communities developed devices to adapt to multiple levels of politico-economic shocks in order to ensure uninterrupted flow of commodities.

Trading activities of Kerala, towards the close of first millennium, were organized under the Chera rulers (*Perumals/ Kulasekharas*) with the help of their feudatories. The main aim of this trade was to amass huge wealth in order to face the expansionist move of the Cholas. The *Perumals* and the *Naduvazhis* made increasing use of merchant guilds *Anchuvannam* and *Manigramam*²⁹. These merchant guilds had links with the ports of Persian Gulf and Red Sea in order to control the affairs of the West Coast of India particularly of Kerala. From 9th century onwards, the Cheras started mobilizing maritime trade of Kerala through the port of Quilon which was also known as Kurakkeni Kollam. The port city turned out to be a center for the merchants and Christian immigrants from Persia who developed an extensive network of trade³⁰.

²⁸ Pamela Nightingale, *Trade and Empire in Western India: 1784-1806*, London, 1974, p.236.

²⁹ Meera Mary Abraham, *Two Medieval Merchant Guilds of South India*, University of Virginia, 1988, pp.181-182.

³⁰ *T A S*, Vol II, Madras, 1916, pp.66-75.

Therisappalli Copper plate of the Venad ruler Ayyanatikal Thiruvatikal mentions the Christian merchant of *Manigramam*, Mar Sapir Iso (Maruvan Sapir Iso) who managed to get privileges from the ruler. He obtained economic and commercial privileges from the local ruler and in the long run it strengthened the Christian trading community. This helped them to emerge as resourceful agents in mobilizing trade and bringing wealth to empower the state³¹.

Meanwhile the Jewish traders who were linked with *Anjuvannam* emerged as the leading merchant community of Kerala³². They had developed their own maritime trade route taking ginger, pepper, Brazil wood and cardamom from the ports of Malabar in the beginning of the 9th century³³. The Jewish merchants having networks extended to Persia, Egypt, Indian Ocean Region and Mediterranean world used to take commodities to the Mediterranean region via Aiden, Cairo and Alexandria.³⁴ With the coming of more Jews from West Asia and the Mediterranean world, there arose a differentiation between these two mercantile community as black Jews (the earliest Jewish settlers in Malabar) and white Jews (*pardesi* Jews)³⁵.

With the expansion of Islam, the Arab *dhow*s (trading vessels) and the Abbasid merchants began to reach Kerala coast from the 9th century onwards. As a result, the mercantile history of the Indian Ocean world got re-oriented. This new merchant community laid the Islamic commercial superstructure over the Sassanid traders. The long- distance trade of the new merchant groups took 90 days to reach China from Persian Gulf. On their way to China, Quilon served as the principal halting center. The dhows took shelter in Quilon awaiting favourable monsoon winds and to take provisions.³⁶ Owing to frequent commercial voyages of the

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.68.

³² MGS Narayanan, *Perumals of Kerala*, Current books, Thrissur, 2018, p.155.

³³ S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders*, Princeton, 1972, p.70.

³⁴ Pius Malekandathil, The Jews of Cochin and the Portuguese (1498-1663). *The Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 2002, pp.240-241.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.241-242.

³⁶ G. F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Towns*, Princeton, 1951, pp.70-74.

Abbasid merchants, the Muslim trading community evolved into a significant mercantile segment in Kerala. Quilon provided a base for the Chera rulers to enter the southern market coming under the influence of the Cholas, particularly those of Sri Lanka.

The Tarisappalli Copperplate mentions about the amount that was collected as customs duty to Tarisappalli. In 849 CE, each cart (*vayinam*) taking merchandise by land into the market of Quilon was to pay eight *kasu* and each boat(*vediyilum*) that carried cargo to the port had to pay four *kasu* as customs duty to Tarisappalli, around which the wheels of Quilon's commerce moved on³⁷. The two terms mentioned in the copper plate explained the share of the King and the local rulers. The term *kopathavaram* (share of wealth of trade to the Chera ruler, Sthanu Ravi Varma) and *Pathi Pathavaram* (share of wealth of trade to the local ruler, Ayyanadikal)³⁸.

The power of the rulers changed with change in time so the merchants kept themselves linked to the rulers as well as almost all power sharing institutions through various strategies. The trading community donated to the rulers in return for their trade. The rulers conferred titles and privileges and gave patronage to them. One such concession was the privileges given to the traders Chathan Vadukkan and Iravi Chathan by King Rajasimhan as mentioned in the Thazhekkad Church Inscription³⁹. They were the local Christian traders who belonged to the *Manigramam* merchant guild.

Several attempts were made by the Chera rulers, Naduvazhis and local chieftains to encourage trade with foreign and local networks. During the Chera-Chola war the king was assisted by Joseph Rabban, the leader of the merchant guild *Anjuvannam* who linked with Jews of Muyirikode provided men and material. In return, Joseph Rabban was granted 72 privileges in 1000 A.D. by the Chera King,

³⁷ *TAS*, Vol II, Madras, 1916, pp. 68-71.

³⁸ *TAS*, Vol I, Madras, 1910, p. 68.

³⁹ A.Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala Charithram* (Mal.), DC Books, Kottayam, 1973, p.135.

Baskara Ravi Varma⁴⁰. This was a kind of strategy used by the rulers to ensure mercantile support of the Jewish merchants who were operating in different ports of Kerala. Another development was that there were Jewish merchants operating from Egypt who had collaboration with Jews of Kerala. Mahruz B. Jacob, a ship owning merchant (*nakhoda*) conducted trade with ports of Konkan, Malabar and Egypt. Quilon turned out to be the principal destination for the Jewish merchants. With the ardent support of Chera rulers, Jewish merchants began to pan out to different exchange centers of Kerala like Madai, Quilon, Shingly, Palayoor and Mala, sustained by movement of commodities and social linkage⁴¹.

Political fragmentation and expansion of mercantile network changed the scenario of 12th Century. Political disintegration of the central authority of the Kulasekharas of Mahodayapuram led to the emergence of the *Naduvazhis*, *Swaroopams*, *Kaimals*, *Karthas*, etc. Many of the *Naduvazhis* and local chieftains tried to control the major maritime centers in order to bag the lion's share of profit to maintain their political mileage. Some of the chieftains started moving from inland agricultural areas to the sea-borne trade centers. Their main intention was to strengthen their political supremacy from the gains of trade for which they began to attract traders to their ports.

Due to some unprecedented geographical changes, the Perumpadappu Swaroopam with its headquarters at an inland agrarian center of Vanneri was shifted to Cochin in 1405. Attempts were made by the rulers of Cochin to attract different groups of merchant community with the intention of mobilization of resources for their political endeavors. The array of merchant groups included the Muslims linked with west Asian trade, the *Chetties* associated with Coromandal coast and Canara.⁴² Jewish traders expanded their trade to Cochin by establishing their base at Sinhora

⁴⁰ Elamkulam Kunjanpillai, *The Studies in Kerala*, Kottayam, 1970; MGS Narayanan, *Cultural Symbiosis in Kerala*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972, p.82.

⁴¹ P.M.Jussay, *The Jews in Kerala*., University of Calicut, Calicut, 2005, p.128; H.Yule and H.Cordier, ed., *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol II, New Delhi, 1998, pp.375-76.

⁴² Ma Huan, *Ying Yai Sheng Lan 12, Kochih*, translated by W. W.Rockhill *Op.Cit.*, pp. 450-451.

Savode located almost 10 kilometers away from Cochin in 1471⁴³. The fate of the many merchant communities changed considerably by the end of 15th century when Zamorin captured Cochin. The traditional traders were ousted from the port of Cochin especially the *Nazarenes* (the St. Thomas Christians) and their trade was handed over to Muslim traders from Calicut⁴⁴.

Protective arrangements and patronage given by the rulers of Cochin to their favoured merchant communities helped the merchants to face the wrath of the Portuguese traders. The King of Cochin gave patronage to Castilian Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1512⁴⁵. In 1568, the ruler permitted the Jews to build a synagogue at Mattancheri closer to his palace around which the Jewish settlement started to develop. This enabled the rise of Jews as a prominent trading community⁴⁶.

Zamorin of Calicut also ensured regular flow of wealth from trade, thus consolidating his political position. With the help of Al-Karimi traders, Zamorin conquered neighbouring principalities of Nilambur, Manjeri and Malappuram along with integration of hinterlands for procurement of spices⁴⁷. The trans-oceanic trade was controlled by *paradesi* Al-Karimi Muslims from Northern Kerala to the Red Sea and the Marakkar Muslims controlled coastal trade between Coromandal and Malabar. The local Mappila Muslims of Malabar engaged in peddling trade⁴⁸. At the same period, the economic developments of Cannanore and Quilon led to multiple responses among the merchant groups⁴⁹.

⁴³ K.P.Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol II, New Delhi, 1982, p.51.

⁴⁴ O. K.Nambiar, *The Kunjalis, Admirals of Calicut*, Asia Publishing House, Delhi, 1963, p.40 ; K. P.Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1982, p.167.

⁴⁵ J. B. Segal, *A History of the Jews of Cochin*, London, 1993, p.19.

⁴⁶ K.P.Padmanabha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.519.

⁴⁷ William Logan, *Malabar Manual*, Vol I, New Delhi, 1989 ; K. V. Krishna Iyer, *Zamorins of Calicut*, Calicut, 1938, pp.91-92.

⁴⁸ Pius Malekandathil, 'Merchants, Markets and Commodities: Some Aspects of Portuguese Commerce with Malabar', in *The Portuguese, The Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: Festschrift in Honour of Prof. K. S. Mathew*, ed., Pius Malekandathil and J.Mohammed, Goa, 2001, pp.242-244.

⁴⁹ G. Bouchon, *Regent of the Sea: Cannanore's Response to Portuguese Expansion, 1507-1528*, trans., L. Shackley, Delhi, 1928, pp.23-25.

By the end of 15th century, there was an increase in bulk trade from Quilon where the principal traders were Jews and St. Thomas Christians. Calicut and Cannanore became important ports of Kerala because of their commercial linkages with Eastern Mediterranean world through *paradesi* Muslims⁵⁰.

With the entry of Portuguese in the Indian Ocean trade, the Raja of Cochin tried to be in good terms with them. Meanwhile they extended protection and patronage to the native trading groups like the Jews, *Konkani* and the Muslim traders whose settlements were located in the vicinity of Raja's palace. The share of profit the Raja received from the trade was collected in the form of customs duty. It was recorded as 60,000 *pardaos* in 1605 to 80,000 *pardaos* in 1612⁵¹.

Trade Routes

The trade route across the Western Ghats provided safe outlets for the native merchants to continue their trading activities. Many of these Ghat routes started their course from the peripheral zone of Cochin's hinterland. This helped the merchants to carry their commodities to Coromandel coast. With the help of pack animals the commodities were transshipped to the ports of China, Bengal, Gujarat and Red Sea, Arabia, Persia and Pegu through diverse navigational routes. Portuguese documents used the phrase *foi pela terradentro* to signify the movement of commodities through the Ghat routes⁵².

Some of the Kerala merchant groups started operating with the Ghat route trade in order to keep safe from the Portuguese patrolling fleet. There arose tensions and conflict between the Portuguese and the hinterland spice producing cum trading merchants. So instead of being taken to Cochin, the commodities were taken through

⁵⁰ Walter de Grey Birch, ed., *The Commentaries of the Great Alfonso D'Albuquerque*, New York, 1975, p.15.

⁵¹ Pius Malekandathil, "Winds of Change and Links of Continuity: A Study on the Merchant Groups of Kerala and the Channels of their Trade (1000-1800)"; *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol 50 No 2/3, 2007, p.259.

⁵² Pius Malekandathil, 'Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime trade of India 1500-1663', *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol-62, 2003, p.202.

Ghat routes. St. Thomas Christians who were once the collaborators of the Portuguese in spice trade to their factory at Cochin diverted to the Coromandel coast through the Ghat route⁵³. A great quantity of spices was diverted from the major settlements like Kanjirappilly, Eratupetta, Erumely and Chalakudy across the Ghat route. Francisco da Costa writes in 1603 that the total volume of pepper thus diverted from the production centers of Kerala to the Coromandel ports for further maritime distribution amounted to 57,22,450 kilograms. From the Coromandel ports, the spices were again taken to Tartaria, Arabia, Persia, Pegu and China by *Casado vaniks* and the traditional merchant communities⁵⁴. Thus, Ghat route acted as an alternative channel for the traders in times of coercive power exercised by the Portuguese and the Dutch.

Merchant Communities under Dutch in Cochin

With the entry of Dutch commercial activities, many merchant communities engaged in diverse trading and got more commercial outlets. The chief beneficiaries included Jews, *Konkanis*, Tamil *Pattars*, St. Thomas Christians and the Marakkars. With the intervention of the Dutch the traditional merchants emerged as the principal suppliers to the cargo of the Dutch company. The Jewish community of the native Cochin got greater chances for commercial stimulation. The Jews emerged as wealthy millionaires in the process of exchange activities with the Portuguese and the native rulers. For example, Ezekiel Rahabi, who was the chief merchant of the company in the middle of the 18th century and a descendant of the Syrian Jew settled down in Cochin in 1646. A large number of merchants like *Konkanis* (Gowda Saraswatha Brahmins) and Tamil Brahmin *Pattars* played a major role in the last quarter of 17th century and in the 18th century. Baba Prabhu monopolized most of the company's products and his brothers Baboeca Prabhu, Vittula Nayak Perimbala

⁵³ Pius Malekandathil, 'The Portuguese and the Ghat Trade 1500-1663', *Pondichery University Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 1-2 -1, 2000, pp.137-148.

⁵⁴ Pius Malekandathil, 'Winds of Change and Links of Continuity: A Study on the Merchant Groups of Kerala and the Channels of Their Trade, 1000-1800', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* Vol. 50, No. 2/3, 2007, p.278.

and Rama Prabhu were the leading *Konkani* merchants of Cochin⁵⁵. *Konkanis* expanded their network activities and kept in touch with the commercial centers of coastal western India and Portuguese Goa while keeping closer to the ruler of Cochin. Meanwhile the Tamil *Pattars* preferred to involve in the politics and commerce in the altered situation. They rose to high positions and equipped themselves to tackle the commercial transactions of the Dutch.

St. Thomas Christians including the Jacobite and Catholic fractions actively involved in trade with the Dutch. St. Thomas Christians of Thekkumkur and Vadakkumkur were actively engaged in supply of pepper to the Company⁵⁶. Thachil Mathu Tharakan, the leading merchant in the family sided with the Raja of Travancore and played a leading role with Raja Kesava Das in the development of Port of Alleppy in 1763. Then onwards Mathu Tharakan became the supplier of goods to the English in Travancore.⁵⁷

The Muslim merchants were active in Cannanore, Calicut and Cochin during this period. Many Marakkar traders supplied large volumes of pepper to the Dutch East India Company in 1702, 1703 and 1704. Most prominent among them were Chinna Thambi Marakkar, Koya Marakkar, Ali Marakkar and Ibrahim Marakkar⁵⁸. Though there were frequent attacks of the Portuguese, Marakkars did not altogether disappear from the commercial scene.

The merchant groups interacted with one another and at times operated hand in hand in crossing the barriers of region and religion. These developments kept the region riding on the wheels of commerce uninterruptedly throughout the early modern period and to get on to the wings of urbanization.

⁵⁵ Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade 1740-1800*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1966, pp.104-108; Hugo K.s'Jacob, *The Rajas of Cochin 1663-1720, Kings, Chiefs and the Dutch East India Company*, New Delhi, 2000, pp.52-57.

⁵⁶ Das Gupta, *Op. Cit.*, p.41.

⁵⁷ M. O. Ouseph, *Thachil Mathu Tharakan*, Kottayam, 1968; S.Rajendran, 'Monopoly of Pepper Trade and its Abolition in Travancore', *Journal of Kerala Studies*, 18.4, 1991, p.245.

⁵⁸ VOC, Series -1702, *Coromandel*, pp. 1039, 1165, 1168, 1170.

In the beginning of the 17th century, the rulers of Cochin began to invest capital and utilise the expertise of the Jewish and Muslim traders to transport commodities to Mecca and other ports of the Red Sea. The Jewish merchant leaders of the native city of Cochin like David Levi and Samuel Castiel served as advisors to the King. They played a decisive role in shaping the commercial policy of Cochin in the second and third decades of the 17th century⁵⁹. The ruler shaped the commercial policies in order to face the changing scenario and for aiding the merchant communities⁶⁰.

The conquest of Portuguese settlements by the Dutch and the re-conquest of Chettuvay increase the power of Dutch in Cochin. Analysing the policy of the Rajas of Cochin after the expansion of Travancore in the 1740s and 1750s, they failed to centralize their realm⁶¹.

The Dutch could make the treaty of 1663 with the Raja of Cochin, by which they obtained the monopoly on pepper which was effective only by subduing the local rulers. In 1678, the Cochin rulers were excluded from the government and the finances were handed over to Paliath Achan, the bondsman of the Dutch, who would rule over in consultation with but not under the orders of the Raja. Therefore, “the Rajah himself was reduced to a cypher”. From the treaty of 1684 onwards the treasury and the *Diwanship* came into the hands of the Dutch and consequently, Cochin became less a dependency than a mere proprietary estate of the Dutch company⁶².

Before the coming of Rama Varma Sakthan Thampuran, many portions of Cochin were in the hands of different *Naduvazhis* and the trade in almost all parts of Cochin was controlled by the Dutch. The Dutch capitalized on their strong

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.275.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ *The Dutch in Malabar: Being a translation of Selection Nos. 1 and 2 with Introduction and Notes*, A Galletti, A. J. Van Der Burg and P. Groot, ed., Madras, 1911, Dutch Records No.13; C. Achyutha Menon, *Cochin State Manual* Ernamkulam, 1911, p.103.

⁶² K.M.Panikkar, *Malabar and the Dutch*, United states, 2019, pp.17-21.

position after their victory over the Zamorin and the conquest of Chettuvay. The conquest of Chettuvay increased the amount of pepper procured by the Dutch. By 1715, Cochin Raja lost his claim over Vellangallur lineage. The Dutch had to face threat from English East India Company in Calicut in their pepper trade. As English was more of a concern to them, the situation was utilized by Raja of Cochin by increasing the toll. While the Raja of Cochin was in need of army only, the chiefs of Purakkad, Alangad, Kodassery Kaimal and Changaram Kotha Kaimal sent their Nair army⁶³. He could not maintain a strong army due to lack of finance.

The Raja of Cranganur had always kept independent position based on his high birth and descent from Cheraman Perumal. He had a dispute with the Raja of Cochin regarding the income from Pullut. There existed disputes between Raja of Cochin and Pappinivattam and Thekkumkur. Paliath Achan played a central role in settling disputes with the Dutch and became more powerful. With all the means at his disposal, the Raja of Cochin tried to boost his income. The advances he had received on the pepper tolls amounting to a high in 1716 had come down by the end of 1718, but still stood in arrears on the payment of ammunition and for the Dutch garrison at Enamakkal.

The English East India Company had increased their number of factories by 1700 and followed a more aggressive policy towards the Dutch. In these circumstances the Dutch had to rely more on the Raja of Cochin and his allies. The allies of the Raja were reluctant to support him out of fear that it would achieve paramount power in the process. The fort of Chettuvay was reconquered by the Dutch from Zamorin to Cochin and for the Raja they conquered Enamakkal, east of Trichur. The line between Chettuvay and Enamakkal and farther east became the border between the areas controlled by the Zamorin and by the Raja of Cochin. The ruler of Cochin exploited the availability of the Dutch forces and later tried to extend

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.135.

his power. The Dutch generally upheld the rights of chiefs and opposed the claims of the Raja to rights outside the royal domain. Their support for the rights of Raja within Karappuram was an example for this because Karappuram belonged to the House of Cochin. At the court of Cochin, Paliath Achan had traditionally held an important position as Prime Minister. The Dutch suspected him of opposing them as well as Raja in order to enhance his own power. This animosity became stronger when it was unearthed.

Mysorean supremacy had an impact on the economy of the state. When Haider advanced towards Cochin in 1773, he demanded from Cochin four lakh of rupees as a contribution of war expenses. The Cochin Raja agreed this demand in order to avoid war. The payment was a burden for Cochin. Again in 1776, Haider demanded an additional two lakhs and eight elephants⁶⁴. After Hyder, his son Tipu's march through Cochin in 1789 affected the economic condition of the state⁶⁵.

By 1790 the trade monopoly of pepper and other items in Cochin was in the hands of the Dutch. The treasury of the rulers of Cochin had to depend on the favours of the Dutch. So, they had to seek other ways to increase the revenue of the state. For getting other sources of income, they thought of shifting their capital from Cochin to Trichur. As part of political economy, the rulers changed their power base from Cochin to more suitable place for getting income to the treasury from different types of trade. Wherever wealth concentrates power also gets equally concentrated in the same way. So, for appropriating the share of profit the power base had also been transferred from Cochin to Trichur.

The treaties between the English East India Company and the Raja of Cochin put more burden to the rulers of Cochin. The Treaty throwing off all allegiance to Tipu Sultan and agreeing to become tributary to the Honourable Company on 16th Jan, 1791 which came into effect from 25th Sept 1791 explains like this:-

⁶⁴ C Achyutha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.155.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p.165.

Perumpadappu Valia Rama Varma –Raja of Cochin, having solicited alliance with the Honourable United English East India Company, which the Hon. Governor in Council of Madras has accepted of, on condition that the said Raja shall throw off all allegiance to Tipu Sulthan and become tributary to the said Honourable Company, Mr. George Powney, on behalf of the Honourable Governor General in Council of Madras has settled with the above said Raja this treaty consisting nine articles.

Article 1 and 2 shows the declining power of the Raja:-

It is agreed that Raja Rama Varma of Cochin, shall not swerve from the conditions of the Treaty, and shall faithfully adhere to them without diminution and reserve. That the Honourable Companys forces shall assist Rama Varma Raja to recover the possessions wrested from him by Tipu Sulthan, and shall render him independent of him.

The article III speaks of the names of districts that were rested with the Raja.It includes the districts of Paravattany with its dependencies, i.e. Trichur, Paravattani, Paragom, Parumanam,Yanamakel, Chettalepoly and the districts of Thalappilly, etc. The article IV of the treaty clearly mentioned about the annual tribute that Raja should pay.

“That upon RamaVarma Raja being possession of the above mentioned districts he shall become tributary to the Honourable English East India Company and shall pay to the representative or delegate of the Honourable Governor in Council of Madras a yearly tribute in the following manner: for the first year he possesses the above mentioned districts, seventy thousand rupees , the second year eighty thousand rupees and the third year ninety thousand rupees and the fourth year one hundred thousand rupees and ever after the last mentioned sum (Rup 1,00,000) shall be annually paid by him. The yearly tribute shall be made in equal quarterly payments.”

By the treaty the Raja had to face English East India Company on the one side and the Dutch at Cochin on the other side. The Dutch at Cochin refused to accept the agreement signed between English East India Company and the Cochin Raja.

Many of the places of Cochin was included under the control of Travancore Raja. This can be seen from the treaty of Alliance entered into by the Raja of Cochin under his signature with the Raja of Travancore.

The treaty of agreement made at Trivandrum on the 11th day of Magaram of the year 932(1757) drawn at Mavelikkara the 3rd Chingam 936... The terms mentioned there in were that the former discords being settled which is agreed to continue unanimously..... the agent of Travancore Raja shall be allowed to purchase on the Rajas account from the country merchants for ready money all the pepper produced within the limits of my dominions, except 500 candies annually wanted for my own trade for collecting which is stipulated that a certain place shall be ascertained:-..... In recompense therefore if the above required assistance I give it up in writing the districts of Carapooram. With all the rights and proportion belonging to them:-

All the contents herein written you may read and impart to the Raja of Travancore entitled Culashigara Perumal.⁶⁶ From the diary of the Malabar Joint Commissioners, dated 15th Feb 1793. The Taluks of Paravoor, Alengad and Kunnathunadu were included in the cessions of 1792 by Tipu Sulthan⁶⁷ but were claimed by the Travancore Raja under the above treaty⁶⁸. The claim was to the court of Directors by the Governor General⁶⁹ and conformed to the Travancore Raja by the treaty of 1795⁷⁰.

⁶⁶ Hugo K. s'Jacob, *Op. Cit.*

⁶⁷ William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*. Madras, 1989, p.119.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 169-175.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, No XCVIII, p.242.

The Raja of Cochin had to accept the British monopoly in trade as is evidenced from a letter dated 9th July, 1793 to Jonathan Duncan to Powney:-

“The Raja of Cochin from an ignorance of our mode of conducting business added to that suspicion, which is inherent even in Malabar, that some advantage is intended to be taken to him by altering the first agreement he entered into with me in which he acquiesced to deliver to the company all the pepper produced in his country without the lines (Travancore Lines) has requested most earnestly that the above letter (in which he has agreed to the above effect) may be considered as a formal deed, at the same time has promised that as soon as the quantity provided in his country has been ascertained by your agents, he will be then ready to enter into a formal permanent treaty for such quantity on the terms specified in the said letter”⁷¹.

By the end of 18th century, Cochin had to face challenges from various sectors from within and outside the state. The major challenge was from the *Naduvazhis* who questioned the sovereignty of the rulers of Cochin. The Zamorins of Calicut was a formidable power who persuade a hostile attitude to Cochin. The expansionist policy of Travancore was also a threat to the Raja⁷². The Dutch and British interest on trade with Cochin and their increasing power made Cochin a vulnerable state.

Trade became a coveted source of income, which led to continuous competitions for the control of spice trade. This rivalry for dominance led the states competing for control and influence with ultimate aim of monopolizing spice trade. This struggle for control became a defining aspect of regional power dynamics. As the European powers, including Portuguese, Dutch and English

⁷¹ K P Padmanabha Menon, *Kochirajya Charitram* (Mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 1996, p.701.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p.647.

entered the fray, the competition intensified. Rulers and port cities became hubs of commercial activity. Trade emerged as a crucial determinant of economic and political influence.

CHAPTER 2

Land, Temples and Authority: Trichur in the 18th Century

This chapter focuses on the historical background of Trichur Temples which functioned as power centres and also how the *Swaroopams* proved to be a hindrance to the development of Trichur which was a part of Cochin. It also explores the complex relationship between temples and political power in 18th century and highlighting the ways in which temples served as centres of authority, influence and legitimacy.

With the decline of the central authority of Perumals in the twelfth century the history of Kerala witnessed the expansion and reorganisation of *Nadus*. In the post-Perumal period, *Swaroopams* became the power centres in all *Nadus*. Cochin ruled by Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* became an important territorial authority. Brahminic ideology and institution of the temple were powerful factors that sustained the authority of *Swaroopams*. *Attipper* grants to the Brahmanas resulted in the growth of *Brahmaswoms* and the political and ideological decision making in the temples was done by the *Uralar*. *Devaswoms* came under the direct control of the Brahmanas. Later even the larger temples instituted the *variya*m where two of the *Yogakkar* held actual control of the temple every two years. The autonomy of temples manifests with the emergence of *Sanketham* which included temples and its lands¹.

Temples were the central feature of the socio-economic, political and cultural structure of pre- modern Trichur. These institutions played an important role as centres of resource mobilisation and redistribution. They were the centres of vast area of properties. The management of the cultivable lands and extraction of their resources were decided and materialised by the temples. In the pre modern period

¹ K N Ganesh, *Reflections in Pre- Modern Kerala*, Cosmo Books, Thrissur, 2016, pp.74-77.

these institutions were not merely the place of worship but centre of economic and political activities. In this context each temple was the centre of *Devaswom* properties. *Devaswoms* were independent corporations which exercised spiritual authority in their respective *Sankethams* ². C Achutha Menon trace the nature of *Devaswoms* and the power of the administration of *Sankethams*.

The general control over the temples and the domains was vested in a body of *Uralars* or trustees, who were generally *Gramani Nambuiris*, a class of military Brahmans not privileged to read or recite Vedas, but the executive authority was generally exercised by chiefs elected and consecrated by certain bodies of Vedic *Namburis* called *Yogams*. These ecclesiastical heads enjoyed the power of the *Naduvazhi* chiefs, including those of life and death, over the people living in the *Sankethams*, but their powers were to some extent limited by the general control of *Uralars* and *Yogams*. Whether these corporations derived their authority from the sovereign of undivided Kerala or whether it was wrested from or conceded by the Rajas who ruled over Kerala after its dismemberment is not known, but there can be no doubt that the rajas practically exercised little or no authority over the temple or their *Sankethams*³.

Sankethams maintained relationship with the political authorities. The nature of affiliation traced by Achutha Menon as follows: -

In the course of time, however, the religious corporations appear to have been driven to the necessity of invoking the protection or aid of the Rajas owing probably to internal dissensions or to the aggressiveness of neighbouring chiefs and they accordingly conferred on the Rajas, not always on those within whose territories the

² C Achyutha Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, Ernamkulam, 1911, p.418.

³ *Ibid.*

Sankethams lay, the *koyma* or chiefship over the *Devaswom* or certain concerns of theirs.⁴

From this it is clear that the temples maintained political affiliations by accepting *koyma* of certain Rajahs. Temple corporations maintained their authority in all domains till the end of the 18th century⁵.

There exist two types of *Sankethams*. One was the temple *Sanketham*, which was owned by the temples and the second was owned by the Brahmins. The right to perform the revenue administration was vested in the hands of *uralars* and *koyma* (protector) selected by the people belonging to the *Sankethams*. The nature of the role of rulers in the *Sanketham* can be explained from the writings of Brahmin scholars as follows:-

The kings who have the right to rule over the territories upon which the *Sanketham* is situated, have no rights over the *uralars* and *kutiyans* of the *Sanketham*. He cannot exercise any authority as suzerain of the territory. Only if the concerned king is selected as the protector of the *Sanketham*, he can exercise power over the properties and *kutiyans*. Even in the matters of law and order, the king of the territory upon which the *Sanketham* is instituted, has no right unless he is the protector of the *Sanketham*. The king who violates these *Sanketham* rules and exercise their power upon the *Sanketham* arbitrarily will be forced to perform penance and repentance. For the protection performed by the kings as *koymas*, they will be awarded with *rajabhogams*, which may vary from yearly fixed donation to the share of collection in the *Sanketams* for the administration of *janma Sankethams koyma* alone was instituted. But for the temple

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.418-419.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

Sankethams koyma, akakoyma and Samudayam were instituted. It is the duty of these authorities to perform the administration of revenue, law and order, property, etc.⁶.

Thus, it can be understood that the temple properties and *Sankethams* were the major source of production and they had their own mechanisms to administer the entire processes of revenue administration. The rulers had only the *koyma* power agreed by the *Sanketham* authorities to rule over the *Devaswoms* and *Sankethams*. Protector (ruler) selected by the *Sanketham* had the right to appoint the *akakoyma* and *Samudayam* officers. The rulers had no benefits from the vast resources of the temple properties if they are not the protectors of these *Devaswoms* and *Sankethams*.

Temples can be broadly classified into two categories, viz a) Those under direct administration of state. b) Those managed by the council of *Nambudiris* called *Uranma*. *Uranma* consisted of the heads of the *Nambudiri* families (*Illam*) living in areas around temples.

Temples in Trichur had wielded significant influence, accumulated vast resources and assets and exercised control over various aspects of community. The concentration of wealth and power led to control over donations and revenue streams. It also influenced regional politics and local economies. An analysis of the position and management of the temples in Trichur with power and wealth as their hallmark can be seen in the following description.

1. Arattupuzha Sasthavu temple was located at Arattupuzha near Karuvannur. During the period of Perumals this temple belonged to Cochin Perumpadappu Vanneri *Swaroopams*. Arattupuzha, Peruvanam and Triprayar temple festivals were conducted by this *swaroopam*. *Uralars* of the temple belonged to eight *manas* which was later declined to five, Madam Ilamannu, Karolin Ilamannu, Choringedath Ilamannu, Chittissery Kaplangatt and Ottur Mekkavu.

⁶ *Series Files, Bundle No 2:C No:15166*, Central Archives Thiruvananthapuram.

2. Erattayappan Mahadeva Temple Peruvanam: Earlier the Peruvanam had three administrative places, which were Thrissivaperur, Avittathur and Irinjalakkuda. Temple was under the control of *Yogathirippad* and he was influenced by Zamorin of Calicut who interfered in the administrative affairs of the Cochin state. The *Peruvanam Grandhavari* provides a detailed description of the land possessed by the temple. *Grandhavari* speaks about eleven *cherikkal* divisions. They were Arimbur, Payyakkara, Etavanot, ollur, Inchamuti, Karalam, Manalur, Porathur, Perinchery, Pallipuram and Payyanur which are in the present Thrissur and Palakkad districts. Apart from this, temple owned 141 garden lands. It was the biggest owner of forest in medieval Kerala. Temple functionary known as *Malayil Karankur* look after the management of the forest wealth.⁷, In 1762 the Cochin ruler Kerala Varma entered in to a treaty with Travancore (Suchindram treaty). Consequent to the treaty Ayyappan Marthanda Pillai the *Dalawa* of Travancore helped Cochin to recapture its territories from Zamorin. In return Cochin ruler Kerala Varma presented Puthenchira to the *Dalawa* who dedicated it to Travancore Raja. Puthenchira was part of Peruvanam and the Raja of Travancore obtained special rights in the Peruvanam temple especially the share of the *Uchapooja* and other special ritual practices.
3. Vadakkumnathan Siva Temple, Trichur: The administration of the temple was under the control of the *Yogakkar* selected by Twenty-Two *Nambis*. There exist two kinds of *Sabha*, one was the *Sabha* of *Yogakkar* or *Nambuthiri* Brahmins. Second was the *Sabha* of the *Desam* which included the king and his subjects. The important members of *Sabha* were Pattillam Nambuthiri, Ponnazhikkatt Kaimal, *Azhvanchery Thambakkal*, Kakkat Karanavappat, *Akam Koyma*- Kurumbaathi Raja and *Puram Koyma* –Perumpadappu Cochin Raja. The position of the *koyiladhikarikal* (*koviladhikari*) was so important that the presence of the Raja was required at the time of *kaimalavarodham*, an important ritual of the temple. *Uralar* of the temple was Padinjattedathu Namubuthiri. Temple had the ownership

⁷ T R Venugopalan, *Processes and Structures: A History of Medieval Kerala*, Current Books, Thrissur, 2022, p.167.

of the *jenmam* lands from which One lakh para paddy was received as *pattom*(rent). The Padinjattedathu had the same amount of *pattom* received from his *jenmam* lands.⁸ Perumpadappu Grandhavari describes about the *Yogathiri's Sthanarohanam* ceremony of Perumpadappu Valiya Thampuran⁹. The temple had its *Sanketham* territories of Kanattukara, Aranattukara, Mukkalnattukara and Puranattukara which included 18 participant temples.

4. Durga Bhagavathi temple at Sankaramkulam was situated 2 km away from *Vadakkumnathan*. It was a famous temple during the period of the Manipravalam work, *Chandrolsavam*. Earlier it was a branch of Thalappilly Manakkulam *Swarupam*.
5. Siva temple at Poonkunnam situated one km away from Vadakkumnathan temple was under the *uranma* of *Kizhakkiniyedath Mana*. It belonged to the Cochin Royal Family.
6. Kanchanappilly Ayyappan Temple at Patturaikkal situated 2 km away from Trichur was under the *uranma* of Kanchanappilly.
7. Asokeswaram Siva Temple at Vadakkechira. It was renovated by Sakthan Thampuran. It was a famous temple during his period.
8. Cherumukku Mahavishnu Temple at Chembukkavu was destroyed during the expedition of Tipu which was renovated in 1812.
9. Karthyayani Temple at Chembukkavu was another temple. In 1719 Cochin Raja gave punishment to the *uranma nambuthiri* for the mismanagement in temple activities.
10. Dharmasastha Temple at Nettisseri was under the *uralar* of *Ettumana* (eight *mana*)¹⁰.

⁸ Narayana Menon, *Kochirajya Charitra Kathakal* (Mal.), Kerala Sahitya Academy, Thrissur, 2016, p.11.

⁹ Vini A, *Thalappilly Swarupam Samskarika Sambhavanakal*, SPCS, Kottayam, 2018, pp.301-304.

¹⁰ Suvarna Nalappatt, *History of Kerala Temples Thrissur District Thrissur Thaluk*, pp.30-77. <https://archive.org>.

11. Mambilly Siva Temple at Urakam belonged to Mambilly *Mana*.
12. Ammathiruvadi temple was at Urakam near Peruvanam temple. It received 3000 *para* paddy as *pattom*.
13. Bhagavathi temple Cherppu belonged to the *Chittur Mana*. They had earlier some special rights in the temples of Perumchellur, Panniyur and Guruvayur temple and also in the coronation ceremony of the Zamorin of Calicut. All these indicate the direct allegiance of *Chittur mana* in Cochin to the Zamorin of Calicut. Thiruvullakkavu Sasthavu temple at Cherppu also belonged to the *Chittur mana*.
14. Durga Temple at Edakkunni was a participant temple in the Arattupuzha pooram. *Uranma* of the temple belonged to Palatheri, Vadakkiniyedath Keerangatt and Thekkiniyedath Keerangatt. Its *Kazhakam* belonged to *Edakkunni Variam*. Cochin Diwan Sankara Varrier was of *Edakkunni Variam*.
15. Durga temple at Kuttanellur belonged to the Kumarapuram branch of Thalappilly *Swarupam*. Kutanellur, Eravimangalam, Ollur, Nadathara, Ollukkara, Kozhukkully, Mulayam, Kainoor and Pottur came under its control.
16. Pookkatikara Karamukku Durga Temple was at Valiyalukkal, 5 km south of Trichur. It was under the *uranma* of Eravimangalam, Kossery and Kothambilly *mana*.
17. Kanimangalam Sastha Temple 5 km away from Trichur was under the Arunattil Chieftain Maliakkal Kartha.
18. Karthyayani Temple at Laloor was one of the Durga Temples. It was earlier under the Manjathazhath Nair Tharavad.
19. Lakshmi Narasimhamoorthy temple at Kulassery near Kokkalai was under the Cochin Royal Family.

All these temples with immense property were under the *Namboothiri* Brahmins. They were the biggest landlords in the pre-modern Kerala. The

concentration of wealth and influence enabled them to perpetuate social hierarchies. The complex history of temple properties intertwined the nature of religion and politics.

In pre-modern Kerala temples were not only sacred spaces but also significant economic and social institutions. Brahmins as temple administrators and large land holders wielded considerable power and influence. With complex social hierarchy temple authorities had significant influence over local economy.

Temples and Their Revenue

Temples played a major role in the economy of Trichur. *Vadakkumnathan* temple with its *Sanketham* territory had a crucial role in the polity and economy of Cochin. The land owners in Trichur were Devaswoms and the high castes like Namboodiris, Nairs and also Christians, Muslims. The Thrissivaperur temples like *Vadakkumnathan*, *Koodalmanikyam*, *Peruvanam*, *Thriprayar*, *Urakam*, *Thiruvilwamala* and *Annamanada* had their own *Sanketham* territories. *Sanketham*, the territorial boundary of these temples played a major role in the political and economic affairs of the state structure. The prospectus of resource mobilisation from these temples made rulers to compete each other for the affiliation of wealthy temples.

Irinjalakkuda temple had its *sanketham* territory which included the whole area lying to the north of Vellangallur, south of Kurumali river, west to Chalakkudi river and eastern side of Kakkathuruthi river. Its Sanketam was spread over eighteen and half desams. The temple owned vast area under its *Sanketham* along with expanse of forest.¹¹ The types of *pattom* collected from these areas recorded as *desapattom*, *verumpattom* and *kanapattom*. Other dues were *atima* and *anubhogam*. The person who was in charge of the collection of *pattom* in *desam* was known as

¹¹ B. Syama, *Temple as a Power Centre :A Case Study of Koodalmanikyam Temple*, unpublished M.Phil dissertation, School of Social Sciences, Mahatma Gandhi University, Kottayam 1999, pp.132-133.

desappattamali. *Perumpattamali* was appointed to supervise the overall *pattom* collection. Provisions were made to look after the mismanagement in the collection of *pattom*. The vast areas of lands under this temple and an effective mechanism of *pattom* collection are indicative of the prosperity of Koodalmanikyam.

Peruvanam temple had its *Sanketham* territory comprising of a vast area of land as well with immense wealth. Its boundary extended to a large area with Vadakkanchery, Kuthiran, Kodungallur, Edathirinji as recorded in the *Peruvanam Grandhavari*. All these places within this area were controlled by temple authorities. The amount of *pattom* collected from eleven *cherikkal* divisions as *melvaram* alone was 49,990 *para* paddy¹². The *melvaram* collected from Palakkattussery, Kollengode and Nenmara was alone 20,000 *para* paddy and total seed capacity was 7000 *paras*. The gold paddy ratio according to Tiruvalla copper plate is 1:20 that is one *kazhinju* gold is equal to 20 *paras* of paddy. The *melvaram* of 49990 *para* paddy in Peruvanam was equivalent to 2,499.5 *kazhinju* gold (7498.5 grams). This amount was getting from *melvaram* alone. This indicates that the Peruvanam temple generates huge revenue which made the rulers to have prime position in these temples¹³. Annamanata *Sanketham* had 13 villages under its control. Thiruvilwamala, Oorakam and Triprayar temples had also such *Sanketam* territories.

The dues mentioned in the *grandhavaries* includes *chunkam*, *vazhippalam* (road tax), *kurrikkanam* and *kulikkanam*. The main toll collecting centers were at Karanchira, Kainilakkatavu, Pattikkad and Cheramanchira. The highest collection of *chunkam* came from Pattikkad, situated on the slopes of Kuthiran hills. It was from Ollur and Karanchira the dues of *Vazhippalam* collected. *Kurrikkanam* was collected at the rate of 3 *panam* for cutting a tree¹⁴. It also refers to various other dues as *arthapila*, *rakshabhogam*, *changatam*, *michavaram*, *vazhipizha*, *purushantaram* (succession fee) etc.

¹² T R Venugopalan, *Processes and Structures*. Op, Cit., p.170.

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

The most prominent position, in the temple i.e.; *koyma* was given to the rulers. State Manual gives information about the power of *koyma* in the temples. There existed three types of *koyma* power, i.e *Akakoyma*, *Purakoyma* and *Melkoyma*. The ruler or King enjoyed the *Melkoyma* power. As a result, the ruler had to look after the ritual functions of the temple without interfering in the administrative and financial dealings. There existed competition among the rulers for getting the *koyma* because it emerged as a prestigious honour to have *koyma* in as many temples as possible.

There are many references about the *koyma* power that existed in the temple even from the 9th century itself. Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin and Travancore Archaeological series published inscriptions that mention about the special powers existed in the temples. Studies of *Grandhavaris* provide ample information regarding the position of those who entered into the power structure of the temple¹⁵.

This *Grandhavari* explains about the *koyma* position of the *Swaroopams*. It speaks of the '*Akakoyma*' power of the Iroor *Swaroopam* and '*Purakoyma*' privilege of the Perumpadappu *Swaroopam*. Towards the end of the *Grandhavari*, we get insights into the transfer of the *Melkoyma* position from the Iror *Kovilakam* to the Perumpadappil *Swaroopam* with exclusive privileges.

Huzur *Grandhavari* of 1352 AD and AD 1451-2 also gives clear reference of the *koyma* position of the rulers of Perumpadappu. Thiruvanchikkua Temple

¹⁵ *Elamkunnappuzha Kshetra Grandhavari (AD 1185-86)* This *Grandhavari* speaks about the consecration of the Elamkunnappuzha Temple by Oliyannur Mekkat *Nambuthiri*. Before the consecration the temple, authorities had to get the consent of the *Valiya Thampuram* of Cochin. *Grandhavari* also speaks about the authority of the Perumpadappu *Mooppil* from Azhikkal to Munambam and Vaipu. This belonged to them even from ancient times.

Huzur Grandhavari No. 42 Ola 163 (AD 895) This *Huzur Grandhaavari* speaks about the Tiruvallur Temple and Perumpadappu *Swaroopam*. 'Perumpadappil Gangadhara Rama Varma Thiru Koviladhikarikal,' the term used for the Perumpadappil rulers is mentioned as *koyma* of the temple. Mentioned in the *Avanagottu Grandhavari* of 1330 AD.

Grandhavari of AD 1452 and 1475 records them as *Koyiladhikarikal* of the temple. Thiruvanchikkulam and the Huzur *Grandhavari* clearly define the part of the Nambiar and the *koyilkaryam* of the rulers in the temple¹⁶. The *Grandhavaris* of Swarnathu *Mana* of AD 1455 and AD 1463 mentions the ruler of Perumpadappu as *Thirukoviladhikarikal*¹⁷.

Thrippunithura Temple inscription is considered as a record of Vira Ravi Varma. It provides information about the over lordship of the Cochin rulers. The rulers of Cochin were the *koyiladhikari* of the temples but many of the temples within the state were under the control of Travancore Raja. The Thrippunithura temple inscription dated 1112 AD and the Urakam Inscription dated 1453 AD shows that Perumpadappu *Mooppil* was closely connected with the temples even from the first half of the 10th century. From the Goda Ravi record, one may clearly assume that the King of Cochin had vested interest in the temples even from the 10th century onwards. The ola records also testify the assumption. The *koyma sthana* in the temple was assigned to any king irrespective of the territory to which the *sanketa* belonged to. Lieutenants Ward and Conner refers to the temple *Sanketams* as *Ampalarajyas* (temple countries)¹⁸.

Cochin and Travancore were competing with each other in getting the *koyma* power in temples like Peruvanam and Annamanada. The main reason for this was the money the temple extracted from the lands in the form of tax. Before 1761 the authority of the Peruvanam temple was in the hands of Zamorin of Calicut. The Raja of Cochin wanted to oust the Zamorin from the Cochin territory. For this he entered into a treaty with the Raja of Travancore in 1761. The Zamorin was expelled from *melkoyma* of Peruvanam. In return the territories of Paravur and Alangad were handed over to the Travancore Raja. When this place went to the Raja of Travancore

¹⁶ Rama Varma Research Institute Bulletin Vol X Part 1, Trichur, 1975, p.12.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.15-17.

¹⁸ Ward and Conner, A Descriptive Memoir of Malabar, Kerala Gazetteers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995.

the *koyma* power was also taken over by the Raja. Collecting tax from these temple lands became a serious bone of contention between the two Rajas. This became an issue of prestige as well. The money from the temples was needed to strengthen the financial position of both the States¹⁹. In the Peruvanam temple, though it was situated in the Cochin State, the Travancore Raja had some privileges and *koyma* power. Likewise, the Cochin Raja had *koyma* power in places inside the Travancore territory, Thiruvalla and Harippad.

Clear evidence of the struggle for share from the temples can be seen in the Annamanada Case File. The animosity began in 1761 and it continued for a long period. This shows that the rulers were badly in need of the share from these temples to meet the huge expenses of the State. It was in 1882 that J.C. Hannington declared that the Travancore Raja had no authority to collect the tax from the Annamanada temple and Raja was not the sovereign of the State. He also declared that the treaty of 1761 only entrusted the responsibility of running the temple and not the sovereign power of the place. As per the verdict the Travancore Raja had no sovereignty over the places of Adoor village or Annamanada *Devaswom*.

Economy and Agrarian Processes

The temples and other religious institutions played an important role in the economic life of Southern India as is recognized by the historians. Scholars like Saletore, Appadorai and K.A.N Sastri opined that temple loomed large in extent synthesis on economic conditions in pre- colonial southern India²⁰.

Sanjay Subrahmanayam and Bayly discussed in detail about the changing structure of economic investment: -

¹⁹ Daniele Berti and Gilles Tarbout (eds.), *Territory, Soil and Society in South Asia*, Manohar, Delhi, 2009, p.22.

²⁰ B.A. Saletore, *Economic and Administrative Life in the Vijayanagar Empire* 2 Vols., B G Paul, Madras, 1934; A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in Southern India, 1000-1500 AD* 2 Vols., University of Madras Madras 1936; K.A. Neelakanta Sastri, *The Colas*, Vol.1, University of Madras, Madras, 1955.

“Without denying the fact that such institution as temples played a role in channeling investment and in creating lines of communication, it seems worthwhile to redress the balance by considering certain forms of mercantile activity in the early modern period which were by all accounts fundamentally linked to the temple and its environs.”

The temple was the institution that undertakes the reallocation of resources by physical appropriation, creating a surplus and by way of redistribution reaching it to the leisure class, i.e. *Uranmas* and the non-agriculturists like the carpenter, blacksmiths, etc. The re-allocating processes can only take place under the aegis of an institution or organisation to avoid conflicts and maintain stability of the system, which is the temple domain here.

Economy as an institutional process in terms that economy can be analysed. The resource mobilisation is either changes in location or in appropriation. The locational movements include production and transportation. The appropriative movements govern both the circulation of goods and their administration. Circulation is the result of the transactions which Polanyi crystalized into three types. They are reciprocity, redistribution and exchange. The administration derives itself from dispositions which is one sided unlike transactions and it is determined by custom or law²¹.

In the village economy, the temple undertakes the redistribution of surplus. Depending on the position in the power structure, the surplus share was determined. The *Uranma* gets the highest share of surplus. In such a setup the institution of power may demand tribute or levy, assessments, etc. and Polanyi cites the examples of corvee, boon days, tithes, auctions, etc. as ‘paraphernalia’ for surplus mobilization in redistributive economies²². In the context of Cochin, it was *Onakkazhcha*, *panccaphalam*, *janmibhogam*, *lalam*, etc.

²¹ T.R. Venugopalan, *Op. Cit.*, p.248.

²² *Ibid.*, p.336.

It is an economy in which food holds a commanding position where output depends on a simple division of labour based on the corresponding level of technology. It is a social order which is a power hierarchy with the right to control returns moving.

Agrarian land constituted the economic base of the temples in pre modern Kerala. Donation of land and gold to the temple was mainly done by the kings and *Naduvazhis* made them to have owners of large tracts of land. It is interesting to note that temples distributed lands to the non-Hindu community and received *pattom* from them. The agricultural products were so important for its ritual purposes. There was considerable section of Christian tenants who cultivated small as well as large tracts of land. Incorporation of the Christian tenants on the temple lands show the pragmatism on the part of the *Uranma* in exploiting their cultivating skills.

There is a hierarchy of power in terms of varying rights over land which forms the different strata of the society. The Brahmins had *janmam* right over the land. Lands belonging to the temple known as *Devaswom* lands were distributed by the *Uranma*, to the tenants and the tenants to the sub tenants. The temple helped in integrating landed class, tenants, subtenants and the tillers into a production-distribution system which was based on ties and obligations from the base to the top. In this situation Brahmin community was able to establish control over various social levels. They could keep the society well-knit and subordinate to the central authority. The basic position of the temple and its role in integrating the economy and society through the principle of redistribution was the basic feature of pre modern Kerala.

There was an effective mechanism for the efficient collection of revenue, keeping records and storage of resources. There were permanent temple functionaries who integrated the other sections through labour. There were inner and outer functionaries in the temple. The functionaries entrusted with such duties were *Nalvazhi Kanakkapilla* (maintaining daily register), *Desavazhi Mutalpadi* (revenue collection from *Desavazhi*), *Kazhakam* (in charge of subsidiary temples), *Kacheripeon-Uranma* (office peon), *Vegatumkal* secretary (secretary of *Uranma*

yogam), *Jenmikaram* clerk (in charge of the *jenmi karam* register), *Nelpura Kaval* (granary guard), *Matilakam kaval* (Temple secretary).

Agrarian produce in a fixed proportion reaches the temple annually from the tenants as evidenced from the *Grandhavaris*. This income gets redistributed among the non-producers –the artisans and the craftsmen and the leisure class – the temple management and the *Uranma* in the form of *jeevitham*, *viruthi* etc.

Peruvanam was considered as the wealthiest of all the temples of Trichur with an annual income of four lakh paras of paddy²³. This is evident from the following table, that would give an approximate picture of the total land area of temple²⁴.

TABLE 2.1
Measure of Land Area in *Para* Seed Capacity

| Lands under Peruvanam | Land area in <i>Para</i> Seed capacity |
|----------------------------------|---|
| Arimbur | 42371 |
| Payyakkara | 553 |
| Edavanotu | 223 |
| Ollur | 223 |
| Inchamudi | 14718 |
| Karalam | 1091 |
| Manalur | 75 |
| Porathur,perinchery, pallippuram | 17020.75 |
| Paliyam bhandara cherikkal | 45750 |
| Payyanur | 4950 |
| Karamkur viratiyil | 5920 |
| Malappuram | 10650 |
| Total land in seed capacity | 143544.75 <i>para</i> |

²³ K.V. Rajagopalan Kidav, *Keralathile Kshetravadhya Kalakal* (Mal.), Mathrubhumi, 2009, p.104; *Peruvanam Grandhavari*, Peruvanam Mahadeva Kshetram Naveekarana Kalasopaharam, 1979, pp.115-119.

²⁴ T.R. Venugopalan, *Op. Cit.*, pp.168-169.

Peruvanam temple was the biggest owner of forest lands in pre-modern Kerala. It owned 36 *katam*²⁵(about 180 miles) forest along the western ghats from Akamala in the north to Kodasseri in the south spread across Trichur and Palakkad. A temple functionary known as *Malayilkarankur* looked after the forest wealth²⁶.

The temples played an active role in integrating the village (temple domain) mainly through its lands. The main income to the temple was in the form of paddy and money. Other sources of income came from the *michavara*, *panccaphla*, *sandhyavela*, *para*, *panam*, *vittukal*, *ulsavakappu*, *palisa*, *jennibogan*, *raksha bogam* and *pattom*. The reach of temple went beyond religion. It had considerable influence in administrative, financial and judicial functions. Thus, temples played a crucial role in resource mobilization, which ultimately weakened the strength and power of the state.

The Political Scenario in Trichur

The advent of European colonial powers and the emerging economy created a new political scenario in Kerala. It was at this time that the *Perumbadappu Swaroopam* was transforming into Cochin state. Cochin made use of the support of the Portuguese and the Dutch in suppressing the *Naduvazhis* who were the main threat to the Raja. In the South the Raja of Travancore and in the North the Zamorin also became more powerful. The emergence of the new situation became a threat to the existence of many *Naduvazhis* because they feared they would be totally subdued.

The history of Trichur during the early medieval period was related to the history of Perumpadappu *Swaroopam*²⁷. Trichur was part of Perumpadappu Swaroopam. The position of *koyma* and *koyiladhikari* of the Vadakkumnatha temple in Trichur was enjoyed by the ruler of Cochin for a long period. The only exemption was the period from 1756-61 when Zamorin dominated Trichur.

²⁵ According to Gundert one *katam* is equal to five miles.

²⁶ T.R. Venugopalan, *Op. Cit.*, pp.168-169.

²⁷ K.P. Padmanabha Menon, *Cochi Rajya Charithram*, (Mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 1989, p.15.

At first the headquarters of Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* was at Pazhayannur. Then it was transferred to Vanneri and from there they exercised power living in the palace of Chithrakootam²⁸. After the flood in Periyar river in 1341 they transferred their capital to Cochin.

With the arrival of Portuguese, the port of Cochin gained more prominence. Cochin grew into a large flourishing town and soon became a centre of trade and commerce. Since then, Cochin had been the chief port of Malabar passing from the hands of Portuguese to the Dutch²⁹. Albuquerque, the Portuguese Viceroy, arrived at Vypeen in 1503 and it was he who built the first European fort in India at Vypeen. The Portuguese settlement at Cochin was looked upon as the official residence of Viceroy until Goa was built.

With the advent of Dutch in Kerala they entered into relations with Cochin also. The commercial and strategic importance of the port induced them to seek alliance with Cochin in order to protect their trade and maintain its power. They obtained trade monopoly and installed Vira Kerala Varma of *Mutha Tavazhi* on the throne in 1663. The Dutch resolved to reduce the power of the ruler of Cochin. The ruler permitted the Dutch to build forts anywhere in Cochin. Later the ruler handed over to the company the forts of Cochin, Cranganore, Pallippuram and Pampa and islands of Pathirithuruthu, Pottathuruthu and Venduruthy. He granted the products of lands, servants and slaves owned by Portuguese to the Dutch East India Company. He also agreed to supply all the pepper produced in the state. They agreed to help each other in times of danger. The Dutch devoted their time and energy to develop trade in Cochin port which led to the weakening of the Cochin³⁰.

²⁸ C. Achyutha Menon, *The Cochin State Manual*, Government of Kerala, 1955, p.131.

²⁹ K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol. I, Government of Cochin, Ernakulam, 1924, p.162.

³⁰ M O Koshy, *The Dutch Power in Kerala (1729-1758)*, Mittal Publications, New Delhi, 1989, pp.29-31.

There existed 12 swaroopams in Trichur. The most important of these were Thalappilly *Swaroopam*, *Arunattil Prabhukkanmar*, *Ayirur Swaroopam*, *Kodanadu Swaroopam* and *Koraty Swaroopam*. Thalappilly *Swaroopam* consisted of the *tavazhis* of Kakkad, Punnathur, Ainikkur and Manakkulam. They together were known as Thalappilly *Rajas*. The boundaries of the *Swaroopam* included the Talappilly taluk and the places up to Chettuva and Ponnani. The senior member of the Kakkad *Swaroopam* was known as Kakkad Karanavar, he helped the Raja by providing the army³¹. Van Gollennesse in his report to the company stated that the Nampidis of Punnathur and Ainikkur did not respect the Cochin Raja and their loyalty to Zamorin were the main reasons for the strained relations between the Cochin Raja and the Zamorin³². The *Swaroopam* of Manakkulam had a *tavazhi* at Chittanjur and the Ainikkur had *tavazhis* at Cherlayam and Kumarapuram. The Kumarapuram *Swaroopam* is mentioned in the inscription of 13th century at Thrikkur temple³³. The southern part of Trichur known as Padinjattedath *Swaroopam* was the earlier name of Kodungallur Royal family as mentioned in Cochin State Manual³⁴.

The headquarters of the Ayirur *Swaroopam* was at Vellangallur which was formed before the formation of Kodungallur *Swaroopam* as per the Dutch records.³⁵ The boundaries of the *Swaroopam* was upto Mapranam, Kodungallur and Pappinivattom.

The south-east part of Trichur was under the control of Arunattil Prabhukkanmar. The places of Mapranam, Muriyadu, Kodassery, Changaramkanda, Changaramkotha and Kunnathery were mentioned in the medieval records as *nadus* and the Naduvazhis of these places were known as Arunattil Prabhukkanmar³⁶. The

³¹ A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteer*, Trichur, Government of Kerala 1962, p.140.

³² A Galletti and P. Groot, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Government Press, Madras 1916, p.65.

³³ T.R Venugopalan, *Sampathum Adhikaravum Thrissuril Ninnulla Oru Kazhcha* (Mal.), Current Books, Thrissur, 2012. p.53.

³⁴ C. Achyutha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.91.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.128.

³⁶ Stein van Gollennesse Report, given in A. Galletti and P. Groot, *The Dutch in Malabar*. 1743, p.63.

titles used by these Arunattil Prabhukkanmar along with their names were *Karthavu*, *Kaimal* and *Nambiar*. The administrative office of the Koodalmanikyam temple consisted of 42 members and the Arunattil Prabhukkanmar were among them. Vellose nadu Nambiar (Mapranam), a powerful lord around this area, was better known by the name *Mapranam Prabhu*. Mapranam estate is mentioned in the records and the estate consisted eighteen and a half *gramams*. When the Dutch controlled these estates the Vellose nadu Nambiar gave four tons of rice as *pattom* to the company. The control of Cochin on the Vellose nadu in 1769 was a turning point in the history³⁷. Muriyanad was a place near Irinjalakkuda railway station famous for pepper cultivation. The Dutch governor noted in records that the pepper given by the Muriyanadu Nambiar was 800 *rathal* instead of the demanded quantity by the Dutch company, ie. 150 candies³⁸.

Kodanadu *Swaroopam* near Chalakkudy railway station included Paravur and Kodungallur which also consisted of forest areas. The prosperity of this place was explained in the report of Van Gollennesse that 125 candies of pepper was exported annually from the *Swaroopam*. The place was prospering in the cultivation of cardamom. Dutch records also explain the volumes of trade with Kodasseri Kaimal and Poonjar chief and they gave 4050 *rathal* cardamom to the company every year. There is a reference about the selling of pepper for three years at Chettuva³⁹. It also recorded the lamenting of *Kaimal* about the low price given by the company:-

“If my neighbours supply their pepper to the Hon’ble company I shall do the same, but I have become a laughing-stock because I have sold this product to the Hon’ble company for thirteen ducats (about Rs.54) while the other chiefs have received 24 ducats (about Rs. 100); this I cannot any longer consent to”⁴⁰.

³⁷ Adrian Moens Report 1781, in A Galletti. pp.126-128.

³⁸ Van Gollennesse report, *Op. Cit.*, p.61.

³⁹ Van Gollennesse report, *Op. Cit.*, p.61.

⁴⁰ Van Gollennesse report, *Op. Cit.*, p.61.

Changaramkotha was a place near Muriyanadu and did not give their pepper and other commodities to the company but sent it to the northern side markets. It was also known as Nandipulathu Nadu. Changaramkanda Nadu consisted of places south of Enamakal. Dutch reports mentioned the name of a wealthy *janmi* named Chittur *Nambudiri* who lived under Changaramkanda Kaimal. These two Swaroopams had more allegiance to Zamorins and they supported him during his invasions of Trichur.

Koratty was another *Swaroopam* under the control of the Koratty Kaimal. Next to Muriyanad and Kodasseri the maximum volume of pepper was collected from these places. During the period of the governorship of Van Gollennesse the Kaimal of Koratty was a lady. Gollennesse regretted losing trade with Koratty, the pepper from here was sent to others and not to the Dutch company at that time. The annual volume of pepper from this area was recorded as 120 candies⁴¹. Pepper and other commodities were sent to Chettuva for trade by the merchants of Thalappilly *Swaroopam*. After the decline of Kodungallur, Chettuva remained a bustling trade center in the west coast of Trichur.

The Military Strength of the *Swaroopams*

The military strength of the *Swaroopams* provide ample information regarding the weak position of the rulers of Cochin by the middle of the 18th century. Hendric van Rheeede, the author of *Horthus Malabaricus* has given the military strength of various *Swaroopams*. The following tables illustrate the relative military strength of the Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* and the other *Swaroopams*⁴².

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

⁴² V K Raman Menon, *The Old Chiefs of Malabar*, Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute, Vol.1, p.15.

TABLE 2.2
The Army of Perumpadappu Swaroopam

| SI No | Tavazhi | No of Soldiers |
|-------|---------------------|----------------|
| 1 | Madathumkal Tavazhi | 3000 |
| 2 | Mutha Tavazhi | 3000 |
| 3 | Palluruthi Tavazhi | 3000 |
| 4 | Chazhur | 3000 |
| 5 | Ilaya Tavazhi | 3000 |
| | Total | 15000 |

Source: V K Raman Menon, *The Old Chiefs of Malabar*, Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute, Vol.1, p.13.

TABLE 2.3
The Military Strength of Major Swaroopams in Trichur

| SI No | Name of Naduvazhi | No of Soldiers |
|-------|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 | Kotasseri Kaimal | 30,000 |
| 2 | Ainikkur Nampiti | 15,000 |
| 3 | Manakkulam Raja | 15,000 |
| 4 | Kakkadu Nampiti | 15,000 |
| 5 | Chittur Nambuthiri | 15,000 |
| 6 | Changarankota Kaimal | 5,000 |
| 7 | Koratty Kaimal | 5,000 |
| 8 | Velosanatu Nambiar | 3,000 |
| 9 | Panamukkattu Kaimal | 3,000 |
| | Total | 1,06,000 |

Source: V K Raman Menon, *The Old Chiefs of Malabar*, Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute, Vol.1, p.18.

It is clear from the table that the combined military strength of the Perumpadappu Swaroopam was 15000 whereas the Naduvazhi of Kodasseri alone possessed 30,000 men. The other Naduvazhis of Aiynikkur, Manakkulam and

Kakkad, each of whom had 15,000 men. The *Naduvazhis* of Trichur together had 1,06,000 men as against the combined military strength of 15000 of Cochin. This prevented Cochin from effectively resisting Zamorins invasion. Some of the local chiefs often aligned with the zamorin against the rulers of Cochin⁴³. The hostilities among five *Tavazhis* of the Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* also weakened their military power. Thus the control of Cochin over its territories including Trichur was not fully effective till the time of Sakthan Thampuran.

Due to the granting of lands to the temples by the rulers and *Naduvazhis*, temples emerged as the centre for appropriating the surplus from the lands and this in turn configured the society by the wealth of the temples. The concentration of wealth transformed the *Devaswoms* and *Naduvazhis* into power centres. They acted as stumbling blocks in the emergence of a strong state in Cochin.

It is clear that the temples of Trichur amassed huge wealth in the form of land, gold etc. even in the late 18th century. The system continued without interruption. On the other side the Dutch were eager to make separate treaties with the *Naduvazhis* for spice trade and amassed wealth. They monopolised the pepper trade of the Nadus without the consent of the Cochin ruler with low price. In such situation trade in Cochin and hinterland trade was within the Dutch hands.

⁴³ T R Venugopalan, *Processes and Structures, Op. Cit.*, p.150.

CHAPTER 3

Modernisation and Urbanization of Trichur under Sakthan Thampuran

This section focusses on the development of Trichur as part of urbanization under Sakthan Thampuran, the ruler of Cochin. The developments after 1750 ushered in a new phase in the history of Trichur. Attempts were made by the State to promote the economic activities and mobilise resources within the state. Various European collaborations, especially the Dutch and the English, changed the economic scenario of Cochin. The administration and development of Cochin under the rule of Sakthan Thampuran and the mercantile activity in Trichur forms the most relevant subject matter in this study.

Accession of Sakthan Thampuran

In 1790 Rama Varma, popularly known as Sakthan Thampuran, became the ruler of Cochin. With the accession of this ruler, the modernisation of Cochin and Trichur began. He had become the *Yuvaraja* and held the office of the state since 1769. In that year all the administrative authority of the state was delegated to him by reigning ruler. He actively intervened in the state affairs with extra ordinary talent. The name itself suggests that the prince was a strong ruler and his period was characterized by firm and vigorous administration.

Sakthan Thampuran and His Early Life

Sakthan Thampuran was born at Vellarappilli in August 26, 1751¹. He was the son of Anujan Nambuthirippad of the Chennamangalam Mana and Ambika Thampuratty of the Cochin Royal family. Born at Vellarappalli palace he lost his mother at younger age. He was brought up by his maternal aunt. Early education of Sakthan was done under the *Guru* Kallerkara Pisharody.

¹ Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Sakthan Thampuran* (Mal.), Mathrubhumi, Kozhikode, 1989, pp.26-33.

Rama Varma Sakthan Thampuran was brought up with strong determination and became proficient in Dutch language. He also knew Hindustani and Kannada. He secured excellent training from local *kalaris* in the art of fighting. This is evident from a letter by Bartolomeo, a Carmelite missionary, who was a resident of the Kerala coast for several years. The letter states that:-

“I had several times an audience of him at Mattancherry where he frequently sent for me to the palace as he wished to be made acquainted with different particulars respecting the affairs of Europe. He spoke Dutch exceedingly well and was desirous of learning English also. As he was a brave and enterprising man, possessed of considerable talents and no little share of pride, he could not bear the idea of being satisfied with the income enjoyed by his predecessors.”²

Succession to the throne of Cochin was determined by the customs existed during that period. The system of *Marumakkathayam* law was in force by which the succession was in the female line. The eldest male member became the head of the family and he was succeeded by his next junior prince. The Cochin Royal family consisted of five branches, i.e., *Mutha Tavazhi*, *Elaya Tavazhi*, *Muringur Tavazhi*, *Chazhur Tavazhi* and *Palluruthi Tavazhi*. The *Elaya Tavazhi* in this family secured a long-time prominence by effecting adoption from the influential houses. There arose succession disputes in all these *Tavazhis* in course of time but regular succession of a junior prince to an aged and deceased Raja continued. Raja Vira Kerala Varma ruled in the period of 1760-1775³. Raja Vira Kerala Varma died in 1775 and was succeeded by Raja Rama Varma who ruled from 1775 to 1790. Neither of these two rulers were efficient to face the trials and tribulations in the state. Hence the ruler Raja Rama Varma delegated all authority to the heir presumptive, the first prince of Cochin, Rama Varma (Sakthan Thampuran), at his early age of 18. He

² C. Achyutha Menon, *The Cochin State Manual*, Cochin Governemnt Press, Ernakulam, 1911, p.133.

³ K. P. Padmanabha Menon, *History of Kerala*, Vol II, Cochin Governemnt Press, Ernakulam, 1929, pp. 482-483.

succeeded to the throne on the 15th August, 1790 and continued to rule until his death in 1805. So, in the second half of the 18th century there was practically no succession dispute at all⁴.

Sakthan's first wife was a Nair lady belonged to Vadakke Kuruppath family, Trichur. But she died and Thampuran remained widower till the age of 52. His second marriage was with Chimmukkutty Nethyar Amma of the Karimpatta family. She was a talented musician.

The Impact of Zamorin's Attack on Trichur

When Sakthan Thampuran ascended to power, he faced the challenge of restructuring the state of Cochin, including Trichur. It was in a pathetic situation after the looting of *Sanketham* and habitats by the military of Zamorin. The conflict between the rulers of Cochin and the Zamorin had deep roots, beginning with a dispute over a treaty signed between Cochin and the Portuguese. This treaty displeased the Zamorin, who demanded the withdrawal of Cochin from it, which the rulers of Cochin refused. As a result, the Zamorins, with the support of the Edappalli Raja, attacked Cochin in 1503. However, with the help of the Portuguese, Cochin managed to repel the invasion⁵.

The Zamorins' interventions in Cochin continued again in 1660-61 when they interfered in a succession dispute in Cochin. The long history of this kind of intervention reached its peak in 1756. Zamorin advanced with his large army and established military stations and appointed *karyakkars* in occupied places of Alwaye, Varopoly, Manjummel, Kotad and other places. Next he occupied Enamakal. The Zamorin supported by the Brahmin landlord Padinjattedam Namboothiri attacked Trichur and established it as the seat of their territory in the Cochin region. The chiefs of Trichur. Changaramkanda Kaimal, Chittur

⁴ T. K. Krishna Menon (ed.), *Progress of Cochin*, Government of Cochin, Cochin, 1932, p.28.

⁵ T R Venugopalan, *Sampathum Adhikaravum: Thrissuril Ninnulla Oru Kazhcha* (Mal.), Current Books, Thrissur, 2017, p.70.

Namburippad and Velosnadu Nambiar welcomed Zamorin to Urakam, Arattupuzha and Mapranam. The Thalappilly Rajas and Chengazhi Nambairs accepted the suzerainty of Zamorin. The State of Cochin had been severely weakened by this time mainly by the repeated attacks and the resulting shifts in power in the region. The plunder and destruction carried out by the Zamorin's forces made Trichur more vulnerable⁶. Attempts of Cochin Raja to reoccupy these places ended in failure. In 1760 the raja of Cochin entered into a treaty with Travancore. Travancore agreed to assist Cochin to recover these territories. In 1762 the combined forces of Travancore and Cochin expelled Zamorin and regained their possessions⁷.

The Raja of Cochin now realized that weakness of Cochin was due to the diffusion of power among the hereditary chiefs. After the expulsion of Zamorin, Cochin Raja punished all the chiefs who accepted the authority of the Zamorin. The renegade chiefs were *Uralars* of many *Devaswoms*. Their properties were confiscated by Sakthan Thampuran and the *Devaswoms* within their authority came directly under the control of the State⁸.

Dutch and English Intervention

The supreme position of the Portuguese was taken over by the Dutch with their settlements. The Dutch under Van Goens occupied Vypeen and built a new small fort called Fort Orange⁹. Cochin had declined politically and economically. The coast of Kerala faced challenges in the form of Mysorean invasions which left the Zamorin of Calicut crushed, Cochin powerless and even Travancore, the most powerful among the three, dependent on the rising English power¹⁰.

⁶ C. Achyutha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 145-149.

⁷ *Report on the Administration of the Dewaswom Department with suggestions by C. Achyutha Menon, Regional Archives Ernakulam*, (hereafter *RAE*) p.1.

⁸ C. Achyutha Menon, *Op., Cit.*, p.73.

⁹ F. B. Evans, C. A. Innes (ed.), *Madras District Gazetteers Malabar*. Vol.1, Government Press Madras, 1951, p.430.

¹⁰ A. P. Ibrahim Kunju, *Travancore-Cochin Relations in the 18th Century*, ” *Journal of Kerala Studies*, University of Thiruvananthapuram, Vol. I, 1981, p.19.

It was in 1779 the minister Komi Achan died and with his death the hereditary premiership of the Paliath family was abolished¹¹. Internally and externally Prince Rama Varma had to face problems of puzzling nature. Tipu's intervention was fatal to the *Naduvazhis*¹². The *Nambuthiris* challenged the power and authority of the Raja and created utter chaos. The Brahmin priesthood wanted to minimize or to thwart the measures of Rama Varma and tried to reduce the power of the Raja. While suppressing the power of the *Nambuthiris*, Sakthan took steps to cripple the power of the Brahmins.

The Dutch, nominally the friend and ally of the Raja, encouraged the *Konkanis* and Latin Christians to defy the Raja. The threat of Mysore made the Raja to ally with English East India Company. As a result, the Madras Government sent George Powney, their agent, to make alliance through a treaty. Consequently, a treaty came into force on 25th Sept, 1790 which made Cochin a tributary of English East India Company¹³. Raja agreed to pay an annual subsidy of one lakh rupees to the Company. According to Lee Warner, there were 90 treaties signed between the British Government and the native states of India from 1730 to 1848. The treaty concluded with the Raja of Cochin in 1791, which was the 20th one. The treaty placed Cochin the subsidiary ally of British. The third article of the treaty states that The English East India Company would help Cochin to retain its territories once it had lost. They were Districts of Nandivalam, Paravattany, Thalappilly, Mulloorkara, Tikkamangalam, Kavalapara, Palaghatchery, Chetwee, Manapuram etc., Article four of the treaty was that Cochin would be a tributary of English East India Company and pay an annual tribute to the latter. For the first year, the tribute would be Rs 70, 000 /- and for the next year it would be Rs.80, 000/- and for the third consecutive year, the tribute would be Rs. 90, 000/- Cochin would have to pay Rs. 1, 00, 000/- each in the subsequent years¹⁴. Company appointed a Joint Commission to prepare a

¹¹ V. K. Raman Menon, *Paliyam Charitham*, Paliyam Trust, Ernamkulam, 1953, pp.39-59.

¹² A. Sreedhara Menon, *A Survey of Kerala History*, DC Books, Kottayam, 2022, p.212.

¹³ C. U. Aitchison, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and Sanads Relating to India and Neighbouring Countries*, Government Press, Calcutta, 1909, Vol X, pp.259-262.

¹⁴ *Treaty of 1791* concluded between Cochin and English East India Company, *RAE*.

comprehensive report. First the administration of Cochin was supervised by English from Bombay presidency and in 1800 it was placed under the government in Fort St. George in Madras. They ensured the interference of the British agent at Cochin and was more alert on commerce.

Territorial Concerns and Claims

In response to changing economic and political realities Sakthan sought to introduce revenue enhancing measures. The administrative reports throw light on various policies adopted by Sakthan to accumulate wealth. His first attempt was to recover the lost territories during the Mysorean invasion, like Chala, Perivala, Ayinikkadu and Akamthuruth which were part of Chittilapilly. The Zamorin also raised claims over these four Desoms. Later Chittilapilly was included in the third Article of the Treaty with British in 1791.¹⁵ The British officials visited the place and were convinced that these regions belonged to Cochin. They prepared a *Variola* which declares that the areas within Chittilapilly belonged to Cochin.

There was also a dispute over Kodungallur between Sakthan Thampuran and English East India Company. Company argued that they received Kodungallur from Tippu through Srirangapattanam Treaty. Sakthan Thampuran argued that he got it from the Dutch. Sakthan Thampuran produced evidence of his payment of tribute to Mysore in which the share of Kodungallor was given by Cochin, to the Company¹⁶. After strong arguments Malabar Commissioner wrote to the English East India Company that the rights over Thiruvanchikulam, Kodungallor and Thriprayar Temple belonged to Cochin¹⁷.

Chettuva was another bone of contention which was a strategically important place. Portuguese, Dutch, Cochin, Travancore, Hyder and Tipu considered Chettuva as a strategic position and maintained their army here. Sakthan Thampuran tried his

¹⁵ Puthethath Rama Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 215-216.

¹⁶ K P Padmanabha Menon, *Cochi Rajya Charitram* (Mal.), Mathrubhumi Books, Kozhikode, 1989, pp. 221-222.

¹⁷ *Series files I, File No 227, Vol XV, RAE.*

maximum to bring Chettuva under his control, but failed. Later he got it on lease for ten years from English East India Company¹⁸. In the case of Kavalappara Sakthan Thampuran claimed his rights over it but English East India Company suggested that Kavalappara should be given to Kavalappara Nair alone. Alangadu and Paravur went to Travancore according to an agreement signed between Travancore and Cochin in 1762. Sakthan was trying to regain his lost territories and strengthen his state to mobilise more resources.

Administrative Reorganisation for Mobilisation of Resources

The Raja of Cochin had to pay tribute to English East India Company. The acquisition of any new territory will lead to increase in tribute. For this purpose, two Commissioners, Page and Boddam were sent to Cochin. After the enquiry they decided not to demand any more tribute. According to the treaty the following taluks were specifically mentioned as constituting the territory of Cochin: -1) Thalappilly, 2)Mullurkkara, 3)Nandavalam including Mukaundapuram, Ayinikuril, Kodassery, Mapranam and Pudukkad. 4)Paravattani including Trichur and Chittilappilli 5)Perattuvithi and Tattamangalm 6)Kavalappara 7)Tenmalapuram and Vadamalpuram 8)Chettuvai, Manappuram including Pathinettatrayalam, Karah and Cranganore village, and Edathuruthi¹⁹. George Powney states that Raja held no other territories than those mentioned in the Schedule of Tipu. The Joint Commissioners after the scrutiny added the territory of Kavalappara Nair to the British Malabar.

Subsequently with the establishment of company's power in Cochin, its agents began to curb the power of Raja. Col. Macaulay was sent as Resident to Cochin and Travancore in 1800 with an overall supervision of Cochin. The Colonel was tactless and he addressed the Raja in his letters as a subordinate. This is evident from a letter from Alleppey dated 24th July, 1803. Sakthan's relations with English East India Company were unsatisfactory until his death in 1805.

¹⁸ K P Padmanabha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp.251-254.

¹⁹ *Treaty of 1791* concluded between Cochin and English East India Company, pp. 254-256. RAE.

The administration of Cochin was in the hands of the Sakthan for more than three decades. Administration was carried out with the help of the officials appointed by the King. The state consists of four districts. (1) Nandavalam including Mukundapuram and Irinjalakkuda, Kodasseri, Mapranam and Pudukkad. (2) Paravattany consisting of Trichur, Paravattany, Paragom and Peruvanam. (3) Palghatuchery with two hills called Tenmalapuram and Vadamalapuram and the places between Kodagaranadu and Naledesum. (4) Chettuvai and Manappuram with Padanittaulum, Kanrah, Tireparate, the village of Crangannore, Trevangekadum church and Yada Turtie²⁰.

For effective implementation of economic policies and administrative convenience the state of Cochin was divided into three *Mukhams*. They were *Vadake Mukham*, *Thekke Mukham* and *Kizhakke Mukham*. The areas related to *Kizhakkemukham* was Naludesam and Kodakara, *Vadakkemukham* included the taluks of Thrissivaperur and Thalappilly which had four *Kovilakathum Vatukkals* and sixteen *pravarthi* and *Thekkemukham* consisted of Taluks of Mukundapuram, Cochi and Kanayannur which had four *kovilakathum Vatukkals* and 22 *pravarthi*.²¹ Each were under *Sarvadhikaryakkar* and *Mukhathumuthalpiti*. Each *Mukham* was again divided into taluks called *Kovilakathum Vathukkals* and subdivided into *Pravarthis*.

The administrative function of Taluks or *Kovilakathum Vathukkals* was put under the control and supervision of a *Karyakkar* or Tahsildar. The smallest unit of administration of the State was the village which was called *pravarthi* administered by *Pravartikars*. The lower functionaries of *pravarthi* were Menon, *Chandrakkaran* and *masapiti* (monthly collector). There were also the *vicharippukar* who looked after agriculture, warehouse, *kovilakam*, and *Uttupura*. Other functionaries were *Theettooram Ezhuthukar*, *Kanakkezhuthukar*, *Variyolakkar*, major and minor

²⁰ This is from the treaty agreed upon between the Raja of Cochin and the English East India Company in 1791. The treaty addresses the Raja as the Perumpadappu Valiya Rama Varma, The Raja of Cochin.

²¹ Puthethathu Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.397.

Kappithan, Pandikasala Vicharippukaran, Mulakumatisseela Vicharippukaran and tax collectors.

Before the accession of Sakthan Thampuran the Perumpadappu Swaroopam possessed a small army shows unlike that of *Swaroopams* and *Naduvazhis* Sakthan Thampuran took measures to build up a powerful army rose in power. He developed a strong military department. Along with Nair army he setup an Ezhava forces. The strategically important places of the State were protected by this Ezhava army. He also maintained a Karnataka army in the border areas like Thruvilwamala, Pazhayannur and Perattuvedhi. Rise in trade with European powers Sakthan was able to strengthen his own trained army as evident from the administrative records.²² He trained the army on European model with the help of Dutch officials. The traditional military equipment was added with modern weapons and new technics of warfare. He imported. Rifles and cannon balls from England at a cost of forty Thousand rupees in the year 968 KE²³. He maintained a strong standing army which incorporated different communities including Mappilas and *Kudummis*. They were under *Valiyasarvadhi karyakkar*, assisted by two other commandants and captains²⁴.

There are so many reasons that made the Raja of Cochin to transfer the capital from Trippunithura to Trichur. The mercantile activities of Cochin were monopolized by the Dutch. With the help of the English East India Company, the spice producing territories like Quilon, Thekkumkur, Vadakkumkur and Porcad were annexed by the Raja of Travancore by 1752. As a result, the flow of spices from these regions to the port of Cochin was blocked.²⁵ This also inflicted a severe blow to the trade of the Dutch in Cochin. On the other hand, trade in pepper was monopolized by the Travancore Raja in 1753. This severely reduced the availability of pepper to the Dutch. A new port was established in Alleppey by Raja Kesava Das in 1793 with the aim of getting spices from the newly acquired territories, diverted

²² V.K. Rama Menon, *Old Chiefs of Malabar, BRVRI*, No.4, p.15.

²³ Puthethathu Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.392.

²⁴ K P Padmanabha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.695.

²⁵ V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1906, pp. 345-351.

from the Dutch Cochin and exposed to the international market through a Travancore port.²⁶ The main intention of the ruler was to garner profits and thus strengthen the emerging state of Travancore. These economic changes had significant effect in the political affairs of Cochin.

To meet the East India Company's tribute demands Sakthan found it necessary to collect substantial taxes. Similarly, he was confident that relocating to Trichur would minimise company's interference. Realizing the need to increase revenue and minimise European interference Sakthan Thampuran shifted the capital from Cochin to Trichur. Hinterlands proved to be sufficient for supplying products for trade in to the markets uninterruptedly. This helped to detach from the challenges from the part of the Dutch and the English.

Policy towards Paliath Achan

Paliath Achan – the heads of the Paliyam Nair family of Chendamangalam played a major role in the politics of Cochin State since the 17th century. They were the hereditary prime ministers to the Maharajah of Cochin and one of the Desavazhis. It is certain that Paliyam family was linked to the Cochin Royal family or the Perumpadappu *Swaroopam*. He also controlled the other powerful lords of the period - Cheranallur Karthavu, Head of the Anchi Kaimals, Muriyanattu Nambiar who was the head of the Arunattil Prabhus, Kodassery Kartha, Mappranam Prabhu-Vellose Nair, Chengazhi Nambiar (Chengazhinad Naduvazhi), and Edappali Nampiyathiri.

The Villarvattom ruler, in the absence of a male member as his succession, gave the inheritance right to Paliath Komi. Accordingly, Paliath Komi received the privileges of the *ulpathis* of Chendamangalam, Gothuruthu, Kadavathuruthu, Chathedam, Kallur, Kazhur, Thrikkur, Karamallur, Neerikkode, Mulavukad, Nayarambalam, Pallippuram *desoms* were transferred to Paliath Komi and his descendants as '*attipper*'²⁷

²⁶ Aswathi Thirunal Gouri Lakshmi Bayi, *Thulasi Garland*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Thiruvananthapuram, 1998, p.9.

²⁷ V. K. Raman Menon, *Paliath Govindan Valiathan*, 1123KE, Thrissivaperur, p.74.

The Paliath Achan and his family were key players in administrative history of Cochin. Paliath Achan was appointed as the *Desadhipathi* of Vypeen in 1622. This was in recognition of his services to the Cochin ruler. With the help of Dutch, he reduced the power of the Portuguese. Dutch general has expressed his gratitude to Paliath Achan who helped the Cochin ruler considerably. The Dutch order of 1661 records that any cruelty towards Paliath family from any rulers will be seriously taken into consideration and punishment would be meted out. In 1681 Paliath Achan was entrusted with position of Prime Minister. In 1731 Komi Achan became the Prime Minister. When Zamorin attacked Cochin, Paliath Achan with the help of Travancore army defeated Zamorin and retained the lost glory of Cochin. He also crushed the *Naduvazhis* and tried to consolidate the state. For the time being the power of the Paliath Achan increased to such an extent to control the administration and the Raja of Cochin. When Sakthan Thampuran assumed power as the Yuvaraja, the post itself was abolished.

Gowda Saraswatha Brahmins

As part of resource mobilization and political integration Sakthan brought the unyielding *Konkanis* into submission. The *Konkanis* or Gowda Saraswatha Brahmins had migrated to Cochin and they were given shelter by the rulers of Cochin during 16th century. They were given exemption from a tax *Purushantharam* and permitted to construct a temple later known as Thirumala *Devaswom*. By 1753 the *Konkanis* were a wealthy and influential community under the special protection of the Dutch. The authority of the Rajas of Cochin over them was nominal. Sakthan had always been vigilant of the authority exercised by the Dutch over the *Konkanis*²⁸. The relationship between the Cochin and the Dutch East India Company was strained due to the issue with the *Konkanis*²⁹. From 1791 onwards he tried to establish control over the *Konkanis* in several ways.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.77.

²⁹ *Series File 375/182, RAE.*

An incident related to *Konkanis* is referred by Padmanabha Menon in his *Kochi Rajya Charithram*. In 1791 Sakthan Thampuran demanded the supply of sugar from the *Konkanis* for a ritual called *Thirumasa Adiyanthiram*. While the *Konkanis* were unwilling to provide that sugar, the soldiers of Sakthan Thampuran killed a *Konkani* namely Devareshakini and plundered the *Devaswom*, its shops and their houses³⁰.

This is evidenced from the writings of Fr. Bertholomeo

As he (Sakthan Thampuran) was a brave enterprising man, possessed of considerable talents, and no little share of pride. He could not bear the idea of being satisfied with the income enjoyed by his predecessors. plundered the shops; carried away the merchant's property, and asserted that he also had a right to rule the Pagan Indians as since the earliest periods they had always been under the dominion of his forefathers³¹.

Sakthan Thampuran relied on the English East India Company and extracted money from the *Konkanis* who were in affluent condition. He proceeded to confiscate the possessions of the *Konkanis* and their jewels and idols with precious stones belonging to their temple, Tirumala *Devaswom*. The temple managers or the *Adhikaris* had prior information of Sakthan's move and managed to remove the jewels and idols to temple at Alappuzha

Sakthan Thampuran increased the states share by subduing the power of the *Konkanis* and extracting their wealth. The policy of resource accumulation was not confined to *Konkanis* alone. He continued this policy by confiscating the *sanketham* of other temples of the state, especially in Trichur.

³⁰ K P Padmanabha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 580-581.

³¹ William Johnston (Trans.), *Voyage to the East Indies*, Verner and Hood, London, 1879, pp. 134-135.

Policy of Sakthan Thampuran towards the Temples of Trichur

Sakthan Thampuran took measures to bring the temples and *sanketham* into the direct control of the state. The administrative reports of the *pravarthies* provides information on the administration and management of temples and their lands. The main temples and *Devaswoms* were the following; Thiruvillwamala *Devaswam*³², Thiruvanchikulam *Devaswam*³³, Pazhayannur *Devaswam*³⁴, Oorakam *Devaswam*, Thriprayar *Devaswam*³⁵, Chementhatta *Devaswam*³⁶, Mulamkunnathumkavil *Devaswam*³⁷, Thiruvanikavu *Devaswam*³⁸, Koodalmanikyam *Devaswam*³⁹, Vadakumnathan Temple⁴⁰, Kadavallore Temple⁴¹, Arattupuzha Temple⁴², Mundathikottu Pathirikattu Kavuv⁴³, Nellupayil Temple⁴⁴, Chazhiyur Temple⁴⁵, Vadekkekara Temple⁴⁶, Cheriyaikulangara Temple⁴⁷, Ayyanthole Temple⁴⁸, Mullackal Bhagavathi Kavuv⁴⁹, Chelakkara Temple⁵⁰ and Cheranellur temple⁵¹.

Sakthan Thampuran took effective measures to coordinate the administration of these temples and *Devaswoms*. It was *pravarthikaranmar* who were in charge of

³² *Series I, Bundle 21, File No 356/56, RAE.*

³³ *Series Files I, Bundle 21, File No 356/1, RAE.*

³⁴ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/42, RAE.*

³⁵ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 227/3, RAE.*

³⁶ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/1, RAE.*

³⁷ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/12, RAE.*

³⁸ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/49, RAE.*

³⁹ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/81, RAE.*

⁴⁰ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/39, RAE.*

⁴¹ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/42, RAE.*

⁴² *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/69, RAE.*

⁴³ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/91, RAE.*

⁴⁴ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/74, RAE.*

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/12, RAE.*

⁴⁷ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, file No. 356/71, RAE.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid., p.1.*

⁴⁹ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/88, RAE.*

⁵⁰ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/61, RAE.*

⁵¹ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/71, RAE.*

these and report to the ruler regularly. The smooth conducting of the rituals and ceremonies of the temples were under their supervision. They include *Utsavam*, *Oottu*, *Adiyanthiram*, *Ekadasi*, *Sadhya* etc. and the expenses of the rituals were met by the ruler. The daily ritual expenses and the festivals of temples i.e. Vadakkumnathan, Pazhayannur etc. were met from the royal treasury. Reports from Pazhayannur *Pravarthy* shows that a continuous supervision of the Raja through the *Pravarthikaranmar* was going on in the conducting of *Oottu*, ritual practices and ceremonies⁵². They had to seek permission from the Raja as it was met from the royal treasury. It was their duty to collect money or paddy for the ritual which is evident from the reports of Chelakkara and Pazhayannur *pravarthy*. They send *Variyola* for conducting *sadhya*, *Navami vilakku* and *Ekadasi Nombu* in the temples of Pazhayannur, Vengallur and Killikurissi temples

The people who lost houses during the plunder and burning were permitted to live inside the Vadakkunnathan temple for three months. The Raja of Cochin spent around 1, 81, 530 *panams*, for the rehabilitation of the people who lost houses⁵³. In the second half of 18th century the *Yogathiri* of Vadakkunnathan allied with the Zamorin and temple was in the hands of Zamorin. During that period *Yogathiri* was Pathakkara *Nambuthiri*⁵⁴. By 1769 Sakthan ousted the *yogathiri* from his power and the administration was given to the *Gramakkar*, *Moothathu* and *Santhikkar*. It was in 1790 Sakthan Thampuran abolished the post of *Yogathiri* itself and temple properties were taken over by the state⁵⁵. The activities were important from the point of view of the termination of the Brahmanical highhandedness in the matters of the temple and *sanketham*. Hitherto, the region was treated as a Brahmin village where the overall authority of the Brahmins was felt. The intervention of Sakthan Thampuran changed the scenario. The expulsion of *Yogathirippad* and the

⁵² *Series Files I, Bundle21, File No .356/32 RAE.*

⁵³ S Rajendu, *Vadakkunnathan Devaswom Granthavari*(Mal.), Vallathol Vidhyapeedham, Sukapuram, 2021, p.22.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ T R Venugopalan, *Op. Cit.*, p.200.

punishment inflicted upon the *Nambuthiri* Brahmins who participated in the conspiracy favouring the Zamorin put an end to the age- old domination of the Brahmins in Trichur.

Sakthan Thampuran also took interest in maintenance of the temples. *Pravarthikaranmar* take permission from the king for the timely maintenance of the temples. The administrative reports from the Urakam *Pravarthy* and Enamakkal *Pravarthy* shows that the roof of the temples of Manalamkotta Sivan Kovil, Thonnikavu Temple and Cheriya Kulangara Temple were damaged. The roof of such temples was repaired and its maintenance amount met from the royal treasury⁵⁶.

The expenses of the temples were comparatively less while considering the income generating activities relating to temples. The administrative control over the *Devaswoms* and temples enabled him to extract huge amount of produce.

Expansion of Agriculture

Agriculture was the backbone of urbanization. Sakthan Thampuran adopted various measures for the progress of agriculture.

. The first land revenue settlement introduced in Cochin in 1761-62. It was the internal demand of a newly organised state that facilitated the collection of land revenue by the state.⁵⁷ With the suppression of the rebellious *nadus* and the forfeiture of their privileges, the position of the Cochin ruler strengthened. The enhanced power of the state enabled him to impose tax on land owners and chieftains to find revenue for the growing financial demands of the state.

The government levied tax in the form of *Rajabhogam* from the land under private ownership. Land revenue began to be levied for the first time in 1762. Prior to that year, the produce of the land used to be shared exclusively between the *Janmi* and the tenant in certain fixed proportions. In 1762 since additional fund was needed for administrative purposes, it was decided to levy it from the landholders in the

⁵⁶ *Series Files1, Bundle 21, File No 356/71, p.1, RAE.*

⁵⁷ C. Achyutha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp.303-305.

name of *Rajabhogam* or king's share, as distinguished from *Janmibhogam* or landlord's share.

The centralisation of administration during the period of Sakthan resulted in the restructuring of tax regime. Attempts were made towards the land survey and settlement. In order to identify and settle the boundaries of the properties regular survey of lands had been made. The proposed objectives of the settlement process were to create exact registers of land, to examine and record the various tenures under which the properties held and to fix and limit the government demand. The amount of tax was fixed only by oral enquiries with the land holder⁵⁸. This type of assessment was known as *Kettezhuthu*. This was followed by another settlement known as *Kandezhuthu*. It was the recording of the land rights based on what was seen. C Achutha Menon states that:

“Almost all the lands in the possession of Europeans in Cochin are permanently settled, and the extent of these lands is about equal to that of ten survey village and that of Cranganore. Accustomed as they were to fixity of assessment in their own country, they took care not to expose themselves to the periodical deprivation of the fruits of their labour by the obnoxious visitation of settlement officers. The government agreed to their own terms and conceded to them the benefit of a permanently settled assessment”.

British gave much importance to the practice of surveying. They believed that a country had to be properly known before it could be effectively administered. In 1801, a complete survey was conducted (*kandezhuthu*). The tenures were similar to previous settlement and *pattas* were issued after settlement.

The huge amount of tribute to the English East India Company compelled him to increase the resources of the state. Hence, he promoted both paddy and garden cultivation. He introduced separate department for agriculture in the *pandaravaka* land. He also managed the *kandukrishi* lands. The *pravarthikaranmar*

⁵⁸ *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of Cochin State, 1909, RAE.*

supervised the agricultural activities in *pravarthies*. Another group of officials were appointed to look after the management of *kandukrishi* land (crown land). They were known as *kandukrishivicharippukar*⁵⁹. There were administrative divisions called *Munnala* and officers were appointed to supervise the activities in each *Munnala* were *Munnalakkar*. Each *Munnalas* included a number of *Desams*, *kavalkkar* or guards were appointed for the protection of crops especially at nights. That is evident from the report of Kunnamkulagara *pravarthi*⁶⁰. The Raja was always vigilant on the functioning of the *kavalkkar*.

Another area of improvement was the conversion of barren lands in to cultivable lands. Reports from Peringottukara, Mapranam and Urakam *pravarthies* throw light on the reclamation activities undertaken in the *pandaravaka* lands⁶¹. The report states that more than 500 *para* of land under *Pandaravaka Verumpattom* which left barren was cultivated with the help of tenants. Attempts were made to conduct cultivation in other waste lands also.

An important issue connected cultivation of the barren lands was the scarcity of tenants or *kudikal*. The *pravarthikaranmar* adopted vigorous measures compelling the tenants to cultivate waste lands in *Peringottukara Pravarthi*. The report from this *pravarthi* indicates that 4000 *para nilams* remained uncultivated which needs royal order⁶².

Kanippilathum, Kizhupillikare Kothiyathu Chazhiyuru deshathe 4000 parahkandam tharishu kidappu vannirikunnayathu nadakendathinu prapthiyittukudikalumilla evaka kandu krishiyilkootinadathikendathinu kalpanaundayenkil nadathikaayirunnu.

⁵⁹ *Series Files I, Bundle 21, 356/44, p.1. RAE.*

⁶⁰ *Series Files I, Bundle 21, File No 354/10, RAE see also: Series Files I, Bundle 21, File No 356/41, RAE.*

⁶¹ *Series Files I, Bundle 21, File No 356/52, RAE.* It states as follows: *Marumuthalanmaru vakayayittum pandaravaka verumbattom ayittum tharishayittunadakkathe kidannathil 500ril chillanam para kandamkudikale pattamelpich nadathikayum cheythu iniyum tharichu kidakkunna kandangal nadathikendathinnu kleshichum varunnu.*

⁶² *Series Files I, Bundle 21, File No 359/39, RAE.*

Instructions were also given by the ruler to the *Devaswom* and *Brahmaswom* to conduct cultivation in barren lands. In Thrissivaperur *pravarthi* 1200 *para* of lands were converted to agricultural lands. More than 200 *para* of barren lands were reclaimed in Vijayapuram *pravarthi*.⁶³

Another initiative was the distribution of seeds to the tenants. Providing seeds and financial assistance is crucial for enhancing agricultural productivity. Supporting of tenants contributed to the economic growth. In the *pravarthi* of Urakam⁶⁴, Chettuva⁶⁵ and Chelakkara⁶⁶ seeds were distributed. Financial assistance was also provided to them.

Chettuva Sheshmayil irikunna kudikalku krishi nadakendathinayittu ethanum nellum vithum mumpupirakayittu koduthirikkunnathum nikuthivakayil pirinjathu neeki iniyum ethanum panam pirivanalluthum pirichu kumbanjiku bodhikendunna rupa adakayum venamallo.

This speaks about the distribution of paddy seeds among the *kudikal* or tenants for cultivation and collection of tax arrears for payment to the English East India Company.

Sakthan Thampuran collected up-to-date report of paddy cultivation from the *pravarthikaranmar*. He also gave prime importance to enhance irrigation facilities. From Choondal *pravarthi* reports shows the construction of bunds was initiated by him.

Paranooru chira kettendathinnum perumannachira kettendathinnum Pannare varuthi Kallum Murippichu varunnu ippol chiralyil nikunna vellam vattiyal chirapani vegathil kazhippichu kollukayum Venam.

This royal order states that for the construction of the *chira* (bund), *panar* communities were to be instructed to break the rocks in Choondal and Perumannu *chira* and complete the work without delay.

⁶³ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/89, RAE.*

⁶⁴ *Manuscript, Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/75 RAE.*

⁶⁵ *File 1, File No 227 Regarding various territorial questions. RAE.*

⁶⁶ *Manuscript, Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/75 RAE.*

Bunds which were artificially constructed for supporting agricultural productivity and water management. It also used to protect and demarcate agricultural fields. It acted as natural reservoirs and reliable source of water for irrigation. Apart from Choondal *chira* the other bunds were Nenmara⁶⁷ and Panamkulam in Urakam *pravarthi*. Bunds were also constructed at Enamakal⁶⁸ and one at Pudukkad *Pravarthies*. Another bund was constructed at Pudukkad *pravarthi*⁶⁹. This was reported from the Urakam *pravarthi*.⁷⁰ Canals were also constructed for the *punja Krishi*. In Chelakkara *pravarthi*, *punja and kole Krishi* were given encouragement. Sakthan gave importance to *Kole Krishi*.

Pepper cultivation was given utmost importance by Sakthan Thampuran. *Kavalkkar* or guards were appointed for the protection of pepper godowns. The following reports of the *pravarthikars* were testimonies to the protection given to pepper godowns of Choondal *pravarthi*

*Ippol kallanmarude nanavidhangaal paledathum erukakundu pravarthiyil ulla deshangaalil ulla kudikale varuthi deshangaalil kavalpurayum ketti ravipakal vazhipole sookshikkathakkavannavum mulakukaval vazhipole sookshikathakavannavum nattu mandala karanmare Chengamanakaranmare kavalnte shodhanacheyathakkavannavum ellavareyum varuthi kaccheettum ezhuthi vappichum nidanam varuthukayum cheythu.*⁷¹

The officers like *nattumandalakkaranmar and Chagamanakkaranmar* were appointed for this purpose. The *kavalkkar* generally belonged to the Christian and Nair communities. The pepper trade was so important as evidenced from a letter

⁶⁷ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/71, RAE.*

⁶⁸ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/12, RAE.*

⁶⁹ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/84, RAE.*

⁷⁰ Rejikumar J, *The joint Commissioners Report on Malabar 1792-93*, Thiruvananthapuram, 2010, p. 90.

⁷¹ *Series Files I, Bundle 21, File No 354/10, RAE.; Series Files I, 356/49, RAE.*

from Raja to Mr. Powney the Resident of Cochin in 1793. The pepper was produced in the island of Chettuva and Manappuram⁷². Out of the total produce 20 candies were set apart for the Rajas own needs and the rest were delivered on the beach at Chettuva at the rate of 600 Ruttums to one candy Dutch weight and 540 Ruttums to one candy English weight for rs115 per candy. Cultivation of crops like *muthira* (horse gram), *Chama* and Sesame were given special attention⁷³. Arecanut cultivation was encouraged and its trade increased. *Nelpuras* or godowns for paddy were constructed⁷⁴ and the surplus was exported to Salem⁷⁵.

Sakthan introduced effective measures for the betterment of the agriculturists and in turn increased the state revenue. To provide funds for the punctual payment of the subsidy to the company, land revenue was enhanced during 1794-95. An additional import tax called *Nikuti Phalam* was charged on lands. Special squad officers were appointed to supervise and check the activities of the state officials and to wipe out corruption⁷⁶. Along with land tax other taxes like *kettuthengu* and *ettilonnu* were introduced.

For the purpose of the transportation of the agricultural products a network of inland roads was constructed in Urakam and Chelakkara *pravarthies*. Construction and maintenance of roads were also reported from Machad⁷⁷, Puthukkad⁷⁸ and Mapranam *pravarthies*⁷⁹. The inland roads were connected to the main roads linking them to the urban centre, Trichur.

⁷² William Logan, *A Collection of Treaties Engagements and other Papers of Importance Relating to British Affairs in Malabar*, Madras, 1989, p. 187.; From the Dairy of the Malabar Joint Commissioners dated 17th May and 18th July 1793.

⁷³ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/47, RAE.; Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/56 RAE.*

⁷⁴ *Series Files 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/47, RAE.*

⁷⁵ *Series Files 1, Bundle 31, File No 376/70, RAE.; Series Files 1, Bundle 31. File No 375/97, Series Files 1, Bundle 31, File No 376/30, Series Files 1, Bundle 31, File No 376/55 RAE.*

⁷⁶ A. Sreedhara Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 295.

⁷⁷ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/88, RAE.*

⁷⁸ *Series File 1 Bundle 21, File No 356/84, RAE.*

⁷⁹ *Series File 1, Bundle 21, File No 356/89, RAE.*

The reports of the *pravarthikkar* clearly indicate the support and administrative vigilance of the ruler in promoting agriculture. The increase in the production of agriculture led to the development of markets. The efforts and endeavour of Sakthan Thampuran helped in building a strong agricultural base. To promote trade, he introduced new measures in agriculture.

Sakthan considered agriculture as the backbone of economy, established separate department to agriculture. He was keen in converting barren lands to cultivable lands. Paddy cultivation was expanded by providing irrigation facilities. Cultivation of garden crops like pepper, arecanut, coconut etc were promoted. Several temple lands were brought under the control of single head which enabled the state to manage temple properties This along with a network of roads facilitated commercialisation of agriculture.

City Planning by Sakthan Thampuran

The city of Trichur was planned by Sakthan Thampuran according to the principles that are enshrined in Kautilya's Arthashastra⁸⁰. The four major roads in the town radiated from the centrally located ring road (Swaraj Round) around Thekkinkad *Maithanam* and originating from the four sides of Vadakkumnathan Temple. It divides the city into four quarters. Each zone was set apart for different purposes. Eastern region constituted the main residential area. Christian families brought by Sakthan Thampuran were settled in the south eastern part of the city. Brahmins were made to settle in the north western part of the city which paved way for the textile trade in Trichur. The city was planned in such a way to give importance to all sectors of society which transformed Trichur into a commercial hub dominated by gold, textile and financial enterprises.

Water bodies of Trichur constituted 3% of the total town area which included 3 major water resources and 33 small ponds. Sakthan Thampuran built 4 water

⁸⁰ Saritha Vishwanathan, 'Sakthan Thampuran and the Emergence of Cochin as a Commercial Centre'; *Pragati*, vol. 3, Issue No.108, 2009, pp. 37-45.

reservoirs in the four corners of the city for uninterrupted water supply. They were Vadakkechira, Thekkechira, Kizhakkechira and Padinjarechira. The development of Pallikulam and Vanchikkulam were provided sources of water supply in Trichur town.

The development phases of Trichur town began from the period of Sakthan Thampuran. Forests were cleared to facilitate proper town planning. Forts and palaces were built around the town. Five roads were constructed which linked various religious, trade and administrative centres. In Trichur the villages were interconnected to the town through network of trade.

The town of Trichur developed along the seven link roads that originated from Swaraj round and connected the city to surrounding urban centres:1. Vaniyampara road (now College Road) connecting to Coimbatore. 2. Shoranur road (Vivekananda Road) which connected with North Kerala .3. High road connecting Trichur to Cochin.4. Palace Road connecting Kollengode Palace in the north.5. Padinjare Nadakkavu Road (MG Road) was the link road to Guruvayur Temple. 6. Karuppadanna Road (Kuruppam road) connected the Koodalmanikyam Temple and Kodungallur Bhagavathy Temple and Market Road (MO Road) where Municipal office and religious and public buildings were located⁸¹.

Sakthan planned the city in a scientific way with network of roads leading to Trichur. It became helpful for commercial development. It intensified the core periphery linkage which became instrumental in the growth of the city. Sakthan was aware of the importance of water for the existence of the city.

Introduction of Trichur *Pooram*

Sakthan was the mastermind of the Trichur *pooram* festival. Before the commencement of Trichur *pooram*, Arattupuzha *pooram* was considered as the major one. The temples of Trichur were the participants of Arattupuzha *pooram*. In

⁸¹ www.sciencedirect.com, *Emerging Paradigms for Development Planning; A Case of Thrissur, the Cultural Capital of Kerala*, Devika K. C., Dr.Ranjini Bhattathirippad and Ar. Bejene S. Kothari, p.1687.

1798 the temple functionaries of Trichur were late for the Arattupuzha *pooram* due to continuous rain and were denied admission. After discussion with Arattupuzha temple administrators Sakthan felt ashamed by the stand taken by the authorities of Arattupuzha temple. In retaliation he decided to unite the ten temples near the vadakkumnathan and started the Trichur *pooram*. It attracted people from all walks of life. Due to its secular character, it encouraged commercial activities of Trichur.

Trichur *pooram* was thus developed as festival by Sakthan conducted by two *desams*, Thiruvambadi and Paramakkavu in Thekkinkadu *maithanam*⁸².

To find out a solution to the problem he invited ten temples from Trichur were Kanimangalam Sastha Temple, Panamukkumpalli Sastha Temple (Kizhakkumpattukara), Chembukkavu Bhagavathi Temple, Karamukku Bhagavathi Temple, Laloor Bhagavathi Temple, Choorakkotukavu Bhagavathi Temple (Muthuvara), Nethilakkavu Bhagavathi Temple at Kuttur, Paramakkavu Bhagavathi Temple and ThiruvambadiSreekrishna Temple. All these temples earlier participated in the Arattupuzha *pooram*⁸³. Consequent to the discussions Sakthan initiated the Trichur *Pooram*.

The Thekkinkadu *maithanam* provided platform for traders, people from different parts came to Trichur at that time and it became a full-fledged market during the time of *pooram*. All the participant temples were surrounded by paddy fields. An important ritual practised during the *pooram* was *parayeduppu*. *Para* was a common offering given by people to the temple ie. giving paddy in the *para*. People also placed *paras* in homes as part of donating paddy and paddy products. Large number of *paras* were offered to temple during the *pooram*. Paddy thus collected was owned by the state⁸⁴.

⁸² C. Achyuta Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 165-166.; K.K. Sivadas, *Thrissur pooram Pakittum Perumayum*, Current Books, Thrissur, 2010, p.17.

⁸³ *Pooram Files, Bundle 3, File No.1, Paramakkavu Devaswom Archives.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

Trichur *pooram* was a significant economic event during that period which generate substantial revenue through various channels. It attracted number of people which boosted local markets including handicrafts and textiles. It created demand for agricultural products. In course of time, it proved to become a vital component of regions commercial sector and marketing landscape and also offered cultural promotion. *Pooram* was more material than spiritual.

Trichur *pooram* was one of the contributions of Sakthan Thampuran. Sakthan considered the festivals as social capital. It also generated income as it promoted circulation of resources and creation of profit. It emerged as part of the religious ritual, but it really led to the commercial development of Trichur and its markets.

Development of Markets

In the 18th century, the economy of Cochin was weak. The fortunes of the State were at its lowest position. The *Naduvazhis* were unyielding and uncompromising. Being the *Yuvaraja*, since 1769, Sakthan realised the huge profit earned by the European through their trade in Cochin. He found that state was not getting proportionate benefit to the state due to Dutch trade. Sakthan realized that along with agriculture the development of trade was essential for the improvement of the state finances. He observed that the foreigners who engaged in trade amassed huge wealth from the country.

Sakthan took effective measures for the promotion of trade, both internal and external. Big warehouses were constructed by Sakthan in Cochin, Ernakulam, Trichur and Thrippunithura⁸⁵. Commodities of commercial interest were collected from hinterlands like Naludesam and Kodakara to Aranattukara *kadavu*. Bullock carts were used for the transportation which were coming from Kuthiran with the escort of *mooppan*, guards and supervisors. All the collected commodities were transferred to *valloms* which were waiting at Aranattukara *kadavu* and Vanchikadavu in Trichur sent

⁸⁵ Puthethath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 95.

to the port of Cochin. Vanchikulam situated near Kokalai was a busy waterway and trade centre that connected Trichur to Cochin. The waterway touched the places of Aranattukara, Vadukara, Puthenthodu, Karanchira, Pazhuvil, Triprayar, Kandassamkadavu and Cochi. Rice, Pepper, Cashewnut, Jack fruit, Mango, furniture, etc. were sent to Cochin through this waterway. Salt, Shell, sand etc were reached to Trichur. The internal exchange system got prominence and was expanded to a higher level of transaction.⁸⁶ One of the letters to the company by the Raja speaks of the loading of 8000 sack rice from the Aranattukara Kadavu and also about the sending of 15960 bundles of tobacco from the Kadavu to Cochin⁸⁷. The local goods were transferred through the market place to a wider network of commercial exchange with links to coastal ports to the outer world. The main ghat route included *Kuthiran* to Palakkad and Koratty to Peringalkuth road. Along with the commodity movement, new trading groups emerged.

Valluvanad Charithram mentions about the trade to Angadippuram. The trade route through the Ghats is well explained in this work. The route of the *vaniks* extended from the passes to Pallippuram and from there the *vaniks* moved to Kodikkunnu then crossed the river Bharathapuzha. From there their movement was through Pattithara to reach the commercial centre Thrikkanamatilakam near Kodungallur⁸⁸.

The significance of local networks within a larger system became the focal point of trade. He organised internal trade and kept goods flowing to the major markets. The items needed for the market was procured through *angadis*. Faith related nodal points were developed with the increase of trade. With these the link between the hinterlands and the port centres strengthened. The *Konkanis* in Cochin allied with the Dutch and were hostile to the Raja. The Raja introduced new social

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p.98.

⁸⁸ S. Rajendu, *Valluvanad Charithram: Pracheenakalam Mutal A. D. 1792 vare* (Mal.), Calicut, 2012, p.119.

groups in Trichur, Kunnamkulam, Irinjalakkuda, Mala, etc. to have an alternate trade. He introduced non-Malayali elements in the new trade group like Tamil *Pattars* and with this the nature of trade changed over time. Core and hinterland relationship played an important role in the selection of Trichur as his capital. Rulers moved towards these centres with the aim of appropriating the share of profit.

The efforts of Raja enabled him to develop a powerful state with Trichur as its core. Though the royal house of the Raja was at Kanjoor, he moved to Trichur. There he introduced a second trade network and linked all the peripheral trade to the core at Trichur.

By the end of 18th century, Calicut lost its past glory due to the attack of Mysore and also due to large scale destruction of plantations.⁸⁹ By this time Sakthan Thampuran concentrated in developing internal markets in and around Trichur particularly in Trichur, Koratty, Kunnamkulam, Chalakudy and Irinjalakuda. By focusing on the core area in Trichur, he had to strike hard at the *Konkanis* with a strategy to weaken the pillars of the Dutch commerce through the port of Cochin.⁹⁰ Raja made the enterprising merchant community of St. Thomas Christians to settle down in the heart of Trichur for stimulating exchange activities.

Hukumnama of 969 Makaram 28 K E (1794) gives information about the beginning of *chantha* (market) in places of *Erattichira* (near Sakthan Stand) and *Puthenpetta* (near *Anchuvilakku*). The items of trade varied from pepper, ginger, and *thippali* to fish and meat. The market was famous for good quality iron trade. For the betterment of trade, St. Thomas Christians were invited to Trichur from nearby places and permission was given to them to live in a place called Puthanpetta. The markets functioned on Mondays and Fridays which were called *thinkalazhcha chantha* and *velliyazhcha chantha*. The person responsible for the *chantha* was the *Angadi vicharippukaran* who was in charge of collecting tax. *Hukumnama* mentions

⁸⁹ Das Gupta, *Malabar in Asian Trade*, Cambridge University Press, 1966, p.113; A. Galletti, *The Dutch in Malabar*, Madras, 1912, p. 162.

⁹⁰ C. Achyutha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.174.

the tax as three out of ten percentage of the sale. Puthanpetta was guarded by ten soldiers and a Havildar. The ruler maintained the *uttupuras*, peddling roads, *thanneerpanthal* (resting place) and the temples of *pandaravaka* running efficiently. He was very interested in keeping the Erattachira palace in an elegant manner has mentioned in the *Hukumnama*⁹¹.

A Royal order of 973, Chingam, 28 K E (1798) explains about the expenses from the royal treasury to build 12 *madoms* with 24 rooms to *Pattanmar*. The position of the building was in front of the *Thekke Gopuranada* of the Vadakkumnathan temple of Trichur. The cost of roofing and other facilities for trade was arranged from the state treasury that amounted to 1200 rupees, each having hundred.

A Royal order dated 980, Edavam 31 (1805) refers to the trade of Trichur *pattanmar* and their textile market. The order gave protection to the Paravattani *Samootha Madom* who were engaged in textile trade. Only the Tamil *pattanmar* and their people possessed the right to sell clothes in Trichur. The *pattanmar* were invited by the Raja to increase the sale of clothes in Trichur. They were influenced by the Raja to bring textiles from *Pandidesa* (Tamil Nadu) and gave them special rights and privileges. They were given concessions in *Uttupuras* at Cheruthuruthy and Pattikkad especially to store their commodities in these places. He constructed *madoms* as their shelters which remain today as *Pandisamootha Madom*. Raja gave the monopoly of textile trade to them and they emerged as a strong group in Trichur. Sakthan Thampuran setup the new *chantha* (markets) at Thrippunithura, Irinjalakuda, Chalakudi, Koratty, Thrissivaperur, Kunnamkulam and Chittur.

The income flow to the treasury was steady and there was enough money for the Raja to spend even on the beggars. Certain amount of rice and *puthen* was used from state treasury for those poor people coming on the market days. Every market

⁹¹ As per the royal order of Sakthan, a market (*chantha*) was started at Puthanangadi in Thrippunithura. The market day was Friday. It also named the items available in the market and the people who were responsible to bring the items. Each were given separate responsibilities and the names of traders included Nadamel Thandan, Kannazhathu Thandan, Kavanar Thandan, Cheppana Thandan and Madathil kizthandan. The names of types of fish available were also written with an amount of 2000 *puthen*.

day, five *paras* of rice and 40 *puthen* were allotted to distribute among the beggars and each one got an *uri* (half *nazhi*/ small measurement) rice and one *kasu*.⁹²

Hinterland Taxes

The ruler of Cochin collected hinterland taxes which became an additional wealth in the treasury. The rulers collected *Rajabhoga* from the hinterland. There were disputes between the Raja and the European powers regarding the right to collect hinterland taxes. Settlements were made with regard to collection of taxes in Cheralayi and Mattancheri⁹³. Products from the hinterlands of Trichur reached at different markets during the period of Sakthan. Many of them were through river transportation. The taxes for these products were collected in the form of *puthen*.

TABLE 3.1

Table Showing the Hinterland Products Transported, Weights and their Tax in the form of *Puthen*

| Item | Weight/ <i>panam</i> | Tax (<i>Chungamtheeruva</i> in <i>puthen</i>) |
|--------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Piece of timber-1 | | 2 |
| Aini teak-1 | | 1 |
| Coconut tree | For each 100 <i>panam</i> | 1 ¼ |
| <i>Karingali</i> | , , | 1 ¼ |
| Dried ginger | 1 candy | 10 |
| Turmeric | 1 candy | 3 |
| Ginger from hill | , , | 3 |
| <i>Karayampoo</i> | , , | 10 |
| Dried coconut | , , | 10 |
| Sandal | , , | 15 |
| Chanavarala | | 8 |
| White <i>mezhu</i> | Mannu -1 | 2 ½ |
| <i>Elathari</i> | Mannu -1 | 6 ½ |

⁹² Putezhath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.150; *Mathrubhumi Daily*, Thrissur, 21 December 1985

⁹³ *Mangalodayam, Magazine, Vol I*, Trichur, Medam 18, 1117 KE, p.35.

| Item | Weight/ <i>panam</i> | Tax (<i>Chungamtheeruva in puthen</i>) |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------|---|
| <i>Nattarakku</i> | , , | 10 |
| <i>Koovapodi</i> | Candy-1 | 5 |
| <i>Vettadakka</i> (dried Arecanut | , , | 10 |
| <i>Sarkkara</i> | , , | 15 |
| <i>Cheenikka</i> | , , | ½ |
| Coir | , , | 10 |
| Cereals | For 100 <i>panam</i> | 1 ½ |
| Paddy | For 100 <i>paras</i> | 1 ¾ <i>para</i> paddy or 5 <i>puthen</i> |

Source: *Mangalodayam*, Magazine, Vol I, Trichur, Medam18, 1117 KE.

The person who measured paddy received (*tharakan*) for each 100 *paras* got ½ *puthen* from the seller and ¾ *puthen* from the buyer. The paddy which was used for the household purposes were exempted from giving taxes. The items like *jeerakam*, *ayamodakam*, *viyalari*, *kothambalari*, *karkkolari*, onion and *pekayam* had a tax of 1 ¼ *puthen*.

TABLE 3.2

**Table Showing Kinds of Oils and Honey
Moving to Markets and the Tax Imposed upon it.**

| Item | Tax(in <i>puthen</i>) |
|--------------------|------------------------|
| <i>Nallenna</i> | 1 |
| <i>Naruneyy</i> | 2 |
| Coconut oil | 1 ½ |
| <i>Avanekk</i> oil | 1 ¼ |
| <i>Marotti</i> oil | 1 ¼ |
| <i>Veppenna</i> | 1 ¼ |
| Honey | 1 ¼ |

Source: *Mangalodayam*, Magazine, Vol I, Trichur, Medam18, 1117 KE.

The *vallom* that reached the market with these products through lagoons had a tax known as *hudikakuthu* of 37 ½.

In order to ensure safe and efficient movement of goods through roads Sakthan took initiative on the construction and maintenance of roads and bridges. The construction of roads from Chettuva to Koottanad was one such example. He sent royal orders to his officials to make sure of his efforts⁹⁴. Necessary wood and resources provided for the construction of new bridges. Thus, he tried to facilitate smooth flow of goods and services.

Role of Christians in Trade and Urbanization

For the commercial prosperity of the city Sakthan Thampuran brought in the Syrian Christians and Muslims from the nearby areas and *Pattars* from Tamil Nadu. He designated specific areas for them to stay and conduct trade. The areas which Sakthan Thampuran allowed for the communities were ‘Puthanpetta’ for Christians, *Pandisamooham* for *Pattars* and Kokkala for Muslims. The history of the modern Trichur began with Sakthan Thampuran⁹⁵.

The Christians were a very enterprising community and they proved to be experts in trade and agriculture. Realizing their potential in business, Sakthan Thampuran entrusted serious business matters to them. He brought in 52 Christian families to Trichur and settled them in a specific area which was later named as ‘Puthanpetta.’ Many of the families came from Aranattukara, Ollur, Kottekkad and Puthurkkara. Forest near the high road and the Vadakkumnathan temple were cleared. Five major roads were constructed which linked the religious, trade and administrative centres with central core for the easy movement of goods and for transportation. Trade connection with Cochin also made easier.

Among these, 24 families came from Arimboor and settled down from East fort to Ambakkadan well in Trichur. Each and every house was built equidistant and the

⁹⁴ Puthethath Raman Menon *Op. Cit.*, p.432.

⁹⁵ Andrews Thazhath, *Basilica*, Platinum Jubilee Commemoration Volume of Shrine Basilica of Our Lady of Dolours, Thrissur, 1925-2000, Thrissur, pp.30-31.

front part of the house was used for trading. These 52 families settled down in the land between Ariyangadi and Anchuvilakku.⁹⁶ The families who were invited and settled by Sakthan Thampuran were Cettupuzhakaran, Nadakavukaran, Thottan, Pallan, Chandy, Chalichery, Parapilly, Erinjeri, Pazhunkaran, Olari, Puthenvaru, Veliyannukaran, Thekkekara, Perinjeri, Valappattukaran, Kannambuzha, Karuthavaru, Arimburu, Chalakkal Chittilapilly, Muttichokkaran, Kinattinkal, Chirakkekaran, Chazhur, Maliyekkal, Chembookavu, Thettayil, Chiramel, Pallipurathukaran, Kannanaykal, Meykattukulam, Puthokkaran, Attattukaran, Maliyammavu, Alangattukaran, Akkarapatti, Menachery Vallupara, Kottekadan, Porathur, Kottayathukaran, Kizhakudan, Palathinkkal, Vadakkethala, Panamkulam, Pudukkattukaran, Chakkalakkal, Thermadom Thondi, Theykkanath, Chemban and Kanimangalam⁹⁷.

Chandy family was invited from Kottekkad. Chazhur Chandy Palu, Chakku and Anthony of Chandy family were the first traders in Puthenpetta⁹⁸. Their original family was Chazhoor Mana. This family engaged in the business of iron metal. They were also interested in agriculture and were the wholesale rice merchants in *Ariyangadi* in Trichur. They setup an arecanut market in Kokkala which had trade relation with other regions of South India. For this they conducted *Chovazhcha Chantha* (Tuesday Markets) there. They engaged in oil mill industry. They started St. Thomas Oil mills and engineering works. This became the first company for the machine repairs and foundry engineering⁹⁹.

Mar Aprem, the Head of the Chaldean Syrian Church of the East belongs to the family of Aranattukara Mookkan. Mookkan family started their trade in Trichur with the blessings of Sakthan Thampuran and became famous in the business of rice and salt. They had their own rice mill in the place near *Vanchikkulam*. Its name was Mookkan's Mill. This mill was functioning until 1964. They also had a mill at Vadakkanchery.

⁹⁶ *Malayala Manorama, Daily*, Thrissur, 11 October 2019.; *Personal Interview* with Mar Aprem(76), Metropolitan of the Chaldean Syrian Church of the East, Thrissur, 12-10- 2016.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Personal Interview* with Sr. Chrislyn (62), Mother Superior, CMC, Kolazhi, 20-05- 2020.

⁹⁹ *Chazhoor Chandy Family Association, Souvenir-cum-Directory*, Thrissur, 2006, p.34.

Chittilappilly family's history is a valid source to trace the roots of the family and how SakthanThampuran invited them to Puthenpetta for trade purposes¹⁰⁰. According to their family history, the Chittilappilly joint family first settled in Kodungallur and later they migrated to Palayur. The place of Palayur was attacked many times by the Zamorin of Calicut and later by TipuSultan of Mysore. The Chittilappilly family migrated to Velayanad near Irinjalakuda¹⁰¹. Their journey to Velayanad was through water transport. Their travel route was from Palayur through Chavakkad, Kodungallur, Muttikkal (Xaviyur) and Puthenchira to Velayanad. There existed a brisk water transportation through this way. It was in 1789 the migration happened to Velayanad. From there they were invited to Trichur Puthenpetta¹⁰².

The Madras State's Directory of 1931 states that:-

“K. A. Davis, the managing proprietor of the Peace Cinema, Gaiety Cinema, Crown Cinema, Liberty Cinema and Empire Cinema was the son of the Kunjappu Lona Anthony who represented one of the oldest Catholic families which settled in Puthenpetta Trichur, at the invitation of H. H. Rama Varma “alias” Sakthan Thampuran of Cochin and with his elder brother Mr. Francis constitutes the firm of Kunjappu Bros, which does large business in the Cinema and other lines in Madras and elsewhere.”¹⁰³

Parappilly family came from Ooty. They brought seeds of coffee from Ooty at a wholesale rate¹⁰⁴. They had 6 daughters and each of them were given 15 houses by their father. This finally led to the formation of Parappilly *angadi*. They also did contract work.

¹⁰⁰ *Chittilappilly Kunjappu Kudumbayogam Directory*, 2006, p.23. ; *Express Daily*, 01-09-1991.

¹⁰¹ *Personal Interview* with Kunjappu Antony(75), Aranattukara, 5 -08- 2018.

¹⁰² *Chittilappilly Kunjappu Kudumbayogam Directory*, 2006, p.32.The name of the first trader who was invited by Sakthan was Chittilappilly Ouseph. It is stated that the house of the Chittilappilly Kunjappu family was given the number X/169 by the Municipality in the year 23-09-1953 with its name K A Davis shopping complex.

¹⁰³ *The Madras State's Directory of 1931*, Madras Government, 1931, p.115.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*; *Personal Interview* with Joy Chittilappilly(67), Jeweller, Thrissur, 18-11- 2020.

Thettayil family were gold dealers. They had their acumen in gold business. Gold was imported from England¹⁰⁵. Thekkekara family was invited from Ayyanthole, Puthurkara *angadi*¹⁰⁶. Their original family was Palayur Thekkekara Mana from where they migrated to Ayyanthole¹⁰⁷. They were famous in hardware (iron) trade at a place called Puthurkara *angadi* near Anchuvilakku in Trichur¹⁰⁸. The Christian families who migrated to Puthenpetta continued with their original family name.

To promote trade and commerce Sakthan Thampuran set up *Pandikasala* (storehouses) and granaries. A *chantha* was also organized once in a week in Puthenpetta¹⁰⁹. New *angadis* like Erinjeri and Puthanangadi were developed. Ariyangadi was specially setup mainly to meet the food needs of the Sakthan Palace.

Sakthan allotted the land of Puthenpetta to Christians to erect their residences. The area was demarcated from *Kappela* (church) to *Ambakkadan Kinar* (well). *Valiya Angadi*, *Thekke Angadi* and *Kizhakke Angadi* came under the purview of Puthenpetta. Its eastern boarder reached upto *Ambakkadan Kinar*, a junction where the St.Thomas College road leading from Swaraj Round and the road from the Eastern part of *Ariyangadi* meets. When there arose scarcity of water, a well was constructed as a water source which later became the water reservoir for that place. The place for the well was given as a gift by the Ambakkadan family. The well was filled with soil by 1980 for widening the road. The place continued to become famous as Ambakkadan junction¹¹⁰. The place still retains the same name and many Christian homes are situated near market places like Anchuvilakku, Nayarangadi,

¹⁰⁵ *Personal Interview* with Shija Joy (62), Parappilly House, Thrissur, 16-06-2017.

¹⁰⁶ *Personal Interview* with Sr. Mary Grace CMC (74), L F Convent, Mammiyur, 10-5-2015.

¹⁰⁷ *Personal Interview* with Porinchu T T (73), Former Secretary, Service Co- operative Bank, Mundur, Arampilly, 22 -10- 2016.

¹⁰⁸ *Thekkekara Kudumba Charitram, Souvenir-cum-Directory*, 2006, p.12.; It is stated that Sakthan brought this family from Ayyanthol Puthurkara to Puthenpetta in 1794. Today the place known as HighRoad. The person invited to Trichur was Iyppu. In 1897 they migrated to a place called Arampilly near Mundur.

¹⁰⁹ *Express Weekly*, 1 September 1991, Article by Mar Aprem, Metropolitan of the Chaldean Syrian Church of the East, Thrissur.

¹¹⁰ *Express Daily*, Thrissur, 21 Dec.1985.

Ariyangadi and Chanthayangadi (Erinjeriyangdi)¹¹¹ and these markets were developed into wholesale markets.

He inspired the Christian community from different parts of the state to engage in trade in Trichur, Kunnamkulam, Chalakudy and Irinjalakuda. Many of the families came from Aranattukara, Ollur, Kottekkad and Puthurkkara.

Koratty Chalakudy and Irinjalakuda were developed into trading centres. It is evident from the letter of Diwan Nanjappa to the British resident Col Munro in 993 KE (1818) that Irinjalakuda *chantha* was started by Sakthan. It was a thriving market. The market did not create any pollution problem to the temple of Irinjalakkuda as reported by *Thachuday Kaimal*. The traders in Irinjalakuda, Chalakudy and Kunnamkulam were given special attention by the Raja. They were provided financial assistance by the Raja which is evident from the *Hukumnama* of 969 KE. Christian settlements with traders developed in these areas maintained increasing trade relations with core area, Trichur. Their trade centre was known as *Angadi* in which the front portion of each house was converted into the shop. Roads were cut across in right angles. The hinterland products were collected and transported to Cochin through river transportation. The main items of trade include betel leaf, arecanut, textiles, stationary, tobacco and mat¹¹². The New markets were started at Wadakkanchery. *Hukumnama* of the raja in 979 KE shows that provisions and items of trade were sent to Wadakkanchery by the ruler¹¹³.

With the development of trade Trichur town became well dependant by the time of Sakthan. It contributed to the share of the city's economy which enabled him to coordinate the administration of the state. City was considered as the major commercial hub during that period.

¹¹¹ Puthethath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp.53-54.

¹¹² Job Varghese, *Kunnamkulam Pazhamayum Perumayum*, Welfare Associates, Thrissur, 2016, p.8.

¹¹³ Puthethath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 301.

Iron Industry

Iron industry was an indigenous craft. Iron was one of the several materials used for the construction of Hindu idols and also for making tools for domestic and for the use of war. Iron is one of the constituents of *Panchaloha* which is extensively used for making idols. The ancient Nair warriors had several weapons of iron and steel. Sakthan gave importance to the iron industry. The smelting of iron prospered during the period of Sakthan for making canons and swords.

Iron industry has been the hereditary occupation of *Kollans* or *Karuvans* (iron smiths). They were skilled, specialist craftsmen operated in local markets. They extracted the metals from the laterite ores and the black magnetic sand in river beds and made various implements with it. The fuel used was wood charcoal. Although the methods were extremely crude, their skill is to be very much appreciated.

Francis Buchanan has given a detailed description about the iron industry of Malabar¹¹⁴

“The ore is dug out with a Pickaxe and broken into powder by the same instrument. It is then washed in a wooden trough, about 4 feet in length, open at both ends, and placed in the current of a rivulet so that a gentle stream of water run constantly through it..... By removing this stopper and looking through the pipes, the workmen judge how the operation is going forward. The mass of iron allowed to remain on the sand for 24 hours, and to cool gradually. According to the success of the operation it weighs from 8 to 12 *tolams* or from 256 to 384 lbs. The mass, when cool, is broken in pieces with a large hammer and sold for use, it being then malleable although somewhat brittle.”

¹¹⁴ Francis Buchanan “A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar” Vol.II, Madras, 1807, p.345.

The existence of iron industry in Cochin, particularly in Trichur has been testified by the scholars.

“Iron used to be worked in Thalappilly and Chittore Taluks but the influx of cheaper English materials killed the native industry more than half a century ago. The ruins of several old furnaces for obtaining iron from laterite were visible in these Taluks till recently”¹¹⁵.

“In Cochin State I have seen large quantities of iron slag or *Puranakittam* in several places like Kadavallur, Desamangalam and Anappara. These are the relics of ancient indigenous iron industry. It is interesting to note that this *Puranakittam* is used by the Ayurvedic Physicians as valuable medicine”¹¹⁶.

The most remarkable occurrence of *Puranakittam* in Cochin State is at Panjal near Cheruthuruthi. In a new panchayat road two miles to the east of Vetticattiri Railway station, heaps of *Puranakittam* are found on either side. This road has been cut along the southern slope of Panjal hill which is full of pieces of this material. In a teak plantation just to the west of the junction of the old and new panchayat roads also, found large quantities of *Puranakittam*. It can be conjectured that the iron weapons used by the famous ancient warriors –Manakkot Achans of Mullurkkara were probably manufactured at Panjal. Sakthan realised the importance of iron industry in making weapons. Kadavallur, Desamangalam and Anappara near Trichur were famous centres of iron industry during the period of Sakthan.

Puranakittam contains a large percentage of iron on account of the imperfect and crude methods of extraction of the metal from the ores. By applying modern metallurgical operations, it enabled them to extract all the iron from this material, and this is an industry worth developing on a small scale in Cochin State, especially during the period of Sakthan in the days of war when iron has become very important.

¹¹⁵ C. Achyutha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 314.

¹¹⁶ Krishna Menon, *Bulletin of Rama Varma Research Institute No. 3*, 1934, p.68.

Ship Building Activities and Long- Distance Trade

The ruler of Cochin owned ships and engaged in ship building. Though the political base was shifted to Trichur ship building in Cochin was given due importance and priority by Sakthan Thampuran. Cochin was at that time a ship building port of importance owing to the sheltered backwaters and its proximity to excellent and more than adequate timber supplies.

Ship building activities were promoted by Sakthan. Raja carried on an extensive trade with Bengal and other parts of India. A license or passport for free passage granted by the Dutch representative at Cochin to one of the Raja's ships is dated 15th May, 1793 and runs thus: -

“Whereas H. H. Perumpadappil Sorwathungal Muta Rajah King of Cochin is inclined to send His three master Gurab named Mahaluxmie , great 1500 candies, manned with sixty heads, mounted with 8 guns, conducted by the captain and cargo Andrew Bertholomew Da Cruz, laden with such allowed goods and merchandise, as are specified in dorso of this from here to the Coromandel coast and from there to Bengal: and whereas he has asked us, to that purpose for a letter of safe for the conduct for the same three master Gurab, we therefore not unwilling to refuse that to H. H. have readily granted and accorded it etc”¹¹⁷.

A ship builder by name Trogins, requested Raja to supply him with the timber pieces necessary for making ship ribs which were provided by the Raja. Meanwhile Paul Tait, a representative of a ship- building firm at Cochin requested the Raja for the service of 150 coolies for launching his ship and to be present at the function. The coolies seem to have been supplied. Yet another person, Mr. C. P. Mac Farlane made a request to Raja for *kavalkars* or watchmen for three days to get his ship ready for launching, which was also provided. All these things make it

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

clear that the ruling Raja of Cochin at that period gave the utmost help and encouragement to the industry that was going on in the state. Demands came even from outside for ships to be built at the port for use elsewhere. Prominent among these patrons outside Malabar was the Sultan of Muscat whose agent Salim Mis Abdur Rahim had earlier purchased ships for his master.

The ships of Sakthan known from the *Thittoorams* were Bagheeradhi, Gouri, Chandrasekharan, Gangadharan, Bhavani, Gangabai and Mahalakshmi. The ships were used by the Raja for the personal use and for commercial purpose. One letter written by the tax collector of Chavakkad, Mr. Dharman mentions about the small ships sent by Raja to Bombay to buy copper plates for building ship.¹¹⁸ The ships were used for conducting long distance trade and it reached the ports of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras¹¹⁹.

Sakthan promoted trade by building warehouses or *pandikasala*. Trade in *Thekkemukham* with the help of Madathumpadi Krishna Menon and ValiyaVeettil Kunjali Marakkar were recorded in the accounts of 974, Meenam 15 (1799). It includes 55 items consisting of tusks of elephant, tigers' teeth, dried ginger, pepper, etc. The account mentions about the price of each item totaling to an amount of 5876 ½ rupees. It also refers to the *pandikasalas* of Ernakulam, Cochin and Attipadavu. It makes special mention of the new *pandikasala* at Mattanchery, *puthanpandikasala* and the Cochin *pandikasala* for the purpose of keeping grains. In Mattanchery, Raja opened four new *pandikasalas* for retail marketing. In Trichur new *pandikasala* was opened near Vanchikulam which stored rice, pepper, vegetables, coir products etc. All instruments and weights and measures like *katti*, *thulass*, *para*, *edangazhi* and also *bharani*, *patram*, *thookuvilakku*, *petty*, *pettakam* etc. were supplied by the Raja to each of the *pandikasala* for the betterment of trade.

Other than the *pandikasalas* near the ports and trade centre's there were also storehouses in the State at the local level. They were for marketing different items at

¹¹⁸ Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.96.

¹¹⁹ Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp.96-97.

a retail price. For this big *nelpura* or *pandikasala* for grains and separate storehouses for pepper and other commodities were started with separate accounts and officers like *Mulakumatiseela Vicharippukaran* (officer who looked after pepper trade)¹²⁰.

The rice trade during the period of Sakthan was very impressive. Two of the royal letters testify this. These are letters to the captain of the ship Rabbisson. The letter states the rice needed for the Company was four thousand sacks of 150 *rathal* but the Thampuran was sending each sack rice containing seventy-five *rathal* rice of eight thousand sacks from the storehouse at Aranattukara *Kadavu*. The price of rice for each sack was 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *rupees*. The letter makes it clear that the rice will be given after the payment of its price at Aranattukara Kadavu or can have the receipt from the Cochin store house in the name of the Raja. The letter offers an exemption of tax from the part of king for the sale of the rice. If the company was ready to accept the terms and conditions of the Raja, he must have the reply and the labourers for handling the commodities due to scarcity of skilled workers for loading into the ship. Another offer given by the Raja was the sending rice from Aranattukara *Kadavu* to Chettuva by providing his own men and *Vallom* but the expenses should be borne by the Company.

The letter shows the clarity of the provisions while engaging in trade with the English East India Company. It also indicates the importance of water transportation and the routes used by the traders to take their commodities into the port of Cochin.¹²¹ Letter dated 970 K E (1795) mentioned by Raman Menon indicates the rice trade of Raja to the Company at Mahe. The letter asked for the pending payment of rice for the previous year (12500 *rupees*) by Captain Brannan as the Raja was in need of money for giving tribute to the Company¹²². The ships of the Raja were also given on rent (*kevin/koolie*) to the company as evidenced from the *kappalkoolie* (ship rent) received by the Raja from the Company.¹²³ Along with the

¹²⁰ Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 98.

¹²¹ Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 99.

¹²² *Ibid.*, p.101.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

items of trade like spices, rice, paddy and pepper it included timber on a large scale. A letter to the Company by the Raja in 974 K E Karkkidakam^{10th} (1799) revealed that the Raja came to know of the private trade of the Company officials. The Raja also stated that he was now busy with the renovation of the temples that were destroyed by Tipu. So, he was in need of timber in his country and not interested in timber trade with the Company. Raja indirectly spoke against the unhealthy practice of private trade of the members of the Company.

Pepper trade also made progress. The Raja monopolized the trade of pepper and made all measures to take the whole pepper business of his country to the *Sarkar pandikasala* (government storehouse). Strict orders were issued by the ruler in the case of pepper as that of tobacco. This always strained the relationship between the English East India Company and the Raja. The pepper trade was conducted at Nagapattanam by the ships of the Raja as is evident from one of his letters¹²⁴.

Sakthan promoted trade in rice, pepper and spices which helped to increase the revenue of the state. Ships were used by the Raja for long distance trade. The collection and storing of products in the *pandikasalas* provided further impetus to trade.

***Kuri* Companies-Precursor of Modern Banking**

A unique feature in the rise of modern Trichur was the role played by the *Kuri* Companies or Chitty Companies. The *kuri* companies had to perform a useful economic function in the evolution of financial sector in the developing areas especially in Trichur. One of the earliest forms of *chitty* was '*Danya chitti*' (grain *chitty*) which later witnessed changes in its pattern due to the monetization of economy. As a result, money chits replaced the grain chits. (*Kuri*).

Chitty was the saving system derived from the word *chit* means *kurippu* or a written piece of paper. Chitty was organised by a small group of people well known

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p.100.

to each other, and who agreed to contribute periodically a certain amount of grain or money in order to disburse the entire collection to one among the subscribers. Trust was the main factor that made the chitty a successful one. The winner is determined by drawing lots or through auction in which, the names of the needy subscribers were written on small pieces of paper. After this the lucky subscriber was picked up at random. In Trichur *kuri* was usually conducted at upstairs of the buildings and it came to be known as *Thattinpuram kuri*.

The beginning of chitty company in Trichur can be traced back to Chaldean Syrian Church by the name of *Pallikuri*. The *kuri* office functioned near the church in the name of KA. SU.VA. PA. (Chaldean Syrian *Vaka Pallikuri*)¹²⁵. It served the community for many years. It had different types and amount of *kuries*. The *kuries* were of different *salas*- 5 rupees, 10 rupees, 50 rupees up to hundred rupees *kuries*. All these '*sala*' (term) were recorded and kept as hand written notes. The first trustee of the *kuri* was Pallan Kunjuvareeth.

Other chitty companies were Lourde *Palli Kuri*, Trichur Darmodayam, Kshemavilasam, Trichur, Sadhu Samrakshana Sangam, Ollur, Irijalakuda Cathedral *Kuri* and Irinjalakuda Darma Poshanam¹²⁶.

The coins used in the 17th and 18th C were *uruppika*, *anna* and *paisa*. These three types of coins were used for trading purposes. 16 *annas* constitute 1 *uruppika*, 96 *paisa* was equal to 1 *uruppika*. The long duration monthly *kuri* had 111 months and 111 lots. Each lot had 100 *uruppika sala*. Only 10 or 15 members had the means to join such high *sala kuries*. Anybody could become a member of the *kuri* of small denominations *Kuri* companies kept records of all its members. The company spent an amount for publicity. In Lourde *Palli kuri* the members were informed about the instalments with the help of drum beats. The amount paid to the informer was one

¹²⁵ *Personal Interview* with Mar Aprem, Metropolitan of the Chaldean Syrian Church of the East, Thrissur, 12 Oct. 2016.

¹²⁶ M A Oommen, "Rise and Growth of Banking in Kerala", *Social Scientist*, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1976, p.6.

uruppika and 2 *anna*¹²⁷. The practice was known as *thamborukottariyippu* (informing through drumbeats). This was mainly to invite its members and to expose the truthfulness of the *kuri*. The drummer moved through the roads of Ariyangadi, Nayarangadi and High Road for announcements. There existed three types of monthly *kuries* of 111 instalments. They were 50 *uruppika*, 25 *uruppika* and 12 *uruppika* one *anna*¹²⁸. There existed different types of *narukku* known as 6 *uruppika* and 4 *annas* of Maharani *narukku*, 3 *uruppika* and 2 *annas* of *Veesamnarukku* and 1 *uruppika* and 9 *annas* of *Veesamkalnarukku*¹²⁹. Chitty played a vital role in mobilising the savings of households in Trichur. With the instrument of chitty they mobilised the small and scattered savings and distributed it among its members. It was based on mutual trust and co-operation. Though it originated in Christian churches and known as *pallikuri* and it soon spread among other communities. *Kuri* companies proliferated in Trichur by 1800.

Besides these, the hundi merchants in Trichur were also engaged in money lending activities mainly from the beginning of 19th century and could be found in all important trading centres in the state. The chitty companies play a useful intermediary role in an economy by channelizing credit to the needy borrowers especially to the business class in the society.

The earliest and the most popular forms of money mobilizing and credit providing enterprise in the State arose as a result of the demand of the villages which had to be largely self-supporting. Both full time and part time money lenders functioned in Trichur. Some of them had no permanent office. They lend out money on daily, weekly and monthly basis. Some of them use their house or farm as their office. These informal credit markets show a dynamic character. This was mainly due to their money lending activity. Their role was mainly more complex and

¹²⁷ M V Vishnu Namboodiri, ed., *Christian Folklore, Vol. 1*, Poorna Publications, Kannur, 2004, p.172.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*

intricate and has relations with other sectors in the economy. The intermediary role played by the chitty companies established the fact that what is mobilized through the unaccounted means would be lend to the needy borrowers at high rate of interest with minimum or no collateral requirements.

As a result of the changed economic and political scenario of the state it became necessary for Sakthan Thampuran to adopt that would increase income to the State treasury. In the beginning economic measures confined to introduction of land taxes and other taxes like *kettuthengu* and *ettilonnu*. But the treaty of 1791 compelled the ruler to adopt more systematic measures to increase the wealth of the state. The chiefs of the state came under the control of the ruler led to the expansion and integration of the state. In Trichur the Arunattil Prabukkanmar, Kaimals and Karthas were subdued and ready to accept the decision of the ruler. The military strength of the state increased. Coordination in the administration helped in increasing trade activities especially in Trichur. The wealth of the Gouda Saraswatha Brahmins and Paliath Achan absorbed into the state. In the field of agriculture Sakthan established a separate department for agricultural development. *Pravarthikaranmar* were appointed to supervise the activities in *kandukrishi* lands. He was keen in converting barren lands to cultivable lands. It led to increase in the income of the state. Special attention was given to *parambu Krishi*. Pepper occupied special attention. Irrigation facilities increased.

Sakthan Thampuran the visionary ruler was the mastermind behind the growth of Trichur in to an urban centre. Different communities were invited to Trichur for trade was a positive factor to the development of the region. *Kuri* companies in Trichur played its role in the business interest of the state itself. He took initiative in the integration of the hinterland resources. Commercial activities helped by the formation of *Kuri* companies. Reforms introduced in the integration of markets, construction of roads and canals. River transportation and ship building activities reached its height. All these practices of resource mobilization led to the growth of Trichur into an urban centre.

Isolated units of temples were brought under the control of single head. Thus, by the accumulation of *Devaswom* lands temple management become more effective. *Devaswom* administration in effect a kind of regulating revenue to the state. Extension of commerce and encouragement of trade and agriculture connected with the welfare of the people. The income generating sources and activities of Sakthan Thampuran made Trichur a centre with the characteristics of Urbanization.

CHAPTER 4

Agrarian Relations, Commercialisation and Demographic Change

The urbanization process and growth of trade under Sakthan Thampuran continued its acceleration in Trichur in the post Sakthan period. The surveys and census reports reflected the urban development by incorporating information on land, population, resources, markets etc. The roots of census found in the first half of 19th century. It gathered information on individuals and territories by the officials of the company.

Incorporation of Temple lands; Streamlining its Management

Large number of *Devaswoms* came under the control of the state during the period of Sakthan Thampuran. In 1812 Col. Munro ordered the annexure of land and properties of 179 temples to the government. These lands were added to the *pandaravaka* land and an amount was paid as necessary maintenance to the dispossessed temples from the state revenue.¹ The Raja of Cochin felt the necessity of a systematic and centralised administration of temple properties for the effective mobilisation of resources. Col. Munroe put forward proposals for reforming *Devaswom* administration to the Raja. Accordingly, Raja wrote a letter to Col. Munro for permission: -

“It is stated that you understand that the officers of the devaswom belonging to us do not conduct poojas in the temples properly that the temple funds are mismanaged, that in Travancore the temples are incorporated and that *pathivu* is fixed and money are conducted satisfactorily and that it would be better to make similar arrangements in regard to the temples here also. I am much pleased with the proposal.”²

¹ E. Krishna Menon, *The Cochin Devaswom Manual*, 1962, p.4.

² *Letter from H H The Rajah to Colonel Munroe* dated 9th Kumbam 989 K E, *RAE*.

Col. Munro proposed that all *devaswom* properties be treated as government properties and *devaswom* revenue be merged with the general revenues. As regards the expenses of the temples for *utsavams*, Munro suggested the fixing up of certain sales of expenditure known as '*pathivus*'³. The recommendation was welcomed by the Maharaja of Cochin and a committee was constituted in 1815 to reform the *devaswom* administration. The committee dealt with 301 *devaswoms* out of which 61 belonged to the *Uralar* and were restored to them. Another group of 61 *devaswoms* that belonged to the *Uralar* availed government aids and therefore classified as *Vazhivadu devaswoms* (i.e. *devaswoms* that received grants from government and managed by *Uralar*). The remaining 179 *devaswoms* were government *devaswoms* and a new *pathivu* was drawn up for them. As many as 24 of these *devaswoms* were treated as *kizhedams*. A *kizhedam* is subordinate to a more important temple. Subsequently some of the *Uralar* families became extinct when the administration was taken over by the government. *Devaswom* committee consisted of Narayanan Pillai, Valiya Melezhuth and Mathiyath Thani Nambuthiri. They were entrusted to report on the state of affairs in the temples administration by *Uralars*⁴.

With the institutionalisation of temple properties several isolated units of agricultural production came under single head. Effective and systematic resource management became possible. This enabled the state to lease the temple properties to generate income. So, the decision to bring *devaswom* administration under government control was a crucial one.

Trichur as reflected in the Accounts of Ward and Conner

In 1813-14 a survey was conducted in three types of land, viz. wet, garden and dry. A regular inspection of *kandezhuthu* of *nilams* and *parambus* was conducted in 1813-14 A. D to fix tax relying upon *kandezhuthu*. Provision was also made for the

³ *Pathivu* means scale of expenditure on account of *utsavams*, remuneration to temple servants, repairs of temples etc.

⁴ *Captain Blackers Memo to Narayanapillai, Valiya Melezhuth and Mathiyath Thani Nambuthiri dated 10 Mithunam, 989ME, RAE.*

kandzhuthu of the *parambu* once in every twenty years. The assessment was completed by 1821, but even on this occasion all lands were not actually measured. As a result, the extent of land was estimated after personal inspection in terms of quantity of seed required for sowing a field and the tax due to the state was fixed with reference to the estimates of the landholders⁵. The introduction of uniformity of land revenue system and the extraction of revenue led to the growth of income in the 19th century.

Ward and Conner made a detailed survey of Travancore and Cochin states between 1816 and 1821. They were the officers of Madras infantry and in charge of conducting survey of Travancore, Cochin and Malabar. The survey reports discussed the land in terms of geographical division, settlements, domination and power elements over the land.

According to them in the state of Cochin, the population of the districts comprised of Brahmins of various castes, *Chetties*, *Umbalawassy*, Nairs, Weavers, Washerman, Barbers, various castes of Tamils from eastern coast, *Konkanies*, *Puppada Chetties*, *Koodomeccars*, smiths, Artificers, Carpenters, Moosulmen, Elavers, Polians and Parriars⁶. It is clear that they conceived the social segments as Brahmins, Nairs, Ezhavas, Ambalavasis, Praedial slaves etc. as separate groups without any religious affinities within the society. Praedial slaves included Cherumas, Vettuvas, Parayas etc.

They give a detailed description of Trichur and its hinterlands. According to them the one-fifth of the place consisted of paddy fields. The four subdivisions of Trichur included Paravattany, Chittilappily, Trichur and Vijepuram consisting of 95 villages. Ward and Conner observe that the place Trichoowapayroor was commonly called as 'Trichoor,' a place of great antiquity, a famous place⁷. The habitations of

⁵ *Diwans Dairies, KE 999, Vol I, RAE.*

⁶ Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin 1816-1820*, Madras, 1891, p. 204.

⁷ *Ibid.*

Christians were in a compact form and its population collected in the vicinity of Romo Syrian Church from which ran several streets. There is description about the Vadakkumnathan Temple and several streets of *Pattars* (Brahmins) adjacent to it. Aranattukara, mainly inhabited by Christians with streets and bazars of greater magnitude and importance was situated on the edge of the backwater.⁸

The subdivision of Paravattani *pravarthi*, had 17 villages. Among this Mukkattukara had an *angady* and a church. Kuttanellur, Kainoor and Ilamthuruthy were Nair dominated villages. In Pattikkad near Trichur there were a few bazars and *Oottupura* for Brahmin travellers. A *chowkey* and a building for accommodating foreign travellers and a store-house also finds mention in the survey.

The subdivision of Chittilappilly, which consisted of 30 villages was the most cultivated and inhabited place. The villages of Peramangalam, Choorakkad, Purnattukara and Adattu were highly populous with numerous temples. There were mentions in the survey about Mulloor, a Romo Syrain town, and a church. There was a fort in Mundoor which was in repair.

Vejepuram subdivision of Trichur consisted of 17 villages. Viyyoor was known for the existence of Casbah (police station). Kottekkad was a large place in the *pravarthi* with a Christian settlement, a church and a small stream. The presence of boats indicates the signs of trade. The area was densely populated. Kuttoor was another place with *angady* and two valleys. The Vijepuram and Paravattany were famous for paddy fields⁹.

Trichur *pravarthi* consisted of 32 villages. The most predominant community in the subdivision of Trichur was Nairs followed by Christians. It was evident that the Brahmins exercised control over the temples. One third of the offering to the temples was appropriated for the religious purpose. The students of the temples' educational institutions were fed by the temple property which was

⁸ *Ibid.*, p.295.

⁹ *Ibid.*

voluntarily donated by the individuals or rulers. Conner observed that now the control of the possessions was taken over by the government by charging with its expenditure. He also observed that the place consisted of more than 800 buildings including churches, temples and various shrines belonging to different communities¹⁰. All types of clothes were imported and sold in the market. Mulayam, Kainoor and Eravimangalam were also referred to in the survey. The high roads from Cochin made its way to Trichur after entering Ollur.

TABLE 4.1
Villages under Trichur *Pravarthy* (1815)

| No | Name of Villages | No | Name of Villages |
|----|------------------|----|--------------------|
| 1 | Chettupuzha | 17 | Kotapuram |
| 2 | Pullazhi | 18 | Chelakkotukara |
| 3 | Puthurkara | 19 | Paramekkave |
| 4 | Chirayamkulam | 20 | Chembukkavu |
| 5 | Olarikkara | 21 | Kizhakkumpattukara |
| 6 | Karyattukara | 22 | Veluthur |
| 7 | Laloor | 23 | Peringavu |
| 8 | Aranattukara | 24 | Kannamkulangara |
| 9 | Ayyantol | 25 | Koorkanchery |
| 10 | Kanatukara | 26 | Kanimangalam |
| 11 | Thrikumarakotta | 27 | Nedupuzha |
| 12 | Pookunnam | 28 | Wadakkumuri |
| 13 | Angady | 29 | Panamukku |
| 14 | Chirakkal | 30 | Cheeyaram |
| 15 | Veliyannoor | 31 | Ollur |
| 16 | Poothole | 32 | Anchery |

Source: Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin States*, Vol. II, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1994, p.303.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p.304.

TABLE 4.2

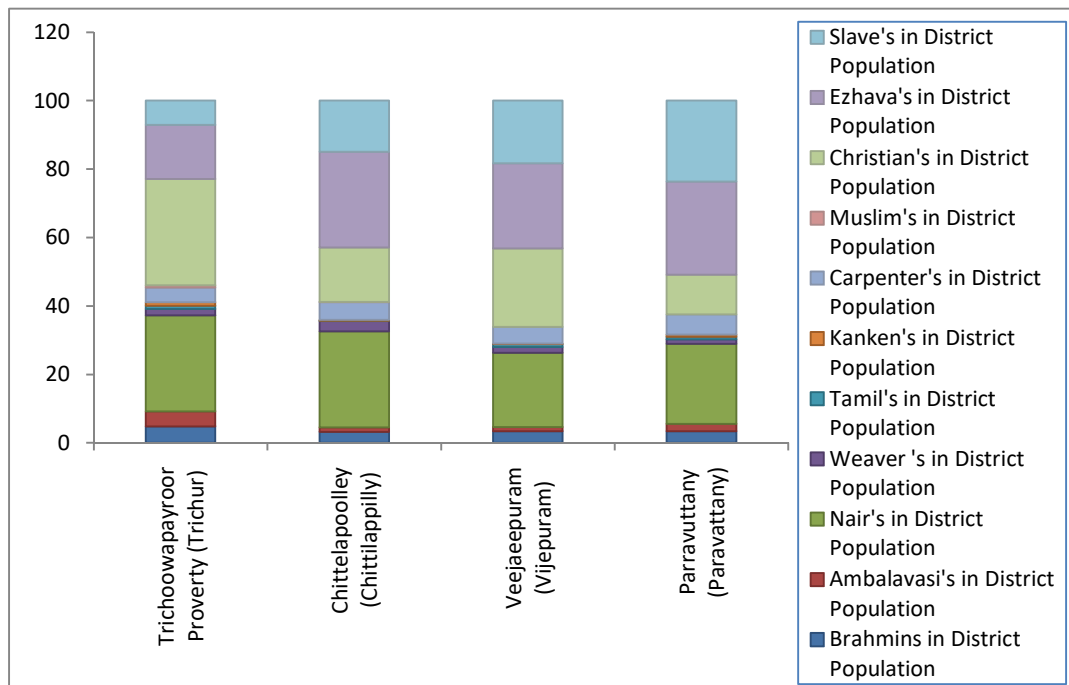
Population Table of Trichoowapayroor (Trichur) District in 1815

| DISTRICT (Trichur) | Brahmin Population | Ambalavasi Population | Nair Population | Weaver Population | Tamil Population | Kanken Population | Carpenter Population | Muslim Population | Christian Population | Ezhava Population | Slave Population | Total population |
|--|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Trichoowapayroor Proverty (Trichur) | 485 | 440 | 2801 | 193 | 93 | 97 | 435 | 63 | 3113 | 1582 | 709 | 10011 |
| | 50.79 (%) | 67.38 (%) | 44.77 (%) | 39.55 (%) | 57.41 (%) | 65.54 (%) | 37.05 (%) | 98.44 (%) | 57.29 (%) | 29.76 (%) | 21.56 (%) | |
| Chittellapoolley (Chittilappilly) | 189 | 72 | 1619 | 174 | 4 | 16 | 299 | 1 | 922 | 1908 | 861 | 5765 |
| | 19.79 (%) | 11.03 (%) | 25.88 (%) | 35.66 (%) | 2.47 (%) | 10.81 (%) | 25.47 (%) | 1.56 (%) | 16.97 (%) | 30.25 (%) | 26.18 (%) | |
| Veejaecapuram (Vijepuram) | 136 | 51 | 859 | 67 | 35 | 7 | 195 | | 912 | 988 | 729 | 3978 |
| | 14.24 (%) | 7.81 (%) | 13.73 (%) | 13.73 (%) | 21.6 (%) | 4.73 (%) | 16.61 (%) | - | 16.78 (%) | 18.59 (%) | 22.16 (%) | |
| Parravuttaunny (Paravattany) | 145 | 90 | 977 | 54 | 30 | 28 | 246 | | 487 | 1138 | 990 | 4185 |
| | 15.18 (%) | 13.78 (%) | 15.62 (%) | 11.06 (%) | 18.52 (%) | 18.92 (%) | 20.95 (%) | - | 8.96 (%) | 21.41 (%) | 30.10 (%) | |
| Total | 955 | 653 | 6256 | 488 | 162 | 148 | 1174 | 64 | 5434 | 5316 | 3289 | 23939 |
| | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | 100 (%) | |

Source: Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the survey of Travancore and Cochin States*, Vol.II, Govt. of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1994, p.303.

Population of this district was unequally distributed. *Nairs* formed the predominant class formed the one fourth of the total population. Christians are less numerous constitute one fifth of the total population. Ezhavas were similar but smaller proportion compared to the Christian community. Brahmins held considerable amount of property. Praedial slaves comprising one seventh of the population. There exist sharp differences among these groups in their place of living, food habits, worship, sharing of social sphere and exclusion of social space.

Figure 4.1: Population Table of Trichoowapayroor (Trichur) District in 1815



The survey reports provide a new perspective than the traditional view of the land. It reflected the possession of land and other resources. It also exposed the power structure and social relations existed in the traditional societies of Trichur and Cochin. It exposed that the land and resources were in the hands of few. It was an indicator to the marked disparity that existed in the societies. Brahmins, Muslims and Christians possessed lands in these regions.

The evolution of Christian settlements or cluster villages can be drawn from the reports of Ward and Conner. Urban structure was constructed along with the

emergence of *angadis* in places like Chalakudi, Koratty, Kunnamkulam, Aranattukara, Elthuruthu, Kottekkad, Chittilappilly, Enammavu, Tirur, Mullur etc. The existence of *angadiveedukal* was an indication of the characteristics of urbanization¹¹. A peculiar type of housing pattern, shops in front part of many houses, main door opened to the street, nearby water sources, common festivals etc were the main features of the settlements.

Agrarian behaviour regulated through land tenures which enabled the state to penetrate into a network of agrarian relations. In respect of *Pandaravaka* tenures, lands were classified as *Verumpattom*, *Kanam*, *Atima*, *Anubhogam*, *Karaima* and *Karozhivu*. The agricultural development in these areas became the backbone of the urbanization of Trichur. The survey reports were an indication of the land system, agricultural areas, pattern of settlement, growth of business community and social relations. It shows the development of life in Trichur. The survey highlights the growth of urban features during the early 19th century. It also reflected the development of the city with its population, trade routes, markets and resource extraction.

Land Tenures and Revenue Settlements

The earliest Revenue Survey in Cochin was known as *kettezhuthu* or a “record of what is heard”¹². The information was gathered from the land holders personally and it was not accurate. Attempts to systematize the revenue extraction in Cochin started in 1801 which was known as *kandezhuthu*. It was the record of “what was seen” considered as more reliable. In 1836-37 there was a survey of occupied *parambus* in Cochin and in this survey all lands were classified into *nilams* and *parambus*. *Nilam* was a land fitted for paddy cultivation and other lands were named as *parambus*¹³. The survey of 1856-57 was the second survey of *parambus* in which

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² *Blue Book of land Revenue Settlement of Cochin Vol 1, RAE, p.2.*

¹³ *Ibid.*

both occupied and unoccupied lands were measured and registered and this became the basis of land revenue administration until 1904.

The social relations were largely based on the control of land. The major tenures were *janmam*, *kanam* and *verumpattom*. *Janmam* tenure was mainly held by the *Nambuthiris*. The claims of tenants ranged from the certain definite rights of ownership to mere tenancy-at-will. There existed class of people who held *kanam* and *verumpattom* lands. The most extensive tenure was *kanam* in which a tenant paid an amount as an advance to a *janmi*. *Nerkanam*, *Nerpanayam* or *Nerpalisa* was the interest on the *kanam* amount, which was equal to *pattom*. The *kanam* lease usually lasted for 12 years. After 12 years it was to be renewed by a process called *polichezhuthu*. *Verumpattom* was a simple lease holding for one or two years. They had no right on land and no protection from eviction. The tenants held the government land mainly on *verumpattam* tenure.

In 1863 a proclamation was issued to prevent the eviction of *kanam* tenants before the completion of 12-year term¹⁴. This was the first step towards the land reforms by the government. Converting the *verumpattom* to *theeru* (ownership right) increased after the regulation of 1873. Thus, the processes of registration of the property in the state of Cochin came into existence in 1874. Registration offices were opened in Trichur and Thalappilly for registering the document. Each district had separate register office and a superintendent was appointed. The Head Quarters of the office was at Trichur¹⁵. The increasing number of registration documents indicates the changing nature of land tenure which in turn a source of revenue to the state. People registered their movable and immovable properties in the registration office. The administrative report of 1874 shows the total number of registrations as 9017 and the revenue as 364803 rupees¹⁶. But in 1884 the number of registrations

¹⁴ *Report of the Agrarian Problem Enquiry Committee of Cochin, 1949, RAE, p.50.*

¹⁵ T K Krishna Menon, *Progress of Cochin*, Ernakulam 1932, pp. 117-118.

¹⁶ *Report on the Administration of Cochin for the year 1054 ME-1878-79AD, p.16, Tamil Nadu Archives.*

doubled to 17415 and the revenue as 6302791 rupees. The documents registered in Trichur office in 1878 was 2885.

The settlement proclamation of 1905 was a remarkable one which gave ownership right to the *kanam* tenants of the *pandaravaka* land. This resulted in increasing the number of land owners. The tenure of the *pandaravaka verumpattom* was considered as the normal tenure for the settlement. All other tenures of the state were under the *pandaravaka kanam*, *puravaka* and *inam*. The state demand on *pandaravaka kanam* land was fixed at two-thirds of that on *verumpattom land*¹⁷. Half of the *pandaravaka verumpattom* in the case of the wetland and one fourth in the case of garden land were considered as *puravaka* assessment. *Inam* grants were modified or redeemed according to the merits of each case and assignment of land revenue was modified accordingly.¹⁸ Half of the net produce was fixed as assessment on *pandaravaka* wetland. The settlement proclamation of 1905 and *Devaswom* proclamation of 1910 confirmed the tenure on holders of the land which constituted 51 percent of the cultivated area.¹⁹

The princely state of Cochin was compelled to introduce measures to carry out scientific survey of lands and a revision of assessment with a reference to actual extent of the land and their productive capacity.²⁰ The government agreed to the longstanding pressure from the Resident to carry out land survey and settlement for further taxation.

In between 1905 and 1909 a scientific survey was conducted. New method of fixing the land revenue was also introduced. The Raja declared that after the Revenue Settlement Survey, *Pravarthys* would split into small villages as the units of Revenue administration. The old seed measurement of *para* and *edangazhi* were

¹⁷ *Report on the Census of Cochin*, 1941, p.29.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Cochin Raja's letter to the governor of Madras*, 19th July 1914, *Political File*, No. R-2/882/114., *RAE* p.4.

²⁰ C. Achyutha Menon, *The Cochin State Manual*, Cochin Government Press, Ernakulam, pp.311-312.

replaced by English acres and cent²¹. The new land revenue system created new individual holders of the land, system of individual land assessment and revenue payment²². It eliminated village as unit of land assessment. Previous system was replaced by the system of fixed money payment, assessed on land regularly due in cash irrespective of the year's production whether good or bad harvest and whether more or less of the land was cultivated or not. This new method of land revenue assessment had far-reaching consequences. The survey made the registration of land become necessary. It ensured security to the tenure to certain extent. It also brought a kind of stability and security to the income of the state. Again, it formalised the relation between the individual and the state.

The total area of the State of Cochin as per the survey map was 1,412 square miles consisting taluks, viz., Kanayannur, Cochin, Kodungallur, Mukundapuram, Chittur, Trichur and Talappalli, 413 square miles of unsurveyed reserve forests and 14 square miles under coffee and tea estates in the Nelliampathy".²³ The total cultivated are of wetlands was 2,05,795 acres and that of dry and garden land was 2,74,480 acres against 1,26,421 and 2,24,471 acres respectively according to the old revenue accounts.²⁴ The surveyed taluks included 4,79,975 acres of assigned land, 16,903 acres of unassigned land and 1,36,537 acres of *Poramboke* consisting of roads, paths, tanks, water channels, backwaters and 71,506 acres of reserved forests surveyed as isolated blocks".²⁵

The scientific survey provides valuable insight into the land administration, economy and social structure of the region in the early 20th century. It recorded the details of land ownership including names of owners, extent of land held and

²¹ Census of India 1941, Vol XIX, Cochin, 1944, P.29.

²² *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of Cochin State, 1909, RAE, p.73.*

²³ *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin, in the Appendix to Part IV of the Record of Administration of the Cochin State for the year 1907-1914, RAE, p. 17.*

²⁴ C. Achyutha Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 404.

²⁵ *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin in the Appendix to Part IV of the Record of Administration of the Cochin State for the year 1907-1914, RAE, p. LXXIII.*

revenue assessment. It also detailed the names of tenants, rent paid and condition of the tenancy. Along with the details of land holdings, boundaries and ownership it classified land into agricultural, non-agricultural and waste land.

In Trichur taluk the villages like Trichur, Kanimangalam, Peringavu, Aranattukara Ollukkara, Chiyaram, Ayyanthole and Poonkunnam were selected to examine the changes in the beginning of 20th century.

Trichur Village

The village comprised the old revenue *desoms* of Angady, Chembukkavu, Kizhakkumpattukara, Paramakkavu, Chirakkal, Kottapuram, Puthol and portions of Poonkunnam. Trichur which was earlier known as ‘Thrissivaperur’ meant country of ‘Siva,’ the prominent deity at the Vadakkumnathan temple, one of the most celebrated temples in Cochin State.

According to the settlement register the major portion of the land was under the control of Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom*. The survey numbers of 14, 62,115, 143, 166, 169, 235-245, 315-398, 465-527 were paddy fields under the *Devaswom*. This type of land was called ‘*nilam*.’ The survey numbers from 1305-1315 were garden lands or ‘*purayidam*.’ The other *purayidams* from the survey numbers of 1319-1330, 1498-1505, 1537-1555 also belonged to Vadakkumnathan. Other than these, many other lands of Vadakkumnathan can be seen in different survey numbers. It is clear that the big landlord of Trichur was the Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom*.²⁶

Apart from Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom*, other temple related institutions like *Thekke Madom*, *Vadikke Madom* and *Naduvil Madom* also had large chunks of land though not as much as the Vadakkumnathan. The lands include both *purayidams* and *nilams*. The lands (*purayidam*) of *Thekke Madom* were given as *kanam* land to Kunjikkavamma, the daughter of Vadakke Kuruppath Thekke Srambiyil Kunjiyamma. Again *kanam* land was given to Visalakshiyammal, the wife

²⁶ *Settlement Register, 1909, Thrissur Village.*

of Pazhayanadakkavil Sivaramakrishnan. The survey numbers of 1650, 1652 and 1653 *nilam* lands were given as *kanam* land to Neerolippadan Anthony. This indicates that *kanam* lands were held by members of Christian community also. The chief crop of this village was paddy. Coconut, arecanut and jack trees were also in this village.

A portion of the land of Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom* was set aside for the Juma masjid of the *Pattanis*. Again, another piece of land was conferred upon the Thrissivaperur Roman Catholic Church which included the survey numbers of 355, 391/5, 396 and 529. These were marked in the record as '*kaivasavakasam*.' The survey numbers of 365/2 and 4 were put aside for Karuvannur Clara congregation of Christian nuns. The lands under the survey number of 479/2 were given to the Sacred Heart convent in Trichur. The other *devaswoms* in Trichur were also land owners, especially the *Thiruvambadi*, *Ayyanthol*, *Kuttamkulam* and *Cherumukku Devaswoms*.

According to settlement register, individual properties in Trichur were mainly in the hands of Brahmins. The owners of the land also included men and women mainly from Palakkad and Malappuram. There were a number of Tamil Brahmins like Ananthappatter from Krishnapuram Gramam, Anantha Ramayyar Naganathayyan from Thanur gramam, Krishnayyar son of Thiruvenkida Nathayyar from Nenmara Pazhaya Gramam, Pazhayanadakkavil Narayana Patter, Pazhayanadakkavil Ramayyan Anantha Narayana Ayyan, Nelluvayil Naduvil Madom Subrahamanyan Sivaramayyar, Pazhayanadakkavil Seshan Patter Lakshmiyammal, Balammal wife of Perukulam Thekkegramam Parameswara Ayyer, Sreemadom Krishnayyar, Manjapra Kalyana Krishnayer of Palakkad, Puthen Nadakkavil Viswanathayyer, Poomala Madathil Parameswarayyer, Pattikkat Ramaswamiayyer and Pallavur Parasurama Patter *Purambokku* lands of the palace also find its place in the settlement register.

Besides the *Paradesi Pattars*, the *Konginis* also owned land in Trichur. Trichur Pazhayanadakkavu Samootham, Vadakke Angadi Samootham and Pushpakath

Brahmaniyamma had their own land though in limited areas. There were a few other groups like *Asari*, *Chettiyar*, *Perumannan* who possessed lands but their numbers were very low.

The Muslims and Christians who also were *jennmis* in the central part of Trichur. They spread out into the heart of Trichur through the *chantha* and trade activities. Most important among them were the contractor Alasimuthu Nadir, Thanathara Francis, Alangottu Manavalan, Kottare Usman, Pattani Isegha Navas Khan, Arangassery Varu, Koottedathu Mariyam, Perinchery Jose Paul, Nagarkoil Haider Khan Hussain, Vithayathil Varkey, Kattookaran Ouseph. These families continue as traders in Trichur.

Raman Komi Valiyachan of Paliath family was had also lands in Trichur though they were settled at North Paravur. The royal families like Chazhur Thekkeppatt *Kovilakam* Purushothaman Ramavarma Thamban and Chira Illath Kunjunni Raja had their own properties in Trichur.

The women from Hindus, Muslim and Christian communities had '*nilam*,' '*purayidam*' etc. in Trichur.

Kanimangalam Village

Major share of the land in the Kanimangalam village²⁷ was in the hands of Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom* but the temple related *Vadakke Madom and Thekke Madom* had no lands in this village. As such Paramekkavu and Thiruvambadi *Devaswom* had no rights in these areas. New *devaswoms* arose in this village. They were *Methevaru*, *Sremadhavapuram*, *Karamukku*, *Karuthala*, *Kadavil*, *Vattappinni*, *Mambazhakkad*, *Aykkunnu*, *Ambazhakkattu*, *Valiyalukkal*, *Sankaramangalam Devaswom*. They had their own properties in this village. The lands under survey numbers of 624/3,4,5 was given to the Catholic Oriental Bank. The lands under survey numbers of 636-640 were given to Ammadam Church. The *Nambuthiris* had

²⁷ *Settlement Register*, 1909, Kanimangalam village.

extensive lands which is evident from survey numbers of 462/1, 3, 649, 651/1, 805/1, 825/1, 829, 818/1, 796/1, 815/2, 221/3, 779/1, 835/2 and 776/1, 806. These lands were given to tenants on *kaivasavakasam* or *panayavakasam*. These lands included *nilam* and *parambu*. The chief crop of this village was paddy. A few Christians were also land owners in this village and both men and women owned lands but women owners were very few.

Ezhavas and *Chettiyar* were also seen as land holders in this village. They were engaged in trade. Many survey numbers were recorded as *puramboke* land. There were also *kanal*, *thodu*, *chal*, *kadavu* and *kavu*. *Kavu* was specially maintained in this village.

Peringavu Village

The village comprised of old revenue *desoms* of Peringavu, Veluthur and portions of Kizhakkumpattukara. It was situated near central part of Trichur and most of the lands were *nilam*. Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom* had limited lands in Peringavu. *Thekke Madom*, *Vadake Madom* and *Naduvil Madom* held lands. The *Devaswoms* of Kuttumukku, Thiruvambadi, Peringavu, Thrikkumarakudom, Paramekkavu and Chembukkavu. *Devaswom* had land holdings in this village.²⁸ Among these the *devaswom* lands *nilam* and '*purayidom* had *kanam* tenure.' It included the survey numbers of 104/1,3 sublet for agricultural purposes. The Diwan of Cochin granted land to the Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom*. The chief crop of this village was paddy.

One of the major land owners of this village was Punnathur Sankaran Valiya Rajavu and it is to be noted that none of his lands were given for *pattom*. Another land owner was Kunjunni Raja of Manakkulam *Muppu*. It is evident that the Tamil Brahmins and the *Nambuthiris* were equally dominant in this village of Peringavu. Warriar and Nair communities also had land here. Women land holders were seen and the majority occupied *nilam* lands. Other communities were limited and they included '*Asari*' and '*Thattan*.'

²⁸ *Settlement Register*, 1909, Peringavu Village.

Aranattukara Village

This village was mainly a Christian majority area. It was famous for trade and commerce so Christians migrated to this area. Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom* had many land holdings and a few of them were *pandaravaka verumpattom* and *puravaka* lands. The Christian families who had major land holdings include Chirayath, Chiriyankandath, Kannambuzha Nadakkavukaran, Chirammel, Chakkalakkal, Alappadan and Panamukku Maliakkal. Though it was a Christian centre, there was no land grants to the churches. Elthuruthu Govantha Church had land holdings. Major portion of their land was *nilam* where they conducted *puncha Krishi* (*Paddy cultivation*). Many of the *nilams* were kole lands. The chief crop of this village was paddy and coconut, arecanut and jack trees were also grown in these areas. The number of Brahmin-Nair families were few. There were two Ezhava and one *musari* family had land of limited area. Aranattukara Chirammel Tharakan families were very dominant in this village.²⁹ The Chirammel family was given the title of *Tharakan* by the ruler of Cochin for their contributions in trade and commerce. Aranattukara *vallakkadavu* was noted for trade activities. It was from this place goods were transported to Cochin through the river. There were *palliyodam*, and *vallom* for the movement of goods and people. It was also a centre of import and export of goods. There were various *vanchikkar* and artisans in Aranattukara. Trading facilities like *pandikasalas*, *satram* and *kavalpuras* were set up there. The people from Cochin and Malabar came to this *Kadavu* through rivers and *kayal*. The other *kadavus* were Pullazhi and Ollur³⁰.

Ollukara Village

The major landholdings were in the hands of *Kuttanellur Devaswom*, *Nettisseri Devaswom* and *Olluthrikkayil Devaswom*. The other families included Puthenpetta Angadiyil Chakkola family, Erinjeri family, Nambiyars and Adiyeri.³¹

²⁹ *Settlement Register*, 1908, Aranattukara Village.

³⁰ *Samskarika Charitra Rekha*, Thrissur Corporation, 2006, p.63.

³¹ *Settlement Register*, 1908, Ollukara Village.

This place also included six *manas*-Perumpadappu, Vellani, Perattupuram, Padinjarethara Elangannur and Vadakkedam. Thiruvanikkavu devi temple belonged to Perumpadappu Mana and they were given privileges by the rulers of Cochin. The irrigation facilities in the village were provided by Elanjikkulam, Anakkulam and Ambalakkulam. Paddy cultivation was the main agricultural activity in this area. Coconut, arecanut and jack trees were also cultivated. It was in 1931 Mannuthi was developed into an agricultural zone and seedling centre with the initiative of the Cochin Ruler³².

Chiyaram

In Chiyaram, most of the lands were in the hands of *Thekke Madom*, Kosseri Nambuthiris, Kannamkulangara *Devaswom*, *Vadakke Madom Brahmaswom*, Naduvil Madom, Pookkattukara *Devaswom*, some Nairs, Karthas and Christian families also held land-*parambu and nilam*. *Karuvan*, *Thattan* and *Ezhavas* also possessed small portion of land³³ *Vriksha pattom* (Tax on tree) and *payattu pattom* were collected from *parambus*. Chief crop of the village was paddy. Coconut, arecanut and jack trees were there.

Ayyanthole

The village comprised of the old revenue *desoms* of Ayyanthol, Puthurkkara, Cherakulam, Kanattukara and Thrikkumarakudam.³⁴

There were some *chiras* in this village Thiruthummal, Mundakkadi and Erumalakkunnu *Chira*. The lands in the village mainly belonged to the Vadakkumnathan *Devaswom*, Anakkottakkavu *Devaswom*, Neithalakkavu *Devaswom* and *Vadakke Madom Brahmaswom*. The Kizhakkiniyedath *mana* was a large land holder who had *uranma* in Vadakkumnathan temple³⁵. The major crop in

³² *Samskarika Charitra Rekha, Op.cit., p.47.*

³³ *Settlement Register, 1909, Chiyaram Village.*

³⁴ *Settlement Register, 1909, Ayyanthole Village.*

³⁵ *Samskarika Charitra Rekha, Op. Cit., p.47.*

the village was paddy. Coconut, arecanut and jack trees in this village was much higher also became a source of revenue to the state in the form of *vriksha pattom*. There were land tax with non- taxable trees and dry lands which were taxed as *payattu pattom*. Pandaravaka verumpattom, kanam, puravaka and inam assessments were made in the *nilams* of this village. The rates for the wet lands vary from Rs. 2.5 to 5.5 per acres in the case of *pandaravaka verumpattom* lands. *Pandaravaka kanam* and *puravaka* lands were charged at two thirds and half of the rate of *pandaravaka verumpattom* lands respectively. One fourth of the single crop charge was compounded for the double crop land. The *vriksha pattom* from *parambus* were charged according to the number of trees.³⁶

Poonkunnam

Arable lands of the place were divided into *nilams* and lands where paddy was cultivated. At the time of assessment vrikshapattom and payattu pattom were not charged in this village³⁷. The chief crop in this village was paddy. The *nilams* were irrigated from the *chiras* of Viyyur, Poonkunnam and Kuttur. There were no *inam* lands in this village. Many of the public places were later used for the construction of railway. Pushpagiri Agraharam and devaswoms of Vadakkumnathan, Thiruvambadi, Anakkatukavu and Neithalakavu and the Brahmaswom Madom had lands in this village. Many Christian families including the Chiramel Anthony Mathu Tharakan had lands in this area. Village also includes *thodu*, *puzha*, *chal* etc. in Poonkunnam.

The 1905 settlement proclamation was based on scientific survey and full proprietary rights on the tenants of the state owned land (*pandaravaka land*), previously, land had less value than crop because land was easily available. The tenants right to the land began to be depended on regular payment of tax. They also

³⁶ Coconut, arecanut and jack trees were charged each at one *anna* four *pies* and four *annas* respectively for *pandaravaka verumpattom* lands and two thirds and one fourth of the *pandaravaka verumpattom* rate were charged on *pandaravaka kanam* and *puravaka parambus* respectively

³⁷ *Settlement Register*, 1908, Poonkunnam Village.

threatened with eviction from their holdings for their non- payment of tax. The new method of land revenue assessment and payment had made impact in the economy of the state and society.

From the description of the Trichur village it is clear that the lands were under cultivation in terms of *kanam and verumpattom*. The major land owners belonged to *Devaswom* and Brahmin community. Cultivation of crops in *parambu* and wetland were given utmost importance. Paddy was the main crop where *virippu* and *puncha* cultivation was given priority. Chiras were helpful for facilitating cultivation. Both men and women held properties. But in case of women lands held by them were in the form of *nilam*. In garden lands coconut, arecanut and jack trees were grown by the farmers and were given tax for that tree in the name of *vriksha pattom*. Lands were given to other communities from the Vadakkumnathan temple properties. For example, piece of land conferred to Juma Masjid for Pattanis, Roman Catholic Church, Karuvannur Clara congregation, Sacred Heart Convent Trichur. Some of the other *devaswoms* given their lands to Ammadam church and to the Catholic Oriental Bank. Distribution of lands and the diversification in activities with the use of these lands like religious activities, educational purposes, financial etc. Another factor is that many of the church lands were also leased to the agricultural purposes. The leasing of these lands led to the increasing processes of agricultural development³⁸. Quite a few water sources led to efficient water transportation and the growth of trade and commerce. The *purambokku* lands later utilised for railways and roads.

There arose great change in the settlement after 1905. The old complicated tenures were simplified. The major difference between the previous settlements and this one was that in the previous settlements, the principle of taxing the crop was adopted while the new one was based on the extent of land. The proprietorship in soil

³⁸ Lukas Vithuvatickal(ed.), *Chavarayachante Sampoorana Krithikal, Nalagamangal Vol IV* (Mal), CMI, Mannanam, 2011. p.164.

induced the cultivator to improve his land and thereby added to the agricultural prosperity of the country³⁹. The English system of land measure in acre and cent were introduced in place of the indigenous system of measurement by *Para* and *Edangazhi* which was in terms of the amount of seeds sown in a particular land. According to the proclamation the *Pandaravaka*, *Kanam* tenants were given full occupancy rights to their lands.⁴⁰ The documents registered in Trichur Register office in 1913 was 46177 and in 1916 it increased to 51536⁴¹. By issuing the Title the customary practices were replaced and brought uniformity in land practices in the state.

It was in 1915 the Tenancy Act was enacted.⁴² It fixed the tenure to those who had taken *kanam* holdings before 1885. The *kanam* and *panayam* proclamations were issued in 1937.⁴³ In 1938 Cochin Government passed the Cochin Tenancy Act of 1938.⁴⁴ It gave security to the *kanam* rights of the tenants from 1885-1915. It laid down restrictions upon the eviction of the tenants. Another act was the *Verumpattomdars* Act of 1943.⁴⁵ According to this act, the tenants could be evicted only for not paying the rent.

The conferring of the ownership rights to the cultivators had great impact in the economy of the state. The social status of the land owners increased who were earlier cultivators. This new status helped them to access to credit. This new position enabled them to manage the land as they wanted. This development later facilitate the co-operative societies and credit facilities. This proclamation had direct impact on land use pattern and agricultural production. Another significant result was the increasing private property on land.

³⁹ *Proclamation of Raja 1905, Blue Book of Land Revenue Settlement, Vol 1 File No 144, RAE.*

⁴⁰ A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala Gazetteers-Ernakulam*, Cochin, 1965, p.608.

⁴¹ *Report on the Administration of Cochin for the year 1091 ME*, Tamil Nadu Archives.

⁴² *The Cochin Tenancy Regulation II of 1090*, 24 October, 1915, RAE.

⁴³ *The Kanams and Panayams Proclamation, Proclamation III of 1112*, 17 October 1936.; *The Acts and Proclamations of Cochin, Vol. V, (1112-1113)*, 1938, RAE, p.24.

⁴⁴ *The Cochin Tenancy Act, Act XV of 1113*, 29 January 1938, RAE.

⁴⁵ *The Cochin Verumpattomdars Act, Act VIII of 1118*, 3 March 1943, RAE.

Chiras in Trichur

Chiras or water bodies played an important role in the growth of agriculture. Irrigation helped in getting agricultural surplus which became a back bone in the urban development of Trichur.

There were several water locked areas in Trichur. They were mainly called 'chira.' Many place names in Kerala end with words like *chira*, *chalu*, *kulam*, *thode*, etc., all of which denote different types of water resources.⁴⁶ There were places named after water sources which were suffixed with *kuzhi*, *kulam*, *kayam*, *kuttam*, *chirai*, *chunai*, *thadam*, *muzhi*, *madu*, etc. In Trichur taluk level there were 56 *chiras* for agricultural and non-agricultural purposes which were both privately and publicly owned.

The irrigation of the *nilams* or wetlands was by rain but when the usual rains kept off causing temporary drought or when water supply was insufficient for the second crop, the *chiras* came handy. The oldest two main *chiras* in Trichur were the Muttu *Chira* and Variampattu *Chira*. These were in the survey numbers of 165 and 289 of Peringavu village which irrigated *nilams*.

In Ayyanthol village the old *chiras* as per the settlement register of 1906 were eight in number - *Pazhaya Chira* (Survey No.1), *Thiruthummal Chira* (S.No.25), *Mundakkadi Chira* (S.No. 350), *Erumalakkunnu Chira* (S.No. 364), *Bannava Chira* (S.No. 737), of *Pathupuzha Chira* (S. No. 165), *Panachikkal Chira* (S.No. 56) and *Kanjirapallam Chira* (S.No. 665) irrigating extensive lands.

In Poonkunnam village there were 4 *chiras* which included the *Pattakkadavu Chira* (Survey No. 171), *Cheerakkuzhi Chira* (S. No. 186), *Kallai Chira* (S. No. 07) and *Nadupalam Chira* (S.No. 46). These were used for irrigating the wetlands of Kuttur, Poonkunnam and Viyyur for more than three hectares.

⁴⁶ K.N. Ganesh, *Keralathinte Innalekal*(Mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 1997, pp.14-21.

Peringavu village was also rich in *chiras*. The Thiruvonapurath *Chira* in the (survey No 210 and 342), Veluthur *Chira* (S. No. 252), Muthu *Chira* (S. No. 165), Puliankara *Chira* (S. No. 142) and the Panikkampilli *Chira* (S. No. 416) irrigated the wet lands of Vilvattom, Peringavu and Trichur.

Thekke *Chira* located in the south of Trichur town roughly covered two acres. Known by the name *Irattachira*, it was where the Nair and Pandi troops of Sakthan took their baths. Thereafter this came to be known as the Pattalakkulam. *Irattachira Kovilakam* was located in the East of *Thekke Chira*. It irrigated the *nilams* of Trichur.

Vadakke *Chira* was one of the oldest artificial ponds in Trichur. *Chira* was surrounded by Asokeswara Siva temple, Vadakke *Chira* Kovilakam or Sakthan Thampuran palace and Bakthapriya Sree Krishna temple. The northern side of the pond had bathing ghats used by the members of the royal family and the priest of the Asokeswaram temple. Eastern side of the pond was used by the elephants.⁴⁷

Besides agricultural purposes the *chiras* were also meant for other purposes. The history of the Padinjare *Chira* is linked with the *madoms*. The three *madoms* – *Brahmaswam Madom*, *Thekke Madom* and *Naduvil Madom* were situated on the banks of this *chira*⁴⁸. *Chiras* played a crucial role in the agricultural production of the region and thus generated revenue to the state.

Agriculture

The agricultural development of Trichur was the result of the policies initiated by the government of Cochin. Land in the state of Cochin was generally divided into *pandaravaka* and *puravaka*. Ownership of the *puravaka* lands were held by *Janmis* comprising of temples, *Nambuthiry* families, families of Chieftains and families connected with the Royal palace. *Pandaravaka Kanam* tenants

⁴⁷ *Metro Manorama, supplementary of Malayala Manorama*, Thrissur, 15 March 2018.

⁴⁸ *Desabhimani daily*, Thrissur, 23 June 2017.

constituted only a small section of the cultivators of government land who bear the major portion of the land revenue assessment.

TABLE 4.3

Total Area of Land under Cultivation in Cochin 1914

| Sl. No. | Category of Tenures | Area in Acres |
|---------|--------------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>Pandaravaka Verumpattom</i> | 1,83,000 |
| 2 | <i>Pandaravaka Kanam</i> | 26,500 |
| 3 | <i>SirKar Devaswoms</i> | 45,000 |
| 4 | <i>Inam</i> | 14,500 |
| 5 | <i>Jenmies</i> | |
| | <i>a.) Puravaka, pattom</i> | 1,53,500 |
| | <i>b.) Kanam pattom</i> | 71,500 |
| | TOTAL | 4,94,000 |

Source: Letter written by The Raja of Cochin to the Resident dated on 19 July 1914, File of Tenancy Bill, *File No. A- 134, RAE.*

The first three categories of *Pandaravaka verumpattom*, *pandaravaka kanam* and *Sarkar devaswom* lands constituted 51 percent of the total lands. Majority of the Tenancy enjoyed the permanent occupancy rights.⁴⁹ In 1914 the Tenancy Regulation Bill came into force and it enhanced security of tenancy in the land. It ensured occupancy rights for the tenant. It also redefined the relationship between the landlord and the tenant. It also defined the *kanam*, *michavaram*, *pattom* customary dues etc., which brought some kind of uniformity in land tenure⁵⁰

For improving the position of agriculturists, Cochin State instituted a Finance Committee which introduced loans and allotments to the agriculturists. The system of agricultural loan was introduced in 1907-1908 and annual allotment to

⁴⁹ *Letter written by The Raja of Cochin to the Resident dated on 19/07/1914, File of Tenancy Bill, File No. 134, RAE.*

⁵⁰ *Tenancy Bill October 1914, RAE.*

agriculture was Rs 20,000 at 3% interest. A Department of Agriculture was also established in 1908 under the control of Diwan- Peishkar.⁵¹ A Superintendent of Agriculture was appointed and an experimental farm was started at Viyyur near Trichur in 1908. Agricultural operations were conducted after studying all the conditions of agriculture for five years and experimented upon in the farms. In all village agricultural banks and seed depots were started.⁵² The government adopted measures to relieve the farmers from water scarcity. The government started repairing existing wells, tanks and dug new wells.

The fixity of tenure encouraged tenants to take up land for cultivation and also encouraged them to make the land more productive. According to the Administrative Report of 1904- 1905 the area of cultivation during the year was 1,36,092.50. the report of the year 1918-19 shows that the area of cultivation increased to 5,02,230 acres. In this 2,07,391 acres under wet paddy cultivation and 2,94,839 acres under *parambukrishi*. The land under cultivation during the year 1921-22 was again increased to 5,03,874 acres.

New farming practices were introduced along with implements of sophisticated nature and scientific manures suitable to enrich the fertility of the soil. Government started central farms and conducted successful experiments of different sorts in the cultivation of paddy, plantains and other fruits like mangoes, coconuts and arecanut.

Crops Under Cultivation

The total number of people engaged in agriculture in Cochin in 1875 was 1,07,329.⁵³ The Census of 1891 recorded that the total number of persons engaged in agriculture was 36 percent of the total population.⁵⁴ In 1901, about 50.77

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² *Report of the Special Finance Committee of the Cochin State for the year 1928, RAE, p.97.*

⁵³ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1875, p.43.*

⁵⁴ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1891, p. 131.*

percent of the total population of the State survived on agriculture. In 1911 "Agriculture supports just one half of the population, industries 21 percent, and commerce 13.6 percent.⁵⁵ About 41 percent of population was employed in agriculture sector in 1921.⁵⁶ There was an increase in landowners, both cultivating and non-cultivating. This was due to the granting of occupancy right to the holders of government land. Paddy and coconut formed the chief articles of cultivation and the principal source of the agricultural wealth of the Cochin State.

Paddy was extensively cultivated in Trichur. Among the two harvest seasons, the harvest in September-October known as the *Viruppu* crop. The next productive one was the *Mundakan* crop harvested in January-February. The *Puncha* and *Kole* crops were harvested in May-June.⁵⁷ The main *kole* lands were in Trichur taluk and the area under *Kole* cultivation in 1930 was 14,595 acres.⁵⁸ The total extent under *Kole* cultivation was estimated to be 20,243.21 acres in 1949.⁵⁹ *Kole* land formed one of the most valuable assets of the State. They were in fact the fresh water lakes. *Kari*, *Puli* and *Chal* land were the swamps that were also used for the cultivation of paddy. The *kole* wetland of Trichur extended from the northern bank of Chalakudy river in the south to the southern bank of Bharathapuzha river in the north. These fields are geographically distributed in Mukundapuram, Chavakkad and Trichur. The areas of Mullassery, Thalore, Poonkunnam, Kaiparabu and Choondal are considered as the main *kole* regions.⁶⁰ These areas consist of extensive land surface intercepted with uplands. The *kole* lands are low lying tracts located 0.5 to 1 m below the mean sea level. The flood water in the *kole* areas were mainly brought by two rivers, Kechery and Karuvanuur. There were a network of main and cross canal

⁵⁵ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1911*, p.82.

⁵⁶ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1921*, p.68.

⁵⁷ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1941*, p.30.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Administration Report of the Land Revenue Department of the Cochin State for the year 1949*, p.8.

⁶⁰ *Report of the Kerala Land Development Council*, Kerala Agricultural University, Vellanikkara, 1933, KLDC, Trichur, p.32.

connecting the different regions of *kole* to the rivers. These canals provided external drainage. The earthen bunds separated the canals from the *kole* fields.⁶¹ The north *kole* area covers three basins, Kechery, Peramangalam and Chemmeenchal. The centre consisted Puzhakkalthodu, Chiyaram and Kokkala. The south included Puthenthode, Herbert canal and Chirakkalthodu. The Peramangalam *thodu* enters the *kole* area along the two valleys between the high lands of Adat, Mulloor and Oorakam. The Kechery river flowed to the *kole* area. The Kokkalathodu drained the western and partly southern area of Trichur town. It joined the Puthenthodu at about the southern side of Aranattukara. Chiyaramthodu drains the Kanimangalam and Chiyaram areas and which joined the Puthenthodu. The Chettupuzhathodu served as an irrigation canal. Then it joined at Kottachal approach to Enamakkal. The whole flood from Puzhakkal, Chiyaram and Chettupuzha canals could be drained through Kottachal direct to Enamakkal. *Kayal* reclamation was another development in the field of agriculture. The main *kayals* brought under reclamation work started from the *kole* area were the Enamakkal and Mangara in Trichur⁶². Trichur, Nallakara, Ollur, Aranattukara etc were the centres of rice mill industries. The important markets for rice were Erode, Salem, Tirupur, Coimbatore, Palakkad and Andhra Pradesh. The wholesalers engaged as commission agents for purchasing rice from the different markets. Middlemen were present in the market for sales between the representatives of the mill owners were also the wholesale dealers. A number of high yielding varieties of paddy were procured from Madras. Agricultural Department was also popularized. The manurial campaign was carried on with greater intensity. An Area of 1,400 acres of the *Kole* crop was manured under departmental supervision and this itself was responsible for an increased yield of 40,000 *Paras* of paddy even at the time of greatest scarcity. Manures at subsidized rates were issued to the *Virippu* paddy crops also. The distribution of agricultural implements was carried out on a greatly extended scale in 1946. Implements and iron

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp.34-35.

⁶² *Personal Interview* with K Kunju (40), Assistant Project Engineer, KLDC, Thrissur, 30 May 2017.

tools worth Rs. 1,00,122 were sold to the farmers in the year as compared to Rs. 14,834 in 1945.

Coconut was another crop extensively cultivated in Trichur. The sandy and alluvial soil in the coastal areas was best suited for its cultivation. The cultivation of coconut became a very profitable one with the increase in the price of *copra* (dried coconut) and extensive areas that formerly grew paddy were reclaimed and planted with coconut palms. As a result, coconut cultivation became the most important agricultural activity in the coastal region. The main centres of cultivation were Manalur, Pangu, Enammavu, Pavaratty, Anthikkad, Vatanapilly, Triprayar, Irinjalakuda and Kodungallur. Being the chief source of money for the average farmer, it was commercially more important than paddy. The palm was also cultivated in small bits of dry land, each of which was not more than a few acres in extent. Coconut was marketed directly to the exporters and also with the help of middleman. Coconut oil was exported to outside markets.

Arecanut palms were cultivated through the length and breadth of the State. In certain parts of Trichur, Mukundapuram and Talappilly, it was cultivated on an extensive scale. Pazhanji in Talappilly taluk was a place noted for its arecanut trade.⁶³ The markets to this was mainly to Bombay, Mangalore, Madras, Pollachi, Coimbatore, Erode, Vellore and Salem.

Another important commercial crop was cashew nut. It was mainly cultivated in laterite soil where paddy and coconut could not grow. The cashewnut commanded a good price in domestic as well as international markets. It was introduced by the Portuguese in Cochin⁶⁴.

Pepper cultivation was flourishing in Trichur. The main centres of cultivation were Kaiparambu, Velur, Kechery, Kunnamkulam, Puthur, Peechi, Pattikkad,

⁶³ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1941*, p. 30.

⁶⁴ *Administration Report of the Food Supplies Department of the Cochin State for the year 1944*, p.41.

Mannamangalam, Cherur, Kundukad, Anappara and Karumatra. The collection was made by the local markets and were transacted mainly through Cochin. It was exported to Bombay, Ceylon, Japan, China and to European countries⁶⁵. The most important wholesale trade centres were, Trichur, Wadakkancherry, Kunnamkulam, Irinjalakuda and Kottappuram.

Cultivation of Tapioca was encouraged in Trichur especially due to the economic slump of 1929. Food shortage became acute in Cochin and there was no certainty or regularity in the procurement of rice from outside the State to meet the requirements of the people. With the scarcity of rice, there arose a great demand for tapioca as an alternative food item especially among the poor section. When the food situation improved, the bulk of the tapioca produced within the State was taken for manufacturing starch and exported to Bombay and other places for industrial purposes. As a result of an intensive campaign to Grow More Food, the area under cultivation of tapioca considerably increased. The total production of tapioca in 1944 was about 50,000 tons, i.e., 60 percent more than that of the previous year⁶⁶.

Rice, coconut and its products such as oil, oil-cake, copra and coir, pepper, ginger, tapioca, turmeric, bone meal, fish, rubber etc. were some of the commodities handled at Cochin which were sent from the local markets. Fruits like banana, plantain, mango, jackfruit, melon etc., were extensively cultivated. Plantains and pineapples were exported in large quantities.

Under the scheme, 'Grow More Food in Cochin,' every effort was made to provide additional land for food crop cultivation. Cultivation of paddy, tapioca, banana etc., was encouraged. All available areas, *Poramboke* in the possession of the Revenue Department and available portions of village reserves and cattle grazing grounds were directed to be made available for lease⁶⁷. Hill paddy cultivation

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ *Administration Report of the Food Supplies Department of the Cochin State for the year 1944*, p.22.

⁶⁷ *Grow More Food in Cochin, Cochin Government, 1945, RAE*, p.3.

scheme was introduced under which a large forest area was used for the cultivation of paddy. In Trichur waste lands were used for cultivating paddy and *chama* (little millet). This was an area where private individuals showed progressive increases and an extent of about 10,000 acres of hill paddy was cultivated in the year 1943.⁶⁸ Tapioca cultivation spread over a much larger area. Scientific methods of cultivation were adopted in the State as a result of which agricultural production increased. Agricultural marketing societies were started to safeguard the interests of the producers of the State under government initiative⁶⁹.

In the beginning of the 20th Century, rubber plantations became popular. Most of the rubber plantations belonged to the Europeans. Coffee cultivation was decreasing and rubber and tea were gradually displacing coffee to a certain extent. The first rubber plantation was started in 1905 in Palappilly hills in Trichur.⁷⁰ It was followed by another one in Vellanikkara in Paravattani. Subsequently more areas in Palappilly and Sholayar forests were thrown open for this purpose. In 1910 the total planted area of rubber in the state was 2,735 acres whereas it grew into 6,951 acres in 1913. Rubber cultivation in Palappilly alone had 5616 acres in 1912 increased to 5782 in 1913⁷¹. In Paravattani 1250 acres of land were under rubber cultivation. During the last decade of 1925-26 when 80,66,861 lbs of rubber valued at Rs. 1,03,83,349 was exported⁷². The number of plantations had been increasing and in the 1930s there were seven of them with an aggregate area of about 10,000 acres⁷³. In 1930-31, about 84,62,303 lbs of raw rubber valued at Rs. 51,41,690 was exported from Cochin⁷⁴.

⁶⁸ *Administration Report of the Agricultural Department of the Cochin State for the year 1947*, p.2.

⁶⁹ *Letter of the Registrar of Co-operative Societies to the Diwan of Cochin*, 14 October 1936, RAE.

⁷⁰ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1931*, p.162.

⁷¹ *Report on the Administration of Cochin for the year 1088 M E*, Ernamkulam, 1913, *Madras Archives*, p.27.

⁷² *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1931*, p.162.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

Expressions of Trade and Routes through *Chumaduthangis*

Chumaduthangis were extensively used while transporting agricultural Growth of urban centres depended on its connectivity with hinterlands. *Chumaduthangis* or *athani* is a structure on which passengers relieved their loads on their way to trade for long distances⁷⁵. The river Bharathapuzha flows through parts of Trichur and Palakkad. Majority of the *athani* (*chumaduthangi*) were located on the banks of river Bharathapuzha and these places were noted for their strong agricultural tradition⁷⁶.

Chumaduthangi were mostly made up of charnockite rock and a few are laterite stones⁷⁷. Architecturally it resembles a stone bench. Many of them contain inscriptions and a common symbol is that of a flower. Fingers pointing towards left and right sides of the inscription were present in the structure in Trichur. It provided information about the month, year, name of the donor and lineage. One located in Trichur town itself mentions the name: Kapparathil Krishnan Menon Vaka” this is a two pillared one which is still there. Another at Panjal three pillared one mentions “Korattikara Savitriyammayude Smarakam”. *Chumaduthangi* from Irunilamkode in Mullurkkara clearly mentions the name of Paliyam and obviously belonged to the Paliath family⁷⁸. The year of the *Chumaduthangi* at Anthimahakalankavu is KE 1024 (1849 AD). Most of the inscriptions on these *Chumaduthangis* point to a period between 1849 and 1946. *Thannerpanthal* or *Vazhiyambalam* an associated structure of *Chumaduthangi* were found at Pazhayannur, Chelakkara, Mayannur, Mullurkara, Elanad, Desamangalam, Varavur and Eyyal which were the hinterlands of Trichur. The travellers were provided with water and refreshment in the

⁷⁵ V. Nagam Aiya, *The Travancore State Manual, Vol 1*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1906,p.179.

⁷⁶ Pius Malekkandathil, *Portuguese Cochin and the Maritime trade of India, 1500-1663*, Manohar, New Delhi, 2001, p.29.

⁷⁷ Arya P.N., Rajesh S.V., Abhayan G.S., Ananthu V. Dev et al, *Chumaduthangi (Load Relieving Stones) of Thalappilly Taluk*, Thrissur District, Kerala, India, Pakistan Heritage, Journal, Vol 10, 2018, p.128.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

Vazhiyambalams. These were constructed by upper class families or royal families in the respective areas. Arthat *Chumaduthangi* inscription says ‘Mallissery Krishnan Namboothiri Vaka’ which indicates that it was built by him. Pazhayannur *chumaduthangi* states “1127 makaram 15nu Cherukara Kizhake veetil Lekshmiyamma vaka” which indicates that it was constructed by Lekshmiyamma in the year 1952 and these trade routes were active even in 1950s. Seventy Two *Chumaduthangis* were found in Trichur⁷⁹.

Thiruvilwamala, Chelakkara and Kuthampully were well known weaving centres. The inhabitants of this place were Devanga Chettiyars from Mysore who settled there by the end of 18th century. They were handloom weavers and traders. Oil production, pottery production and agriculture made this area rich in exchange of commodities leading to an increased number of *Chumaduthangis*⁸⁰. *Chumaduthangis*, *Vazhiyambalams* and *Uttupuras* played an active role in increasing the volume of trade in Trichur.

Commercialisation of Agriculture

It was in the beginning of the twentieth century, the Cochin state witnessed growth of agricultural Science as a new field of education⁸¹. Modernisation of agriculture started with experimental farming. The establishment of Central Agricultural Farm at Ollukara in 1917 was an important move in this field. The *Krishi pada Pusthakam* or Agricultural Manual holds significant historical and practical value in the context of Central Farm, Ollukkara. The book, published by the Cochin Government, was designed to provide farmers with practical agricultural techniques, and scientific approaches to enhance productivity. It served as an important tool in promoting modern farming practices and facilitating the

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.130.

⁸⁰ A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala State Gazetteers: Trichur*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1962, p.454.

⁸¹ Elsa Sunny M, *Colonialism, Civilizing Mission and Growth of Agriculture Science in the Princely State of Cochin*, Educational Extracts Vol. IX, Issue 2, July 2021, p.99.

dissemination of new agricultural methods among local farmers. As coconut was important crop, a new Coconut Station was opened at Trichur.

Produce of the State mainly consisted of articles for export, the collection of which at the port of Cochin by the endless network of canals afforded employment to boatmen. Thus, food production for local consumption and outside market and raw materials with an aim to sell in the distant markets were produced. The growth and predominance of cash crops has been primarily responsible for the commercialization of the economy⁸². The tempo of the monetisation of the economy increased subsequently.

TABLE 4.4
Total Cropped Area and the Percentage
Under Cash and Food Crops in Cochin (1920-1941)

(Area in thousand acres)⁸³

| SI. No | Year | Total Cropped Area | Area under Food crops | Area under Cash crops | Percentage under Food crops | Area under Cash Crops |
|--------|---------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | 1920-21 | 522 | 419 | 103 | 80 | 20 |
| 2 | 1930-31 | 557 | 414 | 143 | 74 | 26 |
| 3 | 1940-41 | 559 | 401 | 158 | 72 | 28 |

Source: PJ Cherman(ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History, the Second Millennium*, Kerala Gazetteers 1999.

The table illustrates the commercialization of agriculture in Cochin by detailing the total cropped area and the distribution between food and cash crops over three decades: 1920-21, 1930-31, and 1940-41. The data is presented in thousand acres, with percentages indicating the proportion of the total area dedicated to each crop type.

⁸² PJ Cherman (ed.), *Perspectives on Kerala History, the Second Millennium*, Kerala Gazetteers 1999, p.386.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.387.

Total Cropped Area: In 1920-21, the total cropped area was 522,000 acres. This increased to 557,000 acres in 1930-31 and further to 559,000 acres in 1940-41. This indicates a gradual expansion of agricultural activity in the region over these two decades. Area under Food Crops: In 1920-21, 419,000 acres were dedicated to food crops, comprising 80% of the total cropped area. By 1930-31, this area decreased to 414,000 acres (74% of the total). In 1940-41, the area further declined to 401,000 acres (72% of the total). This suggests a gradual reduction in the proportion of land used for food crop cultivation. Area under Cash Crops: In 1920-21, 103,000 acres were used for cash crops, making up 20% of the total cropped area. This increased to 143,000 acres (26% of the total) in 1930-31. By 1940-41, the area under cash crops rose to 158,000 acres (28% of the total). This indicates a steady increase in the area allocated to cash crops over the years.

The data reflects a shift towards the commercialization of agriculture in Cochin during this period. The increasing area dedicated to cash crops, coupled with the decreasing proportion of land used for food crops, suggests that farmers were allocating more resources to cash crops, due to their higher profitability and market demand. This transition was influenced by factors such as improved transportation infrastructure, access to broader markets, and the introduction of new cash crop varieties.

However, this shift reduced area for food crops could lead to decreased local food production. Such changes in land use patterns were associated with broader economic transformations, including urbanization.

The expansion of cash crop cultivation in Cochin during the early 20th century signified a notable shift towards agricultural commercialization. This transition not only enhanced the export of cash crops but also the growth of trade and commerce in the region. During this period, a significant portion of products from the Trichur market were transported to Cochin for export through the harbour.

TABLE 4.5**Export of Selected Items through Cochin Port (1891-1947)**

Commodity wise contribution (in tons)

| SI No | Items of Export | 1891-92 | 1901-02 | 1926-27 | 1937-38 | 1946-47 |
|-------|-----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| 1 | Coir goods | 19196 | 28141 | 24463 | 31805 | 64600 |
| 2 | Copra | 3693 | 1343 | 1309 | --- | 5759 |
| 3 | Coconut | 1566 | 904 | 259 | 4709 | 13479 |
| 4 | Pepper | 568 | 1037 | 1409 | 2475 | 15451 |
| 5 | Oil cakes | 7376 | 8723 | 10561 | 14502 | 1397 |
| 6 | Rubber | --- | --- | 3273 | 3273 | 5076 |
| 7 | Fish products | --- | 1232 | --- | 4035 | 1116 |

Source: Annual Reports of the Cochin Chamber of Commerce for the respective years

The data reflects significant shifts in Cochin's export economy between 1891 and 1947. The rise in coir goods, pepper, and rubber exports indicates a diversification of Cochin's export commodities. The substantial increase in exports, particularly of coir goods and pepper, reveals economic growth and the development of new industries in the region. Fluctuations in certain commodities, such as oil cakes and fish products, reflected changing market demands.

Trichur, an urban centre with diverse industries significantly contributed to Cochins export activities. The movement of goods such as coir goods, pepper, rubber and coconut from Trichur and its hinterlands to the Cochin Port, enhancing the export activities and contributed to the growth of trade.

With the introduction of modern farming agricultural production including cash crops increased. Commercialisation of agriculture was the main result of the introduction of the new land and revenue policies during this period. Cropping pattern changed because people preferred to cultivate cash crops as they could sell these crops at high prices. This made the State's economy sensitive to the fluctuations in line with the rising demand for these commodities in the world market.

Later the government farms changed their modus operandi from demonstration to experimentation. During times of economic crisis of 1929, the Cochin government passed legislations with an eye on the welfare of the agriculturists and to relieve their suffering and distress. Due to economic depression, the government passed the Cochin Agriculturists' Relief Act of 1929 that provided relief to indebted farmers.⁸⁴ Special loan scheme was introduced and it provided loans of Rs. 20 lakhs to relieve agricultural indebtedness. Remission of land revenue to the extent of 12.5 percent was sanctioned in the year 1935. The Land Mortgage Bank was established in 1936 to advance loan to the agriculturists. The bank seemed to be a source of encouragement to a large number of agriculturists. By 1939 total agricultural loan amount increased to Rs.12,94,657.⁸⁵ A Debt Conciliation Board was also constituted in response to representations made by the public. Due to economic depression, the prices of agricultural commodities went down. In order to overcome this The Cochin Agriculturists' Relief Bill was introduced in 1936 to give relief to the agriculturists in debt.⁸⁶ The government passed the Usurious Loans Act of 1936,⁸⁷ which reduced the interest payable by debtors. Another act. The Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank Act of 1936 made suitable settlement of debts by a conciliation board⁸⁸. The Irrigation Act passed in 1936 helped the agriculturists to take the initiative in major and minor irrigation works.⁸⁹ Yet another Act passed by the government was the Debt Conciliation Regulation of 1937.⁹⁰ It also provided facilities for long-term agricultural credit.

⁸⁴ *The Cochin Agriculturists' Relief Act XVIII of 1114, 11 August 1939, RAE.*

⁸⁵ *Budget Estimates and Administration Report of the Cochin State for the year 1940, RAE, p.9.*

⁸⁶ *The Cochin Agriculturists Relief Act, Government of Cochin, 11 August 1939, RAE.*

⁸⁷ *Usurious Loans Act of 1111, Regulation XXVIII of 1111, 26 June 1936, RAE.*

⁸⁸ *The Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank Act of 1111, Regulation VI of 1111, 23 November 1935, RAE.*

⁸⁹ *The Cochin Irrigation Regulation, Regulation VIII of 1111, 1 December 1935, RAE.*

⁹⁰ *The Cochin Conciliation Regulation, Regulation XXVI of 1112, 9 March 1937, RAE.*

In the year 1935 a remission of land revenue to the extent of 12.5 percent was sanctioned⁹¹. An Agriculturists' Relief Enquiry Committee was constituted.⁹² The government encouraged the unemployed to colonize habitable forest regions in the interior. A large expanse of reserved forests was converted to cultivatable land during this period.

The spread of new cash crop cultivation necessitated the investment of capital in agriculture. Many cultivators needed credit to purchase seeds, implements, cattle and to dig wells, store grains or to obtain necessities between harvests. Naturally money lending got linked to the trade. The creation of a land market acted as mechanism for transferring control of land out of traditional proprietors into the hands of merchants and moneylenders. Absentee landlordism remained as an evil in the agrarian sector.⁹³ The Cochin Agrarian Problem Committee constituted by the Cochin government in 1947 reported, "The evil of absentee landlordism and land concentration has reached its limits in Cochin"⁹⁴. Because of the land policies introduced by the Princely state of Cochin, new types of landowners emerged.

Introduction of private property in land, new land revenue administration, commercialisation of agriculture and transfer of land from cultivating to non-cultivating owners were the changes brought about in the land system of Trichur, Cochin. The land regulations were promulgated. The tenancy reforms and changes in the pattern of land utilization effected the social organisation and mobility of the people. Land became a valuable property. The centre of gravity of state finance shifted from land revenue to separate types of revenues.

⁹¹ P.S. Pratheep, *Development of Agriculture and Industry in Cochin State under Diwan R.K. Shanmukham Chetty*, Journal of Kerala Studies, Vol. XXXI, 2004, p. 171.

⁹² *Government Proceedings, 11 August 1939, RAE.*

⁹³ T.C. Varghese, *Op. Cit.*, p.135.

⁹⁴ *Report of the Cochin Agrarian Problem Enquiry Committee for the year 1949*, p. 48.

Urbanization and Demographic Change

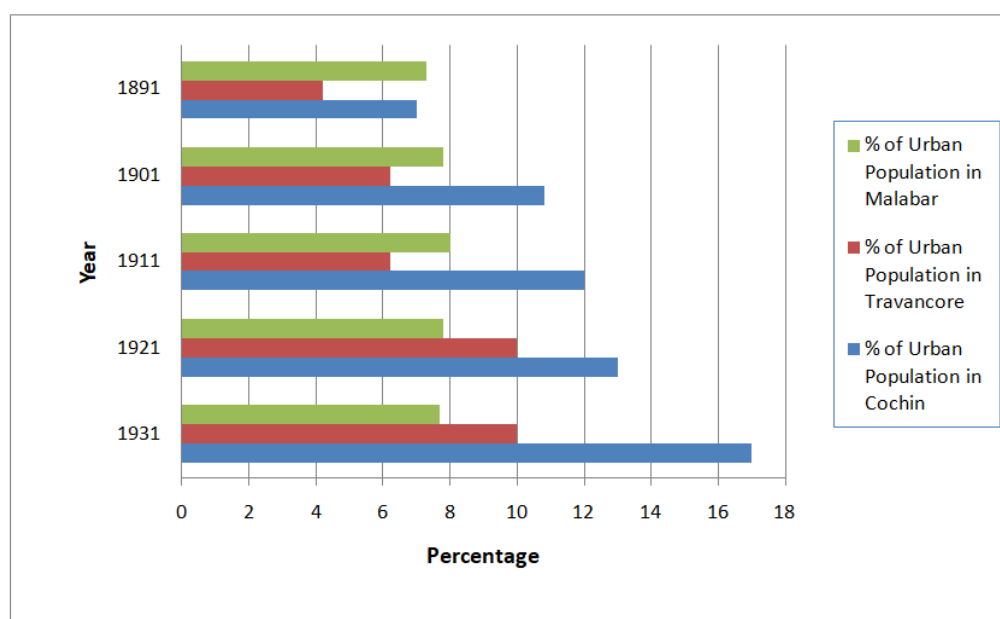
Population played as one of the significant indicators to the urbanization processes. Demographic change reconfigures the urban space and bring new cultural social and economic dynamics to the fore.

TABLE 4.6
Percentage of the Urban Population in Cochin, Travancore and British Malabar (1891-1931)

| Year | % of Urban Population | | |
|------|-----------------------|------------|---------|
| | Cochin | Travancore | Malabar |
| 1891 | 7 | 4.2 | 7.3 |
| 1901 | 10.8 | 6.2 | 7.8 |
| 1911 | 12 | 6.2 | 8 |
| 1921 | 13 | 10 | 7.8 |
| 1931 | 17 | 10 | 7.7 |

Source: Census Report 1931, p.21.

Figure 4.2: Percentage of the Urban Population in Cochin, Travancore and British Malabar



The population table reveals a notable trend of increasing urbanization in Cochin with higher percentage of urban population compared to Travancore and Malabar from 1891-1931. This suggest that cochin experienced more rapid urban growth in Kerala.

Demography in Trichur

Population forms the important factor for the urbanization process. The study of urban development of Trichur is important in understanding the distribution of population and organisation of economic growth. It is also essential to understand the structuring of society, its cultural life and exercise of political power. It is the processes which led to irreversible loss of forest lands, productive agricultural lands and surface water bodies.

TABLE 4.7
Demographic changes in Trichur Town from 1891-1901

| Name of Village | 1891 | | | 1901 | | | Percentage Variation |
|-----------------|------|--------|-------|-------|--------|-------|----------------------|
| | Male | Female | Total | Male | Female | Total | |
| Trichur | 8235 | 8013 | 16248 | 10417 | 10081 | 20498 | 26.16 |
| Kanimangalam | 956 | 976 | 1922 | 1031 | 1127 | 2158 | 12.28 |
| Peringavu | 116 | 169 | 245 | 122 | 151 | 278 | 13.47 |
| Aranattukara | 980 | 1036 | 2016 | 1145 | 1198 | 2343 | 16.22 |
| Ollukkara | 1010 | 1015 | 2025 | 1245 | 1270 | 2515 | 24.20 |
| Chiyyaram | 926 | 951 | 1877 | 1026 | 1002 | 2028 | 08.04 |
| Ayyanthol | 863 | 850 | 1713 | 920 | 908 | 1828 | 06.71 |
| Poonkunnam | 140 | 136 | 276 | 380 | 358 | 738 | 167.39 |

Source: Settlement Registers of respective villages.

While considering the process of urbanization on the basis of population, the number of population was increasing slowly from 1891 to 1901. Among these villages, Trichur had the highest rate of population with more than 20000 people.

The villages of Aranattukara and Chiyaram had only just above 2000 population which indicates that the process of urbanization was very slow in the beginning of 20th century and that the other villages were vacant with few occupancies. The number of occupants in Peringavu was only 278 due to its geographical condition. Major part of its land was used for paddy cultivation. They, depended mainly on rice cultivation for sustenance.

According to Urban Geography, urban places are identified as settlements in which most of the people are engaged in secondary, tertiary and quaternary activities. The emergence of these settlements indicates the growth of trade, commerce and manufacture which in turn threatens the growth of agricultural areas. The demography of Trichur shows the increasing in number in the following decades from 1901-1951. The following table shows the population growth from 1901-1951.

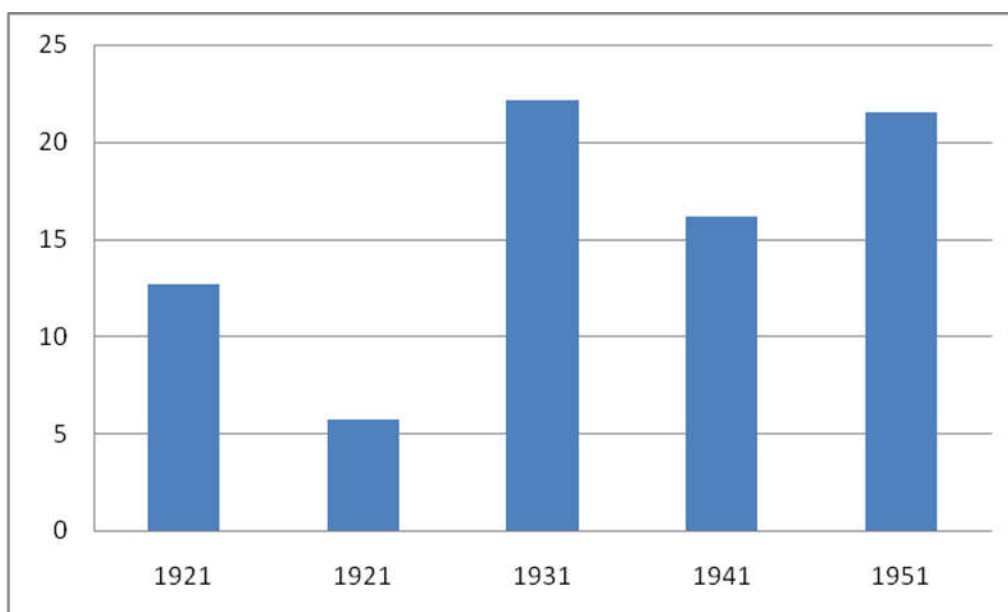
TABLE 4.8

Growth of Urban Population in Trichur Taluk from 1901-1951

| Year | Population | Percentage Increase in Urban Population |
|-------------|-------------------|--|
| 1901 | 683240 | - |
| 1911 | 769672 | +12.65 |
| 1921 | 813726 | +5.72 |
| 1931 | 993875 | +22.14 |
| 1941 | 1154555 | +16.17 |
| 1951 | 1403099 | +21.53 |

Source: Gazetteer of India, Kerala, Trichur, Adoor K Ramachandran Nair, Government press, Shornur, 1981, p. 21

Figure 4.3: Percentage and Decade Variation of Population in Trichur



The table shows the population and percentage decade variation in Trichur from 1911 to 1951. The key observation is that the percentage of urban population in Trichur increased significantly from 12.65% in 1901 to 21.53% in 1951. This indicates that the percentage of people living in urban areas in Trichur more than doubled over the five-decade period. The increase percentage was mainly due to economic and social factors. Employment opportunities, education and healthcare facilities were attributed to this population growth. The significant increase in urban population suggests substantial socio-economic changes in Trichur including occupation, lifestyle and cultural practices. It also highlights the transformative impact of urbanization on Trichur's population dynamics over the first half of the 20th century.

Fragmentation of Land and Increasing Number of Houses

Among the occupied houses in Trichur the average number of persons per occupied house rose to 7 though it cannot be taken as an indication of the size of the families. In the joint family system, the average strength of the family was much higher. The implementation of the new Nair Regulation of 1921 facilitated the partition of joint Nair families and a large increase in occupied houses is seen in the

census report of 1921. Hundreds of families partitioned in the years between 1921-1931 and new houses were built according to the share they received. The Nair Act which had a deep impact over the agrarian community and over the possession and status of land. Dissolving of joint family system had a significant impact over the land rights. It redefined the succession right by giving the inheritance right to wife and children led to the end of matrilineal rights and beginning of patrilineal rights. The *Marumakkathayam Act* of 1938 curtailed the unrestricted rights of *Karanavar* in *Tharavadu*⁹⁵. Both these Acts quickened the partition of lands in the State. This naturally led to the fragmentation of lands among the family members. These Acts had a revolutionary impact over the familial relations with resources. It brought responsibilities to the individuals. Through these Acts, the number of houses increased and the nuclear family became the basic social institution. The large tracts of land that lay as a single unit under the control of a single power now began to fragment into pieces under the control of many. The result was increase in the productivity of land with new owners.

Improvement in planning and construction of buildings was noticed from 1901, but the rapid increase in the number of houses can be seen from the partition of joint families. This was steadily maintained and many new buildings came into existence. Houses were built in a street system. The other type of house was a quadrangle building with an open yard in the centre and a clean courtyard all around surrounded by a compound in which fruit trees and vegetables are grown.

Population in Nearby Towns

The growth of population of nearby towns is a testament to the reshaping of the landscape of nearby towns. This growth bring increase in trade, infrastructure and it also transformed their character.

⁹⁵ *Nair Act 1938 and Marumakkathayam Act 1938, RAE*

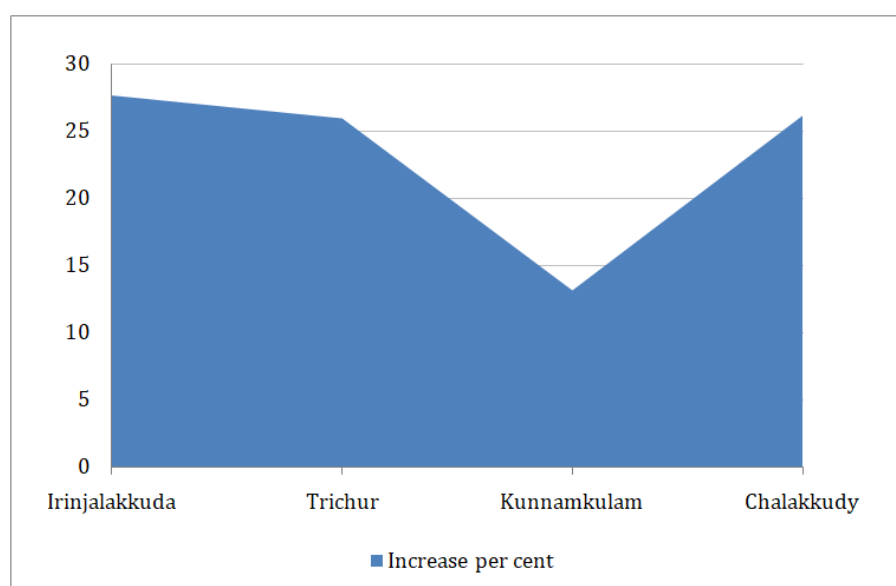
TABLE 4.9

**Increase of Population Percent in
Trichur and Peripheral Towns from 1931 to 1941**

| Name of the Town | Population | Increase Per cent |
|------------------|------------|-------------------|
| Trichur | 57524 | 26 |
| Irinjalakkuda | 46790 | 27.7 |
| Kunnamkulam | 12207 | 13.2 |
| Chalakkudy | 7429 | 26.2 |

Source: Census Report of 1941.

Figure 4.4: Showing Increase of Population Percent in Towns near Trichur Region from 1931 to 1941



This table demonstrate the increase in population in Trichur, the core and peripheral towns from 1931 to 1941. This shows the growth of urbanization and emergence of new centres. Economic and industrial development of these regions helped the growth of towns.

In the context of Trichur the increase in towns shows core-periphery relationship. Trichur was the core with high economic activities, better infrastructure

and greater political influence. The surrounding towns like Irinjalakuda, Chalakudy, Guruvayur, Wadakkanchery and Kunnamkuam were also developing. The core (Trichur) exerted its influence over the periphery or the surrounding towns. This core-periphery relationship highlights the interconnectedness and interdependence of Trichur and its surrounding towns.

The land revenue settlements and proclamations of the state brought significant changes in the agrarian relations. These reforms altered the land tenures and ensured stability of tenure transforming land into a saleable commodity. The ownership of land could be easily transferred. Which led to the extension of cultivation. The increasing number of registration documents indicates the changing nature of land tenures and expansion of agriculture. The settlement registers of 1905 proved that there was an expansion in paddy and garden crop cultivation aided by *Chiras* and irrigation canals.

The increase in the area of commercial crop cultivation and subsequent increase in internal and external trade led to commercialisation of agriculture. Cochin had experienced a much higher level of urbanization compared to Travancore and Malabar in the early decades of the 20th century⁹⁶. Factors such as initiatives taken by the rulers of Cochin, improved transportation infrastructure, growth of agriculture, easy movement of goods through waterways from hinterlands to port centre of Cochin etc had facilitated the early urbanization of Cochin.

The urbanization of Trichur with its consequent advantages resulted in the growth of population. The significant increase in urban population suggests availability of urban facilities, job opportunities, urban lifestyle and cultural practices in Trichur. The implementation of the new Nair Regulation of 1921

⁹⁶ TABLE.4.9 Percentage of the Urban Population in Cochin, Travancore and British Malabar.

facilitated the partition of joint Nair families and a large increase in occupied houses. The *Marumakkathayam Act* of 1938 quickened the partition of *Tharavad*.

The urbanization of Trichur had its effects on the emergence of peripheral towns like Kunnamkulam Guruvayur, Wadakkanchery, Chalakudy and Irinjalakuda. The processes of urbanization served as a pull factor for the growth of population in the urban centre of Trichur and the nearby towns.

CHAPTER 5

Imprints of Urbanization

In the first half of 20th century urbanization processes in Trichur reached into a higher level where changes occurred in almost all fields – trade, industry, education, demography and society. Robert E. Park was of the opinion that city is more than a congeries of individual men or of social conveniences like buildings, telephone, etc. and something more than the cluster of public institutions and administrative devices, rather it is a state of mind, body of constructions, customs and traditions which are to be transmitted¹. It is not merely a physical mechanism but it is the result of the efforts of the individual who are involved in it. More than that it is the product of nature, particularly human nature. Louis Wirth discussed urbanism as a way of life in cities that is characterized by high population density, social heterogeneity and density. Urban development also affected people's personalities and social relationships².

Urbanization in Trichur was facilitated by modern education, cinema, printing press and architecture. They acted as tools for maintaining economic and social structure which in turn gave way to the development of an urban scenario. Each field in the society can be taken as a piece of territory or space having urban characteristics.

Transport and Communication

The phenomenal expansion of trade and commerce was facilitated by the extensive construction of road, railway and canals. One of the primary requisites for the growth of trade is the ease in transport and communication. The late 19th Century

¹ Robert E. Park, *The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour in the City Environment*, in Chris Jenks (ed.), *Urban Culture, Critical Concepts in Literary and Cultural Studies*, Vol. I, New York, 2004, p.19.

² Louis Wirth, *Urbanism as a Way of Life*, in *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLIV, No.1, Chicago, July 1938, pp. 1-24.

witnessed the construction of several canals in Cochin. Wheeled traffic between Cochin and Coimbatore commenced in 1884. The building of railways in 1902 further expanded the transport system. The construction of Ghat roads during this period facilitated speedy transportation of hill products to the Cochin Harbour. In 1900 there was 450 miles for road transport in Cochin.

Road

Trichur witnessed the tremendous growth in the field of transport by the end of nineteenth century onwards. The importance of roads became an indicator to the material development of the state. The extensive good metalled roads ensured ample facilities for transport by road. Geographical conditions of the State also favoured brisk commercial activities. The Kuthiran Ghat road was completed in 1877 and the road played an important role in connecting Trichur to Palakkad³.

Regular repairs of many roads were also carried out during this period which expedited transportation. The important roads were Kunnamkulam road which connected Trichur to Kunnamkulam, Kanimangalam road from Trichur to Urakam and Chalakkudy road from Edakkunni through Chalakkudy to Travancore boundary. Repair of Vaniyampara road which was 9 miles away from Trichur was also undertaken. By 1920s new roads were opened which included Karlom-Kizhuthani road, Mala – Adoor Road, Chelakkara – Elanad road, Kakkathuruthi – Areepalam road, Melur – Muringur road and Chelakkara -Karukkakadavu road. Many village roads were also opened⁴.

A vigorous expansion of road construction was undertaken by various Diwans. By 1909 about 485 miles of roads, of which 430 were metalled were opened and maintained by the Public Works Department. In 1914, a Road Committee was appointed by the government to submit a report laying down a road programme. Such important roads developed as the road from Trichur to

³ *Report on the administration of Cochin for the year 1877-78*, Eranamkulam, 1889, p.29.

⁴ *The Record of Administration of Cochin State, Part V, 1938*, Eranamkulam, p.130.

Kandassankadavu, Triprayar to Enanakkal, Chittur to Vannamanada, Nelliampathy Ghat Road, Chelakkara to Elanad, Erumapetty to Ponnani Road, Mala to Annamanada, Mala to Krishnankotta, Alur to Kodakara and there to Vellikulangara and many other roads came into existence in close succession⁵. The roads were of great importance from the point of view of trade and inter-state communication.

Construction of road made progress in towns and villages. The following table shows the length of roads by 1951.

TABLE 5.1
Length of Main Roads in Towns and Village Roads by 1951

| Taluk | Main Roads (in miles) | Village Roads (in miles) |
|--------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Crangannur | 25 | 21 |
| Trichur | 12012 | 4037 |
| Talappalli | 12488 | 2675 |
| Chittur | 635 | 485 |
| Mukundapuram | 136.5 | 48.25 |

Source: Census Reports, 1951

Multiplication of Roads in Trichur Town

In addition to the existing roads Trichur town developed along with link roads which branched out from the Swaraj round and extended to the surrounding areas. College road developed as the linkage road to Coimbatore, one of the business hubs of South India. Vivekananda Road or Shornur Road was a way to north Kerala that developed as part of trade and commerce.

The development of roads can be seen as part of the urbanization. The town planning system made the temple of Vadakkumnathan the centre point and the roads started from the round increased in number along with the increase of trade. Many of the roads highlighted the all-inclusive policy as reflected in naming roads in

⁵ T K. Krishna Menon (ed.), *The Progress of Cochin*, The Cochin Government Press, Eranamkulam, 1932, p. 36.

Trichur as, A.R. Menon Road, Kuruppam Road, Sankara Ayyar Road, Erattichira Road, C R Iyyunni Road, Latin Church Road, Chandy Line, Ekkanda Warrior Road, Zanana Mission Road, Kamath Lane and Warriam Road⁶

The important roads connecting to the town are

1. Pazhaya Nadakkavu road - nearby places included the Padinjare Chira, Naduvil Madom, Vadakke Madom, Thekke Madom and Chirakkal.
2. Padinjare Nadakkavu Road – otherwise known as Naduvilal.
3. Naikkanal Road.
4. Shornur Road.
5. Kolangatt Lane.
6. Vallikkattu Road - in between the Vallikkavu Road and Kolangattu Road, there existed the Bakthapriyam Vishnu Temple, Pallithamam and *Devaswom* office.
7. Korappath Lane.
8. High Road - Near Paramekkavu Temple and Mithunappilly Temple.
9. College Road – Near St. Thomas College, Puthanpalli.
10. High Road - Near Chaldean Syrian and Latin Catholic Church.
11. Municipal Office Road.
12. Puthen Nadakkavu Road.
13. Karuapadanna Road.
14. Chettiyangadi Road.
15. Marar Road.

All these roads were widened and some of them were repaired for facilitating trade and commerce⁷. The amount spent for the road from Trichur to Karuapadanna

⁶ T R Sankunni, *Ambalavattom Annum Innum (Mal.)*, Ardratha publications, Thrissur, 2014, p.178.

⁷ www.sciencedirect.com, *Emerging Paradigms for Development Planning; A Case of Thrissur, the Cultural Capital of Kerala*, Devika K. C., Dr. Ranjini Bhattathirippad and Ar. Bejene S. Kothari, p.1687.

was Rs. 13,500 and Rs. 3,000 was spent for the construction of the road from Moolookara to Padoor. The amount set apart for the construction of the road from Wadakkancherry to Kakkad was Rs. 1,811⁸. The increasing number of roads was an indication of the expansion of trade.

Link roads from Swaraj Round increased by 20th century. The connectivity between cities, towns and villages facilitated the movement of goods and services and the people. The roads in Trichur were well maintained and repair work was done on time. This enabled the easy access to markets, ports and boarders. The development of these roads in Trichur reduced the transportation cost and times. It increased efficiency of trade. It also connected businessmen to markets, suppliers and customers which led to economic growth. Maintenance and employment of roads generated employment opportunities to the people of the region. Again, it connected the markets of Trichur to Cochin and thereby connected to international trade network. Port connectivity to roads and to the railway improved the efficiency of supply of goods in Trichur.

Timber and cardamom from the plantations in the forest areas of Chalakudy were easily transported through water for six months during rainy season and in non-rainy season the newly opened Chalakudy road connecting Karuapadanna to Cochin via Irinjalakuda was made use of⁹. Bridges constructed in Karuvannur, Cheerakuzhi, Vazhachal and Karanchira were useful for trading purposes. The rise in the number of motor vehicles including passengers and goods which eliminated the journey of bullock carts in many roads. The state transport service also started in few towns. Private motor services played a significant role in the transport system. More than hundred motor service conducted in the beginning of the twentieth century from Trichur town to different places. The early bus services done by A B T and N M S. The roads accelerated the transportation of goods to various parts of the

⁸ *Report on the Administration of the Cochin State for the year 1865-66 to 1871-72*, Cochin, 1043KE, p.104.

⁹ *The Record of Administration of Cochin State, Part V*, 1938, Ernamkulam, P.33.

state. With the coming of railways, the land route was divided between the railway line. Construction of bridges, culverts, link roads and canals further stimulated trade and commerce in Trichur.

Water Transportation

In Trichur water transportation played an important role in trade and commerce. It helped in getting into the interiors for collecting the surplus products. This facilitated the development of markets in many places. The major canals were Canolly canal between Chavakkad and Mukundapuram Taluk, Ponnani canal in Chavakkad Taluk, and Puthenthodu in Trichur.

Canolly Canal

The water transportation connected the hinterlands with Chettuva that ends at Manathala. Canolly Canal or navigation canal was a vital waterway from Trichur to Cochin. It connected Arabian sea to inland waterways. Canolly canal constructed under the orders of Mr. Canolly, the collector of Malabar, was completed in the year 1848. The canal connected Chavakkad with Kodungallur, Ponnani and Kozhikode. This eased transportation with hundreds of boats and thousands of *changadams* ferrying through this canal. The sheaf of corn to the courtyard and coir to Cochin market were transported through this canal. Enamakkal backwater joined the Chettuva River and this provided a labyrinth of routes which were highly significant in trade due to lack of ample land routes. Chettuva - Mathilakam canal helped the people of this locality to increase their commercial activities. Agriculture, fishing, coir making and toddy tapping were the main occupations of the region. The rivers, canals, *thodu* etc were the important ways of transportation. The products from inland region were carried not only through rivers but also through *thodus*. Thommana - Kakkathuruthi canal scheme was introduced which had access to Canolly canal. This helped to make the town of Irinjalakuda accessible by boat traffic from Cochin. It became a source of drainage from the *kole* lands of Muriyad. The Kunnamkulam canal connected from Canolly canal to Kunnamkulam which

improved trade in Pazhanji and Kunnamkulam.¹⁰ The Cochin frontier *thodu*, Kumpully canal, Canolly canal etc. enabled places like Manathala, Guruvayur, Enamakal, Mullassery, Elavanthur, Chittattukara, Palayur and Kottapady to develop as market centres.

The location and the development of trade and commerce brought Chavakkad into limelight. The town made significant progress in internal trade. The geographical peculiarity of coastal area was much favourable for the development of extensive network of waterways. The region of Chavakkad was well known for its agrarian and commercial economy. The different modes of transportation, river line and land routes created linkage between ports and hinterlands. The hinterlands and their relation with ports determined the progress of the region.

Articles of trade were accumulated in *kadavus* (jetties). These were carried to distant places through water and land transportation. Necessary commodities like rice, vegetables, hay and fish were items of trade. The merchants and occupational groups flocked to Chavakkad. Vanchikkadavu in Trichur, Enamakal kadavu, Munakka Kadavu and Kundukadavu¹¹.

There were periodic and regular local markets. The periodic market or weekly market was known as *chanthas*. The areas of weekly markets were not permanent, it shifted from one place to another. Kuttingal *Chantha* was conducted on Tuesday and more than 2000 people gathered at the market¹². Mainly the lower caste people and servants of upper castes flocked to the market. The regular local market was known as bazaar or *angadi*. Markets of different nature existed, i.e., evening markets, weekly markets and daily markets. Paddy, arecanut, pepper, plantain, betel leaf, clothes, coir, fish, cattle etc. were sold in these markets.

¹⁰ *The Record of Administration of Cochin State, Part V*, Ernamkulam, 1938, P.137.

¹¹ Jibi Jose P, *The Local Exchange Networks at Chavakkad in Historical Outline*, IJMER, Peer Reviewed Journal, Volume II, Issue: 8 (6) August 2022, p.95.

¹² Ward and Conner, *Memoir of the Survey of Travancore and Cochin States, Vol. II*, Government of Kerala, 1994, p.271.

Palayur and Kunnamkulam were well connected through waterways. Palayur, also called Paloor, assumed a leading role in trade and commerce. Many new *angadis* had sprung up. One of the big Christian trading centres was Kunnamkulam in the Cochin state as mentioned in the survey reports of Ward and Conner. It was also reported that Kunnamkulam was a big trade centre in the northern side of Cochin. There developed a number of *angadis* near Kunnamkulam in Pazhanji, Chemmanur and Chiralayam.

Chettuva was an important port a few miles away from Chavakkad. Chettuva River and connected backwaters found an outlet to the sea for trade. Pepper was a main item of trade. The volume of trade increased due to quality of goods which attracted the attention of Europeans¹³. It was during the period of Diwan Sankara Warriar (1840-56) and Sankunni Menon (1860-79) the deepening of Edathutruthi canal started. The water transportation between Trichur to Cochin starts from Vanchikadavu (Kokkala in Trichur) and moves through Aranattukara, Manakody, Pazhuvil, Karanchira, Kattoor, Chenthrappanni, Thiruthippuram, Kottapuram, Muthakunnam, Vavakadavu, Vadakkechira, Ayambilly, Cherayi, Ernamkulam and reaches Cochi¹⁴. It enabled the smooth passage of boats reduced the cost of transportation and stimulated economic development. Again, the water routes were developed by the construction of the canals in 1863 at Thiruvanchikulam, Monayam and Aranattukara, and across the Trichur Lake. This considerably reduced the distance between Trichur and Ernamkulam. This made the navigation easier even in the hot climate. In the next stage he put a dream dredger at work to keep the waterways in serviceable condition¹⁵. The waterways connected markets of surrounding regions and supported employment in industries like coir, agriculture and sea foods. It enhanced the volume of trade and boosted the small -scale industries of adjacent areas.

¹³ *Ibid.*; P.J. Cherian, ed., *William Logan's Malabar Manual Vol.I*, Kerala Gazetteers Dept., Thiruvananthapuram, 2000, p. 77.

¹⁴ *Chittilappilly Kunjappu Kudumbayogam*, Directory, 2006, p.25.

¹⁵ C. Achyutha Menon, *The Life of Sankunni Menon 1860-79*, V Sundra Iyer, Trichur, 1923, p.132.

Railway

The introduction of railway fostered the transportation facilities. The easy movement of hinterland products to the harbours and markets made easier. Introduction of railway from Shornur to Ernamkulam was finalised in 1899 by the Madras Railway Company. The railway line was opened for goods traffic in 2nd June and for passengers on the 16th July in 1902. The length of railway line was 65 miles of which 43 miles run through Trichur region¹⁶. The capital invested in the railway was 70 lakhs¹⁷. The meter gauge of Shornur- Ernamkulam railway was converted into broad gauge in 1930-35. In the beginning there were 13 Railway stations in Trichur region and waiting rooms provided at Wadakkanchery, Trichur, Ollur, Pudukkad, Irinjalakuda and Chalakudi.

TABLE 5.2

Table showing the Railway Stations in Trichur Region

| Sl. No | Name of the Station | Distance between Stations (Miles) |
|--------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1 | Vettikatiri | -- |
| 2 | Mullurkara | 2.25 |
| 3 | Wadakkanchery | 5.25 |
| 4 | Mulamkunnathukavu | 4.75 |
| 5 | Pookaunnam | 4.25 |
| 6 | Trichur | 1.25 |
| 7 | Kanimangalam | 2.25 |
| 8 | Ollur | 2 |
| 9 | Pudukkad | 4.25 |
| 10 | Nellai | 2.5 |
| 11 | Irinjalakuda | 4 |
| 12 | Chalakudi | 3.75 |
| 13 | Koratty | 3.75 |
| 14 | Karukutti | 2.75 |

Source: Kerala District Gazetteers, Trichur, 1962.

¹⁶ *Malayala Manorama*, Daily, Thrissur, 6 March 2011.

¹⁷ Reghu Palat and Pushpa Palat, *Destiny's Child*, Penguin Viking, Hariyana, 2022, p.178.

The establishment of railways brought far reaching changes in the life and economy of the people. It enlarged the facilities of trade with hinterlands. Though the prime aim was getting raw materials, it promoted internal trade which in turn led to mixing up of the rural urban culture. It enhanced the number of markets across Trichur, Poonkunnam, Ollur, Pudukkad, Irinjalakuda, Chelakara and Koratty. Various industries including tiles, textiles, coir etc proliferated due to its connectivity to the port of Cochin. Thus, it boosted ties with Trichur, the core and nearby towns.

Bridges

The bridges in Trichur played an important role in connecting different parts of the state. The construction of bridges increased during the period of Diwan Sankara Warriar (1840-1856). The construction of new bridges and maintenance of old ones became necessary for the development of trade.

Karuvannur bridge across the Karuvannur river has a waterway of 326 feet and road with a width of 16 feet.¹⁸ Bridge was constructed at the cost of Rs14600¹⁹. It also had maintenance work in 1879. Public Works Department was set up for the maintenance and construction of roads and bridges. They mainly focussed on the Shornur bridge which was also known as Cochin bridge as part of the construction of railway. It was built in between 1864 and 1867. The cost of its construction exceeds three lakh rupees.²⁰ The mobility of labourers was necessary for all these works and the abolition slavery provided mobility to certain extent²¹. The construction of tramway in 1901 for the transportation of timber necessitated the construction of several of bridges. The tramway consisted of more than two hundred bridges and culverts including iron bridges. They were in different size and designs depending on the location and purpose. For this work shops were setup at Kavala and Komalapara²².

¹⁸ A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala District Gazetteers, Trichur*, 1962, p.381.

¹⁹ C Achutha Menon, *Diwan Sankara Variyar of Cochin*, V Sundarayyar and Sons, Trichur, 1922, p.37.

²⁰ *Report on the Administration of Cochin for the year 1043 M E, 1867-68 AD, RAE.*

²¹ *Report on the Administration of Cochin for the year 1053 M E, 1877-78 AD, RAE.*

²² T K. Krishna Menon (ed.), *Op. Cit.*, p.367.

Commercialisation of agriculture, growth of plantation, tile industries and increase of trade necessitated the bridges for transportation. A new bridge was constructed at Thrikkur over the Manali river during the tenure of Diwan C G Herbert (1930-35). A bridge and embarkment over the first creek to Pullut and bridge over Kechery river were constructed. Some other bridges were Aloor bridge, Cheerakuzhi bridge, Kadamthodu bridge and Edathuruthi foot bridge. Kadamthode bridge connected Malabar and Cochin state. Edathuruthi bridge near Kuttur was a foot bridge across the Canolly canal that connected British Malabar and Cochin states. The bridges over the Manali river enabled the transportation of tiles into different parts of the region and outside state. The bridges stimulated trade and fostered economic growth.

Communication System

Anchal, the primitive form of postal service was started in Cochin in 1792 which was known as Sarkar Anchal. This system was reserved only for official purposes. Palm leaves were used for writing government letters. Communication system in Trichur took its way of growth. Postal department started its work in 1865. It was in 1867 the government issued rules for the transmission of private articles and fees to be levied upon the articles carried. In 1869 postal boats were introduced to carry goods and information through palm leaves. In 1885 Cochin *Anchal* was opened to the transactions of ordinary people. Diwan was the head of the *Anchal* department. In 1890 post of the superintendent was created. In 1892 *anchal* stamp introduced in Cochin. The post of *anchalottakkaran* later became *Anchal pillai*. Later, it was renamed as postman. Two branches of *Anchel* offices were started one at Azhikode and other at Palappilly. By 1916, 88 letter boxes were setup. The railway mail service was more efficient than ferryboats. Cochin Anchal Act was passed in 1939 which increased the efficiency of Anchal department²³.

²³ *Cochin Anchal Act 1939, p.3, RAE.*

Telegraph office opened at Trichur in 1892 and the first telephone was installed in 1934. A Telephone exchange was opened in Trichur in 1937 with 30 connections. Irinjalakuda exchange opened in 1949. This enabled the region to cope up with the emerging needs of the urban life²⁴. It facilitated the commercial activities.

Thekkinkadu *Maithanam* - Nucleus of Urbanization

The Thekkinkadu *Maithanam*, a historic open space in Trichur played a pivotal role in its transformation into a thriving urban centre. It served as market and exhibition centre at times and hosted festivals and cultural events. Roads and transportation networks increased its connectivity which became one of the causes for the emergence of textile mills and other industries. Administrative and educational institutions, Libraries, community centres, *kuri* companies and healthcare centres were established around the *Maithanam*. Whole sale and retail markets grew around and public facilities increased. Along with this city's population grew and city expanded. All this played a crucial role in the transformation of Trichur into an urban centre. The Vadakkumnathan temple situates in the middle of the Thekkinkadu *Maithanam* consisting of 65 acres. The temple was surrounded by the Swaraj Round, which was connected by a network of roads from hinterlands. Many historic spots are located throughout the *Maithanam*. They were Naduvilal, Naikkanal, Kizhakke Nada, Thekke Nada and Manikandalanal. All these names are still live and relevant due to its importance. The *Vidhyarthi Corner (Students Corner)* and *Labour Corner* were important for the Political debates held there²⁵. *Students Corner* was witnessed historical events like the speeches of Mahatma Gandhi, and Jawaharlal Nehru. It became a meeting ground of the congress nationalists during Freedom Movement. Thousands of people, majority of them students from nearby colleges, especially from St. Thomas College, were drawn to this place and the place was then known as the *Students Corner*.

²⁴ A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala State Gazetteers: Trichur*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1962, p.386.

²⁵ T R Sankunni, *Op. Cit.*, p.178.

While the Students Corner was very busy with groups of congress nationalists, the people who thought differently and were revolutionary found another place for their debates²⁶. They met at another spot of the *Maithanam* which came to be known as Labour Corner²⁷. The people who met there included leaders like K.K. Master, K.K. Warriar, C. Janardhanan, C. Achutha Menon (the former Chief Minister of Kerala) etc.

In 1935 the leaders who met in the Labour Corner formed the Labour Brotherhood. The triggering factor behind the formation of the Labour Brotherhood was the shortage of money for the funeral function of a poor Christian named Kuriappan who was a porter. The neighbours who united for arranging the funeral decided to form a brotherhood of workers. About 300 workers joined the *sangam* named Labour Brotherhood²⁸. Its main leaders were M.A. Kakku, K.K. Warriar, P.M. Thomas, T.V. Andrews, K.P. Paul and M.P. Bhattathirippad²⁹. Later on, the Labour Brotherhood was divided into a number of trade unions like *Riksha Thozhilali* Union, *Peetika Thozhilali* Union, *Motor Thozhilali* Union etc. In 1938 the Labour Brotherhood steered the march organized by AKG to Thiruvananthapuram demanding a responsible government. In 1939 its leaders were arrested for the participation in the resistance movements against colonialism³⁰. The increasing number of trade unions and workers also played their role in the urbanization of Trichur.

A stage known as *prasangathara* was also another spot near the Students Corner. Editor of *Janmabhumi*, Kunjirama Poduval, published the names of corrupt

²⁶ *Personal Interview* with A M Paraman (88), Poonkunnam, Former MLA, Ollur, 14 -4 - 2012

²⁷ Andalath, *Keralathil Thozhilali Vargathinte Piravi (Mal.)*, Chintha Publishers, Thiruvananthapuram, 1984, p.88.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ R. Prakasam (ed.), *History of Trade Union Movement in Kerala (Mal.)*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1979, p.63.

³⁰ *Personal Interview* with K P Rajendran (63), Poonkunnam, Ex Revenue Minister, Kerala, 06-08-2017

officials in his newspaper and read out their names using a megaphone at the *prasangathara* from 5 pm to 6 pm. The *prasangathara* was demolished on the same day that Poduval raised allegations against the Cochin Devaswom Board chairman, P.V. Ayyappan.

Earlier a projector was setup in *Maithanam* in connection with Trichur Pooram under the banner Jos Bioscope in 1907. The first electrically operated film projection also started by him in the name Jos Electrical Bioscope with the advent of electricity in 1913. The touring cinema paved way for the foundation of Rama Varma Theatre in 1932 and Jos theatre in 1933³¹. Varunni Joseph Kattukkaran (Jose Kattukkaran) started Jose theatre. *Maithanam* also witnessed the fantasy of a group of young people which later became a reality. They were P. Ramadas and his associates who thought about cinema. This led to the making of first realistic Malayalam film, Newspaper Boy by 1955.

The *Maithanam* also witnessed the electricity agitation under the leadership of Eyyunni. The struggle was a protest against the decision of the government to transfer the electricity supply of Trichur to a company in Tamil Nadu. This provoked Eyyunni and he selected Manikandal, a place in the *Maithanam* as a stage for agitation. He was accompanied by his wife Annie and hundreds of other women. Though Eyyunni was arrested in 1934, the agitation gained great momentum in those days.

Occasionally the *Maithanam* was occupied by circus tents owned by people from Thalassery. The *Maithanam* was always a buzz with activity – exhibiting Tamil and Hindi films, *nadodis* selling *kallumalas*, *ladavaidyans* selling medicine, conducting exhibitions by Young Men's Association and football competitions³². In 1928 the *Maithanam* was under the control of the Trichur Municipality when it was

³¹ Sugeeth Krishnamoorthy, *Challenging the Consensus and Re-discovery of Forgotten Histories*-, presented at the IFFT 16th edition seminar held at St. Thomas college, Trichur. 10-12-2012, p.4.

³² *Samskarika Charitra Rekha* (Mal.), Thrissur Corporation, Thrissur, 2006, p.170.

formed. It was in 1934 Diwan Paravakkad Narayanan transferred it to the Cochin *Devaswom* Board. *Maithanam* acted as a meeting centre of all irrespective of social, political, economic, cultural and religious differences.

Swaraj Round surrounding the *Maithanam* forms the meeting place of trade routes to different places. It is one of the biggest Round-about reflects the urban planning with no parallels in other regions of that period. From the period of Sakthan Thampuran onwards *Maithanam* rose its prominence. It became centre of commercial nature and common platform for all religious and political activities.

Development of Industries

Industrial development and urbanization are interrelated which have significantly shaped the region. Technological and industrial development focussed on production of goods and services. It attracts labour and stimulate economic growth. In Kerala factories were established in the second half of the 19th century³³.

Its early industrial activities based on agriculture related ones like rice mills and oil mills. The extensive paddy cultivation and its fertile land provide raw materials. The coir industry was also capitalised the area. Handloom and weaving industries thrived in Trichur. Tile industries, Pottery and clay products, saw mills and timber contributed to local economy. The earliest industry in Trichur was printing press. Some of these were set up in 1862, 1887 and 1894. Most of the factories in Trichur area was started in the first half of the 20th century. A textile factory, Sitaram Mills was set up in 1908. The first tile factory in the erstwhile Cochin was established at Manali near Trichur. Soon tile factories sprang up in other areas of Trichur. The local trading community was got attracted to this industrial line in Trichur due to the favourable factors in the region³⁴.

³³ Andalatt, *Keralathil Thozhilali Vargathinte Piravi* (Mal.), Thiruvananthapuram, 1984, p.2.

³⁴ K T Thomas, "Three Decades of Trade Union Movement in Trichur District (1930-1960)", Proceedings of the *Indian History Congress*, 54th session, Mysore, 1993, p.625.

Tile Industry

Tile factory played a crucial role in the industrialisation of the area. The modern tile industry in India owes its origin to the efforts of Basel Mission Society. They established the first tile factory in Jeppo in Mangalore in 1865³⁵. The type of tiles introduced by the Basel Mission has come to be known as 'Mangalore Tiles'. The first factory produced tiles at the rate of 560 per day and employed 12 workers. The mission extended its activities to the Kerala coast and set up seven factories. The second tile factory was started at Calicut in 1873 with hand presses³⁶. The factories first worked by hand and thereafter by bullocks. The hand presses and mills driven by the bullocks were replaced by machines worked by steam in 1881 at Mangalore. The mechanised tile factories were started at Calicut, Feroke, Palghat, Quilon and Alwaye³⁷. The tiles manufactured by these factories were superior in quality.

Industry flourished throughout the west coast of Kerala because of its simple technology and high returns. The demand in the housing sector and changes in the economic conditions were became boost to the tile industry and Kerala came to be referred as the home of tile industry³⁸. Trichur became the centre of tile industry due to natural advantages like availability of cheap, good quality clay and firewood and supply of cheap labour. The first tile factory in Trichur region was set up Manali near Pudukkad³⁹. When the Shornur Ernakulam trunk road was built, bricks were made from clay obtained from pits made for fixing the piers of the bridge at the

³⁵ K V Naik, *Tile industry- Some Aspects presented in the Seminar on Modernisation of Tile Industries*, Mangalore, 1988, p.1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ N Muralidharan, "Tile Industry in Quilon", souvenir-*All India Industrial Agricultural and Art Exhibition*, 1961, p.144.

³⁸ Kerala State Gazetteer, Vol III, Govt. of Kerala, 1989, P.433.

³⁹ P Devaraja Iyer, "Origin, Growth and Present problems of the Tile Factory", *Souvenir- All India Seminar on Ceramic Industries*, Trichur, 4th and 5th May 1966, p.23.; K R Bhaskaran, 'Tile Factories in Kerala'(Mal.) *Souvenir- The Trichur Industries Seminar*, 1966, pp.121-122.

Manali river. The bricks made out of the clay thus obtained excelled the ordinary type both in quality and strength. It was reported by the construction engineer of the bridge that the clay was of exceptional quality for the manufacture of the tiles. Chakola Kunjuvarid Devassy happened to meet the tile supervisor from Feroke at the time of annual festival of the Chaldean church. They discussed about the superior quality of the clay found in Manali. This encouraged the businessman Chakola to start a tile factory at the eastern side of the Manali bridge which is known as the Malabar Tile Works. The factory was under the joint responsibility of Core Episcopa Mar Augustinos, Chaldean Bishop, Chakkola Kunjuvarid Devassy, Perinjeri Kunjavara Varuthunni, Alangadan Devassy Kuriappan, Pallan Antony Kunjuvarid, Chembukkavu Devassy Rappai, Parappully Chakkunny and others.

The success of the new venture encouraged the partners to start new factories individually with others. Chakkola started the St. Thomas Tile works, Chembukkavu Kalyanam Tile Works and Pallippuram and Akkarapatty together, the Sivakami Tile Works. These three factories were located at Manali. Pallan and Attokkaran started the Kerala Tile Works at Cherur, near Trichur. Since all these found to be profitable a number of businessmen were attracted to tile manufacture. Mattathil Karuppan started Velayudha Tile Works. He took the initiative to start Asoka Tile Works and later started ten more tile factories at different places in Trichur region⁴⁰. The earliest tile factories in the region were concentrated in Chalakudy, Irinjalakuda, Pudukkad, Ollur, Trichur and Wadakkanchery.

The proliferation of tile factories in Trichur may be considered as the third stage where factories were generally small in size. They employed only handpresses and small pugmills and the tiles were burnt in intermittent kilns⁴¹. In the next stage quality consciousness spread among the small manufacturers which led to the

⁴⁰ H Hoffman, *The Basel Mission Industries, A Study on the Tile Industry in Kerala*, Labour and Industrial Bureau, Thiruvananthapuram, 1969, part II, P. 13.

⁴¹ B G Karat, *History and Development of Tile Industries in Mangalore*, Unpublished Ph D Thesis, University of Bombay, 1955, p.20.

introduction of better machinery and equipment. The development in engineering industry in Trichur was able to fabricate locally the entire range of machinery required for the tile industry. Several tile factories in Trichur were new entrants after Second World War. The outbreak of Second World War was a boon to the tile industry⁴². The concentration of tile factories in this region was mainly due to the availability of raw materials and cheap transport facilities. The tiles were mainly sold in South India. As a result, the number rose from 50 in 1940 to 200 in 1965⁴³.

With the growth of tile industry, the manufacturers began to form regional associations to discuss their common problems and to find out solutions. In Trichur, The Central Kerala Tile Manufacturers Association (formerly known as the Cochin State Tile Manufacturers Association) was registered in 1948. Any individual, firm or company owning and managing or working on lease one or more mills, or one or more factor or factories worked by steam, gas, water, electricity or other power for the manufacture of tiles or other ceramic products in the area comprising north of Alwaye river in the Ernakulam, Trichur and Palghat were eligible for membership of the Association, provided he is not a minor in individual or as a representative⁴⁴. The Association had Twentynine members in the beginning. The first committee consisted of P Devaraja Iyer of Kalyanam Tile Company, Manali as the President, C T Sundaram of Cochin Potteries, Chalakudy as Vice President, K E Lonappan of the Union Tile Factory, Karuvannur as Secretary, along with six other members.

Tile industry is perhaps the only industry that has proliferated into hundreds of units, attracting investors especially from trading community. Tile units provide employment opportunities to thousands of local people⁴⁵. At first only flat roofing

⁴² K T Thomas, *Tile Industry in Trichur District: History, Problems and Prospects*, Project Report to UGC, 2012, P.22.

⁴³ M K Nair, *Roofing Tile Industry in Kerala, A Case for Modernisation, Research and Development*, Small Industries Service Institute, Trichur, 1971, p.4.

⁴⁴ H Hoffman, *The Basel Mission Industries*, part II, p.15.

⁴⁵ "Roofing Tile Industry- A Study of its Problems and Prospects", *Souvenir- All India Seminar on Ceramic Industries*, Trichur, 1966, pp.138-139.

tiles were produced. Later ridge tiles ventilators, ceiling tiles, drainage pipes, ornamental clay flooring tiles etc were made in artistic style⁴⁶. The major share of the tiles produced in Trichur were sent to Tamil Nadu, Andhra, Karnataka and Orissa.

The tile factories can be broadly classified into three groups small, medium and the big size, in each of which there is similarity in manufacturing techniques adopted⁴⁷. The size of production and level of investment varied from unit to unit. The materials used in the manufacture of tiles are clay, firewood, lubricating oils and chemicals. The tile industry was labour intensive⁴⁸. The following table give the wage rates prevailed in the tile factories of Trichur during 1942-1958

TABLE 5.3
Cost of Clay, Fire-wood, Oil, Wages etc. and Selling Price of
Tiles as Prevailing in the Trichur area from 1942- 1958 (in Rupees)

| Year | Firewood P. tonne | Clayp. Cu. Yd | Oil p. Gallon | Transportation p. 1000 tiles | Women 's Wages per headload p.day | Men 's Wages per headload p.day | Tile pressing | Skilled Workers p.day | Selling price per 1000tiles | Working Hours per day |
|------|-------------------|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1942 | 2 | 0-4-0 | 0-8-0 | 1-0-0 | 0-2-6 | 0-3-6 | 0-5-0 | 0-8-0 | 30-0-0 | 9 |
| 1948 | 25 | 2-8-0 | 1-0-0 | 5-0-0 | 0-9-0 | 0-13-0 | 1-2-0 | 2-0-0 | 137-8-0 | 8 |
| 1958 | 34 | 4.00 | 3.00 | 7.50 | 1.20 | 1.64 | 1.95 | 3.00 | 105.00 | 8 |

Source: Report of the Central Kerala Tile Manufacturers Association, Trichur, Quoted in Report of the Task Force Committee on Traditional Industries- Bricks and Tile Industry, Thiruvananthapuram, 1978, p.50.

⁴⁶ H Hoffman, The Basel Mission Industries, part I, p.6.

⁴⁷ *Report of the Task Force Committee on Traditional Industries- Bricks and Tile Industry, Thiruvananthapuram, 1978, p.21.*

⁴⁸ *Report of the Central Kerala Tile Manufacturers Association, Trichur, Quoted in Report of the Task Force Committee on Traditional Industries- Bricks and Tile Industry, Thiruvananthapuram, 1978, p.50.*

Tile factories were located in the areas which afforded good facilities for cheap water transport for bringing the materials and despatching the finished products. Transport of tiles outside the state was usually done by road and rail⁴⁹. It provided employment to thousands of people and contributed to local economy and urbanization process.

Textile Industry

Another major industry in Trichur was textiles. In the earlier period the raw cotton came from Tamil Nadu region to Malabar villages through Palakkad Gap. It was from there they reached to Cochin and Travancore. For getting raw cotton prior sanction of the British authorities from Calcutta and later on Bombay was necessary. The mill entrepreneurs also had to considerably depend on British import of machinery, caustic soda and bleaching powder. All these acted as reason for the very few textile mills before 1950s. All the textiles started in the end of 19th century were engaged in spinning only. The first textile mill (later known as Malabar Spinning and Weaving Mills) established by Desamangalam Narayanan Nambuthiripad in Thiruvannur in Calicut in 1884. Hence the growth of textile industry was comparatively slow in Kerala.

In Trichur Pushpagiri Textile Mill was established by T R Ramachandra Iyer at Poonkunnam in 1908. It was the first spinning and weaving mill in Kerala as well as in South India. Later its name was changed to Sitaram Mills. Sitaram textile Mill is one of the landmarks in the industrial establishments in Trichur. It was strategically located and benefited from city's infrastructure, transportation links and skilled labour force. Sitaram Mill began its operation with 25 handlooms and 50 power looms. Spinning was introduced in 1924 when 10,100 spindles were set up. The number of looms was raised to 307. The strength of spindles was gradually increased⁵⁰. The Mill symbolises the early industrial efforts in Trichur from

⁴⁹ A Sreedhara Menon, *Kerala State Gazetteers: Trichur*, Thiruvananthapuram, 1962, p.352.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

traditional craft to modern manufacturing. It was equipped with modern machinery-spinning, weaving and finishing⁵¹. It produced a wide range of textile products from yarn to the finished fabrics. The products were marketed within India only. Mill gave employment to a large number of local residents and provided stable income to many families. By 1941 the mill started working round the clock. By 1944 the manpower increased to 2800 of which 1000 were females⁵². Beyond employment it involved in community development. The mill management supported educational initiatives, healthcare and housing for its workers. It attracted ancillary industries and business such as dyeing and printing units thus contributed to the industrial ecosystem.

Cochin Textile Mill, was established in 1937 by Alagappa Chettiyar in Pudukkad. The mill was originally known as Alagappa textiles. Its initial capital investment was 5,90,000 rupees. The initial machinery acquisitions was mainly from Switzerland and Germany. The major companies included Reiter, Trutzschler and Saurer. The machineries imported were Blowroom machines, Carding, comber, Roving Frames, Ring Spinning Machines and Auto winds. It employed around 2500 workers. In addition to the housing facility to its workers mill premises include amenities for the workers like hospital and school. It boosted the local economy. The products were exported to various markets both domestic and international.

There were 6 textile factories in Trichur providing employment to 5035 persons. Of these Alagappa textiles at Alagappa Nagar, Cochin Mahalakshmi Cotton Mills at Mulamkunnathukavu (1947), Vanaja Textiles (1951) at Ramavarmapuram were purely spinning mills. Cochin Hosieries at Kuriachira, Trichur and Kunnath Textiles (1917) Trichur engaged in the manufacture of hosiery products. Both the units together provided employment to 280 persons. At

⁵¹ C A Krishnan, *Anchuvilakku*, Green Books Thrissur, 2009, p. 41.

⁵² *Report of the Industrial Development Committee*, Cochin State, Ernakulam, 1945, p. 55.

Koratty there was a small unit producing cotton sewing thread. This mill, J.P. Coats (India) Private Limited, originally known as Jumna Thread Mills, was started in 1952. It is popularly known as Madura coats now Vaigai Thread Processors Ltd.

Printing Press

Printing technology has a unique place in the economic and cultural history of Trichur. It provides employment opportunities and potent medium of communication which had greater significance on the development of urbanism in the society. Growth of printing technology open opportunities to great writers.

Edward J. Malecki analysed the effects of technological change on economic growth and development synthesising geography, regional science and economy⁵³. It uses the framework of regional development to encompass economic dynamics at all spatial scales. Technical skill and information are key in the processes of technological change and competition which becomes one of the identities of an urban area which is related to capital, manpower, machinery, labour, material and market. M. Jayaprakash analysed the factors that led to the growth of Kerala printing. The unrestricted growth of old technology was the main cause of its poor performance but the impact of it was very high due to peaceful switch over to new technology and the changing attitude of the people. Thus, it emerged as a stepping stone towards modernisation.

The advent of printing press played a significant role in fostering urban growth and development of cities. The dissemination of information and knowledge facilitate urban development.

In the beginning of 19th century there started a number of printing presses in Kerala even though the first printing in Malayalam started from Bombay in 1779

⁵³ Edward J Malecki, *Technology and Economic Development: The Dynamics of Local Regional, and National Change*, Ohio state university, OSU, 1997.

mainly for preparing administrative reports. Bombay Courier Press was started in 1790 and thereafter all the government printing was done in this press⁵⁴.

In Kerala Rev. Benjamin Bailey established the CMS Press in Kottayam in 1821 and garnered the reputation of being the first modern printing press in the State. The Royal Family of Travancore took keen interest in printing. The Government Press of the State of Cochin was started in 1845 at Cochin Secretariat building. It was during the time of the Diwanship of A.R. Banerjee that certain improvements were made to the press. An officer was sent to Madras for training and modification of the press was done on the lines of Madras Government press.

Another press for Malayalam printing was established by Rev. Kuriakose Elias Chavara at Mannanam, Kottayam, in 1842. Its purpose was mainly religious. The St. Joseph's Press started in 1887 and printed many Malayalam books and a newspaper called *Nasarani Deepika*⁵⁵.

The St. Thomas press in Cochin was started in 1862 by Paramel Ittoop, its main works were the literary works of the Malayalam poets with interpretations and a newspaper named *Kerala Pathak*. He also started a press in his native place Kunnamkulam in 1862. The name of the press established in Kunnamkulam was *Vidhya Rathna Prabha*. It availed the services of the great scholar Kaikkulangara Rama Warriar and a manager named Malliammavil Kunjhuvaheed. It provides employment opportunities to the people. Malayalam classics were printed from here⁵⁶. A R P press, Jnanodayam press, Vaneebhushanam press and Emmanuel press were the other presses in Kunnamkulam. Religious books, notebooks and wall

⁵⁴ Emmanuel Attel, *Dhanyam Pracheena Malayalam (Mal.)*, Samayam Publications, Kannur, 2014, p.110.

⁵⁵ Wilson Kokkat, *Contributions of Carmelites of Mary Immaculate Congregation to Education in Kerala:1831-2008*, Dharmaram Publications, Bangaluru, 2016, p. 45.

⁵⁶ Ulloor S. Parameswara Iyer, *Kerala Sahithya Charitram (Mal.)*, Dept. of Publications, University of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 1972.p.1.

posters were printed in these publishing houses. Multi colour printing started in U P press at Kunnamkulam in 1940.

A press named Kerala *Kalpadruman* was established in 1887 by Chembukkavu Raphael and other Christian leaders of Trichur. Ulloor, the great Malayalam poet was the Managing Director of the press. Another press started from Trichur was *Vidyavinodini* by Sundarayyar in 1887⁵⁷. *Mangalodayam* press was started by the Brahmins of Desamangalam mana. This press published the writings of Changampuzha Krishna Pillai, P.C. Kuttikrishnan and Joseph Mundassery. A famous magazine *Mangalodayam* was also published from here. Printing and publishing flourished under the management of Vasudevan Nambuthirippad of Desamangalam Mana. It was a leading publishing house until 1969.

Bharatha Vilasam Press in Trichur was started by Malliammavil Kunjhuvariedu in 1905. Newspapers and hundreds of books and magazines were published from here. A committee of printers and writers called *Bharatha Vilasam Sabha* managed this press.⁵⁸

Printing of books, newspapers and magazines influence the life of people and it revolutionised the minds of people which set apart the part of urban development. The number of printing presses increased and the new technology was adopted in 1920s in Trichur⁵⁹. The following table illustrate the increasing number of printing press by 1950s.

⁵⁷ K M Govi, *Adhimudranam Bharathathilum Malayalathilum* (Mal.), Thrissur, 1998, p.142.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ A Sreedhara Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p. 596.

TABLE 5.4
Major Printing Presses in Trichur by 1949

| No | Name of Press | Place | Year of Establishment |
|----|-------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 | Vidhya Rathna Prabha | Kunnamkulam | 1862 |
| 2 | Kerala Kalpamudram | Chembukkavu | 1887 |
| 3 | Vidhya Vinodini | Trichur | 1887 |
| 4 | Mangalodayam | Trichur | 1887 |
| 5 | ARP Press | Kunnamkulam | 1894 |
| 6 | Bharathavilasam Press | Trichur | 1905 |
| 7 | V V Press | Trichur | 1906 |
| 8 | Ramanuja Printing Press | Trichur | 1921 |
| 9 | St. Thomas Press | Trichur | 1921 |
| 10 | Lokamitram Press | Kandassamkadavu | 1921 |
| 11 | Ramanujam Press | Trichur | 1922 |
| 12 | Vaneekalebaram Press | Trichur | 1924 |
| 13 | Lakshmibhai Press | Trichur | 1924 |
| 14 | Kshemavilasam Press | Trichur | 1933 |
| 15 | Kshemodayam Press | Trichur | 1934 |
| 16 | Sujanabhooshanam Press | Trichur | 1934 |
| 17 | Saraswathi Press | Trichur | 1941 |
| 18 | Viswanath Press | Trichur | 1944 |
| 19 | Haritha Press | Trichur | 1944 |
| 20 | Best Printers | Trichur | 1944 |
| 21 | Vilangan Harijan Press | Trichur | 1945 |

Source: A Sreedhara Menon, Kerala District Gazetteers, Trichur, 1962

The advent of modern education in the 19th and 20th centuries had a profound impact on the printing industry in Trichur. The spread of modern education created a new generation of educated individuals increased the reading habits. With the

growth of printing presses books, magazines, newspapers and other reading materials became more widely available. The growth of publishing industry led to diversification of reading materials. It also played a significant role in promoting Malayalam literature and led to emergence of new readership including women and lower strata of the society.

Many of the writers had the opportunity to publish their works with the opening of printing presses like *Kalpamudram*, *Bhararthavilasm*, *Vidyavinodini*, *Keralodayam* and *Mangalodayam* in Trichur. Chathukkutty Mannadiyar, Makkothu Krishna Menon, C.P. Achutha Menon, Changaram Kotha, Krishnan Karthavu, Kodassery Kunjan Thampan, V.K. Krishna Menon, Thottaikkattu Ikkavamma and T.C. Achutha Menon were among those whose literature revelled with the advent of printing press in the state. Many criticisms and translations occupied a prime place in the magazine by *Vidyavinodini*.

The directors and the organisers of the *Rasikaranjini* were Kunjukuttan Thampuran and Appan Thampuran⁶⁰. The prominent writers in this literary magazine were Puthezhathu Govinda Menon, C.S. Gopala Panikkar, Moorkkothu Kumaran, Ambadi Narayana Poduval, Karattu Achutha Menon, V.K. Raman Menon, T.C. Kalyaniyamma, T.K. Krishna Menon, Oduvil Sankarankutty Menon, Oduvil Kunjikirishna Menon, Vallathol, Kundoor and Changaram Kotha. Malayalam literature went through a golden threshold during this period.

The magazine *Lakshmi Bai* brought forth valuable literary contributions by the active participation of three Vellaikkal Brothers - Narayana Menon, Krishna Menon and Sankara Menon. The eminent personalities who contributed to this magazine were KodungallurThampuran, Koyi Thampuran and Kottarathil Sankunni.

⁶⁰ Usha Menon, *Ramavarma Appan Thampuran: Biography* (Mal.), Kerala Bhasha Institute, Thiruvananthapuram, 2011, p.31.

Mangalodayam magazine printed from Mangalodayam press produced many literary personalities including Pallathu Raman, A.R. Poduval and Puthezhathu Raman Menon. Kannambra Kunjunni Nair transferred from Ernakulam became the editor of Kairali and printed Tagore tales through this magazine with the help of Puthezhathu Raman Menon. Malliammavil Kunjhuwareedu printed many books with the help of Kaikkukalangara Rama Warriar, KVM (Vasudevan Moosse), Vachaspathi T.C. Moosse and M. Krishnan Embranthiri. *Bhasha Bharatham* was printed from Bharatha Vilasam⁶¹.

In the early decade of the 20th century, printing industry was in a stage of transformation. Firstly, Tamil printing by the Jesuit missionaries in Cochin and Ambalakkdu in 17th and 18th centuries followed by printing by the missionaries of Church Mission Society (CMS), London Mission Society (LMS) and Basel Mission Society. The printing from these institutions were not profit oriented. Most of the works were aimed at the promulgation of religion which augmented the work of missionaries⁶². Later they took up government printing works. By the end of 19th and the beginning of 20th century printing institutions were started by businessmen and writers for monetary gains. Their aim was to publish books, literary works and periodicals, monthly, weekly, magazines and newspapers⁶³. The following table illustrates the increasing number of copies of magazines.

⁶¹ K M Govi, *Op. Cit.*, p.143.

⁶² Joseph Neelankavil, (ed.), *Chavarayachante Sampoorana Krithikal, Nalagamangal* (Mal.), Vol. 1, CMI, Mannanam, 2000, p.186.

⁶³ *Report on the Administration of Cochin in 1921-22*, Cochin, p.46.

TABLE 5.5**Magazines Published in Trichur by 1921**

| Sl No | Name of the Magazine and Newspaper | Language of Publication | Daily/ Weekly | Circulation/ No of Copies | Matter |
|-------|------------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|---|
| 1 | Suprabatham | Malayalam | Weekly | 700copies | Matters of general interest including politics |
| 2 | Yogaskshemam | Malayalam | Bi weekly | 700 | ” |
| 3 | Lokaprakasam | Anglo Malayalam | Weekly | 750 | ” |
| 4 | Kerala punch | English | Monthly | 400 | Humorous magazine dealing with all subjects |
| 5 | The cochinto | English | Bi monthly | 500 | Politics |
| 6 | The Kairali | Malayalam | Monthly | 500 | Literary magazine |
| 7 | Mahabali | Malayalam | Weekly | 500 | Politics |
| 8 | Bharathi | Mal | Monthly | 500 | Literary |
| 9 | Unni Namboori | Mal | Monthly | 700 | |
| 10 | Mangalodayam | Mal | Monthly | 500 | Literary |
| 11 | Malayalapatrika | Mal | Weekly | 500 | Politics |
| 12 | Lakshmi Bhai | Mal | Monthly | 600 | Ladies’ magazine |
| 13 | Lokamanyan | Mal | Monthly | 400 | Deals with agriculture, commercial and industrial |

Source: Report on the Administration of Cochin in 1921-22.

Printing generates a wide range of products which is required in everyday life. It provides employment opportunities and is one of the most stable and potent media of communication. The publishing of books, newspapers and magazines influence the daily life of people from all walks of life. It revolutionises the minds of the people which fuels urban development. Thus, the printing industry brought in revolutionary ideas. It led to development of printing skills and the knowledge necessary to operate and manage printing presses.

Other Industries

The main industrial centres in the region were Trichur, Ollur, Pudukad, and Chalakkudy. Trichur boasted of over 20 oil and rice mills. In the beginning of 20th century Ollur and Pudukad there were more than 10 rice mills. Oil mills in Anthikkad, Patyam, Manalur, Kadukutti, Koorkkanchery and Chazhur indicated the agricultural development in this region⁶⁴.

The Government Industrial School at Trichur established in 1925 was the most important the institution imparting industrial education which worked on three separate sections, viz., commercial, arts and industrial⁶⁵. There was a provision for training 200 technicians at the civic centre which was opened at the Government Trades School in Trichur, towards the close of 1942.⁶⁶

Engineering industry got momentum in Trichur. The main centres are Kandassamkadavu, Manalur and Kadukutti⁶⁷. Engineering works in Koorkkanchery region, provided machines for the needs of the Trichur town. They engaged in tyre moulding. At first small segments were made and then they succeeded in moulding the full circle which gave full growth of the laith which enabled them to sell their items to other parts of the state. New units were also started in Kokkala. The availability of enough raw materials and easy transportation were beneficial to the industry.

The emerging industries thrived with the establishment of workshops and industrial units facilitated by industrialisation and technological advancements. The Chaldean Syrian Church workshop setup in Trichur was known for its craftsmanship in metal works including tools and dies. It was operated in the late 19th century. It played vital role in promoting local craftsmanship and local economy. Trichur

⁶⁴ *Vikasana Rekha of respective Gramapanchayath* (Mal.), 1996.

⁶⁵ *The Record of Administration*, Vol. III, 1938, Ernamkulam, p. 345.

⁶⁶ *Report of the Industrial Development Committee, Op. Cit.*, pp.53-54.

⁶⁷ *Vikasana Rekha*, Manalur Gramapanchayath (Mal.), 1996, p.34.

Engineering Company (TEC) was established in 1920 to cater the growing industrial needs of the region. The Trichur Industrial Estate began in the early 20th century was equipped with infrastructure including small-scale manufacturing units, workshops and warehouses. Industries within the Ollur Industrial Estate had engineering and metal fabrication. It generated employment opportunities and facilitated industrial growth. Government workshops and industries were started at Chalakudy. The Cochin State Forest Tramway Workshop supported transportation of timber from Chalakudy forest. It worked for the manufacture and maintenance of tools and equipment. Gradually private workshops also emerged in Chalakudy to meet the local demand for tools. Engineering industry was indeed a causative factor for the emergence and development of other industries in Trichur. It became a catalysing factor in the growth of the industries like printing, tile etc.

The Coir industry, a traditional small-scale industry contributed significantly to the economy of the region. It spread among various coconut growing places in Trichur. The history of Indian coir industry begins with the establishment of the first coir factory in Alappuzha in 1859. Later many industrial units began to flourish in Trichur. The export revenue of the coir industry was mainly from the fibre and coir yarn. The fibre extracted from coconut husk and it's spun into coir yarn and coir rope were produced⁶⁸. It became the livelihood of a significant section of people living in the costal belt of Kodungallur. There exist family - based units, small workshop with group of workers including women processing coconut husks. There were large workshops operated by large households. Coir industry in the regions of Manalur, Palazhi, Mambilli, Karikkodi, Anthikkad and Patyam were flourished. The Canolly Canal served as a facilitator for the development of Coir industry which provided employment to thousands of people particularly women in these areas. The geographical location of these areas with long backwaters and canals were favourable for this industry.

⁶⁸ *Census of India, 1941*, Vol. XIX, p. 35.

Trade union emerged in this area was *Coir Thozhilali Union* which had more than two thousand members in Peringottukara and Anthikkad region. They also formed cooperative societies for helping the farmers. The Ezhava Co-operative Society and Peringottukara Co- operative societies were formed in 1920 and 1921 respectively. The Manalur Coir Industrial Co-operative Society promoted the export of Coir to Salem and Alappuzha⁶⁹. The Kadukutty Co- Operative Society and Annanadu Co- operative society formed in 1947 in Kadukutty were also important in this sector.

Thazhapaya neythu (pandanus leaf mat making) was another cottage industry. It was made from the leaves of the pandanus plant which was abundant in the coastal regions of Trichur. The leaves were processed into thin strips which were woven together to form the mat. It was a traditional craft passed down through generations. *Thazhapaya* was used as floor mat or decorative item. The main centres of its production were Edamuttam, Eriyad, Kaipamangalam, Mathilakam, Edavilangu and Chavakkad⁷⁰. The articles were mainly exhibited and sold in the festival markets in almost all parts of Kerala.

Cottage industry like handloom weaving, wood carving, and metal industry were some other important industrial units in the region. The main cottage industry found here is handloom weaving. Kuthampilly and Thiruvillwamala were the main weaving centres. Khadi and Village Industries were developing in Trichur. Khadi Board units were started in various parts of Trichur. Cochin Village Industries Association in the field of Khadi was set up in 1930 in Avinissery panchayath in Trichur. This was started by 150 women workers in the Khadi industry. Gramodharana Co- operative society started in Avinissery in 1939⁷¹.

⁶⁹ *Personal Interview* with P K Krishnan (74), Former Panchayath President, Manalur, 03-05-2024.

⁷⁰ *Samskarika Charitra Rekha*, Thrissur Corporation, Thrissur, 2006, p.142.

⁷¹ A Sreedhara Menon, *Op. Cit.*, p.352.

The Timber industry was also of considerable importance. Most of the timber were brought down from the forests to Trichur and Chalakudy. The tramway was designed to transport teak and rosewood from Chalakudy forest to the town, facilitating the growth of timber industry. It was a remarkable feat of engineering with total length of 49.5 miles and a unique zigzag system to navigate the hilly region. There were many saw mills in these areas with up-to-date plant and machinery and operated by electric power. Tramway played a crucial role in generating significant revenue for the state of Cochin. There were two saw mills with contemporary machinery owned by Europeans, one at Ramanthuruthu and the other one in Trichur⁷². Saw mills were set up in places of Thanyam, Manalur, Avinissery, Meloor and Kandassamkadavu. Match factories also developed side by side especially in Meloor.

Packing case industry aroused during the period of First World War. It was the making of boxes with pieces of timber. This industry developed in Ollur region which needed wood sheets and saw mills. Woods were mainly bought from Chalakudy, Burma and Malaysia⁷³.

There was abundance of bamboos and reeds in the adjacent forests of Trichur. The manufacturing of mats and baskets out of them was, therefore, a thriving cottage industry especially in the hilly tracts of Talappilly and Trichur Taluks⁷⁴.

Fishing provided occupation to large number of people. Valan and Arayan community were most important in fishing and boat service. Increasing population and transport facilities led to the opening of new markets. Tons of fish were converted into fertilisers and making of fish oil and dried fish had demand in the market⁷⁵.

Another indigenous cottage industry mainly localized in the Trichur Taluk was arecanut, which was being cut, cured and largely exported. Arecanut market in

⁷² *Report of the Industrial Development Committee, Op. Cit.*, p. 56.

⁷³ *Vikasana Rekha, Ollur Gramapanchayath (Mal.)*, 1996, p.32; P P Pillai, *Kerala Economy Four Decades of Development, Thrissur: Institute of Planning and Applied Economic Research, 1994*, pp. 135-137.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1931*, p. 133.

Kadukutti, Kunnamkulam and Pazhanji were remarkable in this field. Paper industry was also developed locally⁷⁶.

Poultry was carried on as a home occupation all over the State by 1945. Ernakulam and Trichur were the important egg collecting centres from where there was a large export of both hen and duck eggs⁷⁷. From Anthikkad and Peringottukara region eggs were exported to Tamil Nadu and it was sold for six *kasu* and one *ana* for an egg during 1930s and 1940s.

Cashewnut industry secured commercial importance in the 20th century. The total area under cashewnut plantation in the State was about 7500 acres. A small factory was started at Chiyyaram, the suburb of Trichur town, in 1940. The gaps in the plantations were filled with fruit trees. Livestock received further addition. Other than paddy different kinds of cereals, pulses, root crops and sugar cane were produced for commercial purposes⁷⁸.

Another important cottage industry was the carpentry. There were hereditary carpenters or *marasaris* who were engaged in this industry. Several furniture marts came into existence especially at Chevvoor and Trichur and furniture was exported to places all over South India. The co-operative societies for this industry were in the State, Ernakulam Industrial Co-operative Society and Cherpu Carpenters Co-operative Society⁷⁹.

Other types of industries were beedi making and toddy tapping. All these commercial establishments provided job opportunities. Chalakudi, Chavakkad, Pavaratty, Kanjani, Karamukku, Manalur, Wadakkanchery and Kadavallur became centres of beedi industry. As a result, labour organisations and trade union movements also developed. The trade unions of the beedi workers were Beedi

⁷⁶ *Report of the Industrial Development Committee, Op. Cit.*, p 62.

⁷⁷ *Report of the Industrial Development Committee, Op. Cit.*, p. 64.

⁷⁸ *Report on the Administration of Cochin for the year 1922*, Ernakulam, 1922, p17.

⁷⁹ *Report of the Industrial Development Committee, Op. Cit.*, p 62.

Workers Union, Chalakudi, Chowghat Firka Beedi Thozhilali Union, Chavakkad, Chawghat Firka Beedi Labour Congress, Pavaratty and Thalappilly Taluk Beedi Thozhilali Union, Wadakkanchery.

The introduction of electricity was a boon to the industrial development.⁸⁰ In 1931, the Government of Cochin granted a licence to the Cochin Electric Company Ltd. for electric supply to the Trichur Electric Corporation Ltd. for electric supply in Trichur, including a certain area north and south of this town embracing Ollur and Pudukkad⁸¹. Municipal office, institutions and government offices were electrified. Vadakkumnathan temple, industries in the Trichur, Ollur and Pudukkad were given electricity.⁸² Electric power was produced in commercial scale in 1941, when the first hydroelectric plant was inaugurated in Pallivasal. The electrification of Trichur had given priority to industrial units⁸³.

Development of industries played a crucial role in the economic growth of Trichur. The city expanded with new residential and commercial areas. Significant investments in roads, railway, bridges etc contributed to the sustainable development. Government initiatives had immense role in establishing favourable condition to the growth of industries. Industrial development had an important role in the process of social change.

Exhibitions

Various industrial and agricultural exhibitions were organized by the Agricultural Department to promote the spread of new and improved ideas in industrial and agricultural sectors. From 1921 to 1928 a number of village shows were conducted under the auspicious of Panchayats, Co-operative Societies. These

⁸⁰ C Achyuta Menon, *The Cochin State Manual*, Kerala State Gazetteer Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p.199.

⁸¹ *Report on the Peringalkuthu Hydroelectric Scheme and the Supply of Electricity to the State of Cochin, 1932, Ernamkulam*, p.1.

⁸² Puthezhath Raman Menon, *Thrissur-Trichur* (Mal.), Silpi publication, Madras, 1953, p.10.

⁸³ *Cochin Legislative Council Proceedings*, Vol. V, 1937, RAE, p. 13.

exhibitions became an annual feature of the administration from 1103 M.E. (1927-28). Exhibitions were conducted at Irinjalakuda, Vadakkencherry and Chittur⁸⁴. In 1933 the Agricultural Department organized Exhibitions like The All-India Swadeshi exhibition, The Cattle Show and Exhibition at Perumpilavu and the Rural Exhibitions at Amballur received appreciation⁸⁵.

Diwan Shanmukham Chetty during his visit to the Imperial Institute in London in August 1938 was a witness to the exhibition stalls put up by many Indian States, including Travancore⁸⁶. He thought it desirable to exhibit products from Cochin also. On a request made by A.R. Menon, Minister for Rural Development, Cochin Government, V.V. Giri, Minister for Industries and Labour, Government of Madras, visited Trichur on 26 April 1939 to open the All India *Swadesi* Exhibition. The State had already sent a collection of Cochin products to be exhibited at the permanent museum of the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, London⁸⁷.

Trade Unions

Labour Brotherhood was formed in Trichur in 1935. This union provided an umbrella for the motor workers, engineering workers, press workers, workers in shops and also workers at other commercial establishments. Motor Workers Union, the Engineering Workers Union, the Press Workers Union and the *Riksha* Workers Union were under the leadership of Labour Brotherhood⁸⁸. The organization also engaged in activities of public interest. This movement brought the youth into the political mainstream. During 1930s many organisations of the workers were formed in Trichur, Amballur, Chalakudy, Irinjalakuda and Anthikad. In 1936 an electricity agitation stirred up in Trichur which was against the supply of electricity to a private

⁸⁴ *The Record of Administration*, Diwan T.S. Narayana Iyer, Part V, Ernakulam, 1938, p. 56.

⁸⁵ T. K Krishna Menon, *Op.Cit.*, p.57.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Letter of Lt. Colonel G.P. Murphy, Resident, Madras State to R.K. Shanmukham Chetty, D.O.C. 23/39 dated 22 April, 1939, RAE.*

⁸⁸ P J Cherian (ed), *Perspectives on Kerala History, the Second Millennium*, Kerala Gazetteers, 1999, p.551.

company in Madras. Trichur became the nerve centre of trade union movements. The Second All Kerala Trade Union Conference conducted in Trichur in 1937 which was addressed by the Soumyendranath Tagore and the union tried to address the problems of the workers. It was an important move for taking decisions regarding the wages of labourers. P. Krishnapillai was entrusted with the formation of a Kerala unit of the AITUC (All India Trade Union Congress). As a result, AKTU (All Kerala Trade Union) was formed and a conference was held in Trichur in which beedi workers were more active.

Alagappa textile mill strike was an important chapter of trade union movement. Workers union stood against the disparity in wages to the Tamil and Kerala workers. Tamil workers got Rs 2 per month and local workers had 7 rupees⁸⁹. The labourers of different castes and from different regions united for the cause. The strike started in 1938 with the support of Labour Brotherhood. Beedi workers of Chalakudy and the toddy tappers of Anthikkad supported the strike and started agitations against the arrest of the textile workers. The leader of the trade union movement P S Nambuthiri was arrested and sentenced to six months imprisonment. But within a week the management revised the wages of the labourers.

The formation of the Communist party in Kerala was an inspiration to trade union movements. In order to face the economic crisis of 1939, the trade unions envisaged schemes against economic exploitation of the labourers. In the post-war period in the State there was the tendency on the part of the working-class population to organize themselves into trade unions and fight for the betterment of their conditions. A new orientation of class-consciousness and faith in efficacy of collective bargaining had been growing side by side with the growth of the political aspirations among the people. A number of trade unions sprang up especially in the industrial areas of Trichur.⁹⁰ The beedi workers Union, Pottery workers Union in

⁸⁹ K T Thomas, *Three Decades of Trade Union Movement in Trichur District (1930-1960)*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 54th session, Mysore, 1993, p.626.

⁹⁰ *Census of Cochin, 1941*, p. 37; Administration Report, Labour Department, *Op. Cit.*, p.11.

Chalaky, the tile workers union in Manali and the toddy tappers union in Anthikkad were active⁹¹. *Chethu thozhilali Union*⁹² was formed in Anthikkad in 1941. In 1942 there was a strike in this area known as *Kulamurisamaram* (coconut flower buds cutting struggle) organised by the union in which 2000 people including women were participated. The main cause for the struggle was the exploitation of the toddy tappers by the contractors⁹³. Strikes also broke out during the post war period. The leaders were George Chadayammuri, K P Prabhakaran, Chathu Master, K R Kelu, N C Shankaran etc⁹⁴. Many leaders were arrested and jailed for their crime for organising workers. Curfew was imposed in twelve villages in Anthikkad region and arrest and torture followed⁹⁵. In course of time toddy workers succeeded in gaining the solidarity of various trade unions and the general public⁹⁶. This unique experiment of toddy workers in the political workshop was instrumental in accepting new ideologies by the substantial section of people for the betterment of the workers. As the workforce increased, trade unions and associations began to negotiate for better wages, working conditions and benefits. The expansion of industries created a labour -intensive economy, which, in turn, fuelled the growth of labour unions and co-operative societies.

The development of industries and trade unions in Trichur brought marked change in its history. This transformation had far- reaching consequences in shaping the economy, culture and demography of the region. Its proximity to the port of Cochin and its access to major transportation networks made it an attractive location for industries. Its natural resources including coir, timber, clay etc provided

⁹¹ K T Thomas, *Op. Cit.*, p.628.

⁹² *Personal Interview* with M Vijayan (78), Former Deputy Mayor, Thrissur, 04 -04- 2021.

⁹³ *Personal Interview* with M R Mohan (65), Toddy tapper, Manalur, 20 -05-2023.

⁹⁴ *Personal Interview* with K P Rajendran (63), Poonkunnam, Former Revenue Minister, Kerala, 06-08-2017. He is the son of K P Prabhakaran.

⁹⁵ C Haridas, *Nationalist Movements in Cochin 1900-1947 The dynamics of Political Change*, South Zone Books, Ernakulam, 2012, p.110.

⁹⁶ P J Cherian (ed), *Op. Cit.*, p.546.

necessary input for various industries. The Government policies and initiatives such as industrial estates encouraged the growth of industries. The industries like timber, engineering, foundries, tile etc. had synergistic relationship with each industry supporting and complimenting others. Another peculiarity was that many families involved in trade and commerce for generations. It was also deeply rooted in the regions social and cultural fabric. Industries were often family-owned and operated with strong social bonds between workers and owners. Government initiative in establishing industrial estate also supported the growth of industries.

Co-operative Societies

Indigenous credit organisations called *kuri* companies functioned actively in Trichur. By 1950 there were more than 700 *kuri* companies which had served the financial needs of the region. *Kuris* were mainly conducted by Banking Institutions, Cooperative banks, Cooperative Societies, *Devaswom*, important churches and few individuals. Cochin *Kuries* Act VII of 1931-32 regulated the conduct of *kuries*. The *Kuries* Restriction Act of XII of 1944-45 restricted the registration of companies⁹⁷. Periodical Inspection of *kuries* was introduced. Private money lenders were also influential in this region which was restricted by the Cochin *Kuries* Act. Another development was in the field of Co-operative Credit Societies. Co-operative societies regulation Act was passed in the year 1913 during the Diwanship of A. R. Banerjee. Cochin co-operative Land Mortgage Bank in Trichur for long term agricultural loans was registered in 1935. Agricultural and non- agricultural non-credit societies especially in purchase and sale also functioned.

Formation of co-operative societies empowered the society with economic development and welfare schemes. It was the association of individuals who come together to achieve a common economic or social goal. The following table illustrate this.

⁹⁷ A Sreedhara Menon, *Op.Cit.*, p.342.

TABLE 5.6
Co- operative Societies in Trichur by 1950s

| Sl No | Name of Co-operative Societies | Place | Year of Establishment |
|--------------|---|-----------------|------------------------------|
| 1 | Karamukku SCB | Kandassamkadavu | 1826 |
| 2 | Pazhuvil SCB | Pazhuvil | 1875 |
| 3 | Chazhoor SCB | Chazhoor | 1907 |
| 4 | Koorkkanchery SCB | Koorkkanchery | 1917 |
| 5 | Manalur SCB | Manalur | 1917 |
| 6 | Ollur SCB | Ollur | 1917 |
| 7 | Moorkkanikara SCB | Moorkkanikara | 1918 |
| 8 | Peringottukara SCB | Peringottukara | 1922 |
| 9 | Peechi SCS | Peechi | 1926 |
| 10 | Aranattukara Oriental cooperative society | Aranattukara | 1927 |
| 11 | Venginissery SCB | Venginissery | 1927 |
| 12 | Viyyur SCS | Viyyur SCS | 1928 |
| 13 | Puthur SCB | Puthur | 1937 |
| 14 | Tirur SCB | Tirur | 1937 |
| 15 | Urakam SCB | Urakam | 1937 |
| 16 | Nedupuzha SCB | Nedupuzha | 1937 |
| 17 | Avinissery SCB | Avinissery | 1939 |
| 18 | Vallachura SCB | Vallachura | 1939 |
| 19 | Vilvattam SCB | Vilvattam | 1940 |
| 20 | Vellanikkara SCB | Vellanikkara | 1942 |
| 21 | Ayyanthole Panchayath SCB | Ayyanthole | 1943 |
| 22 | Arimpur SCB | Arimpur | 1946 |
| 23 | Ammadom SCB | Ammadom | 1946 |
| 24 | Kolazhy SCB | Kolazhy | 1946 |
| 25 | Olarikkara SCB | Olarikkara | 1946 |
| 26 | Parappur SCB | Parappur | 1946 |
| 27 | Ayyanthole SCB | Ayyanthole | 1946 |
| 28 | Moosepet SCB | Moosepet | 1947 |
| 29 | Varadium SCB | Varadium | 1947 |
| 30 | Kurichira SCB | Kurichira | 1947 |
| 31 | Arattupuzha SCB | Arattupuzha | 1947 |
| 32 | Kuttanellur SCB | Kuttanellur | 1949 |

Source: Co- Operative Directory, 2022, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram.

In the first half of 20th Century, co-operative societies became a powerful source of transaction⁹⁸. The number of members and deposits gradually increased. The activities of the Co-operative societies proved helpful for the entrepreneurs to take loans and for deposit their capital. The number of societies increased by 1950s.

Metal workers co-operative society, Weavers Society Kuthampully, Government Central Farm at Ollukkara made substantial progress in all directions. New permanent buildings were put up⁹⁹. The increasing number of these co-operative societies reflected the rapid increase in the mobilisation of credit and its distribution which in turn enabled the industries to grow.

The government decided to start a Central Products Cooperative Society under the name “The Cochin Rural Products Co-operative Society Ltd.” Primary Co-operative Agricultural and Rural Development Bank opened at Ayyanthole in 1936¹⁰⁰. The society stock and sell items such as handloom products, mats and baskets, furniture, bell metal, improved agricultural tools and implements, pottery, honey, and such agricultural products as cashew nuts, tamarind, pepper, ginger, etc. of graded and standardized quality. Another one was The Cochin Cottage Industries Co-operative Marketing Society, Trichur, which was constituted to advance loans to different small cottage industries and co-operative societies. The Society requested the Government that an advance of Rs. 5000 without interest might be given to them as advance payments to small societies for products produced in the State. The Government found it indispensable for the growth of cottage industries. As a result, the Government sanctioned a loan of Rs. 5000 without interest¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ *Co Operative Directory*, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2022, pp. 148-152.

⁹⁹ *Report on the Administration of Cochin in 1921-22*, p.10.

¹⁰⁰ *Co Operative Directory*, 2022, Government of Kerala, Thiruvananthapuram, 2022, p.15.

¹⁰¹ *Proceedings of H.H. the Maharaja of Cochin*, C. No. 1999- 16 dated 25 April 1941 RAE.

Banking:

Introduction of banking played an important role in shaping the industrial and commercial background of Cochin. In the late 19th century and early 20th centuries Cochin especially Trichur region witnessed emergence of several banks. These banks provided financial support to growing industrial sector.

In the beginning of 20th century banking attracted a number of investors. This led to the increasing number of small banks. Trichur became the heartland of banking business for the religious and caste groups; Assyrian Charities Banking Company Ltd, The Catholic Syrian Bank Ltd, The Cochin Nair Bank Ltd, Thiyya Bank Ltd etc.¹⁰² The Chaldean Christians of Trichur started the first bank called the Chaldean Syrian Bank in 1918. The Catholic Christians of Trichur under the Chakolas, Chandys etc. started the Catholic Syrian Bank in 1920 and later South Indian Bank (1929), which are even now the leading scheduled banks of India. Catholic Oriental Bank (1922), Catholic Bank (1929) Malabar Bank (1929), Indian Insurance Banking Corporation (1933) and Kshemavilasom Bank were the other leading banks started by Chakola group and other Catholic Christians of Trichur. Dharmodayam Company, Damiyan Subsidies and Bharathakshemam were established under the initiative of Chandy family. Associations were started along with the development of Banks one such was the Kerala Bankers Association formed in Trichur¹⁰³. In 1953 Thrissur having 19 registered offices of banks stood in second position in Indian banking sector¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰² A Sreedhara Menon, *Op., cit.*, p.339.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p.352.

¹⁰⁴ M.A. Oommen, *Rise and Growth of Banking in Kerala*, Social Scientist, Vol. V, No. 1976, pp. 24-46.

TABLE 5.7**The Banks in Trichur Before 1949**

| Sl No | Name of the Bank | Month & Year of Establishment | |
|--------------|--|--|------|
| | | | |
| 1 | Chaldean Syrian Bank | Dec-9, | 1918 |
| 2 | Vyavasaya Bank, Peringottukara | Oct-8 | 1920 |
| 3 | Catholic Oriental Bank, Aranattukara | Nov-6 | 1920 |
| 4 | Catholic Syrian Bank, Trichur | Nov-20 | 1920 |
| 5 | Cochin National Bank, Trichur | April-2 | 1921 |
| 6 | Mar Thomas Syrian Bank, Trichur | Jan-7 | 1927 |
| 7 | Irinjalakuda Catholic Bank, Irinjalakuda | March-2 | 1927 |
| 8 | Kshemavilasam Banking Company, Trichur | Sept-23 | 1927 |
| 9 | Dhanalakshmi Bank, Trichur | Nov-14 | 1927 |
| 10 | Ollur Bank, Trichur | May-21 | 1928 |
| 11 | Public Bank, Pudukad | June-6 | 1928 |
| 12 | Irinjalakuda Bank, Irinjalakuda | Sept-5 | 1928 |
| 13 | Malabar Bank, Trichur | Jan-4 | 1929 |
| 14 | South Indian Bank, Trichur | Jan-25 | 1929 |
| 15 | Catholic Union Bank, Mala | Feb-4 | 1929 |
| 16 | Kandassamkadavu Popular Bank, Kandassamkadavu | Feb-28 | 1929 |
| 17 | Christain Popular Bank, Irinjalakuda | April-6 | 1929 |
| 18 | Chalakudi Bank, Chalakudi | June-11 | 1929 |
| 19 | Cochin Nair Bank, Trichur | July-13 | 1929 |
| 20 | Chalakudi Public Bank, Chalakudi | July20 | 1929 |
| 21 | St. Thomas Bank, Ollur | July-31 | 1929 |
| 22 | Parameswara Vilasam Banking Company, Kodakara. | Aug-22 | 1929 |
| 23 | Sree Radhakrishna Bank, Trichur | Aug-20 | 1931 |
| 24 | Nair Union Bank, Trichur | Dec-12 | 1931 |
| 25 | Bharatha Union Bank, Trichur | March-7 | 1932 |
| 26 | Cochin Union Bank, Trichur | May-11 | 1932 |

Table 5.7 contd...

| SI No | Name of the Bank | Month & Year of Establishment | |
|-------|---|-------------------------------|------|
| 27 | Kerala Union Bank, Mala | Sept-22 | 1932 |
| 28 | Indian Insurance and Banking Corporation | March-6 | 1933 |
| 29 | Oriental Insurance and Banking Union, Trichur | Aug-19 | 1933 |
| 30 | Chittatukara Catholic Bank, Chittatukara | Aug-22 | 1933 |
| 31 | Mar Appraem Bank, Trichur | Feb-27 | 1934 |
| 32 | Lakshmi Prasads Bank, Trichur | March-17 | 1934 |
| 33 | Suburban Bank, Trichur | Nov-5 | 1934 |
| 34 | Oriental Christian Bank, Trichur | March-29 | 1935 |
| 35 | Assyrian Charities Banking Corporation, Trichur | June-22 | 1935 |
| 36 | Cochin Reserve Bank, Trichur | June-13 | 1936 |
| 37 | Lord Krishna Bank, Crangannore | April-22 | 1940 |
| 38 | Thiyya Bank, Kottapuram | April-9 | 1945 |

Source: A Sreedhara Menon, Kerala District Gazetteers, Trichur, 1962, pp.354-355.

Emergence of banks in between 1900-1949 facilitated financial development in the region. Increasing industrialisation, growth of trade and growing urban needs demanded more credit which was facilitated by these financial institutions¹⁰⁵. As banking services expanded, they enabled the growth of entrepreneurship. This in turn, contributed to the development of urban infrastructure including roads, bridges and buildings. The establishment of banks in rural areas facilitated agricultural development and rural entrepreneurship. The growth of cooperative banking provided an alternative channel for savings mobilisation. It also helped access to credit for marginalised communities including women.

Pooram-Its Commercial Importance

The growth of festivals which boost local economy and encourages further development. Festivals attracted diverse population and fostering different types of commercial activities which led to urbanization.

¹⁰⁵ A Sreedhara Menon, *Op. Cit.*, pp.354-355.

Trichur pooram started during the period of Sakthan Thampuran had its influence in national movement. When the national movement gained momentum the young men of Trichur decided to participate in the national movement as part of the *Swadesi* movement. *Swadesi* products were exhibited in pooram for sale in 1923. All the foreign goods were boycotted. The brain behind this pooram exhibition was Karakkath Madhavankutty Menon, K. Karunakaran, Karakkath Balan Menon, Achankulangara Achutha Warriar, Vadakke Kammeth Achutha Marar and Vallath Ramankutty Menon. The Diwan of Cochin R.K. Shanmukham Chetty gave support and permission to Young Men's Association (YMA). It was Archbishop Mar Thimotheus who inaugurated the new face of the pooram. YMA made the mission a huge success under the leadership of N.S. Cheroor. Later on, the Pooram Exhibition became one of the most important events of the pooram. Earlier the exhibition was conducted at Girls High School, Trichur, under the leadership of Young Men's Association. From 1934 the location changed to Thekkinkadu *Maithanam*. From 1947 onwards Municipality of Trichur took over the event. Khadi textiles, *Kaithari* textiles, paintings of Raja Ravi Varma, silk thread making of the Sisters of Ollur Convent, Paya Neith, moving candle dolls, handicrafts of *Viswakarmajas* were the main items of exhibition. Candle for exhibition was brought from Thalassery by the efforts of K. Karunakaran. The art form of Kathakali especially by Kavungal Sankara Panikkar and music bands of Palakkad Mani were performed by great artist. One of the impacts of the *pooram* was that it generated the local income and created jobs in short run. Increasing visit to this region led to long- term investment. Further it revitalised and expanded the existing markets and brought economic benefits. Branding the city with focus point of *pooram* generated tourism and local economy exploited the opportunities created by the *pooram*. In the urban context it revolutionised multiple outcomes. According to *devaswom* records, in 1945 *Maithanam* of *Vadakkumnathan* Temple adorned with 90 elephants, 12000 kilogram of fireworks along with four lakhs of people and 3500 police staff for their security¹⁰⁶. Earlier the market situated around

¹⁰⁶ *Pooram Files, Paramekkavu Devaswom Archives.*

the Swaraj Round and in course of time the markets expanded and attracted people from different places.

The markets with traders from different communities made the religious difference irrelevant. Christians, Muslims and Hindus of all caste actively participated in the commercial activities and exhibition associated with pooram¹⁰⁷. As the festival attract number of devotees and tourist, it presents a unique opportunity for the growth of seasonal markets and worked as catalyst for the growth of the city.

Cinema Tradition

Trichur has a rich cinema tradition. The growth of cinema in Trichur had close links with its urban development. Bioscope, the prototype of modern cinema, was introduced at the Thekkinkad ground in 1907 to show films by K.W. Joseph. In 1926, Cochin state constituted a Film Reformation committee. Kunjappu Anthony Francis of Trichur was a member of this committee¹⁰⁸. The first Silent Film was exhibited at Trichur by the joint efforts of C D Chacko and C D Kunjuvareed on December 19th 1927. Many merchants of Trichur had ownership of 'Touring Cinema'. They included K.A. Davis, K.J. Varu, Kinattingal Porinchu Chakkunny, Kanjiraparambil Chakkunni Kochouseph, Chakkappan Chakkunni, Chakkunni Ouseph, K.K. Francis, Chandy Devassy Chakku, Chandy Devassy Kunjuvareed, Kattukkaran Joseph Devassy and Kattukkaran Devassy Paul. They travelled throughout South India taking their cinema tents during the period between 1930s and 1950s. They were also the directors of the various financial institutions which flourished in Trichur during those days. The first settled theatre in Kerala was established in Trichur in the year 1932 bearing the name Rama Varma (later Sapna Theater) owned by T.N. Naganantha Iyer. In the very next year Jos Theatre was

¹⁰⁷ K.K. Sivadas, *Thrisur Pooram Pakittum Perumayum*, Current Books, Thrissur, 2010, p.113.

¹⁰⁸ Sugeeth Krishnamoorthy, *Challenging the Consensus and Re-discovery of Forgotten Histories-*, presented at the IFFT 16th edition seminar held at St. Thomas college, Trichur.10-12-2012.

established by Kattukkaran Joseph. The first attempt at producing a Malayalam movie was also from Trichur. Appan Thampuran was behind this project and the subject was his novel *Bhootharayar*¹⁰⁹. But it did not materialise. The period of South Indian silent cinema was between 1915 and 1935. The contributors to the South Indian cinema from Trichur were Kunjappu Anthony Davis and his elder brother K.A. Francis who were the members on the board of General Pictures Corporation. They came from a Syrian Christian family in Trichur. Lawyers by profession Kunjappu brothers travelled around Cochin and Travancore in connection with multiple film productions and distribution companies in India, from where they sourced film prints for exhibition in their theatre. Kunjappu Brothers were the sole proprietors of Exhibitors Film Service while A. Narayan was the General Manager of the film company. Later they engaged in the founding of a printing press called Kshemodayam Press (Welfare Press) and Mutual Benefit Fund (an insurance company). They were also involved in the publication of vernacular magazines titled 'Sadhu' and 'Sudinam'¹¹⁰.

City space and movies are interconnected. Development of films and its growth as an industry reflected the commercial characteristics of an urban culture. The members of film industry were also the financiers and bankers which provided opportunities for further capital investment. The increasing number of films shows the leisure culture of the urban society. The artistic skill involved in this industry reflected an advanced urban life.

Buildings and Architecture

Sakthan Thampuran constructed many buildings in Trichur as part of transferring his administrative headquarters to Trichur. Buildings reflect the economic development of a place. It throws light on the modernisation and urbanization of the region.

¹⁰⁹ Usha Menon, *Op.Cit.*, p.31

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

Architecture reflects and shapes the cultural identity of a city. Iconic buildings became symbols of urban identity. Buildings are foundational to the structure and dynamics of urban environments. It integrated the overall functionality and connectivity of the city. It plays a crucial role in urbanism by shaping the physical, social and economic landscape of cities. Many institutions and buildings, both secular and religious, emerged in Trichur from 1800 to 1949.

Sakthan Thampuran palace also known as Vadakkechira *Kovilakam* built on Kerla-Dutch style with traditional *Nalukettu* and broad *Nadumuttam*. Other *Kovilakams* in Trichur include Chazhoor *Kovilakam*, The Appan Thampuran *Kovilakam* at Ayanthole¹¹¹, Poomully *mana*, Kodungallur *Kovilakam* and Koratty *Kovilakam* reflect cultural and architectural identity. Appan Thampuran *Kovilakam* was the summer resort of Appan Thampuran. It was the venue of the meeting place of Mahatma Ghandi and Appan Thampuran in 1925. In 1947 it was converted into Sree Kerala Varma College, Trichur. Puthen *Kovilakam* part of Kodungallur *Kovilakam* is known by the name ‘Gurukulam’. It was a famous learning centre. Chirakkal and Kollengode *Kovilakam* represents the traditional architectural style.

The Trichur public office with clock tower over the taluk treasury was completed in the year 1877. It accommodated the Diwan Peishkar, Tahsildar and Registrar with their respective establishments¹¹². The public library and reading room in Trichur is located in the townhall building Trichur. It has been actively functioning since 1873. The state museum comprised of a Museum, Zoo and biological garden started in 1885 at Sankhariah Park, Viyyur. In 1912 it was transferred to the Krishnavilas palace, Ernakulam. In 1914 it was again reinstated about one kilometre away from Vadakkumnathan temple. A garden was then laid out and animal houses were built all around the Museum building.

¹¹¹ K.M. Govi and M.K. Panikkar(ed.), *Malayala Grantha Suchi* (Mal.), Vol. I, Kerala Sahitya Academy, Trichur, 1973, p. 811.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p.27.

Archaeological Museum and Picture Gallery was formally opened in 1947 by George Boag, the Diwan of Cochin. It was arranged in the three front rooms of upper storey of the Jubilee Memorial Town Hall, Trichur. A picture gallery was setup in 1938 by Shanmugham Chetty, the Diwan of Cochin. It includes reproduction of some of the best mural paintings found in the temple and palaces of Trichur and Ernakulam¹¹³.

Our Lady of Dolours church in Puthanpalli is popularly known as Puthanpalli a minor basilica of Catholics of Trichur. It is famous for its Gothic style of architecture. The chief architect of the Basilica was Jnanaprakasam from Madras. It includes 32 granite stone pillars with an area of 25000 square feet. The amount for the construction was collected by the *pallikuri*, earlier known as *Shodathi* as per permission given by Cochin ruler¹¹⁴.

The Marth Mariam Big Church in Trichur was the headquarters of the Assyrian church of the East in India. It also became the headquarters of the Chaldean Syrian community. In the year 1814 A.D. the Marth Mariam Big Church was built in Trichur for meeting the religious needs of the Chaldean Syrians from Ollur, Aranattukara, Kottakad, Arimbur, Chettupuzha, Pazhuvil, Enamavu and Mullassery¹¹⁵. Trade in Trichur flourished mostly around the Marth Mariam Chaldean Church called the *Valiyapally* or big church.

A museum still exists as a part of the Marth Mariam *Valiyapally*¹¹⁶. It is known as the 'Museum of the East.' It contains the records, equipment and photographs of the saint, Mar Abimalek Timotheus (1878-1945). The books he used, Syrian bible, photographs and a car are exhibited in the museum. His car is also exhibited in the museum. The museum has a collection of 150 years' old palm leaflets

¹¹³ A Sreedhara Menon, *Op., cit.*, p.562.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.96.

¹¹⁵ *Marth Mariam Valiya Palli, Thrissur, Souvenir*, 2015, p.132.

¹¹⁶ Ambakkadan Raju, *Pourasthya Sabha Pinnitta Noottandukal* (Mal.), Prasadhaka Samithi, Thrissur, 2004, pp. 29-31.

recording the financial details of Marth Mariam big church. The other antique items include a model of a church in Hindu temple form, the old machine used to make wine, official seal used by church in early periods, etc. Also in exhibition is an antique printing machine of 1905 used by Mar Narsai Press in Trichur.

A place for church was purchased from Rottikkaran Bappu by Fr. Kappil Mathai Mariam and he constructed the *Thiruhridaya* Latin Church in 1885. The Lourde Cathedral's construction was started in 1885. Another prominent religious institution was the St. Joseph's Latin convent in Mission Quarters built in 1921 by Theresan Carmelite Sisters. Bishop's House of Chaldean Syrian Church of the East was constructed in 1922¹¹⁷. The land for Mission Hospital, Minor Seminary, orphanage and Bishop house was purchased from Fr. Henry Harly by Anglo Indian Bishop Adolf Medlycott¹¹⁸.

Buildings and architecture characterised the growth of cities and development of built environments. Government buildings, schools, hospitals, and other structures that support the public. It shows the unique character and identity of the city. The combination of buildings, architecture, accessible libraries, and effective schools in Trichur acted as the backbone of an urban society and it shaped the physical and aesthetic environment. These enriched the cultural, intellectual, and social aspects of the community.

Reflection of Change – Education Dynamism in Trichur

Educational institutions in urban areas became a powerful tool for social mobility. It offered individual from diverse background the opportunity to improve their socio-economic status. It also promoted social-cohesion. Trichur became a nucleus of educational institutions. Establishment of schools and colleges supported by libraries, press, publications etc. helped to increase literacy rates and promoted education of the region.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.199-217.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.56.

By the end of 19th Century, the desire for English education gained strength.¹¹⁹ In the field of English education, Cochin state was far ahead of entire South India except Madras¹²⁰. Many primary and secondary schools were started in Trichur under the management of Missionaries, government, individuals, *Devaswoms* etc. By 1818 many vernacular schools were opened in several *pravarthies* at the instruction of the Cochin Raja. In 1835 there existed an English school in Trichur¹²¹. In 1873 another English school were opened at Trichur and Kunnamkulam under the guidance of Raja and these were upgraded into Lower Secondary standard in 1888. In 1887 first Government English Primary school for girls opened in Trichur and the number of students in the school increased to 220 in 1901. An English High school opened in 1890 in Trichur. In 1890 a special department for vernacular education was formed under the supervision of Achutha Menon¹²².

Bishop Adolf Medlycott, the Apostolic Vicar of Trichur, chalked out several programmes for channelizing the wealth accruing in Christian agrarian villages for socially and educationally empowering the community. Bishop Adolf Medlycott sent circulars to establish schools under parish churches and the response was highly positive¹²³. Many parish churches that could mobilize resources from agrarian and commercial sectors came forward to start schools of different grades and levels. The most important among them were Enamavu (1885), Elthuruth (1886), Kottapady (1887), Trichur (1889), Chevvoor (1890), Palliserry (1890), Manaloor (1892) and Valappadu (1893) in Trichur and its suburbs¹²⁴.

¹¹⁹ Antony Pudicherry, *Challenges to Educational Rights in Kerala State*, Ernakulam, 1962, p. 117.

¹²⁰ *Report of the Administration of Cochin State for the year 1941*, Part I and II, RAE, Cochin, p.60.

¹²¹ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1901*, RAE, Cochin, p.101.

¹²² C. Achyutha Menon, *Cochin State Manual*, Kerala State Gazetteer Department, Thiruvananthapuram, 1995, p.6.

¹²³ "Schools, " in *the Directory of the Archdiocese of Trichur*, Trichur, 2005, p.78.

¹²⁴ *Changanassery Roopatha –Schoolukal* (Mal.) in *Rakshaniya Valsaram*, 1937, pp.45-56.

Carmelite Missionary Congregation (CMI) was established in 1831 at Mannanam under the auspices of Chavara Kuriakose Elias Achan. Chavara Kuriakose Elias, the founder of CMI order took initiative to introduce modern English education in this community in 1863. He established a monastery at Aranattukara near Trichur, others at Pavaratty (1890) and Ambazhakkad (1868). All these institutions were directly or indirectly contributing towards the uplift of the people and the transformation of the society. The informal education imparted by the Chavara Kuriakose helped the marginalised people. He designed programmes to ensure participation of everyone in the projects. He planned easy and non - coercive methods such as contributing a handful of rice (*pidiyari*), dedicating a coconut palm (*kettuthengu*) etc., to ensure the participation of ordinary people in the new missions.¹²⁵ St Aloysius High School at Elthuruth was started as primary school in 1889 and later it was upgraded as High school in 1934.

The protestant mission also started in Trichur. The Church Mission Society (CMS) started its work in Trichur in 1882. It started its work in Kunnamkulam in 1854 and the church of England Zenana Mission started its activities in Trichur in 1881. All the protestant missions started schools. CMS High school (1845) in Trichur was the first government aided school. In 1889 aided high schools were established in Trichur and Kunnamkulam. Sacred Heart Girls School started in 1920. St. Joseph's Convent Girls High School was established in Trichur in 1921. Holy Family School started by Holy Family Congregation in 1939 in Chembukavu¹²⁶. During the period between 1900 and 1935, more than 100 schools were started in Diocese of Trichur. St. Thomas College of Trichur (1919) was the first higher educational institution set up by the Catholic Christians¹²⁷. St. Marys college started for girls in 1946 by the CMC.

¹²⁵ *Report on the Census of Cochin, 1901, RAE, Cochin, p.101.*

¹²⁶ *Samskarika Charitra Rekha* (Mal.), Thrissur Corporation, 2006, p.194.

¹²⁷ *Thrissivaperoor Roopatha, Op.Cit., pp.2-21.*

In 1921 the aided schools of the Christians like Ignatius School at Kunnamkulam, Syrian Girls' School, and the CMS High School at Trichur the St. Thomas High School at Trichur were put under the control of government¹²⁸. In 1935 a special school, i.e., a blind school was opened at Kunnamkulam.¹²⁹ A girls' industrial school was also opened in Trichur¹³⁰. The students were given training in foundry and smithy at Government High School at Chalakudy¹³¹. Training schools were started in Trichur, Chalakudy and Irinjalakuda¹³². The Education code of 1911 and the revision of the same in 1922 and 1946 provided sufficient impetus to the field of education.

Boys' schools in Trichur and Kunnamkulam adopted Hindi as an optional subject. Cooking classes were started at IVG School Trichur, St. Mary's High School at Ollur, Convent High School at Thrissur and Girls High School at Kunnamkulam¹³³. Vivekodayam School in Trichur established in 1917 for boys and girls.

In 1904 A.R. Banerji, Diwan of Cochin, took special interest in the education of the state¹³⁴. Technical and industrial education achieved tremendous progress and one such school was opened in Trichur¹³⁵. An emergency course of secondary training was started at the Government Training Institute at Ramavarnapuram in Trichur in order to have trained hands for appointments in school¹³⁶. Kerala Kalamandalam in Cheruthuruthi was started by Mahakavi Vallathole in 1930. Later its administration was taken over by Cochin state in 1942. By the end of 1940s more

¹²⁸ *Record of Administration of the Cochin State for the year 1925*, RAE, p.15.

¹²⁹ *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin*, 31 October 1934, D. Dis-3095/1110, RAE.

¹³⁰ *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin*, 7 September 1926, C. No. 158/1102, RAE.

¹³¹ *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin*, 16 December 1926, Dis. 121/R/02, RAE.

¹³² *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin*, 4 May 1926, Dis. 261/R/1101, RAE.

¹³³ *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin*, 1 March 1927, Dis. 175/R/1102, RAE.

¹³⁴ A. Mathew, *History of Educational Development in Kerala*, IDSP, New Delhi, 1987, p. 66.

¹³⁵ *Proceedings of the Diwan of Cochin*, 12 February 1910, on C.No. 3263/84, RAE.

¹³⁶ *Administration Report of the Education Department of the Cochin State for the year 1947*, RAE, p.2.

than thousand students studying in the college¹³⁷. The industrial Training Institute started in 1941 at Trichur¹³⁸. The Government Training College in Trichur town established by Cochin State in 1945. The Maharajas Technological Institute was started in 1946. It owes its origin during the second world war as part of the 'War Technicians Training Scheme' by the government of India. Sree Kerala Varma College established in 1947 with the aim of first grade college in Trichur. By 1949 its administration vested in the hands of *Devaswom* Board.

The timely reorganization of education codes, the grant-in-aid system and the systematic pattern of educational finances helped the growth of elementary, secondary and collegiate education by 1949. The government also encouraged the industrial and technical education, female education and education of the backward classes and vocational education. The Christian missionaries, and various other agencies did a commendable job in the field of education¹³⁹.

The growth of education helped to reduce the rigidity of caste system. It opened opportunities irrespective of caste. By 1901 more than Sixty six Thousand females were literate in Trichur Taluk. Industrial schools created a group of skilled labourers. This provided impetus to the engineering industry especially machine making units of Koorkkanchery and Kokkala. Industrial area demanded people from different strata to work together which was provided through education.

Progressive Literature

In the beginning of 20th Century many social and caste-oriented transformations happened in the society. A meeting of the Samastha Kerala Sahithya Parishath was held at Vivekodayam School in Trichur in 1928. Eureka, a *Bala Shastra Masika* (Childrens magazine) was started in Brahmaswom *madom* in Trichur. The formation of *Jeeval Sahitya Prasthanam* in 1937 later developed as

¹³⁷ A Sreedhara Menon, *Op., Cit.*, p.546.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.549.

¹³⁹ The Muslim Educational Society (1964), The Nair Samajam (1968) etc.

Progressive Literary Organization. The scholars like Kesari Balakrishna Pillai, Joseph Mundassery, M P Paul, Vailoppilly Sreedhara Menon and Mahakavi Vallathole gave contributions to this progressive movement in Trichur¹⁴⁰. Trichur became centre of cultural and intellectual exchange.

Impact of Social Reforms

Social reform played its role in Urbanising Trichur by changing the attitude and behaviour of the people. Some organisations were formed by different caste groups led to the mobilisation of the people. Mobilisation mainly depended on the emergence of powerful leadership within the community. Earlier the caste system, hierarchy and endogamy restricted the mobility and structured their identities. The desire for social mobility gathered momentum with the emergence of caste associations and improvement in transport and communications. The establishment of scientific, technological and educational institutions, rise of nationalism and political leadership influenced the people.

The *Yogakshema Mahasabha* was started in Trichur in 1910. It aimed at ending the evil customs that prevailed in the *Nambuthiri* community. The pioneer activists who took effort in reforming the *Nambuthiri* community were Kurur Unni Nambudiri, Kurur Nilakantan Nambudiripad, V.T. Bhattathiripad and K.N.Kuttan Nambudiri. Their slogan was 'Make Nambudiri a human being.' They stood for the ideals like the emancipation of women and English education. To educate *Nambudiri* girls and boys a *Nambuthiri* English *Vidyalayam* was started in Trichur. Manezhi *Antharjanam*, a member from the *Nambudiri* community, attended the *Yogakshema Sabha* meeting in 1929¹⁴¹. Parvathi Nenmanimangalam presided over the *Nambudiri* youth conference in 1930.¹⁴² She represented *Nambudiri* women in the Cochin Legislative Council. A weekly called 'Yogakshemam' acted as its agent

¹⁴⁰ *Samskarika Charitra Rekha (Mal.)*, Thrissur Corporation, Thrissur, 2006, p.58

¹⁴¹ Kanippayyur Sankaran Nambuthirippad, *Aryanmarude Kudiyettam (Mal.)*, Vol II, Panchangam Press, Kunnankulam, 1184 KE, P.236.

¹⁴² *The Hindu, Daily*, Cochin, 2 Feb1939.

of social reform. They also started a Bank for the welfare of their community. The *Nambudiri Youvajana Sangam* under the leadership of V.T. Bhattathiripad became the catalyst for social reform in the community. As part of the augmentation, an annual meeting was held at Trichur in 1929. The drama of V T *Adukkalayil Ninnu Arangathekku* was played at this meeting. The drama captured the attention of the audience as a revolutionary stage play. Drama highlighted the problems faced by the *Nambuthiri* women in the society. In 1939 another drama grabbed attention, “*Marakkudakkullile Maha Narakam*,” written by MRB in *Unninamboori*. Due to the increasing popularity, many dramas were played in Trichur Town Hall and Rama Varma Theatre on Saturdays¹⁴³. K. Damodaran’s *Pattabakki* was one among them. His dramas were focused on the problems of tenants¹⁴⁴.

The Nair community of Cochin was registered as *Nair Maha Samajam* (society) in Trichur in 1928. *The Nair Maha Samajam* submitted a memorandum signed by about 1000 persons to the Cochin raja for legislative enactments on matters related to *Marumakkathayam*. The Raja opined that changes in the *Marumakkathayam* would affect “all from Nambudiris to Parayas.” The Raja asked the Diwan to inform the Government of Madras the need for the appointment of a committee to study the matter. Shortly after, the Government of Cochin appointed a committee to analyse the problem¹⁴⁵. *Samajam* worked for educational programmes, welfare of the community and to replace complicated customs related to matriliney.

Vivekodayam Samajam was formed in 1914 comprising of a group of the followers of Swami Vivekananda. Vivekodayam Boys Higher Secondary School in Trichur which is now functioning, was established by the *Samajam*. Influenced by the teachings of Swami Vivekananda the school enrolled the Dalit students also.

¹⁴³ By 1940s, the rate of professional plays was for first class-5rupee, second class 3-rupee, bench for one rupee and for ground one *anna*.

¹⁴⁴ T R Sankunni, *Op. Cit.*, p.331.

¹⁴⁵ *Original Letters of Cochin Raja, Rama Varma to Diwan, 20-7-1897, Book No. II, RAE, Cochin, p. 127.*

The Ezhava reform movement which was led by Sree Narayana Guru (1856-1928) in Travancore motivated the Ezhavas of Cochin for launching vigorous activities by the members of the community. Sree Narayana Guru formed an association and it was named *Sri Narayana Dharma Paripalana Yogam* (S.N.D.P.) which was registered on 15 May, 1903¹⁴⁶. The S.N.D.P. *Yogam* was registered as Joint Stock Company under the Companies Act. Cochin had sent representatives to attend its first conference. Its branch was started in the State of Cochin. The leader of the *Yogam* was Bodanand Swamy. The first meeting was held at Trichur in 1916 under the presidency of C. Krishnan¹⁴⁷. Following the principles of Sri Narayana Guru they worked against caste system and established several schools in Trichur and nearby areas. They are Shanmukha Vilas School at Enkakkad (1925), S R K G V M Higher Secondary school at Puranattukara (1927), S N Boys School at Kanimangalam (1930) and Hindu Elementary School at Vaka (1935). These schools enrolled Dalit students as part of their mission.¹⁴⁸

The reform movements led to the awakening of depressed classes. The leaders of the depressed class concentrated their attention in struggles against untouchability. *Pulaya Mahasabha* was formed to work for the mobility of their class. *All India Harijan Seva Sangh* worked among the Dalits in Cochin and they had their centre at Mayannur near Trichur. They worked vigorously to keep away the Dalits from accepting other faiths and encouraged them to live with their own identity. They receive a land grant of six acres from Cochin Government in Mayannur in 1931. They established a day school and night school¹⁴⁹. One of the struggles connected with the *Pulaya Mahasabha* was the *Vazhinadakkal Samaram*

¹⁴⁶ *Vivekodayam*, Vol. I, No. I, Trichur, 1904, pp.2-3.

¹⁴⁷ P.K.K. Menon, *The History of Freedom Movement in Kerala*, Vol. II, Thiruvananthapuram, 2001, p. 551.

¹⁴⁸ P S Manojkumar and Sheeba George(eds), *Vidyalaya Charitranveshanam: Thrissur* (Mal.), Vol I, Thrissur District Panchayath, 2007, p.7.

¹⁴⁹ *Mathrubhumi Weekly*, Vol.14, issue 30, 1936 October 12.

under the leadership of Chathan Master in 1946. They demanded for their right to walk along the public road to Irinjalakuda Koodalmanikyam temple¹⁵⁰.

The urban development in Trichur continued in the late 19th and in the first half of twentieth century. In Trichur expansion of trade commerce facilitated by its connectivity to other parts of the state through the construction of roads and railways. The extensive use of canals for transportation and the construction of bridges led to the transformation of the town with well-developed transportation network. The introduction of new modes of communication like post and telegraph increased the connectivity in commercial activities. The *Thekkinkadu maithanam*, the nucleus of Trichur was developed with multiplication of roads. *Maithanam* became the nerve centre of exhibitions, cinema, new ideologies and centre of trade.

Economic growth of the town attained with the development of industries. The emerging and traditional industries like printing press, tile, textile, coir, engineering, packing case, poultry, khadi, mat making etc. boosted trade and commerce. Trichur became centre of trade union movements. Trade unions like Engineering Workers Union, Press Workers Union, *Riksha* Workers Union, Textile Workers Union, Beedi Workers Union, Tile Workers Union, *Chethu Thozhilali* Union etc were worked for the betterment of their conditions and created a new class consciousness. The expansion of industries fuelled the growth of trade unions.

The economic development of Trichur town can be seen from the formation of cooperative societies even in the beginning of the 19th century. The earliest of these were Karamukku Co-operative Society (1826) and Pazhuvil Service Co-operative society (1875). More than thirty such societies functioned within the town itself by the end of 1950s. These societies attracted the business and investments in Trichur.

¹⁵⁰ S K Vasanthan, *Nammal Nadanna Vazhikal* (Mal.), Malayala Padana Gaveshana Kendram, Thrissur, 2006, p.336.

The increased number of *kuri* companies were a unique feature of Trichur. Many of the *kuri* companies transformed into Banks. The development of Banking sector played an important role in shaping the economy of the region.

One of the uniqueness of Trichur was its *pooram* and the commercial activities related to it. The rich cinema tradition of the region exposed the leisure culture of this urban society. The emergence of theatre culture began with Jose and Rama Varma theatre by 1930s.

Religious and secular buildings of Trichur throws light on the foundation of the city. Educational institutions in Trichur in primary, secondary and higher education nurtured the intellectual growth of the city. The industrial schools created skilled labourers which was an encouragement to trade and industry.

The reform movements in almost all sections in the society helped in transforming the attitude and behaviour of the people. Reform organisations like SNDP, *Vivekodayam Samajam*, *Pulaya Mahasabha* etc. started schools for different sections in the society. Trichur has undergone significant changes in the first half of the twentieth century which transformed the region into a major economic and commercial hub. The increased connectivity, banking sector, trade, industries, education etc. were crucial to the urbanization of Trichur.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Archaeological and literary evidences provide information on local and long-distance trade in Kerala. Important port centres like Muziris, Tyndis, Bareca, Nelcinda shows brisk trade with other countries like Greece, Rome, China etc. These centres acted as ferry and bazar. Trade network in the Malabar coast opened the region for trade. The emergence of the rule of Perumals of Mahodayapuram along with Oceanic trade system were reflected in the inscriptional and literary sources. The political fragmentation after the Perumals resulted in the emergence of several *Swaroopams* and *Naduvazhis*. The *Sandesakavyas* picturize the trade routes in Kerala in the period between 13th and 14th centuries. Many new merchant families aroused with their trading centres at Kodungallur, Calicut, Quilon, Panthalayani Kollam and Cochin.

In the early medieval period, the major portion of the land in Trichur was in the hands of temples. Important temples in Trichur were Vadakkumnathan, Peruvanam, Arattupuzha, Chembukavu, Edakkunni, Kuttanellur etc. Power of the *uralars*, the vastness of the *Sanketham* territories, taxes and types of *koima* showed the position and power enjoyed by the temples. The princely states, Cochin and Travancore were competing each other for the position of *koima* power in the temples. The temple authorities had their own mechanisms to administer the entire processes of revenue administration.

The political situation in Trichur in the period before Sakthan Thampuran was not conducive for the emergence of a strong state and process of urbanization. Trichur, part of Cochin state consisted of twelve *swaroopams*. The military strength of Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* (Cochin) was less than the combined army of *Swaroopams*. The hostilities among five *Tavazhis* of the Perumpadappu *Swaroopam* also weakened the power of Cochin State. Many of these *Swaroopams* had more allegiance to Zamorins and they supported him during his invasions of Trichur.

After the advent of Europeans, Dutch amassed wealth from the spice trade and monopolised the pepper trade in Cochin. The existence of *Naduvazhis* became a hindrance to the development of a strong state. The Concentration of wealth in the hands of the *Devaswoms* and *Naduvazhis*, slowed down the emergence of a strong state in Cochin.

The processes of urbanization in Trichur began with the accession of Sakthan Thampuran in Cochin. He had to face so many challenges to rule over the state from its capital city of Cochin. He transferred the administrative capital to Trichur, which enabled him to administer without the interference of the Europeans. He also envisaged that Trichur as capital would enable him to mobilise more resources and conduct the administration effectively. Mysorean invasion had made conditions of the state more vulnerable. Strained relations with Tipu Sultan compelled the Raja of Cochin to enter into an alliance with the English East India Company in 1791. The treaty made Cochin a tributary of English East India Company and had to pay an annual tribute.

For administrative convenience, the state of Cochin was divided into *Mukhams*. Each *Mukham* was again divided into taluks called *kovilakathumvathukkal* and this again divided into *pravarthis*. Administration and management of temples of Vadakkumnathan, Arattupuzha, Koodalmanikyam etc. with their extensive lands helped in extracting huge revenue to the state. The strong military department provided security and stability to the state.

Sakthan Thampuran introduced separate department for agriculture. The practice of surveying helped in realising the nature of land. Agriculture was promoted in *pandaravaka* and *kandukrishi* lands. Paddy and garden cultivation got prominence. The *pravarthikaranmar* supervised the agricultural activities in *pandaravaka* lands. *Kandukrishi Vicharippukar* were appointed to look after the management of *kandukrishi* land (crown land). There were administrative divisions

called *Munnalas* under *munnalakkar*. Each *munnalas* included a number of *Desams*. The *kavalkkar* or guards were appointed for the protection of crops. Seeds and financial assistance were provided to farmers. Barren lands were converted into agricultural lands. Construction of bunds and *chiras* facilitated irrigation and agricultural productivity. Encouragement to *kole Krishi*, pepper cultivation and other crops enhanced the agricultural production. Importance given to the progress of agriculture led to the growth of trade and urbanization.

He encouraged trade by establishing new markets like *Ariyangadi*, *Erinjeri Angadi* and *Nayarangadi*. The construction of roads, bridges and canals connecting Cochin and other parts of the state facilitated trade and commerce. The markets functioned were daily market, weekly market and permanent market. The person responsible for the *chantha* was the *Angadi vicharippukaran* who was in charge of collecting tax. Keeping the *uttupuras*, peddling roads and *thanneerpanthal* (resting place) intact improved the efficiency of trade. Hinterland taxes were great source of revenue. Commodities of commercial interest were collected from hinterlands to *Vanchikadavu* and *Aranattukara Kadavu*. The trade network of the peripheral places were linked to the core at Trichur. Sakthan Thampuran concentrated in developing internal markets in and around Trichur.

Syrian Christian families, Tamil *pattanmar* and Muslims were invited by Sakthan to Trichur to promote trade. They were engaged in the business of iron hardware, jewellery, textiles, rice etc. Evidences of iron industry can be seen in Kadavallur, Desamangalam, Anappara etc where *puranakittom* or iron ore were found. This was used in making arms and agricultural tools. Maritime activities were given at most importance by Sakthan. Ship building activities were promoted. The ships of the Raja were engaged in long distance trade.

Sakthan designed the Trichur town in a well-planned manner. The four major roads in the town radiated from the centrally located ring road around Thekkinkad

Maithanam divides the city into four quarters. In the well-planned city, separate areas were allotted for residential, commercial and industrial activities. Water bodies and water reservoirs of Trichur in the four corners of the city provided uninterrupted water supply. Link roads connected with different parts of Cochin and outside the state led to improved commercial activities.

Trichur *pooram* was introduced by Sakthan Thampuran. It was a significant cultural and economic event which generated substantial revenue. It attracted number of people which boosted local markets including handicrafts and textiles. *Pooram* was more material than spiritual and played a pivotal role in transforming Trichur into an urban centre.

Sakthan Thampuran promoted *kuri* companies. The major *kuri* companies in Trichur region were Chaldean Syrian *Vaka Pallikuri*, Lourde *Palli Kuri*, Cathedral *Kuri*, Dharmodayam, Dharma Poshanam, Kshemavilasam and Sadhu Samrakshana Sangametc. The *kuri* companies played a significant role in generating income and channelizing credit.

The income generating sources made Trichur a centre with the characteristics of urbanization. As Robert E. Park suggests, a city is not just a physical structure; it is the outcome of the collective efforts of the individuals who inhabit it. The administrative space of Trichur under Sakthan Thampuran played a decisive role in the growth of urbanization. It was designed according to the new social and economic dynamics. The building up of a powerful state, with political stability, irrigation projects, agricultural growth and expansion, construction of network of roads and waterways, encouragement to markets and commerce and support to financial institutions under the regime of Sakthan Thampuran facilitated the path towards trade and urbanization.

The process of trade and urbanization accelerated in the post sakthan period. The survey reports of Ward and Conner have picturised the condition in the early

decades of 19th century. The population table of communities in the *pravarthies* of Paravattany, Chittilappily, Trichur and Vijepuram shows the social positioning of different communities in Trichur. The reports give information on the lands under cultivation, crops cultivated and irrigation facilities provided. The accounts of Ward and Conner indicates the growth of agriculture and trade and the growing urbanization of the region.

Revenue settlements in accordance with the surveys of 1905 were clear indication of the cultivated areas in Trichur. The growth of paddy cultivation and also the trees grown in the *parambus* were specially mentioned with the taxes imposed upon it. The Settlement Proclamation indicates the increased number of ownership rights to the *kanam* tenants. Increasing number of landowners were evident from the number of documents registered in Trichur office. Revision of land revenue assessments in Trichur indicate the growth of agriculture. Old system of measurement of *para* and *edangazhi* were replaced by English acres and cent. Registration of land formalised the relation between individual and the state. Conferring of ownership increased the status of the land owners and it had its impact on agricultural production. The construction of *chiras* and bunds in Trichur improved irrigation facilities. Agricultural Department of Cochin proved to be an efficient one.

New farming practices were introduced and successful experiments were conducted in paddy, coconut and arecanut cultivation. Kole cultivation reached to the extent of 14595 acres in 1930 which increased to 20243.21 acres in 1949. *Kayal* reclamation was also promoted. The surplus production of paddy, coconut, arecanut etc were sent to different markets outside the state through roads and through Cochin harbour. Grow More Food campaign encouraged the farmers to cultivate even in *poramboku* lands and cattle grazing grounds. Under the programme of Hill Paddy cultivation, waste lands in Trichur region were utilised for the cultivation of paddy and chama, a kind of small millet, by 1943. Agricultural marketing societies

were introduced. Encouragement to rubber plantations especially in Palappilly and Paravattani were boon to markets.

Demographic changes reconfigured the urban space of Trichur. In the end of 19th and in the beginning of 20th century more demographic changes and landscape transformation occurred in Trichur and neighbouring areas. The analysis of population change from 1891 to 1951 shows an increase in urban population. Fragmentation of lands through *Marumakkathayam* Acts altered the spacial structure of Trichur. By the end of 1930s the peripheral regions like Kunnankulam Guruvayur, Wadakkanchery, Chalakudy and Irinjalakuda also developed along with the urbanization of Trichur, the core region.

The changes in the land tenure system, commercialization of agriculture, commodification of land and monetization of the economy increased the number of markets and facilitated the transformation of Trichur to an urban centre.

The expansion of trade and commerce was facilitated by the extensive construction of roads, railways and canals. Introduction of railways improved transportation and the hinterland products moved to rest of India and international markets. The increased number of bridges reflected connectivity in trade routes, thereby fostered the economic growth in Trichur. Opening of the post offices and telegraph in Trichur by the end of 19th century enabled the region to cope up with the needs of the business communities. Thekkinkadu *maithanam* became the centre of all urban activities. The network of transportation, administrative and educational institutions connected with *maithanam* proved to be unique and unparalleled to other places and centre of commercial activities.

Industries in Trichur had a significant role in urbanising this region. The major industries included rice mill, coir, textiles, printing press, tile factories etc. These industries attracted trading communities to Trichur. Capital investment also led to disputes between capital and labour which resulted in the formation of trade

unions. Sitaram textiles and Alagappa textiles were prominent and provided job opportunities. Cooperative societies emerged to provide credit facilities to farmers, traders and industrialists. Exhibitions promoted commercial activities and disseminated new ideas to industrial and agricultural sector. Trichur is the headquarters of many Banks which catered to the needs of trade, industry and agriculture. The major banks were Catholic Syrian Bank Catholic Oriental Bank, Catholic Bank, Malabar Bank, Indian Insurance Banking Corporation and Kshemavilasom Bank.

The Thrissur *pooram* illustrates how a regional level festival was transformed into an internationally acclaimed one. It acted as a catalyst to cultural and commercial activities. The emergence of cinema transformed the urban setting. The leisure culture of urban society reached its higher level with the setting of Rama Varma and Jos theatres. The Printing presses and financial institutions contributed to the urban scenario. Buildings and architecture reflected the cultural identity and urban manifestation of the city. Both secular and religious buildings shaped the physical landscape of Trichur.

Institutions especially schools, colleges, libraries, literary associations, Government Training schools, Industrial and Technical schools improved education and job opportunities. It diluted the rigidity of the caste system. Activities of *Yogakshema Sabha*, *Nair Mahasamajam*, *Vivekodayam Samajam*, SNDP etc. had their impact in the social life of Trichur. The social reforms enriched the urban culture in the region.

The processes of urbanization since the time of Sakthan Thampuran reached its peak in the period of amalgamation of Cochin with Travancore. The urbanization processes comprised of growth of agriculture, increasing trade, industries, markets, trade unions, co-operative movements, social developments etc. Of these agriculture and trade constituted the major causative factors. The

development of market with the help of hinterlands and consequent expansion of internal trade along with the migration of communities were significant in urbanizing Trichur.

Urbanization is a continuing process. Emergence of new industries and development in technology are further accelerating the urban process. Information technology, AI related activities, semi-conductor industries and infra structural developments including new seaports, airports and IT parks are broadening the scope of urbanization.

Trade and urbanization are moving in a faster pace in Kerala. Metro cities and satellite towns are emerging very quickly. Future studies on this area have to be in the context of sustainability and eco friendliness.

Glossary

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| <i>Anchuvannam</i> | - trade guild |
| <i>Anchalottakkaran</i> | - mail carrier |
| <i>Anchal pillai</i> | - postman |
| <i>Angadi</i> | - shop or marketplace |
| <i>Antharjanam</i> | - brahmin woman |
| <i>Asari</i> | - carpenter or traditional artisan specializing in woodwork |
| <i>Attipper</i> | - a type of land tenure |
| <i>Ayamodakam</i> | - ajwain |
| <i>Balasastra Masika</i> | - children's Science Magazine |
| <i>Bharani</i> | - a traditional ceramic or earthen jar |
| <i>Chantha</i> | - market, usually a periodic or local market |
| <i>Chal</i> | - small canal or drainage system |
| <i>Chira</i> | - small dam or bund, usually used for irrigation or water storage |
| <i>Chumaduthangi</i> | - resting stone or structure for carrying heavy loads |
| <i>Desam</i> | - territorial unit refers to the aggregate of Villages and hamlets in cultivated areas |
| <i>Desavazhi</i> | - local chieftain or ruler of a region |
| <i>Devaswoms</i> | - temple property |
| <i>Dronamukha</i> | - a term referring to a town layout or city entrance in ancient texts |
| <i>Edangazhi</i> | - a smaller measuring unit |
| <i>Elathari</i> | - cardamom powder |
| <i>Grandhavari</i> | - archives or official records |
| <i>Guru</i> | - teacher, master, or spiritual guide |
| <i>Hukumnama</i> | - royal decree or official order |
| <i>Jeerakam</i> | - cumin seeds |
| <i>Jenmam</i> | - it refers to hereditary landownership |

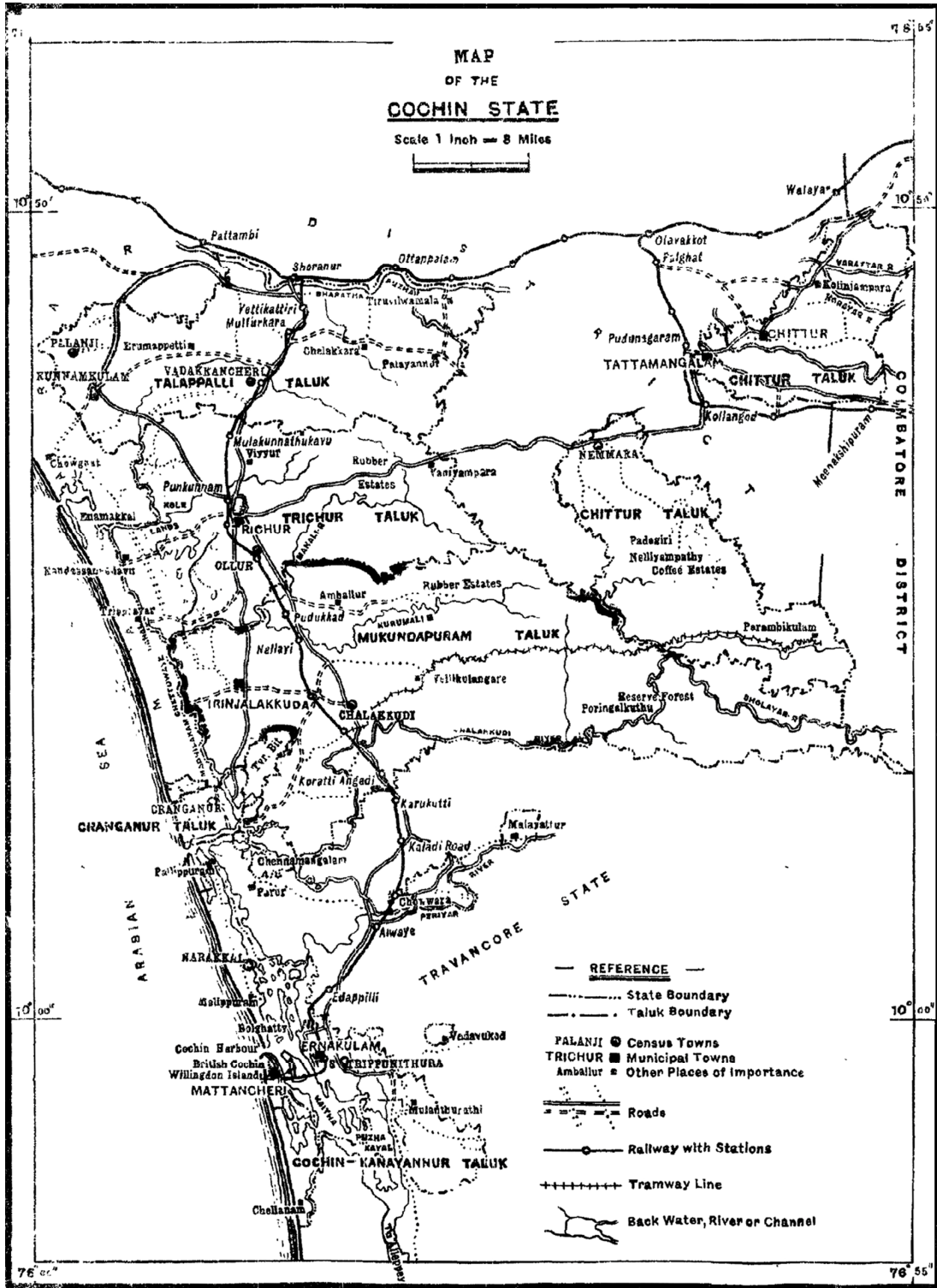
| | |
|------------------------|--|
| <i>Jenmibhogam</i> | - landlord's revenue or share from agricultural produce |
| <i>Jenmi</i> | - landlord or holder of jenmam tenure |
| <i>Kadavu</i> | - ferry point or landing place |
| <i>Kalari</i> | - traditional martial arts training school |
| <i>Kallumala</i> | - stone necklace worn by certain communities |
| <i>Kanakkapillai</i> | - accountant or revenue official |
| <i>Kanam</i> | - a form of land tenure where land is leased with certain rights to the tenant |
| <i>Kasu</i> | - small currency denominations |
| <i>Kazhakam</i> | - a traditional service group, often referring to temple service or work |
| <i>Kavu</i> | - sacred grove or small forest dedicated to deities, often associated with serpent worship |
| <i>Kettezhuthu</i> | - writing after hearing, settlement of land revenue on the basis of personal enquiries |
| <i>Kizhedam</i> | - subordinate land or temple |
| <i>Koyma</i> | - suzerain |
| <i>Kole</i> | - low - lying wetland |
| <i>Koovapodi</i> | - arrowroot powder |
| <i>Kovilakam</i> | - household of Royal family |
| <i>Kuri</i> | - a traditional form of chit fund |
| <i>Ladavaidyan</i> | - traditional or indigenous doctor |
| <i>Maithanam</i> | - open ground, usually for public gatherings |
| <i>Mana</i> | - brahmin household <i>or</i> ancestral home |
| <i>Manigramam</i> | - trade guild in South India, particularly in Kerala |
| <i>Marotti oil</i> | - hydnocarpus oil |
| <i>Marumakkathayam</i> | - matrilineal system of inheritance |
| <i>Matilakam kaval</i> | - temple security guard system |
| <i>Melkoima</i> | - supreme authority or overlordship |
| <i>Nadu</i> | - administrative divisions or territories |

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| <i>Naduvazhi</i> | - ruler of a nadu; a local chieftain |
| <i>Nagara</i> | - city or town |
| <i>Nallenna</i> | - gingelly oil |
| <i>Nalukettu</i> | - traditional Kerala - style house with a central courtyard |
| <i>Naruneyyu</i> | - fragrant ghee (clarified butter) |
| <i>Nelpura</i> | - granary or rice storage |
| <i>Nerkanam</i> | - direct revenue or tax paid to the landowner or government |
| <i>Nerpanayam</i> | - direct mortgage (a pledged asset without intermediaries) |
| <i>Nilam</i> | - land mainly used for paddy cultivation |
| <i>Panam</i> | - money or currency |
| <i>Pandaravaka</i> | - government or state-owned land |
| <i>Pandikasala</i> | - store house |
| <i>Paradesi pattars</i> | - Tamil Brahmins or migrant priests who settled in Kerala |
| <i>Para</i> | - traditional large measuring unit (used for grains, often a ceremonial offering measure) |
| <i>Parambu</i> | - land, plot, or homestead land |
| <i>Pathivu</i> | - record, entry, or documentation |
| <i>Pattana</i> | - town or urban area |
| <i>Pattom</i> | - lease or tenancy |
| <i>Patram</i> | - vessel, container, or plate |
| <i>prasangathara</i> | - stage or podium for speeches |
| <i>Puthen</i> | - coin |
| <i>Puthen pandikasala</i> | - new warehouse or storage facility |
| <i>Purayidam</i> | - residential plot or land for building houses |
| <i>Puravaka</i> | - government or temple - owned land |
| <i>Rajabhogam</i> | - royal tax or tribute paid to a king |
| <i>Rajadhani</i> | - capital city |
| <i>Sanketham</i> | - temple territories controlled by Brahmin |
| <i>Sarkkara</i> | - jaggery (unrefined sugar made from sugarcane or palm) |

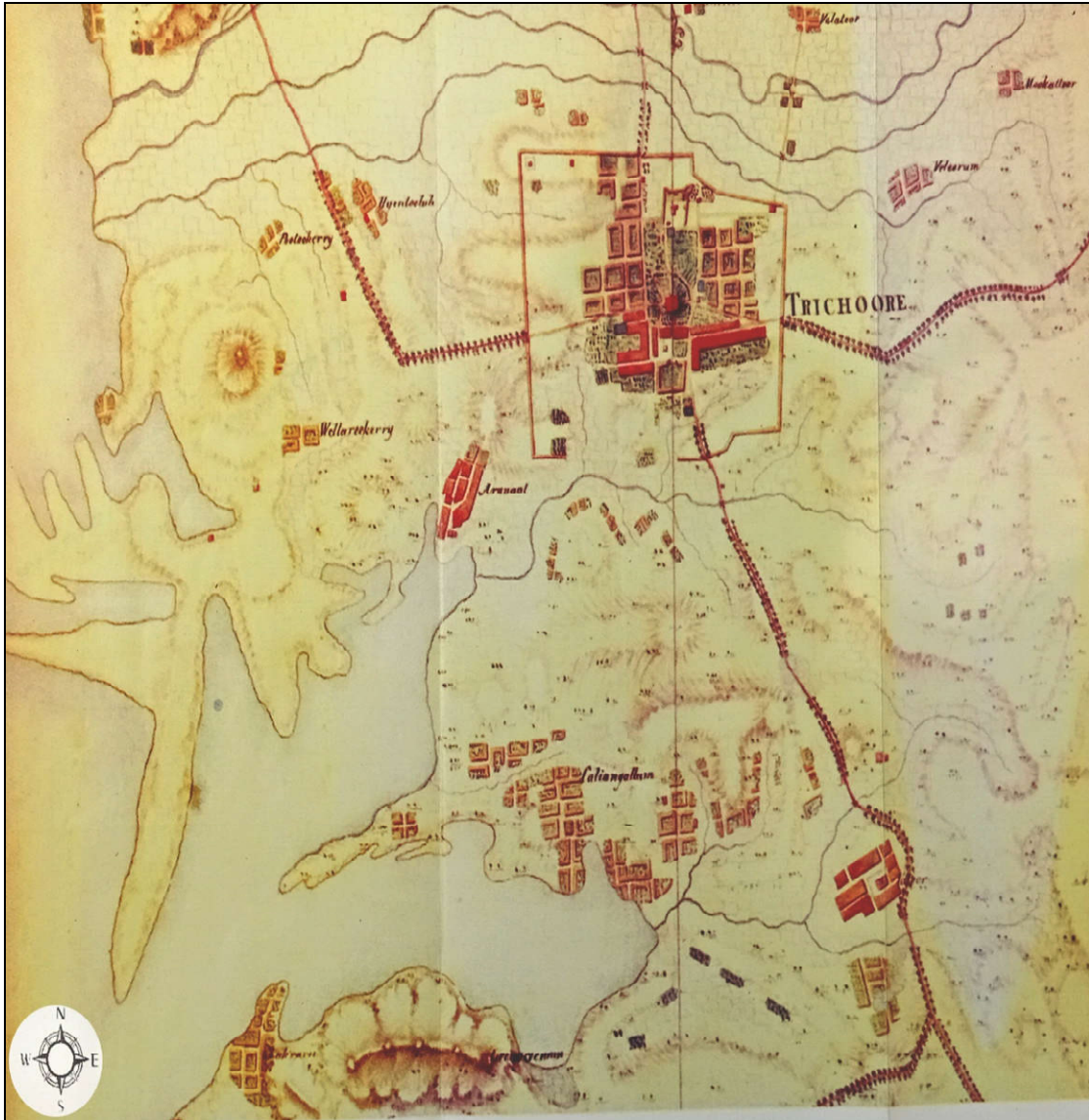
| | |
|------------------------------|--|
| <i>Swaroopam</i> | - joint family |
| <i>Tavazhi</i> | - matrilineal lineage or female lineage in the family |
| <i>Thampuran</i> | - upper - caste aristocrat |
| <i>Thazhapaya neythu</i> | - mat weaving using a type of grass |
| <i>Thinkalazhcha chantha</i> | - monday market |
| <i>Thittoorams</i> | - royal writ |
| <i>Thodu</i> | - canal or a small waterway |
| <i>Thookuvilakku</i> | - hanging lamp |
| <i>Thulass</i> | - weighing machine or balance scale |
| <i>Ulsavam</i> | - festival or celebration |
| <i>Ulpathis</i> | - production or yield |
| <i>Uralar</i> | - temple trustee |
| <i>Uranma</i> | - hereditary trusteeship or ownership, often referring to ancestral temple management rights |
| <i>Uri</i> | - a small measuring unit |
| <i>Vallakadavu</i> | - boat jetty or ferry landing |
| <i>Vanchikkar</i> | - boatmen or people who row boats |
| <i>Variyam</i> | - council or administrative body in temples |
| <i>Variola</i> | - palm-leaf document or record |
| <i>Veppenna</i> | - neem oil |
| <i>Vettadakka</i> | - piece of arecanut |
| <i>Vidyalayam</i> | - school or educational institution |
| <i>Viyalari</i> | - a kind of rice |
| <i>Vidhyarthi corner</i> | - student corner |
| <i>Velliyazhcha chantha</i> | - friday market |
| <i>Vallom</i> | - boat |
| <i>Yogakkar</i> | - assembly members or people who are part of a governing council |
| <i>Yogathirippad</i> | - head of a religious or temple assembly |
| <i>Yuvaraja</i> | - crown prince or heir to the throne |

Appendices

Appendix I

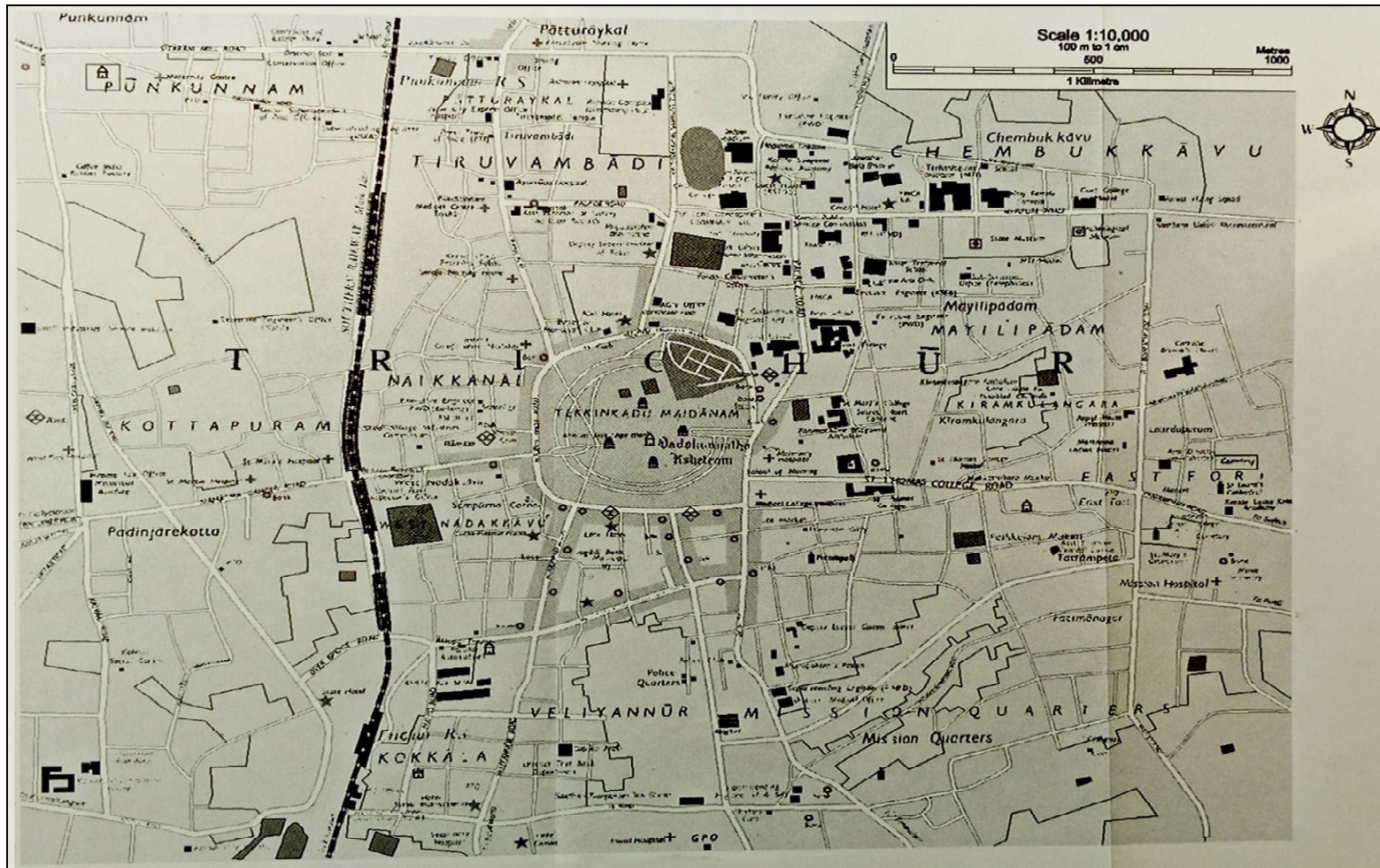


Source: Census of Cochin 1941



Map of Trichur and its hinterlands prepared by John Gould in 1816

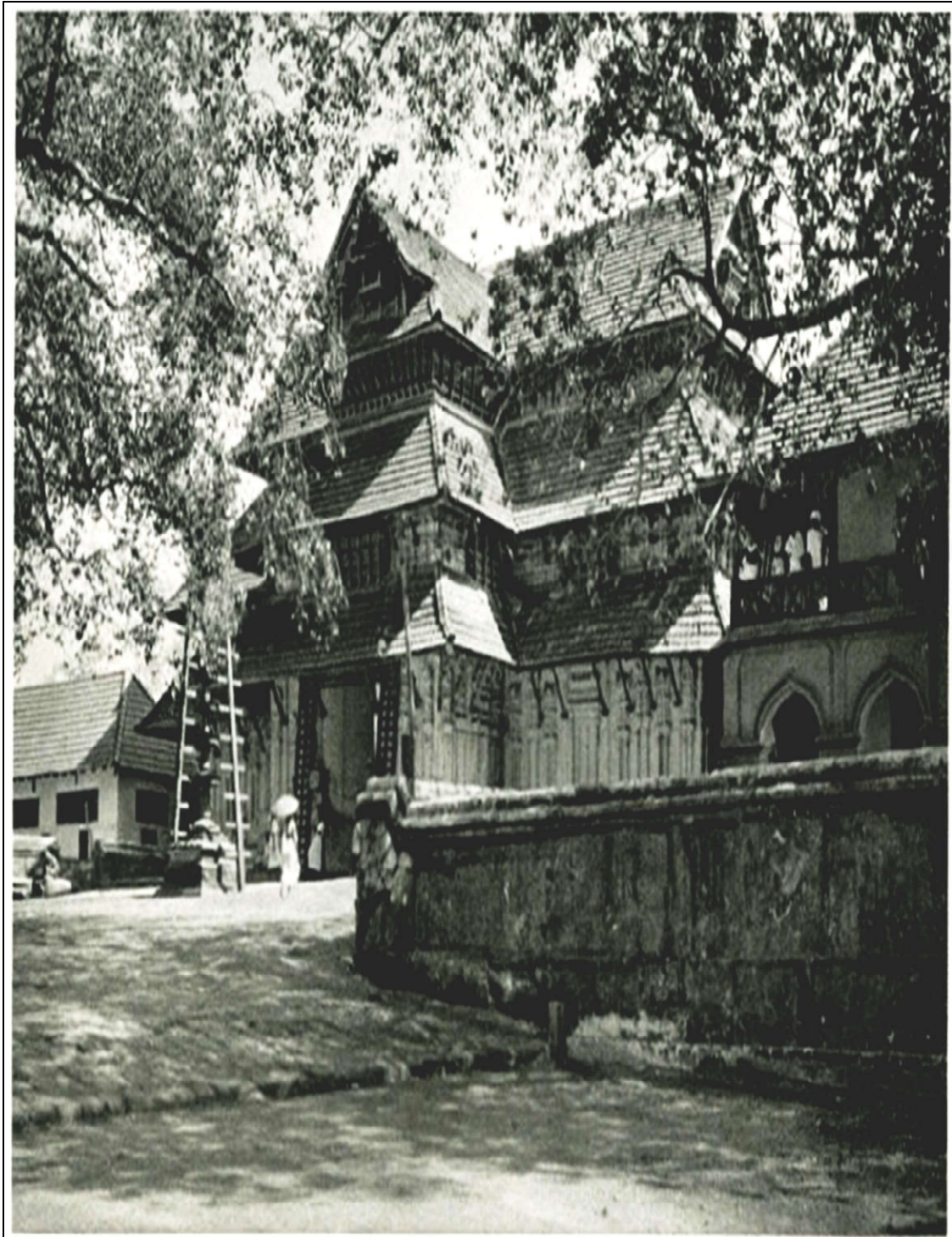
Courtesy: Dr. N J Francis, 'Footprints on the sands of Time', The Hindu dated 3rd March, 2011; Jennifer Howes, *Illustrating India*, Oxford, 2010. From the collection of The British Library Board.



Trichur Town—beginning of 20th century

Source: Survey of India

Appendix II



Vadakkumnathan Temple



Trichur Pooram



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Mar Narsai Press-Trichur

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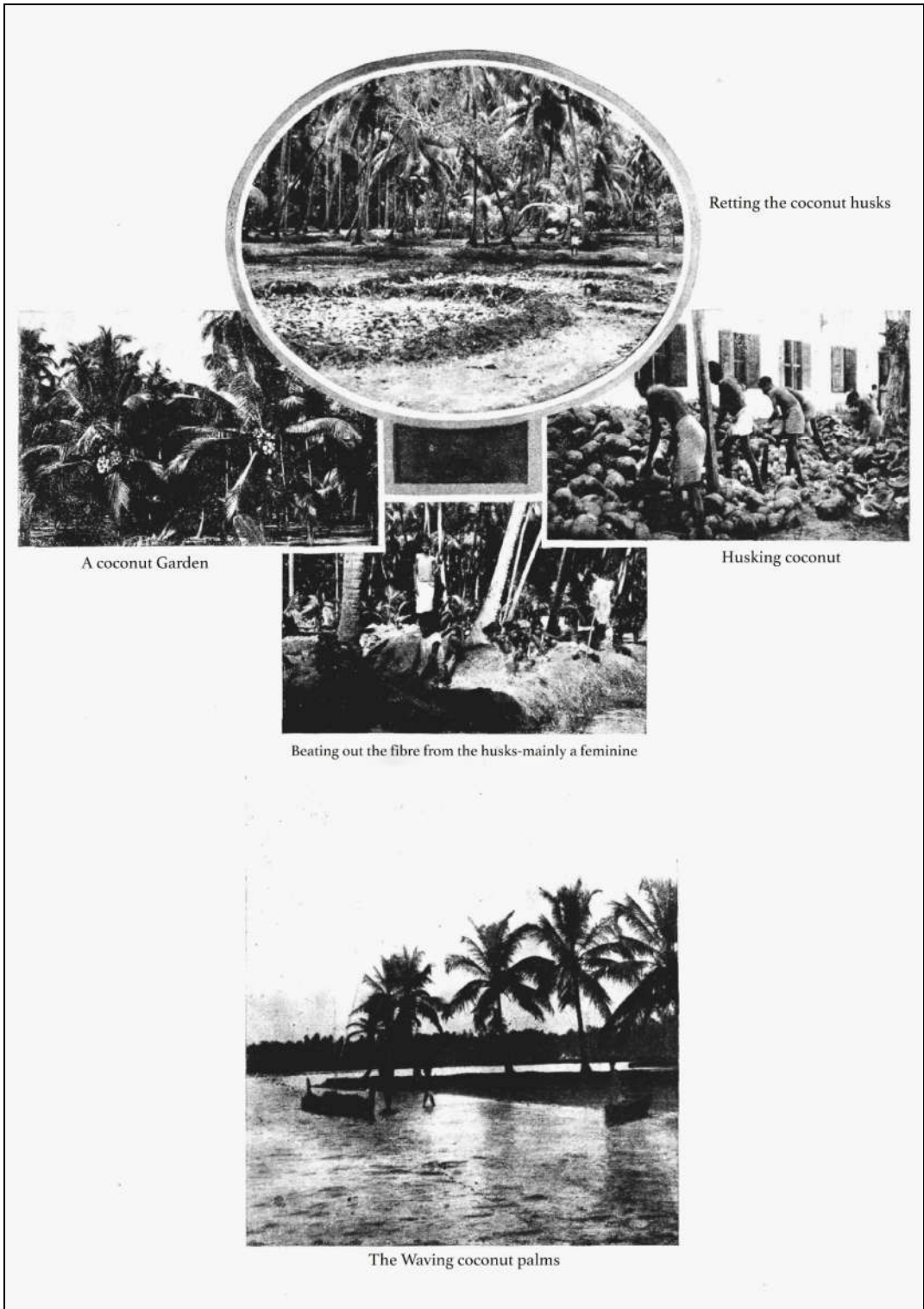
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Coir Industry



Tramway- Chalakudy



Murali Tiles-Urakam



Town Hall -Trichur

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| Sl No | Name, Age and Address | Date of Interview |
|-------|---|-------------------|
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| 2 | Joy Chittilappilly (67), Jeweller, Thrissur. | 18-11- 2020 |
| 3 | Kunjappu Antony, 75, Chittilappily House, Aranattukara. | 05 -08 2018 |
| 4 | K P Rajendran (63), Poonkunnam, Ex Revenue Minister, Kerala. | 06-08-2017 |
| 5 | K. Kunju (40), Assistant Project Engineer, KLDC, Thrissur. | 30-05-2017 |
| 6 | M R Mohan (65), Toddy tapper, Manalur. | 20 -05-2023 |
| 7 | M Vijayan (78), Deputy Mayor, Thrissur. (Expired in 2025). | 04 -04-2021 |
| 8 | Mar Aprem (76), Metropolitan of the Chaldean Syrian Church of the East, Thrissur. | 12- 10-2016 |
| 9 | P K Krishnan (74), Panchayath President, Manalur. | 03-05- 2024 |
| 10 | Porinchu T T (73), Former Secretary, Service Co- operative Bank, Mundur, Arampilly, Mundur. | 22-10- 2016 |
| 11 | Sr. Chrislyn (62), Mother Superior CMC, Kolazhi. | 20-05- 2020 |
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| 13 | Shija Joy (62), Parappilly House, Thrissur. | 16 -06-2017 |

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